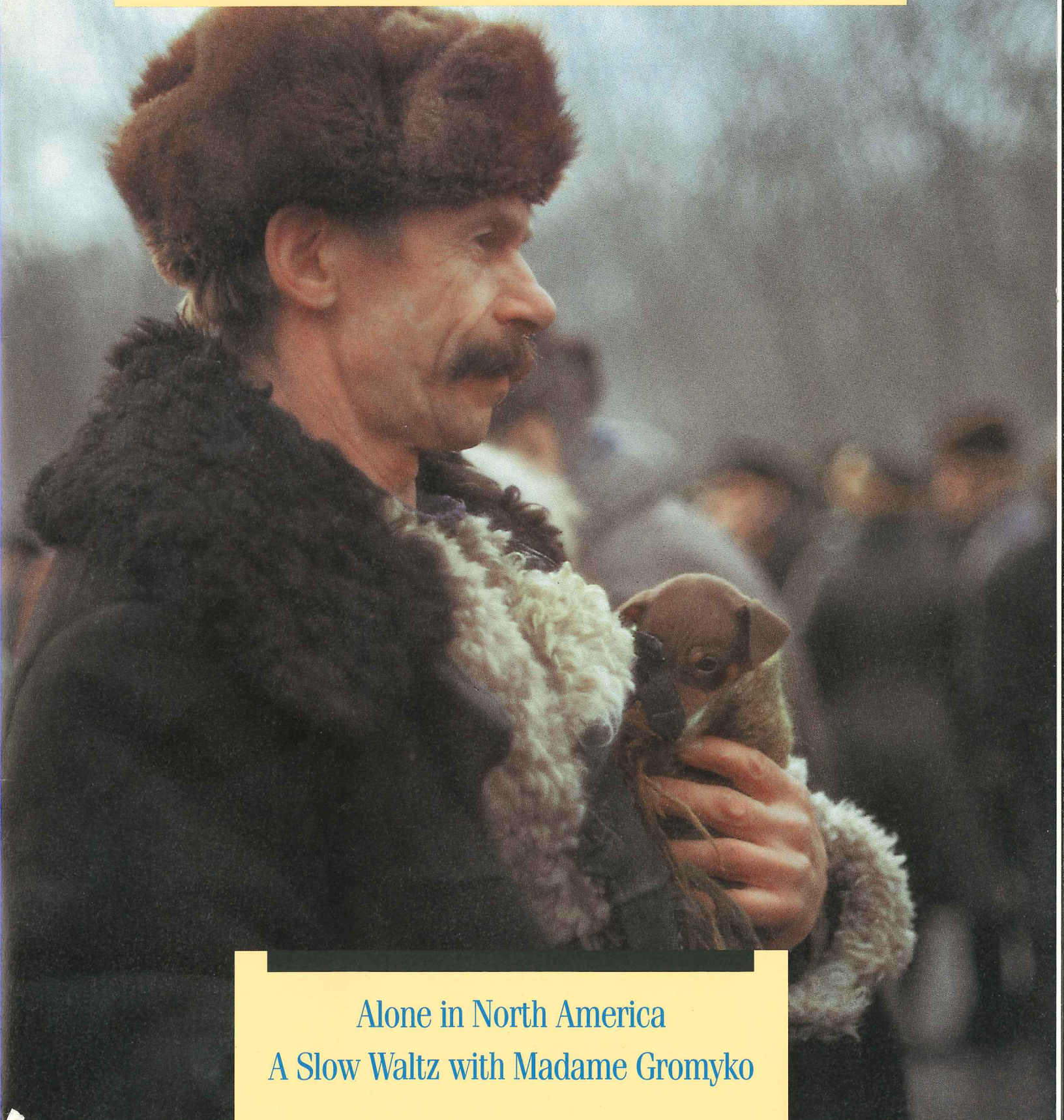


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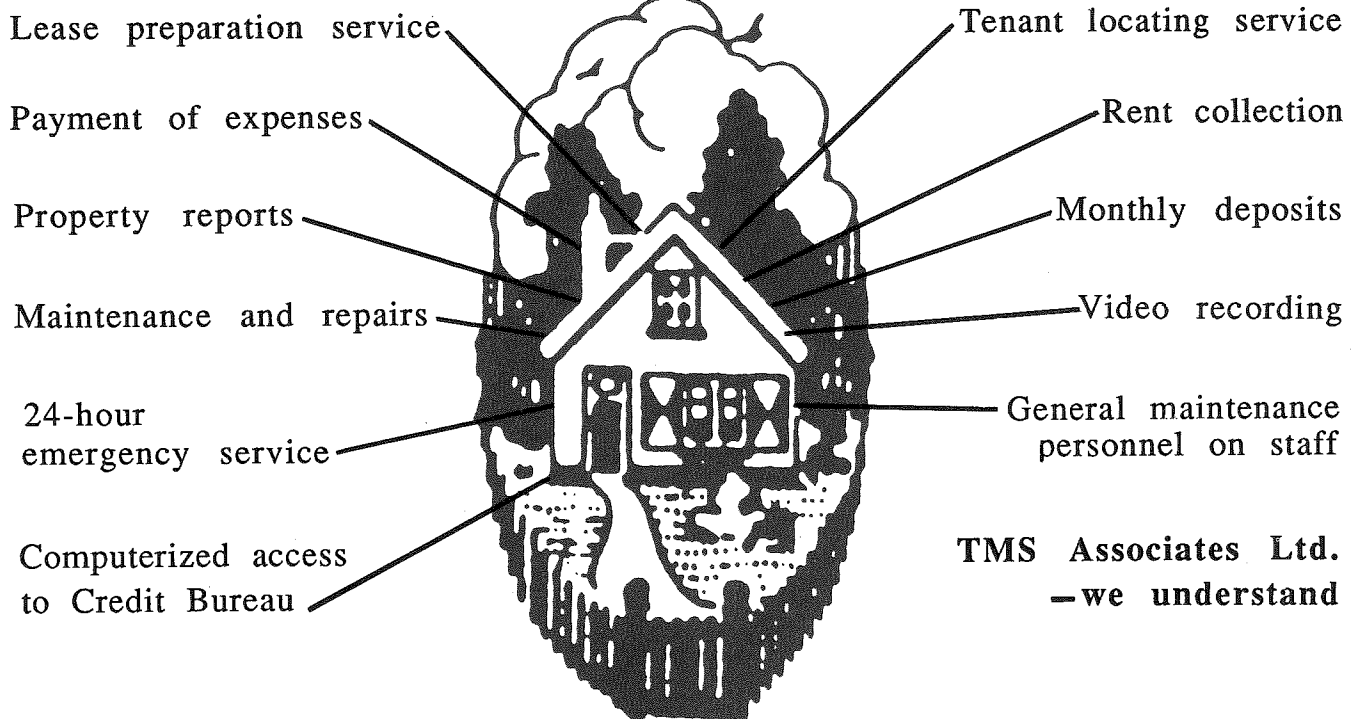
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Le magazine canadien de la diplomatie et du service extérieur

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Alone in North America
A Slow Waltz with Madame Gromyko

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Our intrepid explorer, Hugh Stephens, fearlessly reports on his exploits in North Korea.

Alone in North America

James Reed, an American, explains why he believes Canada will not fragment and why it has developed an international perspective on the world.

Stockholm Remembered

Former Ambassador, Geoffrey F. Bruce, writes about the evolution of the environmental debate in the twenty-year period between the Stockholm and Rio conferences.

A Slow Waltz with Madame Gromyko

A Photo Essay and Story of Everyday Living in Russia by Carol Hart.

La Pérestroïka : une affaire canadienne

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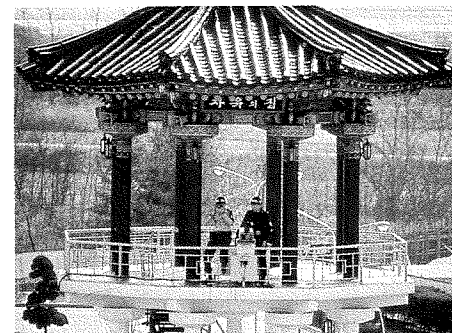
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books on Central America.

Entertainment / Divertissement

Called to Account by A Aalto



Our cover photo by Carol Hart: A man tenderly warms the puppy he has for sale. He is at the "bird market", where you can also buy dogs (and join a club for that particular breed), cats, rabbits, turtle doves or fish. Russians love pets!



Through the Korean Looking Glass, page 11.

In Our Upcoming Issue:

The Political-Economic Conundrum
Rio Remembered

All contents © PAFSO, 1992 *bout de papier* is published quarterly by the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers, Suite 600, 45 Rideau Street, Ottawa, Canada K1N 5W8 (613) 234-1391, FAX (613) 234-4018.

Editorial Note / Note de la rédaction : Unsolicited manuscripts are welcome in double-spaced format, preferably on WP 5.1, 3 1/2" 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.; Overseas add \$6 per year; USA add \$4 per year. 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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Transition and Renewal

The arrival of fall, resolution of the perennial posting cycle, and the annual general meeting of the PAFSO membership, inevitably result in change in the membership of **bout de papier's** Editorial Board. Members depart on foreign assignments; others have returned from abroad. Whatever the reason, this constant process of change and renewal keeps us au courant of the evolving Foreign Service perspective both at headquarters and abroad. This is beneficial to the magazine and to the Senior Managements of External Affairs and International Trade and of Employment and Immigration because it provides a rare insight into the current status of the Foreign Service and its role in the evolution and practices of Canadian foreign policy around the world.

We wish to say farewell to **Richard Belliveau** who is now our Consul General in Shanghai; **Phillip Lupul** who is presently on immigration assignment in Seattle; **John Hilliker** who is keeping the departmental record straight in BMLH (the Historical Section); and **Shig Uyeyama** who is on a political assignment in Abidjan. Without their hard work and boundless enthusiasm, the magazine could not have been so successful.

At the same time, we wish to welcome returning and new members on the Editorial Board: **David Anido** who has returned from assignment in Tokyo; **Hector Mackenzie** who has joined us from the Historical Section (BMLH) to keep our book reviews

up to the high standards of his predecessor; **Laurel Pardy** who has returned from San Jose and who brings the spousal and family perspective to our pages; and **Hugh Stephens** who has returned from assignment in Seoul and rejoined the Editorial Board. Welcome to one and all!

In furtherance of maintaining a strong bond between the current and former members of the Foreign Service, we are also very pleased to have on the Editorial Board **Arthur Menzies**, a former Ambassador to China and a strong link with RHOMA (the Retired Heads of Mission Association); and **Douglas Small**, a former High Commissioner to New Zealand and Ambassador to Pakistan. They are active focal points between those who generate ideas and articles for the magazine and the need for ensuring quality, accuracy, and fact checking. Both Messrs Menzies and Small carry out a critical role in maintaining an ongoing liaison with their Foreign Service colleagues, friends, and members of the Senior Editorial Board. Their presence ensures a continuity which otherwise would be difficult to maintain between past and present members of the Foreign Service.

In terms of upcoming themes which **bout de papier** will be pursuing over the coming months, we will focus on: the evolving role of diplomacy and the Foreign Service; the particular prospects and changing role for the political and economic stream; whether

there will continue to be a need for the traditional analytic and reporting function of the diplomat; professionalism — whether the FS occupational group is a “profession” like any other in the Government (eg. like economists or lawyers), including responsibility, accountability, training, and remuneration; on the management side, how External Affairs can be “flattened” to enable Foreign Service Officers to carry out their functions without constant revisionism and sanitization through the political and bureaucratic hierarchy; the evolving concept of peacekeeping and the changing military role and their impacts on political and security foreign policy objectives; Canadian foreign policy priorities (and non-priorities) for the 21st century; the Foreign Service Institute — its role as it views it and as others view it; management of diversity issues; the changing nature of the family and its impact on rotationality; spousal employment; and employment equity — proposals for monitoring, assessing, and ensuring that External Affairs and Employment and Immigration implement the Government's objectives in this field with respect to their employees. These are just a few of the topics on which articles are currently being prepared for publication.

Naturally, **bout de papier** continues to seek contributions of broader interest such as travel, consular tales, trade, immigration, aid, humour, photography, poetry, cartoons and illustrations which appeal to the readership and the members of the Foreign Service. That being said, we certainly welcome additional contributions and suggestions from our readers.

bout de papier will continue to present the story of life in the Foreign Service and the evolution of Canadian diplomacy as they really are without printing propaganda for one side or the other, or for the union. We will continue to present solid reporting and analysis on subjects of interest. While we do not deliberately set out to be sensational, we will not shy away from controversy should it arise.

Ottawa, November 1992

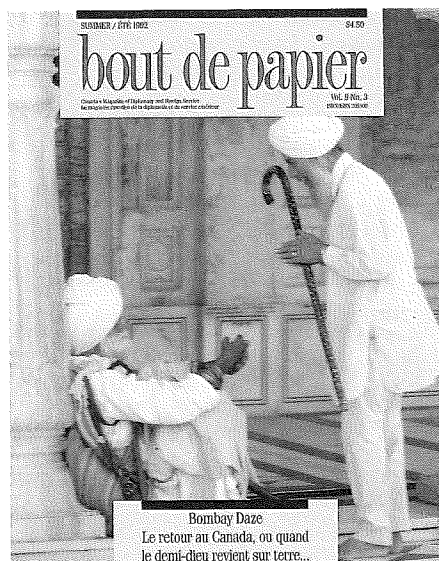
Carol N. Markham

Carol N. Markham
Editor

bout de papier wins 1992 Gold MERCURY Award

bout de papier won the 1992 Gold Award for “Outstanding Achievement in Professional Communications” in the magazine category at the Sixth Annual International MERCURY Awards in New York. It is a symbol of prestigious achievement in corporate communications the world over and is a measure of consistent excellence where the “quality of work is what counts”. The judges assess creativity, effectiveness, performance and success.

The cover of the winning edition (Summer, Vol. 9, No. 3) was photographed by **Fredericka Gregory**. The issue was designed by **Acart Graphic Services, Inc.** of Ottawa under the art direction of **John Staresinic**, the design talent of **Nancy Boland**, and typesetting skill of **Lynn Norris**.



Vol. 9, No. 3

Editor,

I am very interested in the Canadian Foreign Service as a potential career. I understand there is a quarterly magazine for Foreign Service Officers called **bout de papier**. If I could become a subscriber to this magazine it would help me understand the Foreign Service Officer's role and life far more thoroughly. My address is listed above. Thank you in advance for your help in this matter.

Andrew Lane
Toronto

Editor,

I just received the minutes of the 1991 Annual General Meeting. Your report to the AGM reminded me just how much **bout de papier** has changed over the years.

You must spend countless hours on the magazine. So, here is a short note to say how much I enjoy the publication itself and value its role as a vehicle in the promotion of the foreign service.

I wish you a continued successful stewardship.

Michael Cleary
Dublin, Ireland

Editor,

This letter is in reply to Ms. Nan Griffiths' book review of *Historical Sketches of Ottawa*, by Leslie Maitland and Louis Taylor.

Ms. Griffiths' review of this book, while offering some praise, contains several condemnations, which are based upon factual errors made by the reviewer, and upon her sloppy literary analysis.

In writing a book review, it is customary — indeed, it is the minimum that one might expect from a responsible reviewer — to get the facts straight. First of all, the book now costs \$19.95: careful reviewers always check with the publisher. The reviewer criticizes the book for not having street addresses for the buildings, and a map to locate them. The street addresses of the buildings are printed on the page just below the name of the building, and there is a map to the relevant parts of the city, keyed to the numbers of the buildings. The map is in the back of the book.

Ms. Griffiths' comments that 'page after page shows photo and drawing side by side, each looking pretty well identical.' There are exactly three buildings with photographs that are taken from a similar perspective. Page after page? An exaggeration like this is brutally untrue and unfair. Why mislead the reader of the review in this manner?

In most book reviews, it is customary to compare a book with other, recent books on the literature. Haig's and Woods' books are very good (by the way, her name is Woods, not Wood), but perhaps the reviewer might be interested to know that other, more recent books exist, such as: John H. Taylor's *Ottawa: An Illustrated History*, published by Lorimer in 1986, and Harold D. Kalman's *Exploring Ottawa*, published by University of Toronto Press in 1983. One wonders if the reviewer is really all that familiar with the subject.

A critical book review is one thing; a book review that is loaded with factual errors and shoddy analysis is another. Sales of the book are damaged, but worse, the reputation of the author is unfairly smeared. And the publishing journal is made to look foolish.

I hope your buildings are more carefully produced than your prose.

Leslie Maitland
Ottawa, Ontario
c.c. Louis Taylor, Broadview Press

Editor,

In the Spring number of **bout de papier** you published Michael Hart's *ad hominem* assault on the authors of two books which had disapproved of the 1989 Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States. I would like to make two points only, of the many that might be made.

The first is that Mr. Hart is mistaken in seeking to justify the Canada-US bilateral agreement in terms of globalization. The Third Option policy of 1972 (which was announced but never implemented), by comparison, was an attempt to globalize Canada's trade by broadening its base and reversing the tendency to put all our eggs in the one basket. The so-called Free Trade deal (which is the Second Option, and which was rejected in Mitchell Sharp's policy statement) is quite the reverse. It might be more accurately described as continentalization, except that even after Mexico is included it will remain a very limited regional arrangement dominated by one partner.

My second point concerns the politicization of the public service. In some circumstances

public servants can and should defend government policies. However Mr. Hart has gone beyond defence to attack those who have had the temerity to disagree with a highly controversial policy of the government of the day. It is conceivable that, in those bad old days, a member of the department based in Canada, might have publicly defended the Third Option policy, although the politicians of the time did not like having their role usurped by bureaucrats. However, it would not have been possible for any public servant to have attacked an opponent of that policy (say, a Thomas d'Aquino of the time) in the condescending and insulting way Mr. Hart has attacked Mel Hurtig.

The fact that a public servant has seen fit to write that article says more clearly than I could that the assimilation of Canada, which has been one of the objections of this Free Trade deal, is going on apace.

Arthur Andrew
Chester Basin, N.S.

Editor,

Mr. Hart's bilious little piece in the Spring 1992 **bout** on the Canada-USA Free Trade Agreement is disappointing, and disconcerting. As an agnostic, myself, I was hoping that he might throw some light on questions about the effectiveness of the Agreement which our political leaders have carefully dodged. But no such luck. The caption which you placed over his article of "Nationalist Gobbledegook" should have warned me that this was only one more wearisome polemic of which we have surely all had quite enough already on both sides of the debate. So what's wrong with being a nationalist? And has the loathsome word "gobbledegook" been granted space in our reputable lexicons? I devoutly hope not.

I say "disconcerting" because the piece seems to be essentially an attack on the integrity of Mr. Hurtig, a gentleman, and the author of *The Betrayal of Canada*, who, as you know, questioned the value to Canada of the FTA. Mr. Hart has referred to his contemptuously as "Mel" in a style which takes my mind back to the caustic and exuberant, and not especially thoughtful, contributions we used to make, in our teens, to our school magazines and which, for my part anyway, bring a blush of embarrassment to my withered blue-veined cheeks when I happen upon them in my mature years.

I say disappointing because, instead of hammering away at the character of Mr. Hurtig,

who, in one less than memorable flash of purple prose is described as "constipated about US foreign direct investment", I wish he had addressed at least some of the following questions.

1. When the Free Trade Agreement was being wrapped our Government promised to give us annual performance reviews to demonstrate the extent to which its economic objectives were being realized. Over three years have passed and we have seen no reviews. Why? Is the Government afraid of something?
2. Is it true or not that the FTA, in granting the USA unrestricted access to Canadian energy resources, in effect neutralized any comparative advantage in our bilateral and global trading relationships which we might have realized from their exploitation?
3. Does the FTA have anything to do with the fact that, in the first three years since it was put into effect, the growth of USA exports to Canada of goods and services exceeded the growth of our exports to the USA by over 50%? And do we agree with an analyst writing for *The Washington Times* who boasted recently that thanks to the FTA, USA exports to Canada had grown to nearly \$83 billion in 1990, "an

18% jump over the previous year, creating 264,000 jobs at home"?

4. And, while we are on jobs, I gather from an exchange between Minister Wilson and John Orr, former Assistant Deputy Minister in the one-time Dept. of Trade and Industry in *The Globe and Mail* last January, that we seem to have lost over 369,000 jobs in our goods-producing industries since the FTA was implemented. Irretrievably? And is the flow of manufacturing plant and capital, and expertise, to the USA (and perhaps to Mexico) of such proportions as to cause us to fear that we are witnessing the de-industrialization of Canada?
5. In the course of the FTA negotiations we were told by our leaders that their primary objective was to obtain guaranteed access to the USA market. This of course was an illusion but we did obtain a sort of "dispute settlement mechanism". Can we now say, with a straight face, that this "mechanism", which has to be based on USA trade laws, has ever worked to our advantage?
6. Does Mr. Hart think that the former pretty hard-nosed USA Under-Secretary of State, George Ball, was only indulging in childish fantasies about Canada's place in the USA's scheme of things when he

predicted in 1968 in his book *The Discipline of Power* that "Sooner or later, commercial imperatives will bring about free movement of all goods back and forth across our long border ... (and) ... the result will inevitably be substantial economic integration which will require for its full realization a progressively expanding area of common political decision." Could this point of view too, which seems consistent with the position taken by Mr. Hurtig, be fairly described as costive gobbledegook?

7. And finally, did Simon Reisman, our free trade negotiator, really say, after the agreement was signed, that "You would think that the United States was an under-developed country alongside us in terms of the way the negotiations went"?

Peter Johnston
(a former Ambassador to Indonesia,
Czechoslovakia, Venezuela and
the Dominican Republic)
Victoria, B.C.

WINNING ARTICLE FOR RHOMA AWARD

We indicated that the Retired Heads of Mission Association (RHOMA) would award \$500 for the best article written by a PAFSO member in the last volume of **bout de papier**.

We are pleased to announce that the winner is Sam Hanson for his article, "*Constitution-Building in Namibia: Could it Happen Here?*", which was published in Volume 8, Number 4 of **bout de papier**.

The selection committee also wished to make Honourable Mention of two other articles. These go to Guy Archambault for his piece "*La Francophonie, le Québec et le Canada par les yeux*" (Volume 8, Number 1) and to Terry Jones for his poem "*Reflections of an Ottawa Spring*" (Volume 8, Number 3).

The members of the Selection Committee were William Barton, D'Iberville Fortier, and John Starnes. The committee particularly stressed the diversity of subject matter and approach in its review of descriptive and policy articles, poetry, photo essays and book reviews.

The Editor and members of the Editorial Board of **bout de papier** congratulate the winner and honoured contributors, and remind all members of PAFSO that we continue to welcome contributions to the magazine reflecting our life and how we see the world.

Cultural Diplomacy: A Question of Government Policy

by Freeman Tovell

On March 17 last, I gave a lecture at the University of Victoria to the students of a course on cultural policy on the theory and practice of cultural diplomacy, or, as it is more generally called, international cultural relations. The main theme was that although many cultural exchanges occur on either a private or commercial basis, a significant number come about as a result of government policy and official initiative. Especially since the end of World War II, programs of this latter category are now intimately correlated with a government's foreign policy. As cultural relations underpin all aspects of foreign policy, particularly the political and economic, they have become an integral instrument of diplomacy for major and middle powers and for many smaller ones as well. Indeed, former German Chancellor Willy Brandt deemed cultural relations the "third pillar of foreign policy".

I went on to point out that to ensure cultural diplomacy is carried out in support of foreign policy objectives, the foreign office of every government having a major program of cultural relations is assigned responsibility for policy formulation, coordination with other levels of government and private organizations and allotted virtually the total budget. Illustrating the point by analyzing in some detail how this is done, and taking as examples France, Germany, Great Britain and Canada, I showed that although the manner in which policy is implemented may vary from country to country, the role of the foreign office in each case is pivotal.

I concluded with the following comment which provoked a good deal of discussion:

"You may have noticed that in the recent federal budget, effective April 1, the international cultural and academic programs for which the Department of External Affairs has been responsible will be transferred to the Canada Council. The Council's charter already permits it to conduct cultural foreign policy. But the Council will now find itself, in the foreign field at least, in a very different role, that of an instrument of government policy and not the organization independent of government the legislation creating it states it to be ... The Canada Council will need foreign policy guidance and

External Affairs will have to be involved in the decision-making process. There will be a number of questions that will require careful examination if the new relationship is to be effective. Both organizations have always worked well together and I am sure they will continue to do so."

It was not by accident that in the 1960's the government of the day determined External Affairs' key position. Initially it came about because Quebec had negotiated its own agreement with France for cultural cooperation. As the federal government wished to assert its exclusive responsibility in the field of treaty-making, its response was to negotiate an *accord cadre* with France and at the same time begin a modest program with the francophone nations of Europe. At the time, no other federal department or agency was willing or able to undertake such a program. But, in assuming this leadership role, the Department was also exercising its central agency role of coordinating and directing foreign policy as first conceived and initiated by O.D. Skelton and subsequently followed by successor Under Secretaries.

In time, the program grew both in diversity and geographically and, though the funds allocated to it were never sufficient to meet expectations or goals, the role of that of central agency, traditional to a foreign office, was formally confirmed by the government in 1974. The purposes of the program were stated to be: first, to support the achievement of Canada's short-term and long-term foreign policy objectives; second, to reflect internationally the growing creativity and scope of Canada's cultural scene and thereby improve professional opportunities for Canadian artists, academics, writers and others, and open new markets for Canadian cultural exports; and thirdly, to provide continuing and new sources of enrichment of the national life.

The second objective is one which sets Canada apart from other foreign offices as it gave External Affairs a dual role: the already established foreign office responsibility for policy formulation and coordination of implementation and, in addition, responsibility for the promotion abroad of Canadian artists and academics. I must confess that I was never completely comfortable with this "marketing" obligation. It was the source of much criticism and constant tension

between External Affairs and the cultural and academic communities. Our capacity to carry it out was limited and the budget was never large enough to meet even a modicum of requests for support. I believed the Canada Council should exercise this responsibility as an extension of its domestic role. Now it will.

The Canada Council and the Department will have to work out a *modus operandi*. Leaving aside the difficult questions of personnel that will have to be resolved, I visualize three matters which will require special consideration.

In the first place, the Council will now take on a much more active role in cultural diplomacy and will do so as an agency involved in executing the government's foreign policy. It is therefore essential that External Affairs be intimately involved in the decision-making process. It will have to advise the Council, not just on the minutiae of projects such as the appropriateness of a particular venture for a given country, but also to ensure that the requirements of the larger questions of our foreign policy objectives and priorities are met whether they be bilateral or multilateral. The Council will have to bear in mind as well that as a nation of regions, each seeks to form special links with other regions of the world with which it has a particular affinity. British Columbia looks to East Asia and the Pacific Rim (and now we have the growing notion of Cascadia embodying B.C. and the States of Washington and Oregon); Ontario to the American States to its south; Quebec to the francophone world; and the Maritimes to the New England States. Moreover, as foreign policy objectives have a habit of changing suddenly, the Council too will have to be equipped to respond. Inevitably, the Department will have to create a coordinating unit, smaller than the present International Cultural Relations Bureau, if it is to exercise its new role constructively.

Secondly, as culture is both a provincial as well as a federal responsibility, the Council will not only have to bear in mind the constitutional aspects but to assure the cultural community and the provinces, some of which have important programs of their own, that it will continue the constant and time-consuming efforts made by the Department to consult with them, to enlist their cooperation when required or respond when it is sought, and to involve them in the

implementation process when this would be productive.

Thirdly, the Department should be assured that the Council will have the necessary funds to meet the new obligations that it is assuming, not merely to maintain the present level of cultural and academic programs

and the operations of our cultural centres and libraries abroad, but also to honour commitments previously made to other governments as well as to meet any sudden new priority. This seems particularly important in view of the Council's lack of success in increasing its own budget.

Freeman Tovell was Deputy Director General of the Bureau of Public Affairs in the Department of External Affairs prior to his retirement in 1978. In this capacity, he was responsible for academic relations and cultural affairs. He served as Ambassador to Peru and Bolivia in 1962-65.

Lester Pearson and the UN Secretary Generalship, 1953

by Donald Barry

The inclusion of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's name on the official list of candidates to succeed former United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar during last fall's Security Council deliberations was not the first time that a Canadian had been formally considered for the position. In 1953 Lester Pearson, then External Affairs minister, was a leading contender to replace the organization's first Secretary General, Trygve Lie, in a contest eventually won by Dag Hammarskjöld.

When Lie declared his intention to resign on 10 November 1952, Pearson was already a respected figure on the international stage. One of the chief architects of NATO, he was also highly regarded at the UN, serving as president of the 1952-53 session of the General Assembly. Pearson had been considered for the secretary generalship when Lie was first appointed in 1946 but was sidelined by the threat of a Soviet veto. The USSR argued that locating UN headquarters in New York disqualified a North American from occupying the organization's top post.

Speculation about Pearson as a successor to Lie began shortly after the embattled Secretary General, who had run afoul of both the United States and the Soviet Union, announced his resignation. Lie was under attack in the United States because of alleged communist infiltration of the UN secretariat. The Soviets opposed him because of his support for the American-led UN operation to defend South Korea after North Korean forces invaded in 1950. Lie favoured Pearson although sceptics suggested that the Secretary General was hoping that a lack of agreement on a successor would allow him to continue in office.

By the time the minister returned to Ottawa after the General Assembly began its

1952 Christmas recess, according to *Mike: the Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. L.B. Pearson*, "a 'draft Pearson' campaign was in full swing." Pearson was much interested in the post. But, there was also a strong likelihood that he would succeed Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent as Liberal party leader when the latter decided to retire from politics. In late December, *Documents on Canadian External Relations* show that Pearson drafted a letter to St. Laurent, which he did not send but subsequently discussed with the prime minister, in which he said that, although the prospect of becoming Secretary General seemed remote, if the job were offered "I would not, I think, be able to refuse."

The Secretary General is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. At the time the Council consisted of eleven countries, the five permanent powers: the US, the USSR, the UK, France and China, and six non-permanent members: Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Greece, Lebanon and Pakistan. Approval of the appointment required the affirmative votes of seven members and the concurrence of the permanent powers.

Pearson, according to *Mike* was "careful not to become involved in any campaign for the position." However, he did ask David Johnson, the permanent representative at the UN; Hume Wrong, the ambassador in Washington; and Norman Robertson, the high commissioner in London; to keep him apprised of developments. Britain and France strongly endorsed Pearson's candidacy. But, it was clear that the positions of the United States and the Soviet Union would be critical in determining the outcome. China likely would follow the American lead.

Washington, which was unhappy about Ottawa's criticism of its handling of the Korean armistice negotiations, backed General Carlos Romulo, the permanent

representative of the Philippines to the UN, although it would accept Pearson should Romulo be defeated — a likely outcome. The prospect of a favourable Soviet reaction to a western representative during the height of the cold war, on the other hand, seemed remote. But, by early 1953 there were persistent rumours that the USSR might be willing to accept Pearson, although there was no direct confirmation of this from Soviet officials. The rumours gained credibility in early February when David Johnson reported that Georgi N. Zarubin, the Soviet ambassador in Washington, had told his British counterpart, Sir Roger Makins, that the USSR would not veto Pearson if he were nominated.

American officials were sceptical of the information but, British and French officials appeared confident that the Soviets would not oppose Pearson. Pearson himself took the reports seriously enough to raise the issue with St. Laurent again on 6 February, the day after he received Johnson's message. With other senior ministers planning to leave the government, the prime minister was unhappy at the prospect of Pearson's departure. St. Laurent reminded Pearson that he would have little opposition should he seek the party leadership when it became available but, he agreed that if the minister were offered the secretary generalship he would have to accept it.

Gladwyn Jebb, the UK's permanent representative, led the campaign at the UN in support of Pearson's candidacy. As Jebb saw it, even if the Soviets vetoed Pearson in the first round of Security Council voting, he would emerge as the clear front runner making it highly unlikely that other candidates would be able to obtain the required support. Faced with a choice between Lie and Pearson, the Soviets would approve the latter.

Jebb thought that the likelihood of a Soviet veto would be minimized if Pearson were nominated by Pakistan. The Pakistani government was willing to do so provided that it received assurances that he would not be vetoed by the USSR. When the Soviet delegation would not reveal Moscow's intentions, Denmark undertook to put Pearson's name forward.

The Soviets appeared to tip their hand a short time later. The *New York Times* of 18 February reported that Zarubin had said that the USSR would agree to Pearson's appointment as a last resort in order to get rid of Lie. But, new confusion was created when the Soviet permanent representative, Andrei Vishinsky, launched a sharp attack on Pearson in the First Committee in early March. Despite Vishinsky's remarks, the belief that the Soviets would not oppose Pearson had become so strong in Ottawa that the under-secretary of state for External Affairs, Dana Wilgress, himself a former ambassador to the USSR, observed in his papers that "before the end of the month is out Mike (Pearson) will no longer be a member of the Canadian government."

When the Security Council met to consider the appointment on March 11, three names were put forward: Romulo, who was nominated by the US; Stanislaw Skrzyszewski, the foreign minister of Poland, proposed by the Soviets; and Pearson, offered by Denmark. Having been assured by the American permanent representative, Henry Cabot Lodge, that the United States would not pressure its allies to support Romulo, Jebb sought an immediate vote when the Security Council held its next meeting two days later. The Soviet representative asked for a postponement and threatened to oppose Pearson if pressed for a quick decision but the Council went along with Jebb's request. Although Pearson received 9 votes, making him by far the leading candidate, he was vetoed by the Soviet Union. Lebanon abstained, reportedly because of Pearson's role in the partition of Palestine six years earlier. Romulo was supported by five members: the United States, China, Colombia, Greece, Lebanon. The Soviet Union and France voted against. Only the Soviet Union favoured Skrzyszewski; the United States, the United Kingdom and France being opposed.

Jebb's scenario seemed to unfold as anticipated. Renewed consultations brought other names forward without agreement being reached. With no successor in sight, Lie let it be known that he would be willing to stay on. The Americans indicated their support. The Soviet Union, along with the United Kingdom and France, showed no enthusiasm. The Soviets also made it clear, however, that

they would not reconsider their veto of Pearson. *The Memoirs of Lord Gladwyn* state that Jebb, acting on the assumption that "a Scandinavian had, in principle, a better chance than most of being acceptable to all," then suggested to his French colleague, Henri Hoppenot, the name of Dag Hammarskjold, a little known but highly regarded Swedish diplomat. Hoppenot readily agreed to put his name before an informal meeting of the permanent powers on March 30. With unexpected speed the Security Council approved Hammarskjold the following day. He was confirmed by the General Assembly a week later.

Jebb was criticized in some quarters for having forced the early Security Council vote over the USSR's objection. It is evident, however, that the optimism about Pearson's candidacy had been, as the Canadian delegation's report on the appointment put it, "largely based on the assumption that the Soviet Union, manoeuvred into a position where it would have to choose between Mr. Pearson and Mr. Lie, would have chosen Mr. Pearson." But, the report observed, the Soviets "were never faced with this choice because by the time the votes were taken it was clear that a number of delegations ... were about as anxious as the USSR to see Mr. Lie go." A more direct indication of Moscow's thinking was provided shortly

after Hammarskjold's appointment. A Canadian official reported to Pearson that a Soviet member of the UN secretariat, in conversation had "volunteered without being asked that the reason his government had vetoed your nomination ... was that despite their regard for your abilities they thought that your intimate association with other international organizations such as NATO made it unlikely that you would be able to see issues in as neutral a light as someone who had not been so involved. Then he laughed and added 'At least Mr. Pearson would have been a big improvement on Mr. Lie!'"

Hammarskjold's appointment indicated that as long as the cold war continued, it was unlikely that a representative of Canada would be a candidate for the secretary generalship. This proved to be the case for a Canadian did not emerge as a prominent contender again until 1991, after the cold war had ended.

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Life after the Foreign Service

by Bill Warden

Life after the Foreign Service is good — in fact marvellous.

When I joined the Foreign Service in 1961, it was rather like getting married. Till death do us part: that was the expectation. Neither I nor any of the other eleven FSOs in that year had the slightest idea of ever serving a master other than External during our working lives. If anyone had told me then that one day in the relative prime of my career at the age of 52 I would voluntarily pack my tent, I would have thought them mad.

But then, the 60s were another era — the halcyon days, the golden era. Morale was at its peak; we were undeniably the senior service. New posts were opening and with just a bit of luck and hard work we could all pretty much count on reaching ambassadorial rank.

From there the track led basically downhill. By the 80s, stories of External's abdication of its previously leading role scarcely raised an eyebrow. Patronage appointments were a way of life. It had become commonly accepted that the route to the most senior ranks in the Public Service lay not in getting into External, but rather in getting out of External.

But that is another tale.

The story here is a positive one. Whatever its warts, the Service provided marvellous experience of other cultures and wonderful opportunities to broaden one's horizons. Throw in the exposure to international politics, trade and management — and one could become a valuable commodity.

More by happenstance than anything else, I ended up as Foreign Service visitor at the University of Calgary following completion of my assignment in India. I had never set foot in Calgary before 1986 and had no intention of staying more than a year. Fate, however, ruled otherwise and I became involved in the new International Centre the University was creating. One thing led to another; I was offered a job as its first Executive Director — and here I am some six years later.

To my surprise I have suffered not a moment's nostalgia. I enjoyed every minute in the Service, and was fortunate enough to have spent most of my career abroad. If I were re-scripting that part of my life, I would not change anything. But leaving External — as I discovered only when the breach was complete — was to experience an exquisite form of liberation. After years of cocktail parties, scrambling to climb the

career ladder, pursuing nonsensical and often contradictory bureaucratic directives and licking ministerial boots, the relief of shedding all that baggage is something that has to be experienced to be appreciated.

Perhaps more than anything else, I enjoy the freedom at this stage in life to do my own thing: to come up with fresh ideas; to say what I think and write what I want; to ride a motorcycle; to break out of the conventional mould which diplomatic life presses you into. I regard lost ambassadorial trappings philosophically, contemplate the transitory nature of life and am sometimes amused by colleagues still in the service who take themselves much too seriously. Occasional forays to stuffy Ottawa and incursions into murky Embassies abroad only confirm a certain exhilaration at having left the world of DMs and ADMs and Excellencies behind.

In the International Centre, we occupy ourselves with many things: conferences, seminars, executive development programs, development projects. New initiatives this past year ranged from creating groups for research and education in human rights and democratic processes, to laying the groundwork for a new international residential program and developing a thrust for greater student mobility in Canada. I travel more now in a year than I ever did with External.

As a hobby I write a monthly column for the *Calgary Herald*, and occasionally do commentaries for radio and TV. I served as an election observer for the OAS in Nicaragua and El Salvador — and was offered jobs of varying lengths on several occasions by other international organizations. There have been other job openings — for example, to take on the leadership of an NGO.

The point is that the rich experience acquired by most Foreign Service officers in the course of their careers is in demand; the opportunities for using one's time profitably are endless. I cannot claim any special equipment over and above that which any FS with twenty-seven years of service might have. Nor do I think that it was particularly a matter of being in the right place at the right time. Rather, the openings are there — in academia and business, journalism and consulting and the not-for-profit sector — for those who are willing to look for them and to make the necessary adjustments.

This latter requirement should not be under-rated. Few employers are looking for pampered diplomats or those accustomed to ambassadorial perks. Be prepared to bring yourself up to speed on a computer,

do without a secretary, answer your own phone, type your own letters, travel excursion class, and empty your own trash bucket. Your salary may be significantly better than you got in External — or significantly lower. But with a reasonable pension, financial considerations are secondary.

From the perspective of some six years away from External — and taking the conditions of the Foreign Service today into account — I can only say that I think everyone, including those with the good fortune to advance to senior positions, should seriously consider the possibility of early retirement and a second career. The benefits which flow from reduced stress, positive change and the opportunity to engage in creative activity are indeed substantial.

The other side of the coin is that to cling too tenaciously and too dearly to the diplomatic lifestyle — or to work oneself into ill health in the hope of reward — is to court eventual disenchantment and perhaps even bitterness. Political appointees can usually expect to be honoured at a ministerial dinner when they step down; others are indeed fortunate if the system remembers to ask them for the return of their diplomatic passport.

By far better to chart one's course in such a way as to move out in purposeful fashion — than to fade facelessly away or suffer any one of the various indignities devised by the Department and perpetrated on its aging and faithful servants.

It is difficult to pinpoint a magic age for making a career move. But it probably lies somewhere between forty and fifty-five. Much beyond that and one tempts, I think, the goddess of health and energy — and also finds would-be employers less enthusiastic. One cannot, of course, be categorical on this score; certainly there are examples of colleagues who went the full course and yet managed to find a demand for their services after retirement. But they tend to be in a minority.

The Foreign Service, for all its faults, still offers one of the most rewarding and exciting careers one can achieve. But today, the Service should probably be viewed as a way-station — not an end-station.

Bill Warden joined the Department in 1961 and served in Moscow, Havana and Quebec, before becoming Commissioner in Hong Kong, Ambassador to Pakistan and High Commissioner to India. Since 1987, he has been Executive Director of the International Centre, University of Calgary.

The Old Street Singer

by Laurel Pardy

In the heart of the stinking slum there is a small oasis of hope. Behind the mottled stucco and ragged geraniums, on a small crowded veranda, a group of society's rejects sit happily in the tropical winter. The sunshine filters through the dust patterns on the glass window making its own abstract design on the stained tiles. But it is warm just the same and bent shoulders wiggle in appreciation. An old woman shifts slightly so that her twisted fingers can share the comforting heat. Backlit, her fine hair creates a halo effect and the shadows on her face conceal the pain lines and the gaps in her teeth.

A tiny woman in a blue-flowered dress and red slippers hunches in a wheelchair and wonders why her son abandoned her in the hospital. He took her there when she was sick, but left a false name and address to avoid having to take her back. A quiet gray man in a chair by the window has outlived his family and is trapped in a failing body that has robbed him of dignity and independence. Now strangers handle him like a baby; but they are kind and the sun feels good.

In the next chair, a man bares his remaining teeth in a smile of welcome. His face is contorted and his eyes wander in search of faces he cannot see, and he responds happily to the sound of the visitor's voice. In his lap lies a battered guitar. Hearing a stranger's voice, he strums a few chords to attract attention. The stranger speaks to him, but alcohol and beatings have stolen the musician's mind and destroyed his body. His answers are mumbled and the words are garbled. He is a street singer; past his prime, but still reacting to the presence of a potential audience. He wants to sing a song — so the stranger agrees, wondering what to expect and expecting the worst.

The fingers are gnarled and clumsy, but their movement is sure and the chords are clear. He starts to sing. From the body of a gargoye, the voice of an angel — articulate, musical and coherent. His song tells of the creation of his new home and the people in it. Another song tells the story of his life on the street; another is a romantic ballad. While he cannot hold a conversation and be understood, he can communicate in music

and song. If he were not here, he would return to the street and would end up being beaten for his few remaining coins. One day it would be fatal.

Several of the old people shuffle their slippered feet and stop murmuring to themselves in anticipation of more songs. They like to hear familiar tunes. For a moment, their memories clear and they remember that they had once been young. Having been young is not the same as having been happy, but the hopefulness of youth is a joyous thing because one does not yet know the road ahead. It is good to remember those days when life was an eagerly awaited adventure.

Now it is adventure enough to await a hot dinner and a clean bed. These things were not always a certainty and they are relieved to find such surety at the end of a precarious life. That they should find it here, in the heart of a neighbourhood where no one has security, is a little miracle. This small haven

was created by members of the neighbourhood association who would not abandon these old people to the alleys and gutters. Although they had little themselves, they took what they had and shared it.

The stranger looks out through the iron security railings. Across the street, stolen televisions are being fenced from the trunk of a dented blue car; on the corner, little boys ignore the garbage and play soccer with a plastic Coca Cola bottle; two dirty young women in micro-skirts and red nail polish rest on a doorstep; and next door, a child picks up her baby sister and comes to the grate to listen to the singing. For these few minutes, the song unites everyone and the harsh reality of life on the streets is forgotten.

Laurel Pardy has been an observer of Foreign Service life for twenty-five years. Assignments in India, Africa, the USA and Central America are the background for her columns.

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Through the Korean Looking-Glass

Story and photos by Hugh Stephens

“We may be the first Canadian officials to visit Pyongyang since the Korean War”, said my enthusiastic companion, Gordon Houlden, who had just managed to manoeuvre himself to be the first off the plane so as not to be deprived of his due historic recognition. “In fact, we may be the first Canadian officials here since 1945.” We speculated further as to whether any officials from the Canadian Embassy in Tokyo might have visited Korea during the 1930s. Choosing to assume that they had not, I proclaimed, “Gordon, we might be the first Canadian officials here since **Confederation!**”.

The cause of all this hyperbole was the visit by a Canadian delegation of Members of Parliament and Senators to the Inter-parliamentary Union (IPU) meeting in Pyongyang, Democratic Peoples’ Republic of Korea (26 April to 4 May 1991). The Department provided a foreign policy advisor to the delegation as several issues of international importance were to be debated.

I think the forbidden fruit of Pyongyang tasted the sweetest for me because I had already spent two years in Seoul observing North Korea “through a glass darkly”. Seoul is **not** necessarily the best vantage point from which to assess life in North Korea. The legacy of the Korean War and decades of South-North confrontation still colour most images of the North.

I had only seen North Korea through binoculars, staring across the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) as its *Propaganda Village* from *Freedom Village* on the southern side. *Propaganda Village*, we were told by the US guards at Panmunjom, was a bit like a movie set. No-one actually lived there, and the lights were turned on and off by automatic timers. The strange four-to-six storey buildings looked like a cardboard pop-up village, strangely out of place with the surrounding countryside. The village sported a giant steel frame flagpole (naturally slightly higher

than the almost equally giant pole on the southern side) and a massive flag, reported by our US guides to weigh several tons when wet (how did they know?).

Just getting to Pyongyang had been an adventure. It is only 200 kilometres from Seoul to Pyongyang, a trip which could be covered by air in less than an hour and even by train in three to four hours, including formalities at the military demarcation line (the word “border” is not used). However, while the South Korean delegates to the IPU meeting were allowed to travel north through the truce village of Panmunjom (by walking across the demarcation line, going by car to Kaesong, the first major North Korean city north of Panmunjom, and then by train to Pyongyang), that privilege was not extended to diplomats resident in Seoul. I had the option of flying first either to Tokyo or Hong Kong, and then to Beijing where I could change to another flight for Pyongyang. But I had decided to take an even more exotic route.

*The Japanese-built
ship, under
Panamanian registry,
was operated by
a Korean-Chinese
joint venture.*

Just a few months before, with warming relations between the Republic of Korea and the People’s Republic of China, a passenger boat service had opened between Inchon in Korea, just west of Seoul, and Weihai on China’s Shandong peninsula. This was the way I chose to get to Pyongyang — by slow boat to China.

The Japanese-built ship, under Panamanian registry, was operated by a Korean-Chinese joint venture. It was full of South Korean traders and a large number of ethnic

Koreans from the minority area of Yanbian in China near the North Korean border. With the establishment of direct links, these people could now visit relations in the south and at the same time engage in some buying and selling. The selling consisted of Chinese medicines sold on the streets of Seoul. The buying consisted of South Korean electronics for use or resale back home.

Once in Weihai, I hired a vehicle and was driven to Qingdao (justly famous for its beer) and then went on to Beijing by train. The overnight boat journey, the four-hour drive and the sixteen-hour train ride made me appreciate the distances involved. From Beijing, where I met the IPU delegates, we took a very uncomfortable Soviet-built Chinese aircraft south across the Yalu River to Pyongyang.

And now we were at Pyongyang Airport, staring at a Soviet-looking building adorned with the first of many portraits I was to see of the “Great Leader”, President Kim Il-sung. The contrast with Seoul’s Kimp'o airport could not have been more striking. Kimp'o is a sea of 747's dressed in the livery of airlines from many points on the globe. The only aircraft in sight in Pyongyang were a couple of small twin-jet Ilyushin aircraft of Chosun Minhang, the North Korean airline.

That was not the only contrast. We sped along the road into town, passing only the odd olive-drab army truck lumbering along. In Seoul, we would have been mired in a bumper-to-bumper traffic jam of Hyundai, Kia and Daewoo cars. Even more amazing, in Pyongyang not only were there not any cars, there were not any bicycles. In fact there did not seem to be many people.

We learned later that bicycles, the universal form of transport in China, had been banned in Pyongyang by the Great Leader. One morning early, before breakfast while I was out jogging, I noticed a solitary rider on a bicycle furtively slip into an alley. Elated at this chance to prove that there was indeed dissent in North Korea, I set out in pursuit. The rider turned out to be a municipal worker and I was told that there was



US GI's surveying visitors at Panmunjom.

special dispensation for those performing selected duties.

If bicycles were noticeable by their absence, the ubiquitous Kim Il-sung button was a universal adornment and could not be missed. Try as we might, we could not unravel the mystery of these buttons which were worn by almost all North Koreans. There were several variations, and our deduction was that they marked some form of rank or status within the hierarchy. But our liaison officers, normally quite helpful, clammed up when we broached the subject of the pins. "What happens if you lose your pin?" we asked. "No-one ever loses his pin", was the answer. This seemed to be true since I scoured the parks on my morning jogs but found nothing. In fact I could not even find a piece of scrap paper or a cigarette butt. It was as if litter had been banished from the kingdom.

"Could we get a pin for a souvenir?" "No, that would not be possible. These are not souvenirs. They are our way of expressing our respect for our Great Leader." We noticed that in the few shops that existed, with generally very little that one would want to buy, there nonetheless was quite a good supply of lapel pins on sale. There were pins showing the flame of Juche, there were pins with the North Korean flag, there were pins with workers, stocky damsels and soldiers ... but there were no pins of Kim Il-sung. One of our party swore that he would get a pin before he left and on our final morning there he was with a Kim Il-sung button. It was different from the others I'd seen so I surmise

that it was a special version reserved for unusually persistent foreigners.

And where were all the people? Pyongyang has a population of two million, but the streets were almost empty. Part of the reason for the eerie, vacant feeling is the almost total absence of traffic, except for the occasional motorcades of Mercedes. (There are reportedly more Mercedes in North Korea than in South Korea, and every second car in Pyongyang seems to be a Mercedes-Benz).

Bicycles, the universal form of transport in China, had been banned in Pyongyang by the Great Leader.

Another reason for the emptiness is the absence of commercial life. In most Asian cities, the streets are a hive of commercial activity with sidewalk merchants, small boutiques, vegetable and fruit sellers. In Pyongyang there were a few sterile, empty looking shops with a handful of customers. There were two vegetable shops near our hotel which had prominently displayed decorative arrangements of their wares. The

vegetables never seemed to move and no-one seemed to buy them. We never saw a single person with a bag of onions or a string of garlic or a cabbage. Eastern European diplomats stationed in Pyongyang told us that the vegetables had appeared suddenly about two days before the IPU meeting had opened (probably brought in from China) and would disappear just as quickly — in fact they made monthly shopping trips to Beijing to buy staples.

Yet the people we saw did not seem to lack food. They looked healthy, with strong white teeth. The children looked plump and bright. Pyongyang was a far cry from the poverty in many parts of Asia. On May Day in Pyongyang, families strolled in the carefully tended parks, singing the praises of the Great Leader. Insofar as one could tell, they looked happy.

North Korea is a conundrum. It is a nation heavily in debt. Mismanagement of the economy has resulted in gross misallocation of resources. Reportedly, it cannot feed its population and must even import that most basic staple, rice. By contrast, South Korea has so much surplus rice that it can no longer afford to store it. Some of the misallocation of resources can be plainly seen; a mammoth gilt statue of Kim Il-sung overlooking the Taedong River; two stadia that would rival any in North America for size; a velodrome; an indoor ice-skating rink; the glowing Tower of Juche, an Arc de Triomphe that parallels in beauty and symmetry that in Paris; and the tallest hotel in Asia, the 105-storey Ryugyong Hotel. This vast structure, with five revolving restaurants at its apex, sits in mute testimony to the folly of egoism and central planning. Its uncompleted, empty concrete shell, pockmarked with window apertures open to the elements, looks like a brooding pyramid with vacant eye sockets fixed on the town below.

On the night of our arrival, all the neon in the city was turned on. Giant jets of water shot out of the Taedong River and the Tower of Juche glistened silvery in the background, its glowing flame looking like one of those phoney fires around which Cubs and Brownies sit in church halls on winter nights in Canada. One of our party, a parliamentarian, was heard to remark from the balcony of our hotel, "It looks just like Tokyo at night". Unlike Tokyo, however, all the neon goes off at once, at midnight, by the flick of a central switch.

Our hotel had the same air of unreality. Coming out of the elevator on each floor, you were confronted with a full-length mirror at the end of each corridor. The mirror (our sneaky minds suspected what was behind) commanded a view of the entrance to each room. And there was that unaccounted-for

floor space in the areas behind the mirrors. Each room had a full-length mirror covering one entire wall. No doubt we were overly suspicious or that the floors which the elevator bypassed, the 35th to the 39th, were the centre of operations for the "watchers" were just that — rumours. But, just in case, I made a point of undressing frontally in front of the mirrored wall each night, so as not to deprive any would-be watcher of his (or her) just reward!

No description of a visit to North Korea would be complete without reference to a "mass gymnastics" display. This appears to be one of the principal means of mobilizing people, especially the young and all those idle hours when people are not reading the collected works of Kim Il-sung. The mass gymnastics routine is laid on for most important visitors and the IPU delegates were no exception.

We were taken to Kim Il-sung stadium at dusk and on entering the stadium we could see that it was already full. The section directly across the field was a mass of flash cards wielded by several thousand participants. Suddenly the field came alive with a sea of young people dressed in athletic costumes of various colours, and the recorded music began.

What followed was a non-stop, two-hour routine of music and calisthenic drills cum dance numbers all set against a changing backdrop of flashcard scenery. Most have seen card manipulation techniques on televised American college football games but this was unlike anything I had ever seen. I counted more than 120 individual sequences, some static but more often than not sequential. Thus a flower blossomed before your eyes or an egg hatched.

The choreography and discipline to produce such a show are truly remarkable, and, as some of the delegates remarked, quite frightening. The largest round of applause from the audience came when the portrait of Kim Il-sung was flashed. The response was either spontaneous or Pavlovian, depending on your point of view. The discipline of the performers, some of whom were as young as six and who numbered more than 10,000, was no less remarkable.

The show left many wondering at the untold hours of effort that had gone into producing such a spectacle. But perhaps from the regime's point of view, the effort was not unproductive because it instilled a sense of discipline and shared goals and certainly filled up time that in the West would have been turned to more leisure activities.

The experts will say that the people of Pyongyang are a specially selected and privileged lot, who have kept their noses

clean and have been rewarded accordingly, and so you cannot judge North Korea by the capital. I am sure that is a valid point.

To try to get some perspective, I desperately wanted to get out of Pyongyang and see the countryside. I found out there was a tour to Mt. Kumgang (Diamond Mountain), reputedly Korea's most famous scenic spot, located on the east coast very close to the DMZ.

The choreography and discipline to produce such a show are truly remarkable, and, quite frightening.

The spectacular and almost totally unspoiled scenery of the Diamond Mountains was something I will never forget. The area is a major tourist asset, and inasmuch as I would like all Koreans to have a chance to visit this lovely spot which holds so much significance in Korean mythology, I shudder to think of the toll that its development will bring — wall-to-wall cars and people, cable cars, souvenir shops, restaurants and hotels — like the similar tourist area of Mt. Sorak just south of the DMZ. For now it is almost totally untouched, and I like to



A young pioneer (notice Kim Il-sung badge).

think that I have seen it at its best. The only scars on the landscape are the giant slogans of Kim Il-sung carved at strategic points into the hillside.

Although we drove for six hours across the peninsula to the east coast and then south almost to the DMZ, I cannot honestly say that I saw a lot of North Korea. We passed a number of neat-looking villages at a distance, and passed through the fairly large (and quite rundown) town of Wonsan, but I always felt that the real North Korea was at a distance, on the other side of the glass. The only places we stopped were at isolated tourist rest houses. There were no gas stations, no roadside cafes, and almost no traffic. In fact on the way to Pyongyang, I counted less than a hundred vehicles that passed us in a trip halfway up the country over a five-hour period.

That was not the only excursion I made. With permission of our IPU delegation leader, Gordon Houlden and I booked a trip to Kaesong and the truce village of Panmunjom. We travelled by night train to Kaesong, in a coach totally segregated from the other passengers. When we emerged from the VIP holding room where we had been kept at Pyongyang Station, all the other passengers were seated, no doubt wondering who these damned foreigners were who, yet again, were keeping them waiting. When we got to Kaesong, I was skeptical that I would be allowed to go to Panmunjom, since I had made no secret of the fact that I was posted in Seoul and had visited the site from the other side. I was sure a last-minute excuse would be found.

There was a delay, but in the end we set off and I started my camera rolling. I was quite sure that I would be told "no photography" as is common on the other side, but no-one said anything so I kept it going. We got to the first barrier and were introduced to our guide, Major Kang of the Korean Peoples' Army. Major Kang must have graduated at the top of his class in public relations school because he was the sort of person you could not help but like. He had a smile that went from ear to ear. My only other experience of North Korean soldiers had been at Panmunjom when they had peered in the window of the Military Armistice Commission meeting room with stone-like glances. Having just come from a US Army briefing which included a blow-by-blow description of the 1976 axe murders in the DMZ, actually seeing the North Koreans always sent a shiver down my spine. But here was Major Kang cracking jokes and flashing a smile that would have loosened up the tightest visitor.

The other surprising thing was the almost total absence of military preparedness. There

were fences and tank traps, but hardly any human sign of a military presence. This contrasted markedly with the other side where you approach the DMZ through an armed camp and are checked in and out with strict military security. The bulk of North Korea's forces are supposed to be deployed within just a few kilometres of the DMZ but they are obviously well out of sight of the casual visitor. Not only at Panmunjom, but in the other parts of North Korea I saw, overt physical security is much less evident than in the south where military checkpoints and barriers are still commonplace. I am sure there are reasons to explain this, such as other more pervasive forms of control, but nonetheless the contrast caught my attention.

With one notable exception, which was an outdated and atrocious propaganda film that reminded me of the *Manchurian Candidate*, our North Korean DMZ tour was very low-key and friendly. It was a strange experience to arrive in that same Military Armistice Commission meeting room. This time the unfriendly, scowling faces peering in the windows and taking our photos were American GIs, not North Koreans. One of the tenets of the North Koreans is that South Korea is a puppet government with all the strings being pulled by the United States, the occupying power. I live in Seoul and know the reality, but at that moment I put myself in the place of a North Korean cadre or official allowed to visit Panmunjom for the first time. What would be seen would reinforce the line one had been fed all one's life — staring across from South Korean would be tough-looking American GIs — imperialists incarnate, in the flesh. Speaking personally, I think the somewhat theatrical setting at Panmunjom and the way in which it is handled play into the hands of the North Korean propaganda machine and provide more grist for their mill.

On the issue of propaganda, I pulled out what I thought would be my trump card. I asked to visit the North Korean model village, the so-called *Propaganda Village* in which I had been told no-one lived. "Why do you want to go there?" I was asked. "Because I have been told that no-one actually lives there", I said, "and I want to know the truth". "Then let's go", said Major Kang.

We drove out of the DMZ and turned off the main highway onto a dirt road which led us through several villages all of which seemed to have the same strange-looking four- to six-storey apartment buildings that I had observed at *Propaganda Village* from the southern side. We re-entered the DMZ and drove to the base of the giant flagpole. There was a small welcoming committee who gave us some facts and figures. While they

were talking, I set off with my videocamera to see if it was really a Potemkin village.

I came to a school and although I didn't see any children, I could hear their voices coming from a classroom. "Maybe it's a tape recording", a suspicious voice within me said, but then I looked at the scuffed and chipped playground equipment and concluded that either someone had gone to an awful lot of trouble to fool me, or else it really was a school. I did find a piggery with live pigs and saw chickens and geranium pots with budding geraniums on balconies. I did pass outhouses that smelled remarkably real. We even visited an apartment (probably a model apartment) but as we walked up to the third floor I looked at the weathered doors, and piles of laundry on the first and second floors, and concluded real people lived there. The one strange thing was that I did not see many people. When we asked where they were, we were told that they were working in the ginseng fields. That seemed reasonable, since it was mid-day, and I did not see many people around in other villages either, including those well out of sight of prying binoculars from south of the DMZ. So while I am pretty sure that *Propaganda Village* is lived in, one can never be certain. When I showed my video to US staff of the Military Armistice Commission after

my return to Seoul one of them said, "Damn! I've looked at that place through my binoculars for hours and have never seen a soul move."

Whether *Propaganda Village* is or is not inhabited, and by how many people, is not really important. What is important is to try to get at the truth. As I found after my trip to North Korea, truth is an elusive and sometimes illusory commodity. Perceptions are also important even though they may have little basis in fact. Having been in North Korea and listened to the North Korean world-view, no matter how distorted it may seem, I think I have a much greater understanding of what the impasse on the Korean peninsula is all about and why its solution is so difficult despite an apparent ardent desire for reunification on both sides of the demarcation line. I only wish more Koreans, both northerners and southerners, could have the experience that I had, of going through the looking-glass and seeing what is on the other side. That will have to happen before unification can become a reality.

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ALONE in North America

"When Canada is gone, the world will mourn," said an eminent Canadian citizen at the Conference on Canadian Foreign Policy in Toronto last winter. His words were repeated by other speakers and aptly reflected the somber, quietly despairing mood of the Conference, which had been planned to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the Statute of Westminster.

The Conference (December 9-11, 1991) addressed the question, Has Canada Made a Difference? It soon became evident to a foreign guest, however, that the more fundamental concern of the Conference was whether Canada could stay together as a nation so that it might continue to make a difference.

The Conference was convened under the aegis of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Department of External Affairs. Participants included Members of Parliament, retired statesmen, top historians and journalists, leading businessmen, and more than thirty officials of Canada's elite Foreign Ministry — "External" in the lingo of official Ottawa. Invited to join the Canadians, were numerous foreign ambassadors and international civil servants, along with various representatives from Western Europe, the former Soviet Union, the Third World, and the United States.

The discussions took place in an atmosphere of genuine soul-searching among some of Canada's leading citizens. They featured remarkable candour in the give-and-take of a kind which is perhaps only possible in a situation of perceived emergency. The Conference thus afforded a unique vantage-point on the country, its problems and prospects, at a time of profound dislocation in the system of government and politics.

What follows is an account of the Conference by a longtime American friend of Canada who was privileged to be present at those discussions.

by James Reed

In a country that appeared to be coming apart, the Conference came together quickly on the essentials of Canada's proper role in the world. This process was the more remarkable for all the potential divisions that might have been exposed: the mandarins with their self-serving myths, as against the academics who are rewarded for their revisionism; the global activists as against proponents of retrenchment; and English-speaking Canadians as distinct from Quebecers. Yet nothing of the kind happened; and therein lay an important clue — or so it seemed to this observer — as to the likely outcome of Canada's domestic predicament. The discussion also laid bare some of the deeper sources and motives of Canada's tradition of activist diplomacy.

In her keynote address, the External Affairs Minister described the Conference as part of "this country's process of constitutional

renewal" and touched on the role of global activism in creating the identity of the state. Canadian foreign policy, she noted, "has, in itself, been an important integrating force in the very unity of this nation." A policy-planning document released by External was even more explicit:

Au surplus, la politique étrangère a d'importantes conséquences pour l'unité nationale. Une politique étrangère dynamique est un moyen pour les Canadiens d'exprimer leurs valeurs communes, de partager leurs aspirations et de renforcer leur identité.

The Conference was hardly Barbara McDougall's finest hour. The news media neglected the substance of her keynote speech, which was intended as a major address on the direction of Canadian foreign policy in the 1990s, and focused instead on her *faux pas* to the effect that the Québécois would have their passports lifted if they voted for Quebec sovereignty in the

Referendum. But she was obviously right, perhaps in a deeper way than she herself knew, that the values and assumptions of Canadian foreign policy represent an essential binding ingredient between state and society.

The Conference agreed that Canada must continue to realize its identity through an activist global diplomacy, international environmental leadership, pursuit of world peace, and Third World economic and social development. At the mere mention of a United Nations agency, peoples' eyes would light up, the discussion would take on an edge of high adventure, and a palpable shiver of Wilsonian idealism (as an American would describe the sensation) would run through the room.

To an American visitor, nothing was more fascinating than to watch eminent speakers from Quebec become caught up in the thrill of global activism as they analyzed, refined, and criticized the traditions and assumptions of Canadian foreign policy — and ended up embracing them as their own.

Early on, the Conference heard from Ivan Bernier of the *Centre québécois de relations internationales* in Quebec City, who discussed Quebec's role, along with Ottawa's, in La Francophonie. Bernier described the development of quasi-diplomatic representation for Quebec. He concluded that Quebec diplomacy has enhanced the distinctiveness of Canada's presence abroad. But he stressed that Quebec's diplomacy should remain modest in its ambitions, learning to work in tandem with Ottawa.

Another Quebec authority, Louis Balthazar of Laval University, began by sharply criticizing the "old boys club" aspect of the traditional Anglo-Canadian diplomatic service from which talented francophones were sometimes excluded. Noting that English was the working language at External until the 1960s, he went on to analyze some strikingly different attitudes toward foreign affairs among the elites of Ontario and Quebec. Yet in his conclusion, Balthazar came around to the consensus view: "This asymmetrical Canada has expressed a difference."

On the history of arms control and disarmament, always a major preoccupation of Canadian policy, the Conference heard from Professor Albert Legault, also of Laval,

whose presentation was a model of balance and erudition.

Not one francophone speaker suggested, much less argued, that an independent Quebec could do as well as Ottawa on the world stage. No Quebecker disagreed that in some nuanced, yet significant, sense Canada has made a difference and should continue to do so.

A consultant from Montreal, Angéline Fournier-Tombs, who edits the influential intellectual review *Cité Libre*, pointed to a hard truth in observing that Canadian official development assistance to the Third World needs greater focus and that Canada could not be all things to all people. But these were criticisms from within the very heart of Canada's liberal internationalism.

There was no dissent from Quebec on the basic philosophy or direction of Canadian foreign relations. The unifying function was a marvel to behold.

At the same time, there was something too good to be true about Canadian foreign policy. At some level it did not compute. Was this a nation-state operating on the usual calculations of national interest or an international social relief agency like Oxfam? Canada has made a religion of global activism — why? A foreigner begins to wonder what is being left unsaid.

Every significant meeting has its moments of absolute lucidity, and for the Toronto Conference one of these occurred when Arnold Smith, former Secretary-General of the Commonwealth of Nations, took the floor to address the deeper motives of Canadian foreign policy.

Looking to be in his seventies, Smith was in some ways the senior statesman of the Conference. As the first head of the Commonwealth Secretariat in London in 1965, Smith played a key role in transforming the group of former British colonies — having no unifying ground except a common past and an agreement to recognize the Queen as the symbol of their unity — into a multi-racial and multicultural organization focusing on issues of Third World development.

"The whole point of our foreign policy," said Arnold Smith, "was to get Canada out of North America — out of North America and away from the United States."

As Smith explained it, Canadian foreign policy was shaped in the larger context of Canada's struggle for survival in the face of American "continentalism," the perceived tendency of the United States to expand culturally, economically, even politically and militarily if need be. By getting Canada out of North America and deeply ensconced in multilateral organizations, External had enabled the country to focus on world politics rather than just the American news; to

make friends in all parts of the globe; and to pursue a world role distinctly different from the USA's. External gave Canadians a sense of participation in the world community that no one could confuse with the policies of the Pentagon or the CIA. Thus, Canada was able to do things that the United States, with its continental absorption and military preoccupation, could not. An American listener was impressed again by the self-consciously internationalist identity of the Canadian federal state.

"Our greatest horror," Smith said, "was the thought of being left alone in North America with the United States."

So Canada's global activism, for all its undoubted idealism, turns out to have a clear domestic purpose. What may look like simon-pure internationalism is really the continuation of Canadian nationalism by other means.

*Government by
discussion, not
violence; discussion,
not pandering is what
created this country,
it has seen us through
difficult times in the
past; and it will see
us through the
present crisis."*

Then, rising to the occasion, Smith addressed the domestic political crisis on everyone's mind. A solution to the present troubles will be found, he said, when Canadians remember their common historical problem of resisting American continentalism. Any necessary adjustments regarding Quebec should be viewed in the long history of peaceful decolonization within the Commonwealth system.

"The Americans had their bloody revolution," he observed, "but we chose a different way — and not just the Loyalist, but the French-Canadians, too, who saw in the Declaration of Independence an explicit threat to their distinct society. The Americans attacked Montreal, they besieged Quebec. We resisted. Then the Americans invaded us in the War of 1812, and again we resisted."

"Later on," Smith continued, "we had a perfectly reasonable agreement with the Americans for joint occupation of the Oregon Country, but then they said, 'No, we want it all: Fifty-four forty or fight!' But that wasn't our way. And let's not forget that the Canadian Confederation was created in the 1860s because we were afraid of being invaded once again."

"The Americans had their secession crisis," he said, alluding to Canada's present crisis, "and they solved it through violence in a Civil War that left half a million dead. They still celebrate that conflict as an achievement of their system. Well, that's not our way to solve problems. Then the Americans allowed violence to rule the frontier — and that wasn't our way either."

Knowing everyone in the room was familiar with this history, Smith proceeded to his conclusion: "My point is this. We in the Commonwealth have a different way — law and order of course, but above all government by discussion. It's the basis of our system. Government by discussion, not violence; discussion, not pandering. It is what created this country, it has seen us through difficult times in the past; it's what we're doing at this Conference; and it will see us through the present crisis."

It was a moment of exalted sentiment which served to remind Conference participants, even those who did not share Smith's nostalgia for the Commonwealth, that the fundamental purpose of Canadian foreign policy is not to save the world but to resist the United States. Having been legitimated by an elder statesman, the subject could now be broached directly. Soon, one of the French-Canadians observed that, "Quebec has its own way of resisting the invasion of the United States." Other speakers worried openly that Canada might end up an American satellite under the "New World Order" of President Bush.

The Conference's second moment of total clarity came during an impassioned plea from the former Ambassador of France to Canada.

The symbolism was perfect. France played a major role historically in the development of Quebec separatism. Twenty-five years ago, French President Charles de Gaulle, appearing on the balcony of the city hall in Montreal, uttered the fateful words "Vive le Québec! Vive le Québec Libre!" And for years, French diplomacy continued to encourage separatism. So, the expression of France's current attitude would be very influential.

"I am Jean Béliard," said the gentleman at the microphone, "and when I was the Ambassador of France to this country, from 1981 to 1984, we had a very interesting

triangular relationship among Paris, Ottawa, and Quebec City which did not lack its challenging aspects, I can assure you."

"But ladies and gentlemen, I must take exception to the remarks of the last speaker, and of other speakers at this Conference, who said that when Canada is gone, the world will mourn — the world will mourn the death of Canada, or words to that effect. This is pious nonsense," he declared. "The relations between states are not based on such sentimental considerations, though I appreciate the moralism which leads you to express yourselves in this way."

"No, my friends, the world will not mourn Canada. The children of the world will not cry for you, when you are gone. But many serious men and women will ask themselves, and pause to consider, how it happened that the country which had everything — **everything** — threw it all away!"

"This is no time to be planning Canada's funeral. This is no time to console yourselves over the length of the funeral cortège. You must stop writing obituaries for Canada. Your country is in danger! Your nation is in mortal peril! You must steel yourselves to your duty to preserve the state!"

Ambassador Béliard, who earlier in his career served as General de Gaulle's translator, spoke in English as well as in French. Some weeks later, *Le Monde*, perhaps reflecting its legendary ties to the Quai d'Orsay, observed that "Canadian federalism, which is very respectful of minority rights, enjoys a very high reputation abroad." Diplomacy can be very subtle, but perhaps this was France's way of saying that the world needs Canada; and, yes, that Canada has made a difference.

As the Conference was winding up and attendees were heading home to Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa, and Vancouver, an American guest could not fail to note the many disturbing parallels with the political situation of the United States on the eve of the Civil War.

At the center is a moral issue — an issue of human equality or subordination — which has bedeviled the nation's politics for decades. There is a weak head of government, a sense that the system is adrift, and a widening gap between the political establishment in the capital and popular sentiment in the provinces. Finally comes the shattering of the traditional party structures, the rise to respectability of extremist elements, and the eerie atmosphere of inevitability as the secession crisis rushes to climax. No one expects a Civil War in Canada — it is not the Canadian way, as Arnold Smith says — but no one outside Canada should doubt that the crisis facing the country is of the first magnitude.

The gravity of Canada's predicament notwithstanding, an American left the Toronto Conference with a clear, if unexpected, sense of certain distinctive and underlying strengths in the Canadian polity. Working together, and with adequate leadership and more than a little luck, these fundamental strengths of the Canadian system — which are perhaps not fully appreciated in Canada itself — may yet see the country through. They are four in number.

Make no mistake: the United States would not be prepared to accommodate union with any of the Canadian provinces on terms that were other than humiliating.

First is the presence of a cohesive governing class, comprising not only the mandarins of the civil service but prominent citizens across the country, which are prepared to put the interest of the nation above those of linguistic, ethnic, regional or provincial allegiance. The role of such a class (an American uses the term with some trepidation) in stabilizing the body politic cannot be overestimated. The United States once had a group of this kind, the old "foreign-policy establishment" of happy memory, but it destroyed itself during the debacle of the Vietnam War. Today in Canada the foreign-policy establishment is stronger than ever, and is eager to lead. It is almost completely bilingual and bicultural, and includes many younger people from Quebec, as well as English-speaking Canada. Members of this group have a role in explaining to fellow citizens across Canada the foreign-policy implications of national unity.

A second factor conducive to stability is Canada's distinctive political culture, which centers on the affirmative role of government and which has the resources to frame and analyze key policy choices in historical terms. The instinctive Canadian belief in the dignity and majesty of the state, at least in principle, means that the rewards of the government system belong to those who serve

it honourably and well from the inside rather than, as in the United States, to those who manipulate the system from the outside for private advantage. And the emphasis on history as one of the core intellectual disciplines of public life insures a continuous discussion between past and present, history and politics. True, the emphasis on the past has its downside — Quebec's bitter historical memories of conquest and subordination are a prime example. But the statist and historicist character of Canada's dominant political culture — shared by the Tories, Liberals, and Socialists alike — is a powerful inducement to continuity. Canada's leaders know that if the country is destroyed, history will judge them very harshly.

A third factor making for unity is the tradition of parliamentary rule. In theory, the parliamentary system enables a ruling party to legislate in the long-term interest of the government, with minimal day-to-day regard for the vagaries of opinion polls or the pressure of special interests. This relative structural insulation from public opinion can permit a Government to do the right thing even if the move is momentarily unpopular (thus, in Canada, there is no death penalty). The tradition of parliamentary rule may be fraying around the edges in today's Canada, where newer forms of public participation are more and more in demand. But it is still in place. In fact, as several people at the Toronto Conference observed with a mixture of irony and hopefulness, the British parliamentary system operates in almost pristine fashion in the province of Quebec.

A fourth and final reason why Canada may avoid disintegration is the inevitability of the ten provincial Governments facing up to the reality of just exactly what it would mean to be a miniature nation-state on this continent — back in North America, alone with the United States. At some point, the Canadian people must come to grips with what their actual choices are, and are not.

American friends of Canada should be frank on this point. The United States is a highly creative and original society, envied around the world for its particular genius, but there are limits to what our system can absorb. Make no mistake: the United States would not be prepared to accommodate union with any of the Canadian provinces on terms that were other than humiliating. The American republic can assimilate many things, but it would not be willing to support the independent fishermen of the Maritimes and Newfoundland, many of whom are unemployed for part of each year, who would end up welfare bums under our system; or to welcome the people of Alberta, unless they

first subjected their healthcare system to the discipline of our American free market. Obviously there is no place in the American system for the mandarins of Ottawa, or the socialist governments of British Columbia, Saskatchewan, or Ontario. As for Quebec, whose system of business-government relations most nearly resembles that of the Japanese, a province where trade unionism flourishes and social programs are lavish, there will be no succour from Washington if the separatist experiment were to prove disappointing. Perhaps it is enough to observe that a society which can barely tolerate Spanish among its poor would in no circumstances be prepared to indulge French among its rich.

Such are the realities of being alone in North America.

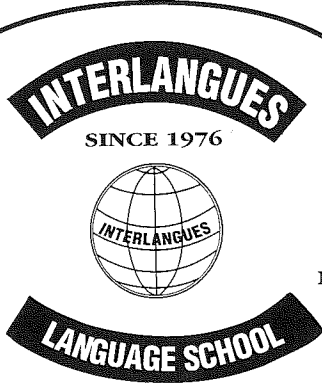
James Reed, an American, is President of Addis & Reed Consulting, Inc., in Boston. He is the author of The Missionary Mind and American East Asia Policy (Harvard University Press), a study of the traditional Far Eastern policy of the United States. In 1992-93 Dr. Reed is a Visiting Scholar at Harvard. He has visited Canada regularly since 1955 and has travelled in every Canadian province except Newfoundland.

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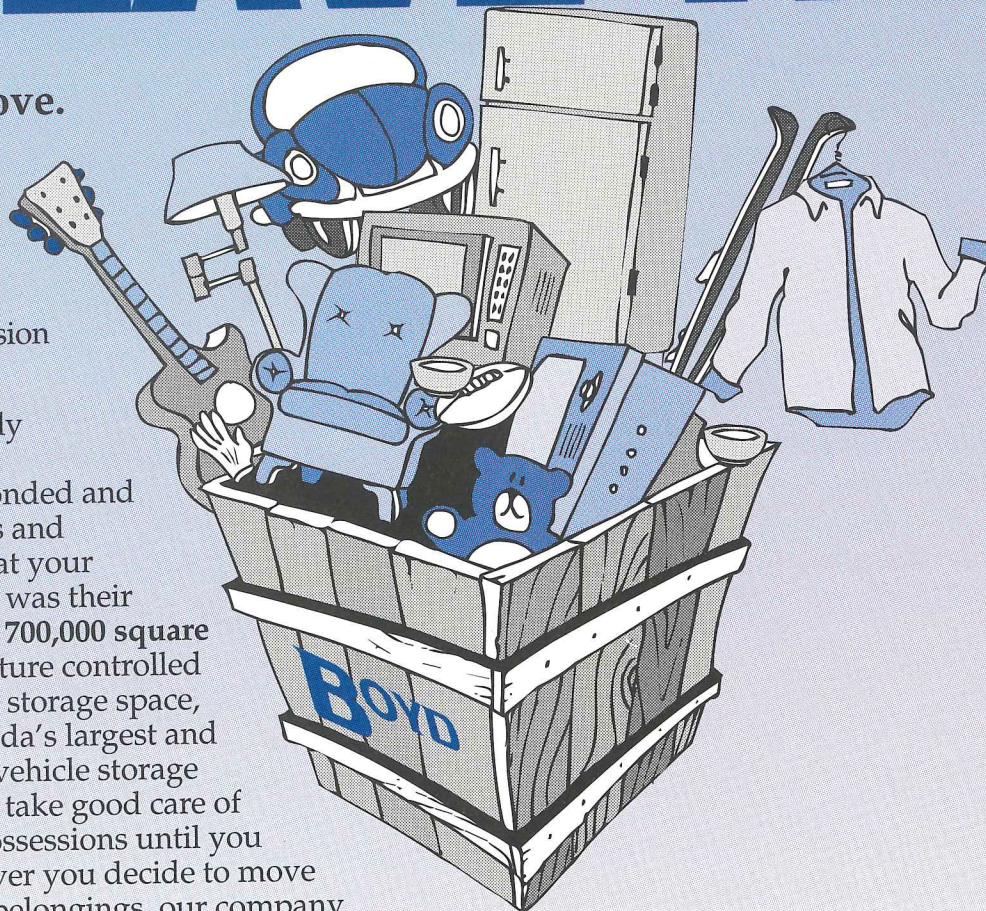
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Stockholm Remembered

by Geoffrey F. Bruce

In the past two decades the word "environment" has acquired many meanings and all of the human, political, economic, financial, social and scientific attributes of a challenging public issue. It comprises, for example, the preservation of the biosphere, the conservation of the earth's resources, the protection of our health, a vague perception of sustainable development, and the management of the international "commons" beyond the jurisdiction of any and all nations. It is a word which generates extreme emotions and sends demonstrators to the barricades. It has led one Western government to sink a ship which was engaged in free-lance environmental protection enterprises.

What are the reasons which have brought "the environment" from its quiet, placid home to the top of the world's agenda in the 1990s?

The Environment: A Public Policy Issue

In 1950, 2-1/2 billion people lived on our planet. By 1990 — only 40 years later — that figure had more than doubled, and it is expected to reach 6 billion by the end of this decade. Ninety-five per cent of that growth was in the Third World.

As virtually every country on the planet was compelled because of its own internal population pressures and the expectations of its people for a better life, to join in the race toward unrestrained economic growth, it was inevitable that industrial and agricultural development would have some damaging impact on their own and on the earth's environment.

There are probably few people on earth who have not been touched and hurt by some instance of environmental damage — drought and famine, pollution of lakes, rivers, the air and the seas, the decline in forests, land erosion and soil degradation, the depletion of the resources of the seas, the disposal of industrial, urban and nuclear wastes. In Canada, we can add more specific examples such as the consequences of the development of hydro-electric power and the impact on the lands of native peoples, the

"freeze" on the Arctic pipeline, the depletion of the Atlantic fishing stocks, the death of hundreds of lakes, the destruction of sugar maple forests, and the threats to Puget Sound.

While men and women have been concerned about the adverse effects of deforestation and agricultural development for more than 2,000 years, the risks to the health of the biosphere and the depletion of the earth's resources began to appear more widely as the industrial revolution developed and spread. The damaging impact of economic growth on the environment was not, however, generally taken as a serious threat to society: indeed it was regarded as an inevitable consequence of development which could be absorbed by the seemingly unlimited resiliency of the earth.

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Governments and the private sector had taken some measures to protect the environment, its resources and wildlife. But these fragmented efforts were not enough. Comprehensive national, regional and international programs of conservation and pollution control were needed. And they were needed quickly.

The Stockholm Conference on the Environment: 1972

It was Sweden which brought "the environment" before governments and the international community in the United Nations in 1967. In the following year, the General

Assembly gave its approval to a global conference and it later agreed that it should be held in Stockholm in 1972.

The Canadian Government co-sponsored Sweden's Resolution in the Assembly as an indication of its own commitment to the efforts to begin work on more effective national and international protection programs. Canadians had become aware of the risks to their lakes, rivers and forests, to the Arctic regions, to transboundary pollution along the entire frontier, the Great Lakes, and the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Many saw it as a means of developing international law which would help Canada protect its environment and its resources and, coincidentally, extend its jurisdiction over the Arctic and the seas off its east and west coasts. The UN would provide another way to address such regional and global issues which would serve their interests.

The idea of such an international conference was, understandably, greeted with scepticism by some and was opposed by others in Canada and throughout the world. For many, the concept of "the environment" was too broad and imprecise, and a world conference devoted to it and with representatives from so many countries at different stages of development and with different interests, could not reasonably be expected to produce practicable results that governments and the private sector could use.

Representatives of business and industry saw the Conference as a threat to their freedom of action, and the probable imposition of pollution controls and conservation requirements which would add to their production costs and force them to increase prices. These additional costs would make it more difficult for them to compete successfully in tough international markets — unless, of course, all countries agreed to apply the same environmental protection measures.

For developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, the proposed Conference did not seem to offer them much immediate help. Their most urgent and important priority was to provide

for their growing population and the desperate needs of their people. For the poor in many developing countries, there was no other way of life: there were no alternative, adequate sources of food, fuel, shelter and clothing. Their existence came daily, directly and only from the land on which they lived. Poverty often compels people to damage further the land, the resource base, of their community.

Developing countries also shared the attitude of some sectors in the industrialized world that, whatever benefits might be obtained from environmental protection and conservation measures, they would surely add to the costs of their industrial and agricultural production and thus make it more difficult for them to market their limited exports abroad. Such measures, however justifiable to the West, were a luxury they could not afford. Moreover, developing countries saw that they would be obliged to buy the know-how and technology from the industrialized countries.

For similar reasons, many in Canada shared the scepticism about the value of such a conference. But they also felt that Canada, so rich in resources and so large in area, had the capacity and resiliency to carry and absorb without serious consequences whatever degradation economic growth might cause. Some damage was an inevitable cost of development and it was neither irreversible nor irreparable.

The Results of the Stockholm Conference

The Stockholm Conference achieved remarkable results. It reached agreement on the major environmental risks facing countries and their peoples and on measures for responding to those risks nationally and internationally.

The Conference, firstly, approved a Declaration on the Human Environment. It contained two principles, introduced by Canada, which proved to be of considerable importance and value in the subsequent evolution of environmental treaties, legislation and programs. They state, in part, that:

“states have the right to exploit their own resources ... and the responsibility to ensure that activities within their jurisdiction or control do not cause damage to the environment of other states or of areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction; and

states shall cooperate to develop further the international law regarding the liability and compensation for victims of pollution and other environmental damage caused by activities within the jurisdiction or control of such states to areas beyond their jurisdiction.”

The Conference's second important decision was its approval of an Action Plan consisting of 109 recommendations to governments, the UN system, non-governmental and international organizations to create new ways of collaboration. It also proposed new programs for dealing with the environmental risks and damage.

Thirdly, the Conference approved the establishment of a new UN agency — the UN Environment Program — to coordinate and promote national and international conservation and the protection of the environment. It also recommended the creation of a special fund of \$100 million which would be used to help developing countries carry forward their work.

But the Conference achieved more than the specific objectives on its agenda. First it served to display new dimensions of the magnitude, complexities, political and financial costs, and some of the relationships between economic growth, social development, resources and the environment.

The continued growth in the world's population, most living in poverty, is at the centre of the most serious issues facing the world.

Second, the Conference informed governments and the international community that the conservation of the world's environment and the management of its resources could not be left to uncontrolled and unregulated development. Nor could it be left to the strongest countries. New policies, new structures, new international law and, above all, the political will to design and manage a new world system were essential pre-conditions to rescuing the environment from further degradation.

A New Look at the Environment in the 1980s

During the late 1970s and in the 1980s there were significant and welcome changes in attitudes toward the environment.

The first was the accumulating evidence of the gradual degradation of the state of the environment. In addition, specific disasters such as the Torrey Canyon oil spill, Three

Mile Island, the Sahelian drought, Bhopal, Chernobyl and other frequent oil spills became well-known, even if quickly forgotten events. Beyond them, however, people and governments became increasingly aware of other damaging consequences of economic growth such as deforestation, the threat to many species of wild and marine life, poisoned lakes and polluted air.

The continued growth in the world's population, most living in poverty, is at the centre of the most serious issues facing the world, and especially developing countries. Although it remains an issue which still sends people to the barricades, many governments are now attempting to introduce programs, however modest, to persuade families to reduce the number of children they bring into the world. Any decline will be slight, however, and will have little significant impact on economic and social development and hence on the world's resources, for decades to come.

A third significant change in attitudes has been the recognition that unrestrained economic growth in any country is likely to cause some damage to the environment and to contribute to the wasteful use of resources. Deforestation, land erosion, soil degradation and drought are obvious examples. Furthermore it was now readily acknowledged that no country on the planet could escape such global risks as trans-boundary air and water pollution and the depletion of the marine life and fishing resources of the world's oceans. And, we have recently added to the list such new threats as global warming and the depletion of the earth's ozone layer.

A fourth change in attitudes has been the recognition by developing countries that they are already suffering from the environmental degradation flowing from their own industrial, agricultural and urban development and from global sources of pollution. However, it will be much more difficult for many of these countries, burdened by a rapidly growing population and the inescapable need to develop their economy, to introduce the protection and conservation measures needed to reverse the trends of degradation. Poverty drives people to destroy their own environment.

Having acknowledged that change, the developing world continues to hold the northern industrialized countries largely responsible for the increasing deterioration in the health of the earth's environment and of the biosphere, and the wasteful use and misuse of the world's resources. Developed countries cannot reproach Third World countries, for example, for the destruction of their forests when the North has already cut much of its forest cover. It can only offer to find and finance ways of helping

developing countries avoid the same thoughtless use of their resources.

The science community and academic institutions have devoted an increasing amount of funds and effort to programs of research into virtually every dimension of the environment and environmental change. Their contribution has been indispensable to our understanding of these risks and to the formulation of programs of conservation. Among the more dramatic discoveries of recent years was the depletion of the ozone layer as a result of the widespread use of chemicals which find their way into the atmosphere. A second, startling discovery, has been climate-warming caused by the increase in pollutants and gases in the atmosphere which have served to trap the earth's heat close to the surface. If that trend continues we shall see low-lying lands and cities disappearing under the seas.

In the late 1970s a new push was needed to revitalize and give fresh direction to protection and conservation programs. It was time for an up-to-date vision of the world to the year 2000 and beyond. A new evaluation of the consequences of continued population growth and economic development on the biosphere, the earth's resources and on its people was needed.

The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED)

It was against this background, that the Canadian Representative to UNEP proposed in the Governing Council in 1981 that an international, independent commission of eminent people should be appointed by the UN General Assembly to carry out this program of investigation. Such a commission would carry the authority of the UN and have the clout to speak to the most senior people in governments and the private sector. It was also considered important that the Commission should be appointed by, and report to, the General Assembly. Although the Assembly's approval or acceptance does not carry the force of law nor does it oblige governments to implement its decisions, it does have some political and moral value and weight which may encourage governments to make up their minds about the issues, to respond to them and to be held accountable.

The General Assembly approved the creation of the UN Commission on Environment and Development in 1983. The concept of "development" was added to ensure the environment and development were taken, as they should be, as a totally interdependent process.

The Commission was chaired by Gro Harlem Brundtland, later to become the Prime Minister of Norway, and comprised members from the developed and developing

world, Eastern Europe, the USSR and China.

The WCED described its mandate in these words:

- "1. To re-examine the critical issues of environment and development and to formulate innovative, concrete and realistic action proposals to deal with them;
- "2. to strengthen international cooperation on environment and development and to assess and propose new forms of cooperation that can break out of existing patterns and influence policies and events in the direction of needed change; and
- "3. to raise the level of understanding and commitment to action on the part of individuals, voluntary organizations, businesses, institutions, and governments."

These trends, if they continued unchecked, would threaten the survival of mankind.

The Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development

The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) (also known as the "Brundtland" Commission after its Chairman, Gro Harlem Brundtland, the Prime Minister of Norway) undertook an exhaustive program of work and visited representative countries on every continent, including Canada. It was Canada, incidentally, through its Permanent Representative to UNEP which originated and helped to establish the Commission as a forceful means of bringing "the environment and development" to the top of the political agenda of the international community. The WCED concluded that, as a consequence of the world's increasing population and economic development, pressures on the earth's resources and the biosphere would continue to grow until such time as there were effective measures to arrest and reverse the trends. It further concluded that these trends, if they continued unchecked, would threaten the survival of mankind.

The Report, entitled *Our Common Future*, declared that governments must act **now** to reverse these trends, to re-design public policies in all economic and social sectors and in population control, and to collaborate in the development and strengthening of

conservation programs in a world in which environmental degradation knows no national boundaries and the concept of sovereignty is out of date.

The essential key to sound economic and social development in a healthy environment has been imaginatively captured in the Report in the phrase "sustainable development". It is not a new concept, but it has been given a new meaning. It is now one which must be applied in a comprehensive approach to development in the future if the earth and its peoples are to survive.

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development

Governments, through the United Nations, accepted the challenge and a second world conference on environment and development was held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992. Maurice Strong, again Secretary-General of the Conference — called the "Earth Summit" — stated: "This will be the most important meeting in the history of humanity."

The conference was the largest ever convened by the UN: 20,000 to 30,000 individuals from governments, non-governmental organizations and the media attended. Many presidents and prime ministers also participated in response to the invitation from the UN General Assembly. The Global Forum of NGOs was organized to run in parallel with the Conference in Rio de Janeiro.

The Conference was among the most difficult in the history of the United Nations. It brought together representatives from most of the then 171 member states to consider and act on a complex agenda within a period of twelve days. Even though four meetings of the Preparatory Committee had given focus and direction to the Conference, it was still a formidable task to produce solid results in that short stretch of time. In the end, global consensus on major changes for new national and international environmental programs proved impossible to achieve.

Essentially, the 1992 Conference focused on three broad concepts. An "Earth Charter", covering a number of principles aimed at the protection of the environment, conservation and development, was the primary focus for discussion. "Agenda 21" was intended to be a global action plan for the 21st century to guide governments and the private sector toward policies integrating economic growth and environmental conservation. New demands from the developing world for a substantial increase in new funding from industrialized countries were made in Rio to finance new programs intended to contribute to national policies for sustainable development and environmental conservation. Developing countries wanted not only

money but also access to new technology on a preferential basis to apply conservation and protection measures in their regions. Most important of all, they sought massive flows of assistance to help them to alleviate the poverty of their peoples.

Negotiations attempted to reach agreement at least on the broad outlines, if not the actual texts, of conventions on climate change and measures to reduce the flow of destructive chemicals into the atmosphere; on preserving the biodiversity of the earth's living animal and plant resources; and on the conservation and sustainable use of the world's forest resources. It was the original intention to finish up the conference with a "bang" by having all the heads of government and ministers in attendance at the conference sign these texts in a major signing ceremony which would be the focus of a significant media event. Things did not quite develop in the way forecasted, although the event was in fact a major global media event which in itself was a significant achievement.

While the formal UN conference was taking place, an informal counter-conference (the "Global Forum") also occurred in Rio which was organized by hundreds of non-governmental organizations many of which are well-organized, well-financed and well-led. This other event was the more popular, spontaneous and interesting event — at least in the public perception both on the ground

in Rio and in the global media. The bright ideas seemed to emanate from this other event which successfully turned up the heat and applied tremendous pressure on the more staid, bureaucratic UN conference to move further and faster toward the development of genuine environmental conservation and protection.

*For many, the concept
of "the environment"
was too broad and
imprecise.*

The key to eventual success is achieving the political will of all governments, and especially those of the industrialized countries, to act now. The governments of the Economic G-7 Summit countries, the Commonwealth Heads of Government, and other national leaders all offered their support to this "Earth Summit", but concrete decisions at the conference proved to be elusive and a tough test for their collective political commitment. It will not be easy for any government to commit the necessary resources in these years of global recession, massive debt burdens in many developing countries, and bankruptcy

of the dream and of many government programs inspired by the former USSR, and of the collapse of the Soviet empire itself. However, eventually, priorities will have to be agreed upon and the means of achieving solid action will have to be found.

It must be admitted that the Rio Conference fell short of achieving the minimum results expected of it. This collective failure of political will, however, may yet prove to be the necessary stimulus toward forcing governments to be more realistic and more cooperative, to take more responsible and tougher decisions to preserve the earth's health and welfare for their people and future generations. 

Geoffrey F. Bruce is a former Foreign Service Officer now living in Brussels. His distinguished career included postings in Tel Aviv, Colombo, Vienna, New York, Nairobi (as High Commissioner to Kenya, Comoros, Somalia, and Uganda as well as Permanent Representative to UNEP and HABITAT), and Lisbon (where he was Ambassador until his retirement). It was Geoffrey Bruce who first pushed strongly for environment and development issues to become a key element of Canadian foreign policy which should be at the top of the global political agenda and who originated the concept of an independent UN World Commission on Environment and Development.

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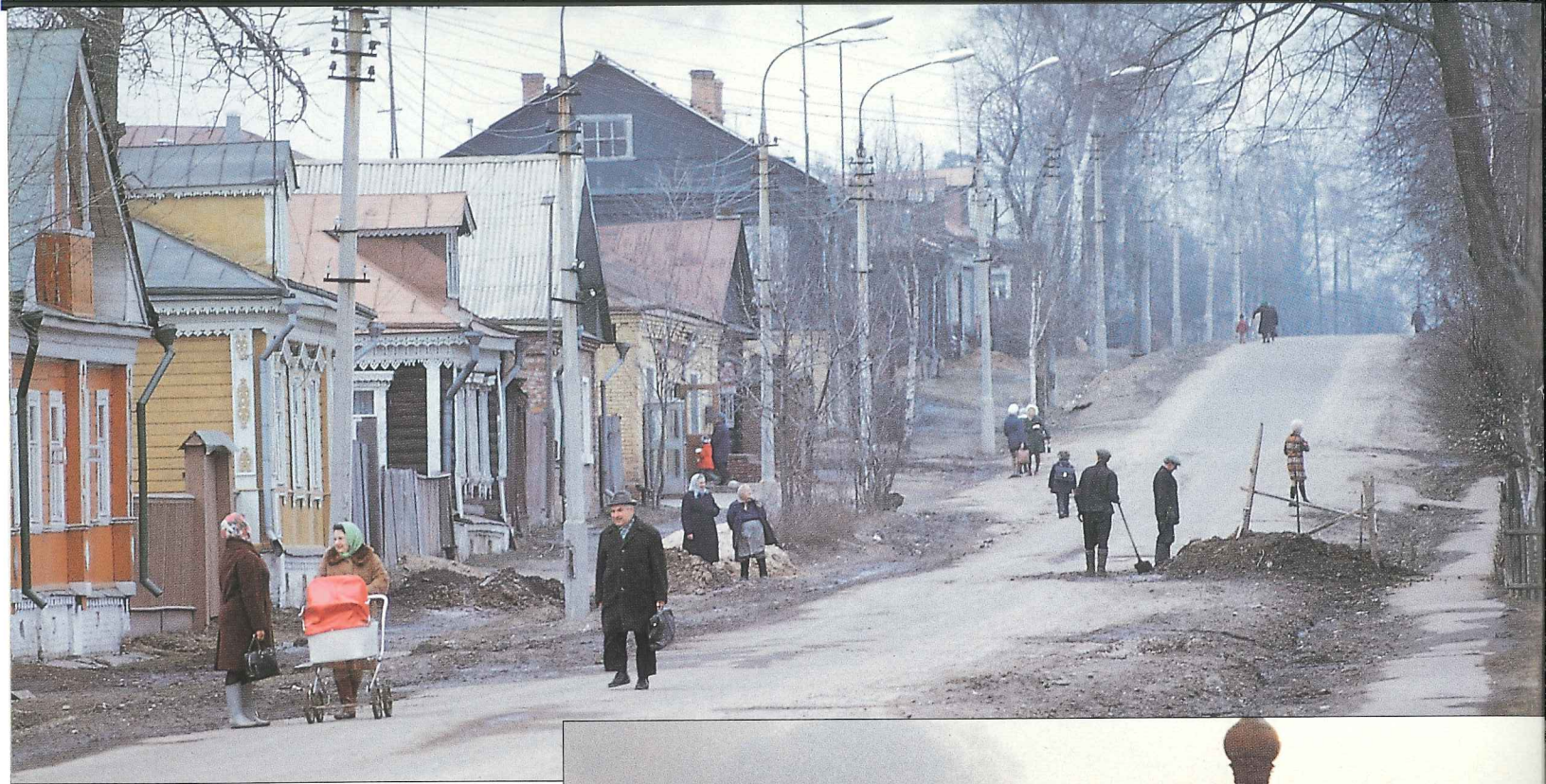
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A Slow Waltz with Madame Gromyko...





Story and photos by Carol Hart

The music stopped. I was to dance with the woman before me. We fumbled for a moment. One of us would have to be the man! To the strain of sweet violins, I swept her into my arms for a slow waltz. Madame Gromyko, the wife of the Foreign Minister, was quite an armful.

It was *International Women's Day* in 1974 and after caviar, smoked sturgeon and a speech by cosmonaut Valentina Tarezhkova, they struck up the band. Notable Russian women and diplomats' wives danced the afternoon away, with each other.

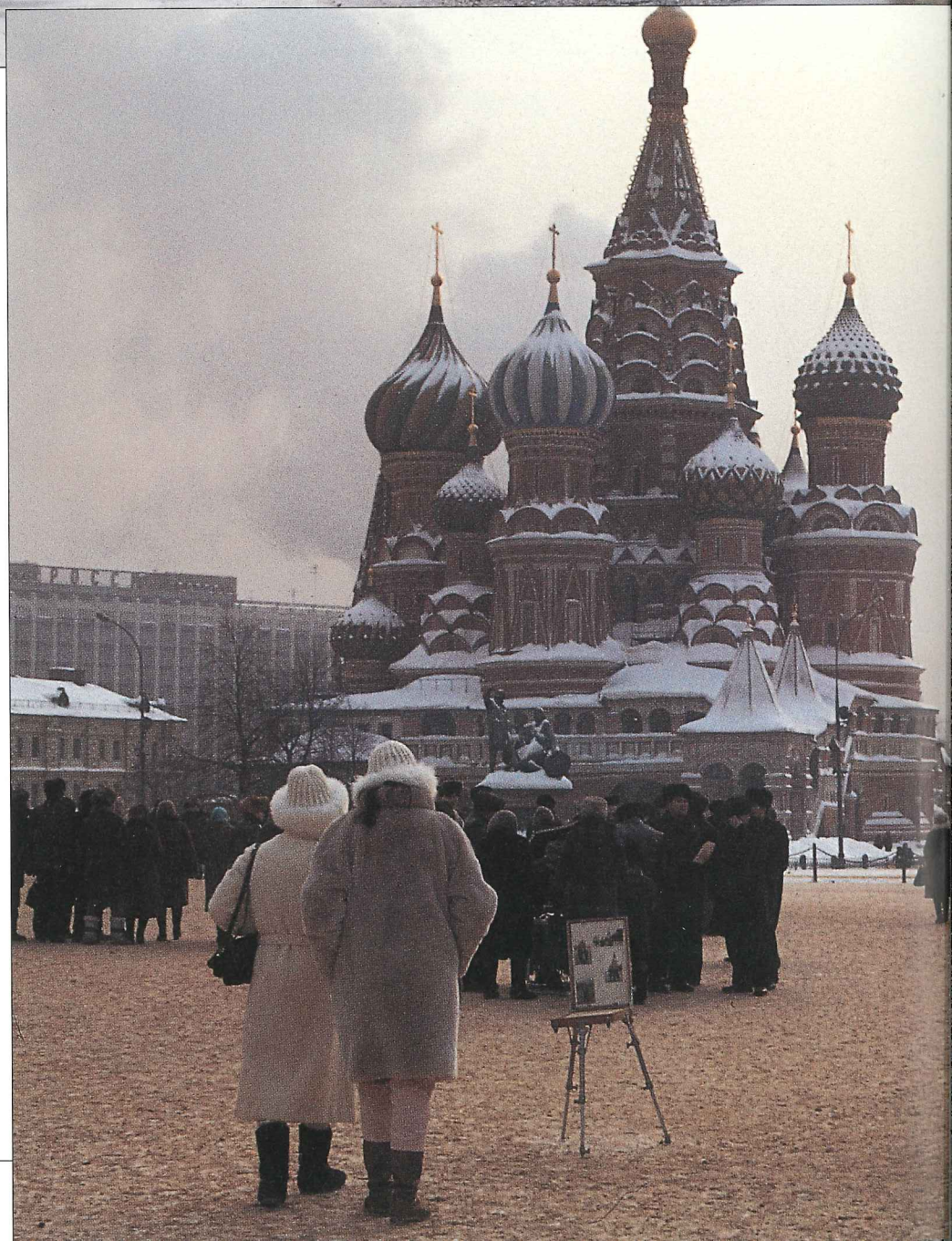
Moscow in winter had other delights.

We skated to *balalaika* music on the frozen paths in Gorky Park. I also ice-danced with the Moscow figure skating club. Though wary at first of this foreigner in their midst, the Soviets soon plunged in to tackle my faults in skating technique.

The Embassy had its own hockey team, mostly Canadians except for a few like Anatoli, who played goal. Anatoli was Ambassador Ford's driver. Fired on occasion, he always reappeared at the wheel of the stretch limousine. Maybe his driving was not perfect, but they needed him in nets. The *Moscow Maple Leafs* played teams like *Sputnik Watch Plant*, *Tractor Export* and *Accordion Factory 13*. They all shared a case of Molson's after the game.

Our children liked visiting the zoo, where a walrus with coarse whiskers whooshed up out of a hole in the ice with a fearsome shriek. Icy shards scattered the crowd.

We could swim all winter in the Moscow outdoor pool. Vast and heated, fog blanketed

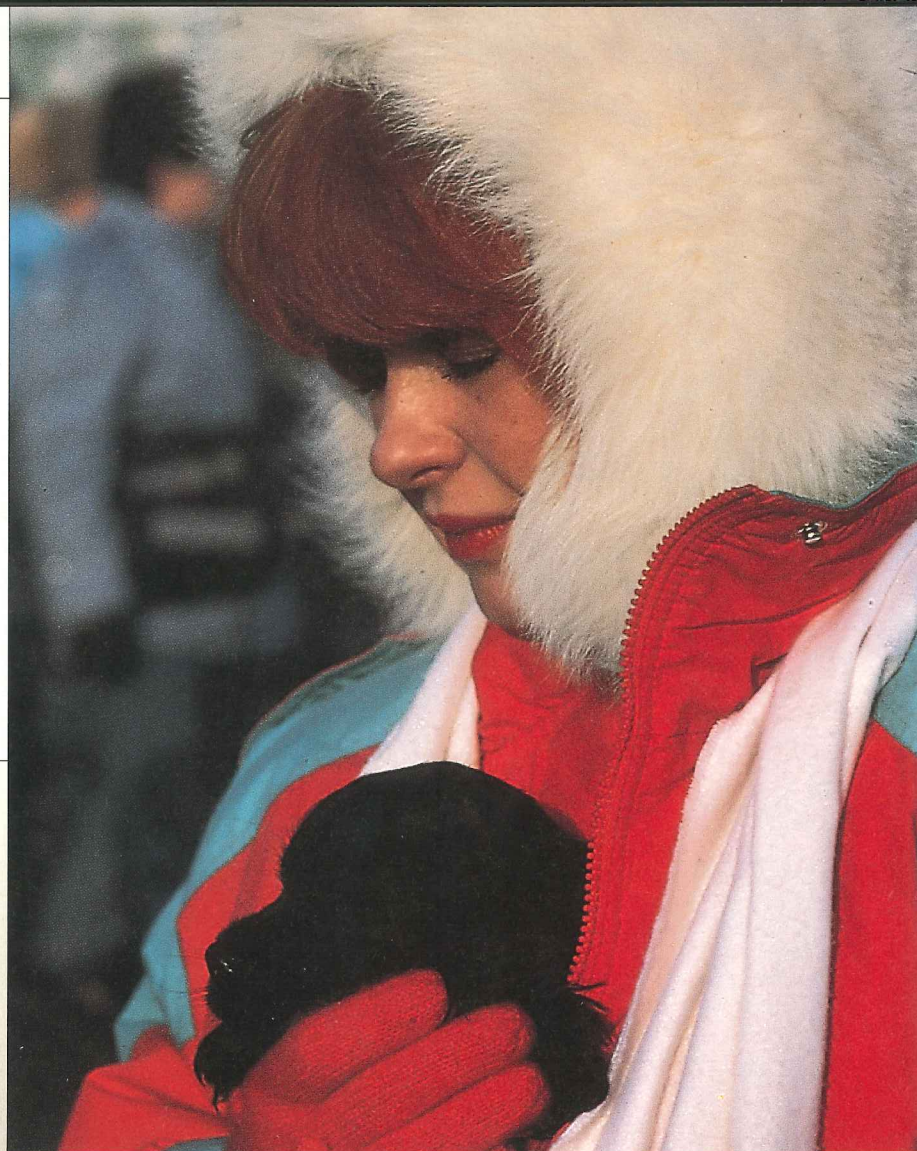


Page 25: The weekend souvenir market offers lacquered palekh boxes with their wild fairytale paintings, photos of the last Czar, antique camera equipment (I was offered one seller's entire spread of equipment in exchange for my Nikon), and descending dolls of Russian political leaders.

Left: Moscow exhausts you with its grand scale: imposing architecture, enormous squares, broad streets, and metro stations a mile apart and one mile down. In the villages, we felt more at home.

Below: Have your souvenir photo taken in front of the cathedral of Saint Basil's weathered colours and fanciful turrets. Photos are mailed home.

Right: Twenty years after the cover photo was taken, a more stylish, but melancholy, puppy seller.

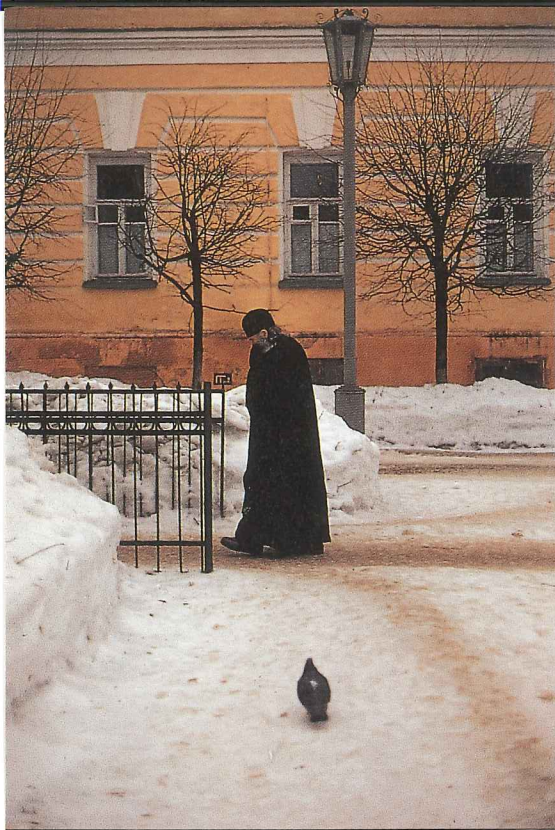


the water and kept your head warm. In the women's pavilion, voluminous women soaped each other down with loofahs, even if they had only just met. I heard that in the men's, grown men stood naked by their lockers hollering, "*Mama, otkroyta pazhalsta!*" (Mama, open please!) to white coated matrons who padded over with their keys.

For a rouble an hour, I took up riding on a failed race horse named *Immigrantka*. We circled a dominatrix instructor who cracked her whip at our horses' hooves, terrifying us even more than the horses. Our riding class shared the hippodrome with the Russian circus. Just beyond a rope of flags, trapeze artists and contortionists dazzled us with their tricks.

One day the State Stud Farm (not what you might think) showed off their prize horses and carriages to the diplomats and whisked us through a birch wood in a troika-pulled sleigh.

For more serious culture, we could catch David Oistrakh at the Moscow Conservatory. And what luck to be in Moscow long enough to see the entire repertoire of the Bolshoi Ballet. Imagine Anna Karenina as



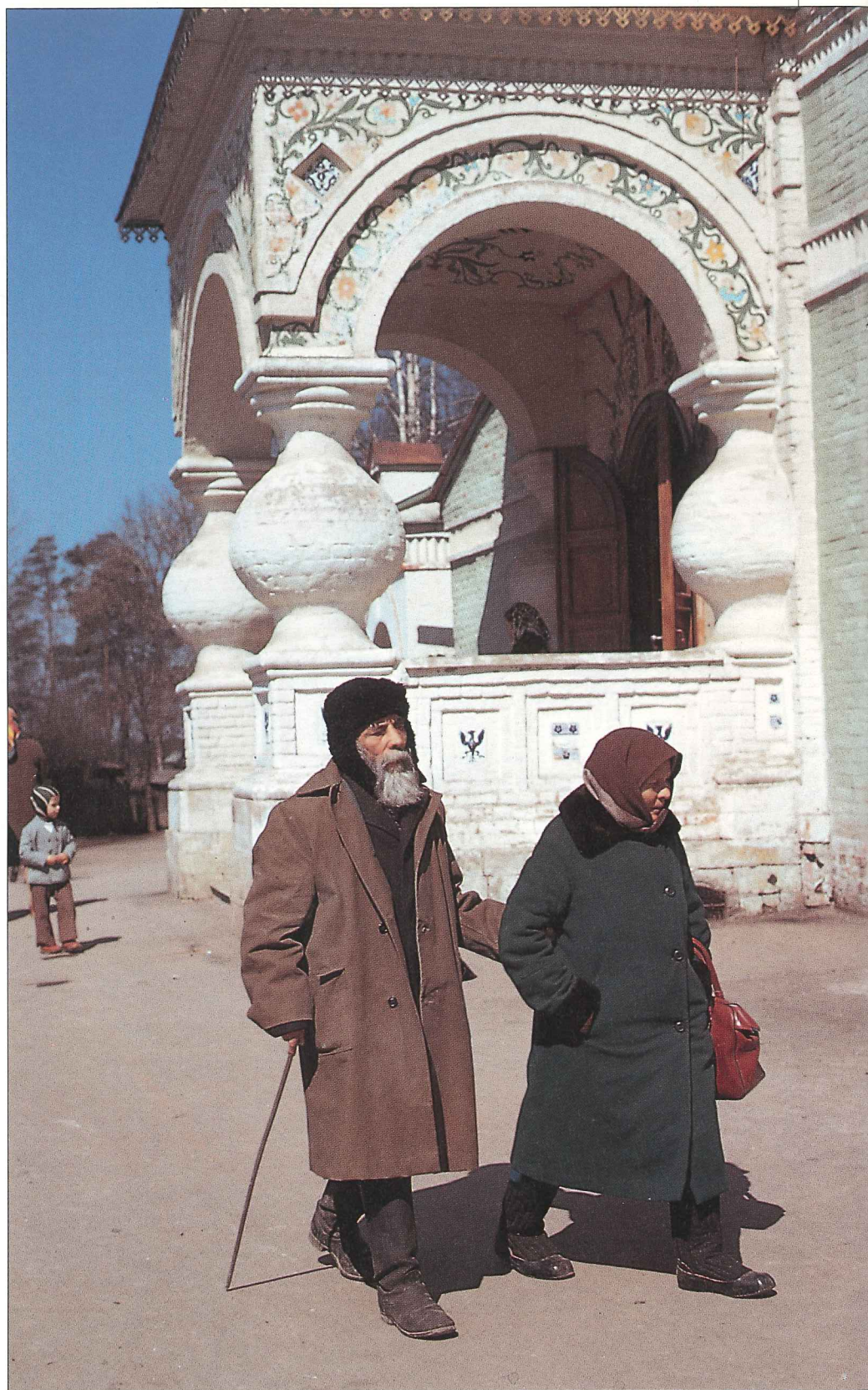
Russian churches are rich with frescoes and icons, and intimate with the smell of wax and incense.

Peredelkino, a writers' village half an hour from Moscow, was a favourite for cross-country skiing or a picnic to the sounds of a local oompah band in the park. Boris Pasternak is buried in the cemetery of this gaily painted church.

a ballet, the snow whirling in front of Anna and the thundering train! The costumes and sets for ballet and opera were enriched over the years, so that anything we saw after that in the West seemed disappointing.

Art collectors visited unofficial artists in their homes, and were treated to tea and paintings. One artist's apartment, devoid of furniture, was clad in icons and furs. We parted a curtain of furs to enter the room. Politics sometimes did intrude. One Sunday I took the children to a first-ever outdoor exhibit of "unofficial" art, but grabbed them out of danger when the bulldozers suddenly roared in and crushed the works on display. It came to be called the "Bulldozer Exhibition".

Every few months, we escaped by train to Helsinki (for colour, bananas, Marimekko, whatever we were missing, plus the dentist), boarding it at midnight. The compartments were mixed; men waited in the corridor while the women changed. Women rolled over in their berths to face the wall while the men changed. We brought enough black bread and salami for breakfast and lunch. The wood-fueled samovar, puffing away at the end of the coast, dispensed hot water for coffee; or else the porter brought tea in tinkly glasses set in silver holders.



When we left Moscow forever, we were never quite the same. Shrugged one friend, watching a huddle of old Muscovites reminisce, "They are like survivors of the Gulag. Even after they get out, the only people they can really talk to are each other."

Carol Hart was on posting in Moscow with her family from 1973 to 1975. She is now Coordinator for Spousal Employment and the Community Coordinator Program at EAITC. Her work has appeared previously in this magazine under the name of Carol Walker.

La Pérestroïka : *« une affaire canadienne »*

par J. Fernand Tanguay

C'est ainsi qu'Alexandre Nicholaevitch Iakovlev caractérisait le grand mouvement de révolution tranquille qui a balayé l'Europe de l'Est et l'URSS à la fin des années 80. En effet celui qu'on appelle souvent le « père de la Pérestroïka » s'est trouvé sur la route d'un certain Mikhaïl Sergueievitch Gorbatchev, alors que celui-ci dirigeait une modest délégation agricole au Canada en 1983. Iakovlev occupait l'austère ambassade de la rue Charlotte; beaucoup de discussions historiques qui ont transformé l'Europe et pourquoi pas ... le monde entier ont dû se tenir là ou à la résident victorienne du chemin Buena Vista à Rockcliffe. Ce distingué membre de l'intelligentsia (mot emprunté à la langue russe) soviétique avait en effet été envoyé en exil à Ottawa par Mikhaïl Suslov, alors le gardien de l'orthodoxie marxiste-léniniste dans le régime Brejnev.

Iakovlev vécut la vie calme d'un ambassadeur à Ottawa du 21 juillet 1973 jusqu'au 19 juillet 1983. Il fut témoin d'élections de changements de gouvernement à deux reprises; ces questions l'intéressaient sans doute depuis ses années d'étudiant à l'Université Columbia de New York où il avait été affecté avec trois de ses « camarades » à la suite d'un accord culturel signé entre les gouvernements des EUA et de l'URSS en 1959 prévoyant l'échange de 17 étudiants de part et d'autre. Son sujet de thèse était très audacieux : les partis politiques aux EUA. Il avait 35 ans, ce qui est dans la bonne moyenne d'âge pour les étudiants soviétiques fiables qu'on autorise à « sortir »; suffisamment bien formés dans les thèmes marxistes-léninistes et ayant eu l'occasion de faire plusieurs professions de foi dans le système soviétique.

Il n'est pas facile d'imaginer la profondeur de choc culturel pour ce « jeune » intellectuel, issu de la paysannerie russe de Iaroslav, petite ville au sol rugueux sur la Volga où les paysans sont considérés comme pauvres en comparaison de leurs camarades d'autres régions beaucoup plus fertiles. Mais

c'était une petite ville où les gens avaient la foi chrétienne et avaient bâti des églises reconnues encore aujourd'hui parmi les plus belles du pays. Il aimait raconter que le seul héritage que lui légua son père fut : une Bible. Du kohlikoz de Iaroslav à numéro deux du Kremlin, l'itinéraire de Iakovlev est absolument fascinant : plus encore l'évolution de son développement personnel comme homme de principes et foncièrement honnête avec lui-même dans une société soviétisée où la fourberie a atteint un tel état de perfection que le faux semble plus réel que le vrai.

Membre du Parti

Dans un pays à régime totalitaire, la seule façon de percer sur la scène politique est de devenir membre du parti; voilà pourquoi, après la récente débâcle, les chefs des partis de l'opposition étaient tous d'anciens membres du P.C. La crédibilité de ces nouveaux chefs est souvent mise en cause. N'était-il pas un ancien communiste? Bien sûr s'il s'est intéressé à la vie publique dans sa jeunesse et dans l'âge mûr, il se devait d'y adhérer, car, autrement il serait aujourd'hui soit dans un asile psychiatrique, soit à deux mètres sous terre ou sous les glaces de Sibérie. Iakovlev comme ses contemporains, avait été séduit par l'idéologie communiste, d'autant plus que dans son patelin de Iaroslav, il n'y avait guère de grands propriétaires terriens; on n'avait rien à perdre mais plutôt quelque chose à gagner par la collectivisation des terres. Pour les Iakovlev à peine scolarisés, la Révolution d'octobre fut un souffle d'espoir dans la détresse et l'ennui du terrible quotidien. À peine âgé de 18 ans en août 1941, Alexandre Iakovlev s'inscrit dans l'Armée rouge depuis la ville avoisinante de Perm. Il est presque aussitôt envoyé au front à Volkov au Nord-est de Léninegrad dans une brigade de fusiliers marins. Il sera témoin en 1945 des déportations staliniennes de ses compatriotes libérés des camps de prisonniers nazis vers des camps de travaux forcés en Sibérie. Il a 22 ans; blessé de guerre, il assiste impuissant à un spectacle dont il a honte, dira-t-il. Cette révolte intérieure qu'il devait subir et contenir dans son for intérieur l'a mis en

garde contre l'admiration béate dont ses compatriotes entouraient le « camarade » Staline. Il devait s'en confesser dans une entrevue donnée à la *Komsomolskaja Pravda* au printemps 1990. Malgré tout il choisit de faire carrière dans le P.C.

*Arrivé à New York,
bien conditionné
par les théories
marxistes-léninistes,
il est sans doute
frappé par la
pauvreté
d'Harlem.*

Dès 1945 il s'inscrit donc à l'« école supérieure » du Parti à Moscou, où sont formés la plupart des cadres supérieurs du Parti. L'un des métiers les plus séduisants dans un état totalitaire est sans doute le journalisme. En effet ces êtres éclairés chargés d'instruire le peuple sont en possession de la vérité et ils reçoivent la mission de la répandre. Iakovlev devint chef de pupitre dans un journal à vocation régionale : « Les travailleurs du Nord »; il n'y restera que deux années (i.e. 1948-1950) car les activités au sein du parti, toujours menées de front avec la carrière, l'ont emporté; d'abord au niveau de sa région natale Iaroslav, il franchira rapidement tous les niveaux de 1950 à 1953. Ses hautes qualités intellectuelles et son ardeur au travail le font remarquer de ses chefs qui dès 1953, l'invitent à venir à Moscou pour oeuvrer « dans le Saint des Saints » : le Comité central du P.C. De là à la grande école du Parti, « l'ENA soviétique », il étudiera trois ans à l'Académie des sciences sociales de 1956 à 1959 avant de se retrouver à Columbia.

Arrivé à New York, bien conditionné par les théories marxistes-léninistes, il est sans doute frappé par la pauvreté d'Harlem. Tout juste à côté du splendide campus de Columbia; l'indifférence des êtres humains les uns vers les autres, la mendicité permise dans les rues du pays le plus riche du monde et certains paradoxes impossibles à comprendre pour un esprit formé dans les thèses économiques du marxisme. Mais cette expérience directe d'une économie de marchés ne l'a pas laissé indifférent.

Rentré à Moscou, comme la plupart de ses contemporains qu'on retrouve aujourd'hui à la tête du mouvement réformiste, il a participé au fameux XX^{ième} Congrès du P.C. (1956) dont les historiens diront sans doute qu'il fut un point tournant dans l'histoire car, le RAPPORT SECRET de Khrouchtchev aura un impact considérable particulièrement sur la jeune génération de l'époque tels Gorbatchev, Elstine et d'autres. Il a sans doute vécu encore une fois la honte qu'il avait éprouvé lorsqu'il avait eu connaissance du sort réservé aux anciens prisonniers de guerre; la liste des personnes déclarées « ennemies de l'État » sous Staline, dénoncées par Khrouchtchev avait de quoi faire dresser les cheveux sur la tête. Il racontera lui-même plus tard qu'un secrétaire qui avait pour mission de dactylographier la liste de ces personnes destinées à l'exécution avait tout simplement ajouté le nom de sa voisine dont il convoitait l'appartement : le ministre de l'intérieur signa la liste et elle fut exécutée.

À la ville et dans le monde industriel on a aussi peur du travail véritable.

En 1965 il entreprend une période de sa vie qui allait durer 8 ans et allait en quelque sorte marquer son destin : le département de la propagande au Comité central du P.C. C'est là qu'il a eu une vision assez complète du système dans lequel il a grandi et qu'il a peu vu l'envers de la médaille.

Ce côté de la médaille de l'époque Brezhnevienne n'était sûrement pas beau à voir : corruption, fourberies, intrigues, déception, mauvaise foi, xénophobie et antisémitisme et combien d'autres pratiques utilisées par les grands du parti; il en voit de toutes les couleurs suffisamment pour provoquer une crise de conscience. Décidé

de faire quelque chose pour améliorer le sort de ses compatriotes, il publie un article dans les litturnaya *Gazietta* du 15 novembre 1972 qu'il intitule : *contre l'antihistoricisme* article audacieux pour l'époque qui laisse transparaître un mécontentement et qui dénonce la naissance des chauvinismes slaves et des nationalismes russes. L'article a fait suffisamment de bruit pour être discuté au Comité central et une motion de réprimande pour l'auteur a été adoptée.

On a vite fait, comme c'était la pratique courante, d'inventer une série de lettres du grand public dénonçant cet article. Cette manoeuvre n'a sans doute pas surpris Iakovlev, aguerri à ce genre de réaction, mais il n'en fut pas moins dégoûté. Il décide alors de quitter le Comité central et de se porter candidat à un poste académique; on lui préfère quelqu'un de plus orthodoxe pour instruire la jeunesse. À la suite de cela, il sent qu'on songe à l'éloigner le plus possible du Kremlin, selon le vocabulaire du parti. Il suggère le Canada au milieu de la guerre froide refroidie par l'invasion de l'Afghanistan en 1971; on lui accorde le jour même.

Plusieurs d'entre nous l'avons connu de l'autre côté d'une table de négociations, dans les bureaux du Ministère. Il aura ici en 1983, de longues discussions avec le futur secrétaire général du parti, Mikhail Serguevitch Gorbatchev (ce qui explique pourquoi il qualifiera lui-même plus tard la pérestroïka d'« une affaire canadienne ».) Son exil allait se terminer deux mois après le passage de Gorbatchev. Il rentre à Moscou plein d'espoir et avec un agenda personnel. Il devient directeur du prestigieux Institut pour l'économie mondiale et les relations internationales (IMEMO). Certains anciens collaborateurs qu'il avait identifiés comme ayant une intégrité intellectuelle se rassemblèrent rapidement autour de lui, et il transforma l'institut en un laboratoire de pensée.

L'entente de principes fondamentaux entre Gorbatchev et son hôte à Ottawa devait devenir la base de ce programme appelé *pérestroïka* dont on pourra extrapoler quelques idées de base.

Pourquoi le pays le plus vaste du monde n'a-t-il pas son autosuffisance alimentaire? Les paysans n'ont aucun intérêt et travaillent le moins possible. Or, l'agriculture fut la base de l'essor du monde occidental qui a su répondre aux besoins primaires de sa population. Pour illustrer ce point, Iakovlev raconte que dans la région de Tula (célèbre pour ses samovars) un chef de Kolkhoze de 400 personnes tente l'essai de la formule du travail à bail. Il choisit trois paysans, leur alloue 100 hectares chacun et des crédits leurs permettant l'achat d'un tracteur. Un an plus tard, le rendement de ces trois fermes est deux fois plus élevé car ces trois fermiers

y travaillaient de longues heures. Lorsque les résultats furent connus des kolkhoziens, ces fermiers retrouvèrent leur tracteur vandalisé par les voisins qui avaient peur qu'on leur impose les mêmes horaires de travail.

À la ville et dans le monde industriel on a aussi peur du travail véritable; comme dans l'adage qui veut que « l'État fait semblant de nous rémunérer et nous ... nous faisons semblant de travailler ». Il devient primordial de redonner au peuple l'esprit de travail et la satisfaction du travail bien accompli et dûment reconnu. Comment inspirer à chacun un esprit d'initiative et se débarrasser de ce que les russes appellent la *fauteuilologie* (i.e. celui qui occupe un fauteuil passe sa vie à défendre)?

Mais, le citoyen qui a peur de l'économie du marché, a-t-il vraiment peur du chômage ou plutôt du travail véritable?

Pour s'épanouir, l'être humain doit pouvoir faire des choix et avoir la possibilité de développer ses valeurs propres. Chacun doit prendre en main son destin. Voilà bien des convictions profondes de Iakovlev qui sont contraires aux écrits de Marx et Lénine.

Alors comment arriver à changer la mentalité de tout un peuple de plus de 300 millions? La première option qui s'offre est de transformer le communisme en réformant le P.C. Celle-ci semblait être la préférée de Gorbatchev. Pendant son temps au pouvoir, il s'évertuait à trouver des citations obscures de Lénine pour appuyer cette idée nouvelle.

La deuxième option : forcer l'établissement d'une économie de marchés de modèle occidental, semble être l'option choisie par Eltsine.

La troisième option, celle recherchée par Iakovlev et ses disciples, consisterait dans une ouverture politique et économique sur le monde entier tout en conservant certaines valeurs acquises en Europe orientale où l'on se méfie beaucoup de la richesse des individus et où l'État a assumé certaines tâches pour assurer le bien-être de tous ses citoyens. Pour Iakovlev, la pérestroïka c'est avant tout « l'accès de tous à des conditions décentes ». Mais, le citoyen qui a peur de l'économie

de marché, a-t-il vraiment peur du chômage ou plutôt du travail véritable?

La tâche à accomplir est de proportion gigantesque. Gorbatchev y a mis toutes ses énergies et il s'en fallut de peu pour qu'il y laisse sa peau. L'histoire lui réserve sans doute une place d'honneur. Boris Eltsine sauve la démocratie encore à son état embryonnaire et se lance vigoureusement dans la mêlée. Nous lui souhaitons beaucoup de succès.

Quant à Alexander Iakovlev dont les Canadiens gardent un si bon souvenir, il restera celui qui a produit l'étincelle qui a provoqué l'incendie qui a englouti les théories et les pratiques de Marx, Lénine, Brejnev et les autres, espérons-le, à tout jamais.

J. Fernand Tanguay est maintenant président des éditions du Méridien à Montréal. Auparavant au Ministère comme agent du Service Extérieur depuis 1963, M. Tanguay a servi à l'Ambassade du Canada à Moscou au début de la période de Brezhnev (1966-1968) et y est retourné comme ministre à l'ambassade, 20 ans plus tard, au début de la période de Gorbatchev. Il a aussi été en poste à Bonn, a travaillé sur les dossiers des Nations Unies pendant 8 ans à Ottawa avant d'être envoyé comme Représentant Permanent adjoint à la Mission Permanente du Canada à Genève de 1982 à 1986.

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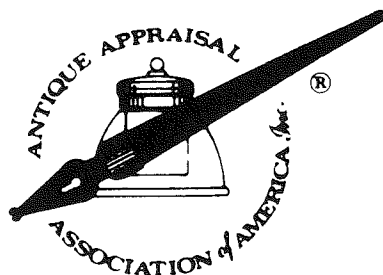
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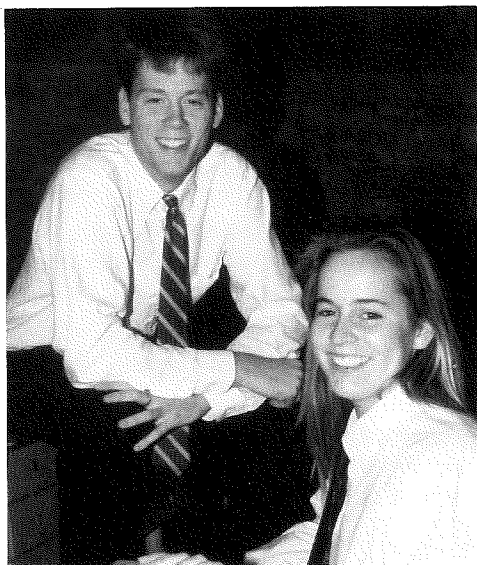
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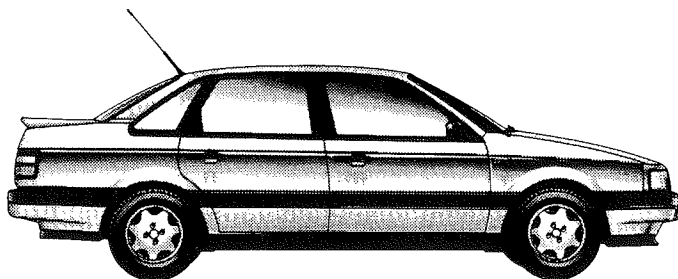
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Turtle Patrol in Trinidad

Story and photos by Kurt F. Jensen

At first we did not see anything. Then our point man, outlined in gray, slowly sank to his knees and signaled for us to do the same. Some dozen of us, about ten meters behind on a wet beach in northern Trinidad, held our breath and quietly followed him onto the damp sand. Although the moon had been up for a few hours, the rush of rain-laden clouds allowed only infrequent views of the shadowy world ahead. Slowly, in the distance, the movement of a dark mass, contrasted against the lighter sand, caught our eyes and we crept forward, all the time keeping quiet and low to the ground. It was our first Leatherback turtle.

With quiet dignity, a large and slow female Leatherback pulled herself along in the wet sand. After watching the beach from offshore, possibly for hours, she had seen no threats and was now heading for a spot just above the tide line where she would dig her nest and lay her eggs in the dry, warm sand. Molly Gaskin, a Trinidadian naturalist and our guide, who often patrolled the turtle beaches to protect the reptiles from human predators, cautioned us to refrain from approaching the turtle until the nesting ritual began. We watched from the darkness as the turtle slowly and meticulously began to dig a nest. Once started on her nesting task, she would enter a trance-like state and nothing would stop her from completing her mission, and we could approach her without causing distress.

In the distance we saw the small clouds of sand which inefficient flippers heaved into the air as the nest slowly materialized. These same flippers are considered a delicacy by some Trinidadians. An hour earlier, during our walk along the beach we had come across the rotting carcass of another

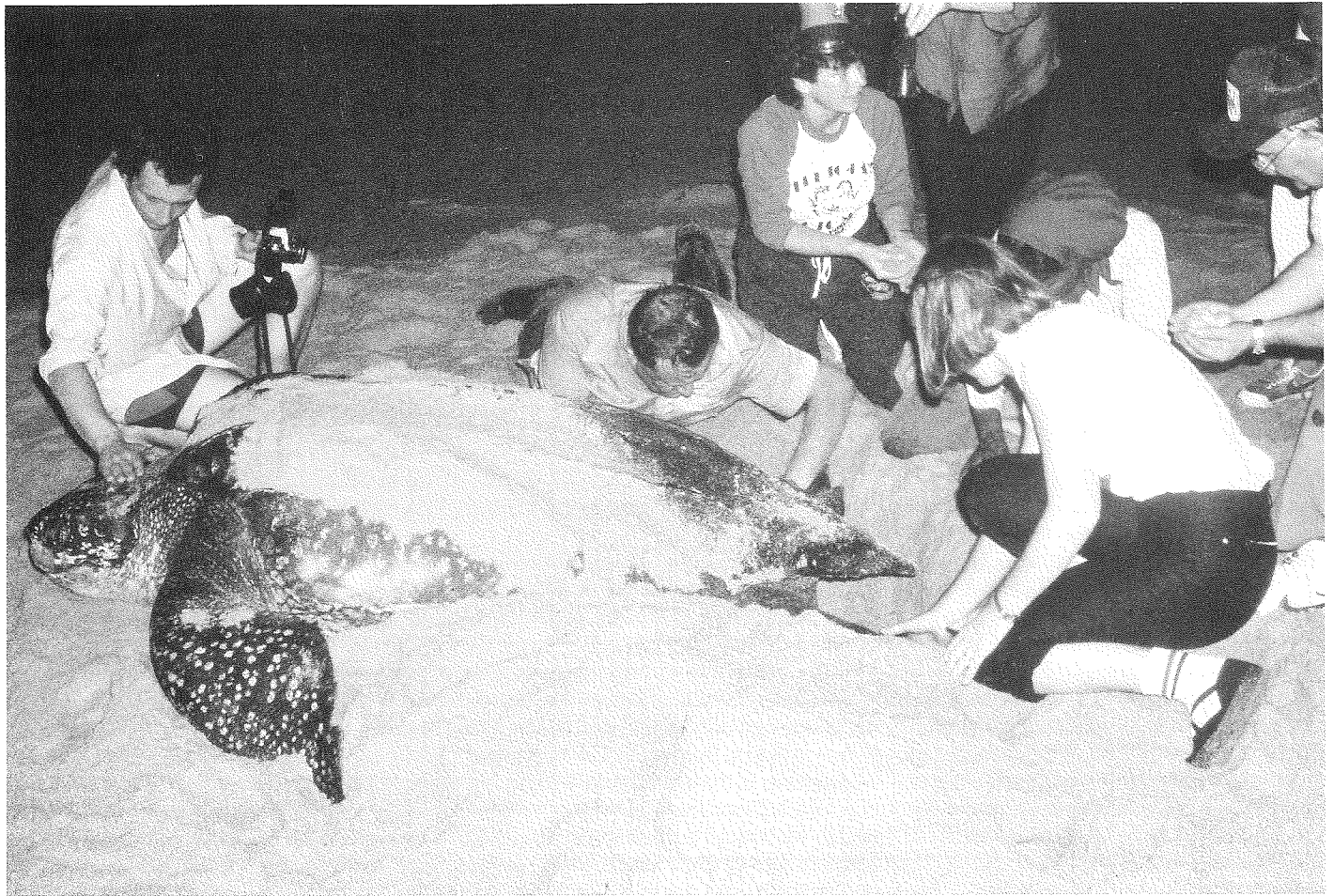
Leatherback which had come ashore only to meet machete-wielding locals. After cutting off the flippers, the killers had left the huge reptile, weighing 300 kg or more, to bleed to death in the sand.

Earlier in the evening, we had encountered eight locals sitting in the dark on a fallen tree trunk at the edge of the forest above the beach. We had nearly passed by them. But glowing embers from cigarettes emerged from the depths of the rainforest, while the dark-skinned and darkly clad owners remained hidden from view. The sweet smell of *ganji* was in the air as the dark forms quietly watched our passage. When we came nearer, we noticed the machetes stuck in the soft earth before each person. Their purpose on the beach was not in doubt. Sinister in the dark, the eight figures made more than a few of us nervous. To add to our worries, the diminutive Molly challenged the shadowy group over turtle hunting and berated them about killing these large gentle creatures. The rest of us, fearing the worst, looked around for a place to run. To our surprise — and relief — the locals responded gently that they would never think of hurting any turtle and were only “liming”, the local patois for gossiping. With uncertainties remaining we continued along the beach but I cast several furtive glances over my shoulder in the expectation of seeing dark silhouettes, machetes held high, racing after us.

We watched for half an hour while the Leatherback dug her nest. She was well-committed, and we could approach without causing her distress. Flashlights could now be safely switched on. In their beams we saw that the Leatherback was below the tide line, her passage interrupted by a palm log washed ashore on the beach. The sand recorded her laboured passage along the full length of the log. The turtle had stopped just short of reaching the end. Once ashore, a female Leatherback has only a limited time before the 80-85 eggs which she will lay that night, begin to come. Impeded by the beached log and unable to stem the flow of her eggs, the turtle had dug a nest which was obviously not above the tide line. Her efforts would be wasted and her eggs would die.

She was impervious to our presence. We inspected her meter-and-a-half long body and felt her soft shell. Tears rolled from her eyes, natural lubricants generated from a gland close to the eye which produces “tears” to rid the turtle’s system of excess salt ingested while eating in the salty sea. Washed away while under water, the excretions from the glands give a false appearance of crying when the turtle is on land. On her neck and front flippers were what looked like pink lesions, as if she had been in a fight. These were the aftermath of the mating ritual and apparently caused no





The Turtle Patrol participates in one of Nature's miracles.

discomfort. Her mate was probably lying offshore, watching and waiting for her return. Our Leatherback would come ashore up to half a dozen times between March and August to lay eggs and then would wait two years or more before returning to this same beach.

The eggs began to come. One after another they dropped into the shallow nest. They looked for all the world like large ping-pong balls. Surprisingly heavy and with a tough soft shell, the eggs were designed to survive the 20 cm drop into the nest. To assist nature and to avoid the certainty that the eggs would not hatch, we dug a new nest up the beach above the tide line and away from the log. A human chain quickly formed to ferry the eggs to their new home. It probably took twenty minutes before all the eggs had been laid. Her human assistants moved back from the turtle, some to watch what came next and others to close the nest which we had dug.

What followed can only be described as the "turtle tango". It began slowly. The nest was filled with sand and packed down. Next the Leatherback embarked on a stately and determinedly erratic movement back and forth over the area where the nest was located. Her goal was to hide its precise

location from predators. The turtle's dance before us was both amusing and dignified. Before long, we could not be certain where she had dug her nest. Some five meters away, others in our group were performing their own "dance" to hide the resting place of the eggs which we had moved. Amid laughter and much self-consciousness, our friends were using palm fronds and feet to imitate the turtle in hiding any tell-tale signs in the sand of where the eggs might be.

The "turtle tango" complete, the Leatherback turned toward the ocean. Leatherbacks have poor vision on land and rely on the moonlight shimmering on the waves to guide their return to the water. We quickly saw that our strong flashlight had the same effect. To prevent her complete disorientation, we doused our lights and watched the Leatherback struggle back to the warm Caribbean water. Her passage was slow, the exhausted flippers finding little purchase in the sand. As she reached the water's edge, her efforts took on a new eagerness. She entered the water and achieved buoyancy to permit a more graceful departure. We last saw her gliding quickly through the water. Then she dived, leaving only her wake.

We would never see whether our efforts to assist Mother Nature were successful. But Molly carefully noted where we had reburied the eggs. In about two months time, she would begin her watch for the hatchlings. If she were lucky enough to be present when they broke through the surface of the sand, she would use a strong flashlight to guide them down to the water in much the same manner in which the mother Leatherback had followed the moon to the water's edge. But the actuarial statistics for turtles are grim. Even with the help which we provided, we knew that only a few of the hatched Leatherbacks would live to maturity.

We had experienced something unique. An opportunity to participate in one of nature's miracles had been granted to us. Even as we walked back along the beach, the sudden torrential tropical downpour could not dampen our excitement. Completely sodden, and with shoes hanging from our belts, we reached our cars where dry sets of clothing and purely medicinal brandy waited. 

Kurt F. Jensen is presently posted to the Consulate General in Boston. He has previously served at missions in Stockholm, Bonn and Port of Spain.

Petits croquis de Beijing

par Anne Leahy

Le monde a changé : le marché de la soie de Beijing (qui se répand continuellement dans les allées et sur les trottoirs d'un quartier central), est régulièrement pris d'assaut par de jeunes capitalistes russes à l'allure déterminée et armés d'énormes sacs. Travaillant par équipes, ils raflent systématiquement les boutiques pour revendre dans leurs pays. Les boutiquiers chinois cachent à peine leur mépris envers ces « pauvres russes » qui ne peuvent pas toujours payer en espèces et espèrent s'en tirer en troquant quelques reliques de l'époque soviétique. De toutes façons, plusieurs de ces entrepreneurs chinois semblent plutôt blasés et tuent le temps accrochés à leur Nintendo version pirate ou à leur téléphone cellulaire.

Le marché financier s'adapte rapidement à ce nouveau monde. Un boutiquier explique sereinement qu'il accepte de régler comptant en dollars américains et à un taux plus avantageux qu'à la banque parce qu'il lui faut des billets « pour voyager ».

Le temps est révolu quand le fait d'être canadienne, dans l'esprit du chinois, suscitait automatiquement la référence de rigueur à Norman Bethune. Un vieux rencontré au marché était fier de dire qu'il avait lu que le Canada est « le meilleur pays au monde ». C'est maintenant le nom d'un étudiant canadien « Dasha » (Marc Rosewell), plutôt que celui de Bethune, qui revient dans les conversations depuis que celui-ci s'est fait

connaître comme comédien à la télévision chinoise.

Le nombre d'enfants obèses que l'on voit en se promenant dans la rue est frappant. Serait-ce la politique de limitation des familles à un enfant qui a conduit à cela? L'enfant de la famille est « gâté pourri » par tous ses parents qui le traitent en véritable petit empereur. Des camps d'amaigrissement spécialisés auraient fait leur apparition pour traiter de ce nouveau phénomène de société.

Le boom économique suscite de curieux ménages. De son mausolée, Mao pourrait sentir les effluves d'une icône du monde capitaliste, le Kentucky Fried Chicken. Il peut toutefois se consoler de faire un comeback : il se promène accroché au pare-brise des camions puisqu'il porterait chance aux chauffeurs. Ceux-ci en ont d'ailleurs besoin lorsqu'ils naviguent entre les bouchons automobiles (non plus seulement de bicyclettes) dignes de Rome.

La Chine demeure un pays en développement : l'état du Sheraton, qui fut le premier parmi les hôtels de luxe récents, prouve que cet élément essentiel de la modernité, la qualité de la maintenance, reste encore un objectif à maîtriser.

Anne Leahy a été affectée à Bruxelles, Moscou, Paris et à Yaoundé où elle était Ambassadeur. Elle est Directeur-général, Groupe de la Planification des politiques, AECEC.



Anne Leahy en Beijing

Sydney David Pierce, O.B.E.

Syd trained at McGill in economics and was a runner on the Canadian team on the 1925 Olympics. After a career as a journalist and businessman, he served with the Department of Munitions and Supply in Washington from 1940-44. He then joined External Affairs as a Special Assistant to the Under-Secretary. He was Ambassador to Mexico 1947-49, Associate Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce 1949-50, Minister in Washington 1951-53, Ambassador to Brazil 1953-56, Deputy High Commissioner in London 1956-59, and Ambassador to Belgium, Minister to Luxembourg 1959 and concurrently to the EEC in 1960. He died in Ottawa age 91 on May 17, 1992.

John Alexander McCordick

Jack was an accomplished linguist in Russian, German, Spanish and French. He served in the Intelligence Corps in World War II. Joining External Affairs in 1943, he was posted immediately to the Embassy in Kuibyshev, to which diplomatic missions had been evacuated from Moscow. After the war he served in the Canadian Military Mission in Berlin, Prague, Belgrade, the CBC International Service, the Imperial Defence College in London, Madrid, as Chief of Protocol in Ottawa, Adviser to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Minister and then Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Ambassador to Austria and a Governor of the IAEC, and lastly as Ambassador to Poland, from where he retired in 1975. Jack was a member of the Senior Editorial Board of *bout de papier*. He died in Ottawa 23 May 1992.

Seriez-vous un bon diplomate

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Êtes-vous bien dans votre peau, cher collègue? Quelle est votre véritable vocation? Découvrez-la à travers le test qui suit. Il a d'abord été conçu par des professionnels de divers rangs diplomatiques dont à l'origine l'ambassadeur portugais, Luis Da Cunha, personnage au pseudo-nyme opportun, dont la carrière l'aurait amené en poste à Vienne, à participer à la Conférence de Berlin et au traité de Rome. Le texte a été adapté pour tenir compte du nouvel ordre international et de l'encadrement actuel du ministère et des missions. Vos réponses à ces questions démontreront si vous êtes oui ou non un bon représentant canadien à l'étranger.

N'ayez crainte, si vous êtes un véritable diplomate, cochez la réponse qui vous convient, mais surtout ne pensez pas trop, suivez plutôt vos impulsions du for intérieur.

par F.X. Ernest Loignon

1. Vous êtes ambassadeur dans un pays latino-américain et votre chancellerie est envahie par un commando maoïste qui menace votre personnel et réclame la libération de prisonniers politiques.

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- c) Vous prenez un air humble et tentez de passer pour un employé de l'ambassade.

2. À quelques minutes de l'ouverture d'un banquet officiel offert par le Premier ministre à la Galerie nationale, le Chef du protocole vous approche et vous demande refaire le plan de table : l'ambassadeur Machin avec le ministre de l'immigration :

- a) Vous appelez votre adjoint et lui expliquez qu'il a quatre minutes pour effectuer les changements;
- b) Vous fuyez par les escaliers tout en prenant en chemin au bar un verre de scotch avec des glaçons;
- c) Vous pensez d'abord à votre avenir, au poste d'Oulan Batar puis, en désespoir de cause, vous optez pour placer l'ambassadeur d'Irak à la place d'honneur.

3. Par une journée ensoleillée, chose rare à Bruxelles, vous êtes sous la charme de votre collègue espagnol(e) qui vous invite à faire une promenade dans les jardins, vous hésitez : ce jour-là le dossier des pêches est à l'ordre du jour de la Commission européenne.

- a) Vous pensez aux pauvres petits phoques sur les côtes de Terre-Neuve et les industries alimentaires pour les chats et laissez tomber la réunion;
- b) Vous fixez d'un regard déontologique votre collègue et lui expliquez avec un certain mépris qu'il vous importe d'être au-dessus de tout et feignez de voir dans son comportement un petit côté poule mouillée;
- c) Vous endurez quelque temps le bavardage de votre collègue et après une heure, vous vous excusez d'avoir un rendez-vous important.

4. Votre collègue à Bruxelles a planifié, depuis des mois, un magnifique week-end à Paris. Le vendredi, tard dans la journée, au moment où vous vous en attendez le moins, un appel

téléphonique de l'aéroport vous apprend qu'un premier ministre provincial et douze députés de la même région maritime entreprennent une visite à la suite de leur campagne européenne sur la surpêche dans l'Atlantique et demandent l'appui de l'ambassade.

- a) Vous dites à votre secrétaire de répondre que vous êtes sorti, il y a plus d'une heure et qu'elle ne sait pas si vous serez de retour;
- b) Vous vous précipitez à l'aéroport : on ne sait jamais, on dit le premier ministre candidat possible au fédéral;
- c) Vous réservez votre hôtel, louez une voiture et partez pour Paris. Vous vous assurez à ce que le tout soit facturé à l'ordre de la campagne sur la compétitivité.

5. Le « party » commence à s'animer et vous décidez de prendre l'air nocturne dans le jardin. À votre retour, près d'une haie, l'ambassadrice, votre hôtesse, vous invite d'un air calin et coupable à participer à des jeux quelque peu fripons.

- a) Vous prenez un air scandalisé et grave et alors que l'ambassadrice va son chemin, discrètement, vous allez vous instruire auprès de l'ambassadeur, son mari, sur ce qui distingue la tauromachie portugaise de celle des espagnols;
- b) Vous baissez la main de l'ambassadrice et alors qu'elle s'apprête à la retirer, vous lui demandez de convier vos salutations distinguées à son mari;
- c) Vous vous sentez tout à fait honoré et, tout en lui laissant savoir que son charme ne vous est pas indifférent, vous osez prendre rendez-vous.

6. Vous êtes au Palais des Nations à Genève et alors que vous devez faire

une prestation au nom de la délégation canadienne, vous vous rendez compte que le texte du discours que l'on vous a préparé est d'une technicité plate et plutôt raseur.

- a) Vous affichez un sourire blême et improvisez sur le sujet tout en rappelant l'essentiel de ce qui a été écrit;
- b) Vous regardez le ciel (que dis-je, vous implorez), vous expliquez que le Canada n'a pas encore pris de décision et qu'il serait mal venu de se précipiter alors que toutes les données n'ont pas été suffisamment rassemblées et qu'enfin de compte, elles contiennent des implications considérables pour les hommes politiques canadiens;
- c) Vous révélez à l'auditoire que vous avez perdu le texte de votre intervention.

7. Le directeur du personnel vous avise que le ministre lui a demandé de vous dire d'ouvrir une ambassade à Oulan Bator.

- a) Vous prenez panique et contactez immédiatement votre ami député et ancien secrétaire parlementaire;
- b) Vous vous consolez en pensant qu'il s'agit une des rares capitales que la campagne sur la surpêche ne visitera pas;
- c) Vous consultez l'Atlas pour savoir où se trouve Oulan Bator.

8. Lors d'une réunion informelle vous rencontrez un ministre du gouvernement du pays où vous êtes en poste et, durant la soirée, ce dernier fatigué et excité vous fait des confidences scandaleuses sur le comportement de ses collègues et les dissidences internes au sein du gouvernement.

- a) Vous vous précipitez pour transmettre les paroles du ministre à Ottawa, en vous assurant de bien identifier la source et l'accès que procure son poste;
- b) Vous vous confiez à vos collègues de l'ambassade tout en relatant le comportement désastreux du ministre;
- c) Éventuellement vous rapportez les informations mais en prenant bien soin de ne pas en citer l'origine.

9. À la veille de la visite du ministre et président du Conseil du Trésor, la voiture officielle du Chef de mission qui avait été réservée, une Volvo 740, est en panne et vous n'êtes pas autorisé à en louer une nouvelle.

- a) Vous demandez au ministre s'il ne pourrait pas rentrer en ville de lui-même dans un taxi;

- b) Vous demandez les services d'accueil de l'aéroport de bien s'occuper de votre ministre;
- c) Vous allez le prendre vous-mêmes avec votre voiture personnelle, une 4x4 de marque russe.

10. Vous êtes en train de prendre vos dernières vacances et sur le point de terminer votre affectation lorsque la crise du Golfe se déclare à nouveau dans toute son ampleur.

- a) Vous vous hâtez à partir avant que le ministre ne vous en empêche;
- b) Vous changez votre itinéraire pour les îles Baléares ou on ne risque pas de vous y trouver;
- c) Vous demandez à votre famille de vous envoyer une caisse de sirop d'érable et de CC, car il vous faudra bien recevoir les visiteurs en mal de connaître nos casques bleus à l'oeuvre.

Résultats

Bien entendu les réponses sont : 1b); 1a); 3c); 4c); 5b); 6c); 7b); 8c); 9c); 10c). Tout le reste, c'est de la frime.

À l'origine les concepteurs de ce test suggéraient que chaque réponse devait

mériter un point. Mais on pourrait enlever...

- deux points — pour ceux qui ont un appétit pour les décorations;
- deux à quatre points — pour ceux qui croient que leur contribution est sûrement intelligente, éculée et sera considérée comme telle, c'est-à-dire intéressée;
- cinq à sept points — pour ceux qui oublient trop souvent que tout est dans la manière : il faut être calme et avoir du jugement. Mais qui sait à quoi mène d'être agréable en pleine brousse africaine ou en plein salon des délégués aux Nations Unies.

Trêve de plaisanteries, les qualités d'un diplomate idéal, selon Sir Harold Nicolson, sont la justesse du propos, le tempérament calme et patient, la modestie et la loyauté. Mais certains objecteront qu'il y a aussi l'intelligence, la connaissance, le discernement, la prudence, l'accueil, le charme, la courtoisie, le courage et le tact. Ces qualités, se plaisait à rappeler notre digne vieillard, n'ont pas été délaissées, elles sont prises pour acquises.

F.X. Ernest Loignon a été affecté à New York, Manille, Dakar, Hong Kong et Addis Ababa. Il est maintenant Conseiller et Consul à Lisbonne.

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Back to Basics

Senior management at External Affairs and International Trade Canada has embraced a "back to basics" approach to foreign policy. This means that frivolous add-on overseas programs, such as immigration, sports, culture and wine-tasting, which do not correspond to the Department's core function (i.e. the provision of sober foreign policy advice) are to be transferred back to other departments.

Through the provisions of the Access to Information Act, *bout de papier* has discovered that this "back to basics" strategy has resulted not so much from new management peccadillos, or from new philosophical approaches, but from a remarkable marketing study commissioned by the Department last January.

Faced with the gradual erosion of its former monopoly position over foreign policy making and besieged by new competitors, including the PCO, the PMO, parliamentary committees and Stephen Lewis, EAITC requested the management consulting firm of Tory, Tora, Tora and Applebaum (T.T.T. and Applebaum) to undertake an extensive marketing study aimed at devising a strategy to restore the Department's market share of foreign policy.

The T.T.T. and Applebaum study, *Doing Less with Less*, was a comprehensive survey of the attitudes of Canadians, government departments and Foreign Service employees on what External Affairs was now and what it should be in the future. The survey results led to the "back to basics" movement. In the interests of our readers, we interviewed Izzy Applebaum on the methodology of the survey.

by Kevin O'Shea

The Public Perception of External Affairs

Izzy Applebaum is a large obese man who sits uncomfortably on his desk, one leg hanging over the edge in a very informal manner. He acknowledges that his only experience with foreign relations are his annual trips to Las Vegas.

Applebaum explains, "Yeah, the study was quite a challenge. We thought the best way to formulate our own original thoughts was to ask other people for their thoughts. That methodology is common in the management consulting game, you know. We started with the general public. We set up a sample group of fishermen, stockbrokers and nuclear scientists in a typical Canadian city, Lethbridge, and asked some questions, like the following:

1. What name do you most associate with the functions of EAITC?

- a) Lester B. Pearson;
- b) C.D. Howe;
- c) Anne Murray; or
- d) Al Mashat?

2. If a bloody and violent civil war broke out in country X and your elderly mother was on an Air Canada Suntour of that country, what would you see as the most appropriate role for EAITC?

- a) Provision of exhaustive political and economic reporting allowing the Canadian government to take a reasoned, independent position;
- b) Provision of exhaustive political reporting on what the American embassy was saying, so that we could follow the American line;
- c) Promotion of a trade mission to capitalize on new-found Canadian interest in the region; or
- d) Save my mom?

3. In your view, the Canadian embassy in a foreign country is:

- a) An essential source for political and economic analysis on foreign developments necessary for government decision-making;
- b) A locale for the promotion of Canadian trade;

- c) A potential substitute for a non-elected Senate; or
- d) A place to pick up mail while on holidays?

Applebaum explains, "In these questions and others, most respondents replied d). We therefore concluded that the public had "an erroneous and unbalanced view of EAITC which magnified the consular/immigration functions, thus distorting the essential political, economic and trade functions of the Department."

The Government Perception of External Affairs

"To get an overall sense of the Ottawa policy scene," Applebaum continues, "our firm held a B.B.Q. at Major Hill Park and invited a wide range of officials from various departments and central agencies to come and explain their feelings on the role of EAITC in an informal session. Twelve of them came: eight if you don't count spouses. Here are some of the questions we asked."

4. What is the most appropriate role for EAITC in the Ottawa policy arena?

- a) Central agency;
- b) Delivery of government programs overseas;
- c) Coordination of the international activities of all departments; or
- d) Minding its own bloody business?

5. What foreign policy initiative do you believe has most preoccupied EAITC management over the last few years?

- a) Gorbachev challenge: the disintegration of the USSR;
- b) Balkan tinderbox: the disintegration of Yugoslavia;
- c) Maastricht matrix: the disintegration of the EC; or
- d) Al-Mashat affair: the disintegration of EAITC?

6. What is the most pressing international foreign policy issue facing the Canadian government in the coming decade?

- a) Extension of NAFTA to Honduras and Belize;
- b) Renegotiation of bilateral mixed commissions with Denmark on science and

technology, foot apparel and inflatable adult dolls;

- c) Opening of diplomatic missions in the countries of the former Soviet Union (including Yerevan, Alma Ata, Tashkent) and in the wonderful world of Disney (Orlando, Anaheim, and Orly sur Seine); or
- d) Rapid world population and mass migration of peoples and the implications for Canadian immigration and economic policy?

Applebaum notes, "Most responses were d). Our firm concluded in its report that this demonstrated an overwhelming consensus in Ottawa that EAITC should return to basics (i.e. mind its own business). Unfortunately, we noted that "for much of the Ottawa policy community, External's business in recent years and in the coming decade seems to be related essentially to immigration issues. This is distorting the essential political, economic and trade functions of the Department."

The Perception of External Affairs from Within

"Finally, we thought it might be useful to canvas Foreign Service Officers to discover what their perception is of the proper role of External Affairs." Applebaum continues. "We did this by putting up questionnaires on the bulletin board outside the External cafeteria. We got about 7 replies, but we believe these were broadly representative. Some of the questions were:

7. On a foreign posting, what do you believe is the least productive use of your time?

- a) Inviting a representative of the host government to a five-star Michelin Guide restaurant to talk about things;
- b) Being invited by a Canadian exporter to a five-star Michelin Guide restaurant to talk about things;
- c) Conferring about things with representatives of other embassies at the local golf course; or
- d) Interviewing 100 applicants daily for immigration in a small, cluttered and dusty office, with no air conditioning and a backed-up toilet, and then sneaking home to avoid a lynch mob of the remaining 200 applicants who did not get to an interview, but are burning your effigy at the front of the Embassy?

8. In Ottawa, as a Foreign Service Officer, I least like to:

- a) Write a Memorandum to a Minister on a foreign policy issue;

- b) Rewrite a Memorandum to a Minister 32 times after consultations with sister divisions, DGs, ADMs, other government departments, Stephen Lewis, etc.;
- c) Bet my life that the Minister will ever get to see the memo; or
- d) Have a Member of Parliament pillory me in the House and on *The National* as the unfeeling bureaucrat who is blocking family reunification of someone from a region in southern Asia with a voting constituent, located somewhere in Canada.

9. On Sunday, on a posting, I least like to:

- a) Go to see the shoe collection of the President's wife;
- b) Discuss chances of EDC financing for vacuum cleaners at the pool of the hotel where a Canadian exporter is staying;
- c) Issue emergency visas at the airport for an unannounced 35-person ballet troupe going to Canada; or
- d) Visit a morgue to pick up a dead taxpayer?

Applebaum stands up from the desk. "Most answers were again d). Our firm concluded that "the majority of Foreign Service Officers had a well-balanced appreciation of the difficult political, economic and trade functions of the Department, and downplayed enthusiasm for the immigration/consular functions."

Applebaum draws the interview to an end by opening the door of his office and indicating, with an open hand, the way out. "So you see, faced with the extensive results which can only result from a \$250,000 survey, T.T.T. and Applebaum concluded that External could solve its most recent identity crisis by getting rid of the Social Affairs Stream, which most Canadians erroneously thought important, and doing the things it liked doing anyway. Bye and have a nice day."

Back to Basics

So, in sum, *Doing Less with Less* will remain an important document in the evolution of the Department of External Affairs.

The report will have two major consequences. One, brutally recommend the elimination of the Social Affairs stream. Two, this recommendation however will mean more office space for those who remain. Oh well, you win some, and you lose some.

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

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The People of Nowhere translated by Ina Friedman, Times Books Random House, 1991, 160 pp., \$23.50.

Reviewed by Gary Harman

Danny Rubinstein's recently-published *The People of Nowhere* will be a valuable source of information and analysis on a contentious subject. Books on the Middle East tend to have strong emotional content reflecting their authors' political convictions. It is refreshing that Rubinstein has chosen to let his story speak for itself. This may afford little satisfaction to active partisans of either side in the Israeli-Palestinian dispute.

While there is no, one, paramount issue dominating all the troubles of the Middle East, the one closest to its heart is the competition for recognition and land-possession between the two peoples who over the centuries have occupied the territories known as Palestine. Since 1948 the Israelis have led decisively in terms of power and possession, but the Palestinians remain in the contest. Israel's claim expressed the determination of the survivors of the holocaust and other Jews responding to the Zionist urge to settle anew in this land of their ancestors, with a unique religion, language and culture. Their Arab opponents base their claim to the land

on the simple fact that they and their families have lived on it for centuries.

It was only gradually that the Palestinians found their voice in the growing dispute for possession of the land. In the first phase after the 1948 war, the sovereign Arab states carried the banner, but it was an Arab banner, not one recognized as Palestinian. Rubinstein picks up his analysis at this point, pointing out that the Arabs of Palestine traditionally were more attached to their own land and their villages than to a larger community. He quotes the simple and touching Palestinian peasant saying "What has a man but his God in heaven above and his land on the earth below". This attachment finds eloquent expression in the practice of identifying parts of Palestinian refugee camps by the names of villages whence most of the occupants came. The sense of loss and homelessness these refugees suffered was intensely personal and was linked to those things closest to them. In those early days, the author concludes that, had the Israeli authorities permitted it, many of the refugees would have returned to their homes accepting that this would mean living under Israeli rule.

Danny Rubinstein describes his purpose as twofold: to explore the "sense of homelessness that has enveloped most of the Palestinians since 1948" and "to clarify the issue of the refugees and their right to return". In a broader sense, he is looking for evidence that there is a real Palestinian national identity that is more profound and substantial than a mere product of PLO propaganda. He does credit the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) with having influence on the evolution of Palestinian national feeling, but he finds the greater source in the experiences of these people under Israeli occupation and in the refugee camps. His description of the result as a "broad-based and distinctively Palestinian identity emerging for perhaps the first time" suggests he finds it genuine and lasting.

The author faithfully traces Palestinian experiences after the Six Day War in 1967 when refugees in Jordan or farther abroad were able to visit their former villages (at least those that still existed). The disillusionment and despair which followed these encounters reinforced their original sense of homelessness. Their resentment at their exile broadened to include the Arab nations in whose lands their refugee camps lay, and the attitudes of the other Arabs as well as the Israelis. As time passed with no improvement in their situation, the refugees' common miserable experience fuelled their latent national feeling.

With the conclusion of the Egypt-Israel peace treaty, the focus of the dispute sharpened on the occupied territories. If up to 1967 the

development of a Palestinian national spirit was inhibited by their traditional attachment to clans and lost villages, thereafter the combination of despair in the camps and Israel's unrelenting pressure on the Palestinians in the territories created "a new type of solidarity, a shared aspiration to future independence". The need to defend themselves against the Israeli threat to their national character and continued existence on the land found expression in a vast outpouring of publications on Palestinian heritage and ultimately in its most dramatic expression, the *intifada* which began in December 1987.

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At several points the author deals also with the attitudes of the Arabs who have continued to live in Israel itself throughout the period. With different and in some cases as difficult experiences as the refugees, they have developed their own lives in the limited context Israel offers them and have no desire to move from where they are, even to a Palestinian homeland if one existed. Expressing their determination to stay steadfast on the land, they have supported the refugees' struggle only in a symbolic and limited way, as if knowing now that their destinies will diverge. Rubinstein offers no judgments but notes that the PLO has shown understanding of the dilemmas of the Israeli Arabs. He also remarks on their steadfastness in remaining there in contrast to the figures for Jewish emigration from Israel, which are little publicized.

As presented in English in Ina Friedman's translation, Danny Rubinstein's style is simple and informative. He is a respected Israeli journalist (or *Haaretz* of Jerusalem) who has tried successfully to relate what he has learned without bias or polemic. He has researched widely, using reliable sources such as Meron Benvenisti's *West Bank Project*, personal interviews and liberal illustration from a variety of literary works. Rubinstein has not attempted to draw clear

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conclusions particularly about the right of return of the refugees or the degree to which this might be exercised if the opportunity were given. Rather he leaves the reader with the thought that the issue would not arise in its starkest form, and that in some part at least the right of return has become collectivized in the concept of an independent homeland.

Inevitably the resolution of the Palestinian refugee problem will be the hardest of all the parts of the Arab-Israeli dispute to resolve because it has the largest human content. For more than forty years, the outside world has been able to ignore the refugees' situation and avoid grappling with the essential political problem through generous technical assistance and the payment of "conscience money" through UNRWA. Now that there seems to be the political will to try seriously to negotiate some progress toward a peaceful resolution of the problem, there is a greater need than ever for reliable objective contemporary studies to inform the policy advice developed for interested governments. While Rubinstein's volume deals neither exclusively nor comprehensively with the refugee problem, it offers important insights and sensitive commentary on the Palestinian national experience over recent years and makes a worthwhile contribution to understanding.

Gary Harman retired in 1991 after forty years' service with External Affairs and International Trade Canada. His last two posts were Ambassador to Jordan and Ambassador to Syria and Lebanon.

The Changing Soviet Union: Implications for Canada and the World edited by Peter Dobell, Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1991, 166 pp.

Soviet Economic Policy Under Perestroika by Leonard Geron, New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1990, 126 pp.

The Soviet High Command 1967-1989: Personalities and Politics by Dale R. Herspring, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990, 322 pp.

The Rise of Nations in the Soviet Union: American Foreign Policy and the Disintegration of the USSR edited by Michael Mandelbaum, New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1991, 118 pp.

The Changing Western Analysis of the Soviet Threat edited by Carl-Christoph Schweitzer, London: Pinter Publishers, 1990, 318 pp.

Reviewed by Leigh Sarty

Writing in *The New York Review of Books* last November, Peter Reddaway suggested that works of Sovietology published before the failed August coup would now invariably be judged by how far they pointed to, or least allowed for, perestroika's abrupt dénouement in the late summer and fall of 1991. While no study of contemporary events should be condemned for failing to predict the future, it is nevertheless fair to expect that analyses written in what proved to be the twilight of the Gorbachev era should provide at least some insight into the forces that brought about its demise. On this score, the record of the books under review is at best mixed.

Current, policy-relevant insight purportedly abounds in the volumes edited by Michael Mandelbaum and Peter Dobell. Both are the product of conferences held in the fall of 1990: *The Rise of Nations in the Soviet Union* is a collection of papers presented at a symposium on "Soviet Nationalities and American Foreign Policy" in New York City at the end of October; *The Changing Soviet Union* reports the findings of an international conference held in Ottawa one month later. While the New York meeting was a cozy gathering of some thirty (mostly

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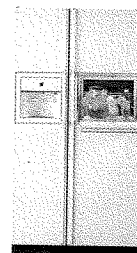
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American) academics, the Ottawa conference drew more than ten times that number of scholars, public servants, politicians and businessmen from Canada, the United States, and the USSR. This difference in scale and scope is reflected in the published product. The Mandelbaum collection offers a concise and coherent blend of analysis and policy recommendations; Dobell's volume is overly ambitious and hence falls short on insight and readability.

The papers from the New York symposium would doubtless meet with Reddaway's approval. They point to one of two possibilities for the Soviet future: crack-down or collapse. There is no moderate "middle way". Quite apart from its prescience, the strength of this collection lies in the contributors' clear mastery of their subject. Sergei Maksudov and William Taubman trace the historical roots of Moscow's contemporary imperial dilemmas in a fascinating overview of the linkages between nationality policy and foreign policy since Tsarist times, while Ronald Grigor Suny describes the social, economic, political, and cultural trends that evolved through seven decades of Soviet power to shape the nationalities crisis of the 1990s. Ironically, Moscow's attempt to co-opt the non-Russians through titular republics demarcated and administered

along national lines ultimately accelerated the centre's collapse by providing its "captive nations" with an infrastructure ready-made for self-assertion.

*[The papers] point
to one of
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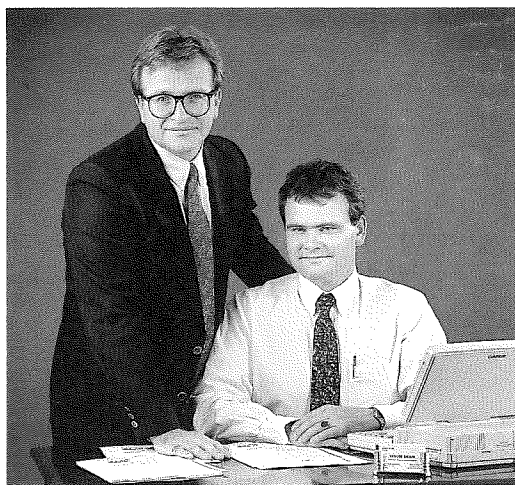
The immediate causes of that assertion in the late 1980s, the symposium authors contend, were Gorbachev's profound misreading of the nationality question and his disastrously misguided approach to reform. As Alexander Motyle points out, instead of reinvigorating the system by introducing accountability, Gorbachev's policy of glasnost "thoroughly delegitimized" the key pillar of regime stability — the Communist Party — "and revealed the Soviet Union to be little

more than an empire". The resulting power vacuum, compounded by the economic chaos of perestroika, "literally forced" the republics and autonomous regions of the Soviet Union "to seek refuge in independence", making "total collapse", in Motyl's view, "inevitable". Western policy makers are urged to face up to this reality by curbing their habitual support for Gorbachev and embracing the inexorable rise of the republics — advice that has stood up quite admirably since the volume appeared.

Dobell's book covers much of the same ground, and its conclusions about nationality issues and the likelihood of Soviet collapse are every bit as grim — due in part to the fact that Alex Motyl was a prominent participant in the Ottawa conference as well. There is greater breadth here, however. Extracts from presentations by Timothy Colton and S. Frederick Starr provide valuable background and analysis on the problems of democratization and the prospects for civil society in the USSR (including a few welcome words of optimism on the subject from Dr. Starr), while chapters on market reform and the climate for foreign investment help to flesh out the economic picture. Chapters on security issues, Arctic cooperation, and a thoughtful meditation by Zbigniew Brzezinski on the collapse of communism round out this slim volume which, with superior editing, might well have stood out as a first-rate introduction to the dilemmas and implications of the Soviet reform, circa 1990. Unfortunately, the style in which the material is presented — lengthy quotations from the conference speakers, stitched together by a half-dozen editors who are obviously not specialists in the field — lacks elegance, and is at times downright awkward. Thus, while the volume contains much that is interesting and relevant, readers seeking coherent and comprehensive insight into "the changing Soviet Union" will be somewhat disappointed.

On the narrower topic of perestroika's foreign economic dimension, Leonard Geron's booklet offers a clear and thorough account of developments through the summer of 1990. Although the possibility of disintegration receives only passing mention, Geron correctly foresees not only that Soviet economic conditions are unlikely to improve any time soon, but that there is relatively little that the West can do to help in the absence of a Soviet commitment to far-reaching reform. His detailed summary of four years' legislation designed to open up the Soviet economy to international trade and investment points to mass confusion and continued uncertainty; perestroika, he observes, has "exhausted itself". To be sure, such conclusions scarcely warrant a newsflash in the

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post-Soviet world of 1992. Nevertheless, as we seek to unravel the puzzle of "what went wrong" with perestroika, Geron's essay should remain a useful starting point for understanding why efforts at foreign economic reform proved no more successful than the domestic variety.

Apart from economics, few subjects are more topical in the study of the former USSR than the state of civil-military relations. Despite the failure of the August coup, the accelerating economic freefall and resulting social unrest have rekindled fears about military intervention in the political arena. Dale Herspring's study of the Soviet High Command neither anticipates nor speaks directly to such concerns. This is hardly surprising, since the manuscript was completed nearly a year before the collapse of Moscow's East European empire first brought the military opposition to Gorbachev boldly out into the open. Indeed, read in light of more recent developments, Herspring's volume makes one positively nostalgic for the relative stability of the 1980s. The book is not without contemporary relevance, however. Herspring seeks to explain the Soviet military's quiescence (through early 1989) in the face of "new thinking" about international security that turned traditional Soviet military doctrine on its head and culminated in Gorbachev's December 1988 announcement of unilateral reductions in the Soviet armed forces. In a consummate work of Kremlinology based on a true mastery of the relevant sources, Herspring contends that the military's support for Gorbachev reflected its understanding of the link between economic reform and the development of advanced technologies vital to the conduct of modern warfare. Significant departures in the realms of doctrine and arms control and even an overall reduction in resources were deemed acceptable in the near-term, Herspring argues, as a means to the larger and a more effective, high-tech Soviet military by the 21st century. Gorbachev's economic reforms, of course, have since failed to live up to their side of this bargain; Defence Minister Yazov's prominent participation in the coup attempt last August suggests that Herspring's analysis is not far off the mark.

It is more difficult to draw out the current relevance of Carl-Christoph Schweitzer's *The Changing Western Analysis of the Soviet Threat*. An unevenly updated English translation of papers originally prepared in German in the autumn of 1988, the collection is valuable primarily as a work of contemporary history that gives a flavour of the West's profound uncertainty about Gorbachev at that time. Separate chapters compare American, British, French, Dutch

and West German perceptions of the Soviet threat in the 1950s and 1980s with a view to discerning prospects for continuity and change in the future, but many of the conclusions already appear dated. The volume is thus further testimony to the dizzying pace of change in the former USSR, a pace that renders even Reddaway's modest standards of predictive power increasingly difficult to achieve.

Leigh Sarty is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs and member of the Executive of the Centre for Canadian-Soviet Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa.

Cold Warrior, James Jesus Angleton, The CIA's Master Spy Hunter by Tom Mangold. Simon & Schuster, London, 403 pp., \$29.95.

Reviewed by John Starnes

Having done official business with Jim Angleton over a period of about three years in the early 1970's, I confess to having been shocked and surprised at some of the revelations in Mangold's book about Angleton's activities and methods. Even if only half of what Tom Mangold has written about Jim Angleton were true, it would still add up to a shocking litany of paranoia, sheer silliness, inexcusable betrayals and arrogance!

Any researcher faces great difficulties trying to write about persons they never knew personally and about past events, a number of which, as in this case, remain only in the fading memories of ageing colleagues and acquaintances.

I have been struck by how often authors reach conclusions about historical events and about people which are only partially correct, based as they are upon hearsay and incomplete documentation. That certainly is the case insofar as it concerns some aspects of Mangold's portrayal of RCMP *Operation Gridiron*, involving allegations that Jim Bennett, head of the RCMP Security Service's counter-espionage activities, was a KGB mole. These allegations eventually were discovered to be false.

I was the Director General of the RCMP Security Service at the time the events discussed took place, and I know there are gaps in the story. For example, the story is incomplete, at least insofar as it concerns the treatment of Bennett by the RCMP. That part of the story only can be completed if, and when, the relevant documentation and the identity of the real KGB agent in the RCMP

Security Service (now deceased) can be made public.

In general, however, I believe Tom Mangold has produced a well written and carefully researched book. The intrinsic worth of the book becomes apparent when it is read in conjunction with the equally excellent book, entitled *KGB. The Inside Story*, written by Christopher Andrew and Oleg Gordievsky. It is astonishing and also frightening how Angleton's paranoia is so closely mirrored in the behaviour and attitudes of his KGB opponents and opposite numbers.

There is no doubt that Angleton's mole-hunting activities did tremendous damage to the intelligence and security communities in a number of Western countries. Certainly they served to disrupt the Canadian Security Service in various ways!

Within this context, I think Mangold has failed to emphasize sufficiently the importance of CAZAB in assessing the extent of the damage done. CAZAB was a top secret supranational organization made up of the most senior and knowledgeable security and intelligence personnel from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Britain and the United States. It was established upon Angleton's initiative (according to Mangold) in an attempt to centralize and coordinate



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the counter-espionage activities of the participating countries. It was an eminently sensible idea which, unfortunately, was misused by Angleton to promote some of his pet theories.

Jim Angleton is a biographer's nightmare. An attractive, complex, eccentric, interesting and contradictory character whom, so far as I'm concerned, Mangold has almost, but not quite, captured.

On occasion, I disagreed with Angleton, sometimes sharply. For example, when I was his guest at a late night dinner, give at *La Niçoise* restaurant in Georgetown about 1972, he casually trotted out the idea that Mike Pearson, when he was Prime Minister, had been a KGB agent. To my utter astonishment, Angleton appeared to be deadly serious. In 1946 I had worked as Pearson's personal assistant for a year, and knew him well. In my view any suggestion that he could be disloyal to Canada was preposterous. I rejected Angleton's charges, which were based only upon the flimsiest of circumstantial evidence. It was Pearson who, in 1967, had authorized the RCMP Security Service's secret participation in CAZAB, an irony quite lost upon Angleton.

Despite this and other disagreements Angleton and I remained on reasonably good terms, although I confess that had I known

some of the matters revealed in Mangold's book I would have been even more distrustful than I was of his personal judgments and theories.

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

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Sherwood Lett. His Life and Times by Reginald H. Roy, Vancouver, UBC Alumni Association, 1991, 180 pp., 29,95 \$.

par Serge Bernier

La biographie, un exercice difficile que peu parviennent à maîtriser, est à la mode. Du côté de la pire mixture dans le genre, les lecteurs rencontreront l'amateurisme partisan d'un Michel Vastel, traitant d'un Pierre E. Trudeau. Par contre, le travail sur Sherwood Lett a été préparé de façon honnête et consciencieuse par un historien chevronné qui connaît à la fois le milieu militaire, où Lett a beaucoup et bien servi, et la province de Colombie-Britannique, où son sujet a résidé durant la plus grande partie de sa vie.

Sherwood Lett est l'un des trois fils, d'une famille de sept enfants, d'un pasteur méthodiste. Le fait que son père ait été fréquemment muté a sans doute permis au jeune Sherwood de développer un sens de l'adaptation qui l'a bien servi tout au long de sa vie active. À dix sept ans, il passe du Canada central, où il a vécu jusque-là, à la Colombie-Britannique. Ce changement sera irrévocable et lui donnera l'occasion de faire partie des 190 premiers étudiants et étudiantes de la toute nouvelle Université de Colombie-Britannique. Sherwood Lett, qui s'impliquait déjà énormément dans les milieux où il avait séjourné auparavant malgré son jeune âge ne mettra pas de temps à se faire valoir à son université. Il sera un des quatre étudiants à rédiger, en 1915, la constitution de l'association des étudiants de l'UBC, (*Alma Mater Society of UBC*, organisme auquel nous devons la biographie de Lett). Il est aussi membre du comité exécutif de la société des débats, un des directeurs de l'Association athlétique masculine, président de club de hockey et de patinage McGill (l'Université McGill a permis les premiers pas de l'UBC), coach de l'équipe universitaire féminine de hockey sur glace et nous en passons.

Mais ce qui marquera son avenir immédiat, est son enrôlement, en 1914, dans le

11th Regiment, Irish Fusiliers of Canada, un régiment de Milice de Vancouver. Avec la guerre, naissant les Corps d'élèves-officiers du Canada (CEOC) au sein des universités et, en septembre 1915, UBC rendra obligatoires deux heures hebdomadaires d'entraînement pour les étudiants mâles de son CEOC. À ce régime, Lett ajoutera trois heures « optionnelles », ce qui lui permettra, en décembre 1915, de devenir lieutenant (avec de très bonnes notes de passage) dans le *121st Battalion (Western Irish)* de New Westminster. Sa spécialité : les transmissions.

L'acceptation du service outre-mer réorientera complètement la vie de Lett.

L'acceptation du service outre-mer réorientera complètement la vie de Lett. Roy nous cite des passages du journal de Sherwood Lett dans lesquels on le sent se détacher des détails de la vie universitaire. Il abandonne la présidence de l'*Alma Mater*, reçoit son diplôme, en 1916, sans avoir écrit d'examens, comme huit autres de ses collègues, tous volontaires pour l'outre-mer. Son bataillon d'origine, comme de nombreux autres, sera démantelé en Grande-Bretagne et ses membres, détachés à titre de renforts à des unités déjà engagées dans les combats en France. En août 1917, Lett arrive au 46^e Bataillon (Sud de la Saskatchewan) qui fait partie de la 10^e Brigade d'infanterie (4^e Division). Il y terminera la guerre à titre de capitaine-adjudant, ayant reçu la Médaille militaire à Amiens, en août 1918.

De retour au Canada, Lett ne cache pas (comme tous les survivants restés sains d'esprit) à la fois son bonheur d'être toujours vivant et sa reconnaissance envers ceux qui sont tombés. La victoire a été amère et coûteuse : en plus d'amis proches, Sherwood Lett a perdu un frère (Heber) et un oncle, tous deux morts en service en Grande-Bretagne. L'énergie de Lett relance rapidement sa vie civile. Il est élu premier président de l'Alumni de UBC et secrétaire de l'association du 46^e Bataillon. Surtout, il s'engage auprès d'un bureau d'avocat. Avec un diplôme universitaire déjà en poche, il pourrait passer les examens du barreau après deux ans et demi de pratique, comme cela se faisait à l'époque. Mais, fin novembre 1919, il se mérite une bourse Rhodes. À

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Oxford (*Trinity College*) Lett, qui est bien payé et reçoit une bonne éducation, se remet aux sports et s'implique dans le bénévolat et les débats. Il voyage sur le continent, assistant à des émeutes meurtrières en Italie. En 1922, de retour au pays après de solides études en droit, Sherwood Lett est reçu au barreau de sa province. Entre les deux guerres il sera, pour l'essentiel, un spécialiste du droit des corporations toujours impliqué à fond dans la société, tant par son bénévolat que par sa vie de milicien. C'est la période où il se marie à une jeune femme, avec qui il a étudié avant 1916, et où il a ses deux filles. En 1940, Lett reprend du service militaire avec, bien entendu, une baisse de salaire. Il devient major de brigade au sein de la 6^e Brigade (celle que Jean V. Allard commandera, dans les dernières semaines des combats en Allemagne, en 1945). En octobre 1941, il passe lieutenant-colonel où, toujours au sein de la 2^e Division d'infanterie, il est chargé de l'entraînement et de la préparation au combat de la Division : en somme, il répète à ce niveau ce qu'il accomplissait à celui de la Brigade. Mais, dès décembre, il prend le commandement du *South Saskatchewan Regiment* et, en mars 1942, il commande la 4^e Brigade d'infanterie, qui sera du malheureux raid contre

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Dieppe. Dans cette dure défaite, Lett se mérite la *Distinguished Service Order* pour avoir commandé ses hommes, qui souffraient sur la plage, et avoir maintenu le contact avec eux durant toute la bataille, à partir de son embarcation qu'il avait approchée tout près des plages : les pertes seront nombreuses autour de lui et lui-même sera blessé au bras droit. Cette blessure, plus douloureuse que sérieuse, le ramènera au Canada durant de longs mois. Malgré les séquelles qui le suivront jusqu'à la fin de ses jours, Lett pourra reprendre du service. D'abord, au Q.G. de l'Armée, à Ottawa, avant de

retrouver sa brigade, en février 1944. En mai 1944, il refuse un poste de juge à la Cour suprême du Canada afin de se battre en France, malgré les risques et le maintien de sa bien maigre paie que ce choix implique. Dès juillet 1944, lors de la première attaque montée par sa brigade nouvellement arrivée en Normandie, il est blessé à la jambe par un éclat d'obus. Son service actif se termine ainsi.

De retour à Vancouver, il reprend sa profession en 1945 en même temps qu'une vie riche en bouleversements. Le ministère de la Défense nationale lui demande de présider le comité qui statuera sur la réouverture du *Royal Military College*; il fait partie d'une délégation canadienne au Japon; est chancelier de *UBC*, entre 1951 et 1957; et, représentant du Canada au sein d'une mission spéciale en Indochine (1954-1955). À son retour (été 1955) il est nommé Juge en chef de la Cour Suprême de sa province : il a 60 ans. Évidemment, il doit abandonner la plupart de ses autres activités, en particulier ses nombreux sièges dans des conseils d'administration. Huit ans plus tard, il devient Juge en Chef de la Cour d'Appel, atteignant ainsi le sommet de la pyramide judiciaire en Colombie-Britannique. Cette consécration ne durera pas un an : quelques jours avant son 69^e anniversaire, il décède.

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La vie de Lett est marquée par de grandes tendances : initiative, leadership et sens du devoir, cette dernière particularité étant évidente chez un homme qui, en plusieurs occasions, a accepté de servir son pays plutôt que d'améliorer son sort personnel. Mais, à long terme, les choix difficiles qu'il a faits n'ont pas empêché la progression de ce méthodiste dont la foi a été quelque peu ébranlée au début de la Première Guerre mondiale.

Reginald Roy n'a pas écrit un chef-d'oeuvre, mais il a réalisé un travail précis, basé sur de bonnes recherches dont il a en général bien exploité les résultats. Comme dans tout travail de cet ordre, on ne trouve pas des points positifs. Ainsi, Roy semble accepter comme allant de soi le concept du raid contre Dieppe, et on est en droit, en 1922, de se demander pourquoi. D'ailleurs, plusieurs questions restent sans réponse. Il mentionne par exemple que le major-général George Pearkes a refusé la mission Dieppe, la trouvant impossible. Or, dans la biographie de Pearkes, dont Roy est aussi l'auteur, on dit que Pearkes n'approuvait pas Dieppe, mais que, heureusement, il ne s'était pas fait demander d'y engager sa division. Laquelle des deux versions est la bonne? D'autre part, pourquoi Sherwood Lett

D'ailleurs, plusieurs questions restent sans réponse.

obtient-il une bourse Rhodes alors que les notes de ses deux dernières années universitaires, avant son départ outremer ont été plutôt faibles? Quel rôle ont joué dans cette décision sa participation à la guerre, ses nombreuses activités extra-curriculaires et sa dévotion religieuse d'avant-guerre? D'autre part, l'auteur semble trop souvent se servir du livre comme d'une plate-forme pour nous vendre l'*UBC* et son Alumni. Cela dit, on peut comprendre la fierté que ressentent ces institutions d'avoir compté Sherwood Lett parmi leurs membres.

Le travail de Reginald Roy est admirable à bien des égards. Mais, le ton neutre qu'il adopte et un certain manque d'approfondissement font que cette biographie, malgré ses grandes qualités, nous laisse quelque peu sur notre faim.

Serge Bernier est historien en chef d'une section du Service historique de la

Défense nationale, à Ottawa. Il est spécialisé en histoire contemporaines des relations internationales et en histoire militaire canadienne.

Sandino: The Testimony of a Nicaraguan Patriot, 1921-1934 édité et traduit par Robert Edgar Conrad, Princeton University Press, 1990, 517 pp., 55,00 \$ relié, 17,95 \$ broché.

After the Fire's Gone Out: The Legacy of a Revolution par Robert Stone, Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1991, 241 pp., 26,95 \$.

Our Man in Panama: The Shrewd Rise and Brutal Fall of Manuel Noriega par John Dinges, Random House of Canada Ltd, 413 pp., 17,50 \$.

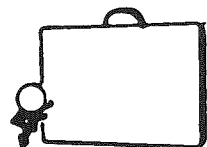
Intervention or Neglect: The United States and Central American Beyond the 1980s par Linda Robinson, Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1991, 176 pp., 14,95 \$.

par André Donneur

L'Amérique centrale et son prolongement : le Panama a été par excellence une terre d'intervention des États-Unis durant ce siècle. Les quatre livres que nous examinons, si différents soient-ils, s'inscrivent dans cette réalité.

*C'est à
une libération
et à une union
de l'ensemble de
l'Amérique latine
qu'il faisait appel.*

Sandino est un recueil de lettres et de proclamations du général Sandino, qui, à la fin des années vingt, chercha à chasser les forces d'intervention américaines et établir la démocratie au Nicaragua. Cette correspondance révèle une personnalité attachante. Ces écrits montrent aussi que la lutte de Sandino avait une portée plus étendue que le seul Nicaragua. C'est à une libération et à une union de l'ensemble de l'Amérique latine qu'il faisait appel. Toujours est-il que son assassinat par le fondateur de la dynastie des Somoza et de la trop fameuse



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After the Fire's Gone Out est l'oeuvre d'un journaliste canadien. C'est un reportage sur le terrain, très vivant, auquel s'ajoutent des informations qui permettent de suivre le déroulement de la révolution sandiniste et la victoire électorale de Violeta Chamorro et de l'opposition. Une chronologie fort utile, s'étendant de l'arrivée des Indiens en Amérique centrale à nos jours, précède le récit et permet de le situer dans l'histoire de l'Amérique latine.

Our Man in Panama est un long récit, trop détaillé à en être parfois ennuyeux, de la carrière de Manuel Noriega. Ce livre, aux titres de chapitres accrocheurs, est l'oeuvre d'un journaliste qui a enquêté avec soin sur les activités de Noriega. L'auteur constate qu'effectivement Noriega était certainement cruel et a recouru à la répression. Mais il est loin d'avoir utilisé une répression massive comme au Chili, en Argentine, au Guatemala et au Salvador. De plus, s'il a été mêlé au trafic de drogues, c'est dans les années 1980 à 1982, alors qu'il a ensuite coopéré avec les États-Unis à la répression des trafiquants. L'auteur juge « disproportionnée » l'intervention des États-Unis en décembre 1989 par rapport aux méfaits reprochés. En réalité, il faut replacer cette intervention tardive dans le contexte de l'intention annoncée par le président Bush de lutter contre la drogue. Le vent de démocratie, qui soufflait sur le monde en cette fin d'année 1989, fournissait aussi une occasion de renverser le régime autoritaire de Noriega, qui, quelques mois plus tôt, n'avait pas accepté la défaite électorale de ses partisans.

Intervention or Neglect est aussi l'oeuvre d'une journaliste. C'est un ouvrage plus ambitieux que les précédents, car il couvre toute la région. Les divers chapitres sur les cas du Nicaragua, du Salvador et du Panama, permettent d'avoir une vue d'ensemble des événements et constituent une excellente synthèse, qui éclaire la lecture des autres ouvrages. La publication en annexe des accords d'Esquipulas, de Costa del Sol et de Tela entre les présidents de l'Amérique centrale est très utile. Ces accords sont les fondements du processus qui a conduit à la cessation des hostilités au Nicaragua et au Salvador.

Pour l'auteur, la révolution sandiniste réussit à ses débuts parce qu'elle avait l'appui de larges couches de la société. Mais elle suscita rapidement de l'opposition, avant tout par sa mauvaise gestion de l'économie. Les sandinistes s'aliénèrent de nombreux paysans en ne leur remettant pas les terres expropriées, mais en constituant des fermes

d'État avec deux-tiers de celles-ci et des coopératives avec le reste. Le système de planification centralisée contribua à faire chuter la production de 50 %. Ce n'est que tardivement qu'on recourut à la concertation. La centralisation du pouvoir politique entre les mains du directorat sandiniste aliéna les autres dirigeants politiques. Une campagne d'alphabétisation utilisée pour répandre l'idéologie sandiniste, de mauvaises relations avec l'Église, la militarisation du pays, la présence de 2 500 à 3 500 conseillers cubains et soviétiques en sécurité et la politique de relocalisation, particulièrement à l'égard des Indiens, suscitèrent une opposition croissante, qu'utilisèrent les Contras.

Mais l'accord d'Esquipulas du 7 août 1987, rédigé par le président Arias du Costa Rica, pava la voie à un règlement négocié. Les sandinistes le signèrent, selon l'auteur, parce que cet accord condamnait la politique des contras et pouvait conduire à des négociations avec Washington. Effectivement, les sandinistes réussirent à conclure un accord de cessez-le-feu avec le contras le 23 mars 1988 et s'engagèrent à tenir des élections sous contrôle international lors de l'accord de Costa del Sol du 14 février 1989. Ils ne s'attendaient pas à perdre ces élections, mais respectèrent leur résultat et cédèrent le pouvoir à Violeta Chamorro.

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La situation du Salvador est plus complexe, mais l'auteur en présente clairement les protagonistes. Le premier mouvement de guérilla commença au Salvador en 1969. Il était dirigé contre la dictature militaire du général Carlos Romero, alliée aux grands propriétaires terriens. Celle-ci fut renversée en 1979 par un groupe de militaires réformistes qui formèrent une junte gouvernementale avec les démocrates-chrétiens et les socialistes. Mais l'incapacité des militaires de sévir contre les meurtriers d'extrême-droite du cardinal Oscar Romero provoqua, en 1980, le retrait de la junte des socialistes et démocrates-chrétiens de gauche. Seule la majorité des démocrates-chrétiens, dirigés par Napoleon Duarte, restèrent dans la junte avec les militaires. Les démocrates-chrétiens de gauche et les socialistes, dirigés par Guillermo Ungo, créèrent le Front démocratique révolutionnaire, qui s'allia à la guérilla unie dans le Front Farabundo Marti de libération nationale. En 1984, Duarte fut élu président, mais la guerre civile, qui coûta finalement 75 000 morts, continuait, alors que les États-Unis appuyaient massivement le gouvernement salvadorien. Cependant, l'accord d'Esquipulas et une amélioration des

libertés de presse et d'association amenèrent le Front démocratique révolutionnaire à participer aux élections de 1989, sans rompre toutefois son alliance avec la guérilla. Ces élections portèrent au pouvoir le parti de droite ARENA, formé par les grands propriétaires. Pourtant, sous l'influence de l'aile modérée du parti et le jeu de la diplomatie, ce gouvernement négocia avec la guérilla et — récemment et au-delà de la période relatée dans le livre — aboutit à un accord.

*La situation
du Salvador est
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protagonistes.*

Linda Robinson ne partage pas l'opinion de John Dinges sur l'intervention américaine au Panama. Elle estime qu'après deux

ans de sanctions économiques infructueuses, George Bush, qui avait fait de la lutte antidrogue le sujet de son premier discours télévisé, n'avait pas d'autre choix qu'une intervention armée.

Dans un dernier chapitre, Linda Robinson recommande aux États-Unis, au nom du Council on Foreign Relations, de rechercher des solutions diplomatiques aux problèmes de sécurité en Amérique centrale, de lutter contre le trafic de la drogue, de soutenir un processus de démilitarisation, d'exiger le respect des droits humains, de réduire les barrières douanières pour les produits d'Amérique centrale et de soutenir un développement fondé sur les besoins essentiels.

*André Donneur est professeur au
Département de science politique à
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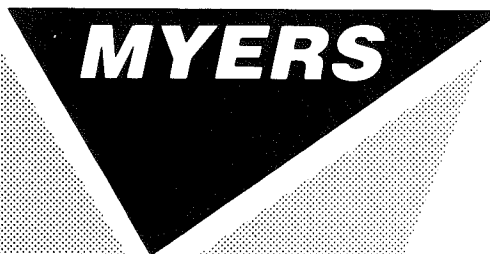
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MANAGER**

Called to Account

Another of Aalto's Numberless Puzzles

As Liebnitz passed the doors of the Centre's highly regarded journal, *Aide mémoire*, he overheard the far-from-dulcet tones of its sub-editor, Rialto Sleazewagon, in mid-tirade. "And whose brainless idea was it to make Jimmy the Turk our treasurer in the first place? The Annual Meeting is tomorrow, he's left us this pile of drivel for a financial statement, and what's more, we don't even know where he's put our operating capital!"

A telephone crashed into its cradle. Looking up, Sleazewagon caught the eye of the ace logician as he lounged in the doorway. "Oh, it's you, Ludwig. Do you know where Jimmy's gone?" Replied Liebnitz, "He's at the Hoople Festival of Pre-Classical Music in the Dakotas. He always did go for Baroque. But what's your problem? I've had some experience with his reports." Wordlessly, Sleazewagon handed him a tattered piece of paper.

Annual Financial Statement and Budget Projection

Item	FY 91/92	FY 92/93
Revenue		
Subscriptions	I R A T E	E R E C T
Advertising	P A L E R	?
Block Grant	C H I P	1 9 1 8
Under the Table	3 2 8 0	P E E L
TOTAL	?	T R A I L
Expenditure		
Graphics	H E A R T	B L A R E
Printing	P L E B E	B R A C E
Distribution	8 2 8 0	B E L T
Coffee	A B A T E	9 7 9 9
TOTAL	C H A R T	T R I L L
Surplus (Deficit)	5 6 9	(E A R)

Attached to the paper was a scrawled note in the Turk's hand-writing:

- Most of the numerical entries in this statement have been replaced by letters, the same letter replacing the same number at all times. Each entry so "encoded" forms a word. Work out the number-letter code and you will be able to reconstruct the balance sheet.
- Two of the entries are missing. Once you have worked out the other entries, you will be able to calculate the missing ones. Encode these entries into words to learn the name of the firm that has the money.
- The ten letters used to encode the entries form the anagram for a ten-letter noun. A handful of these letters (each used only once) form the anagram for the name of a genius who has been decomposing since 1750. His name and the ten-letter noun begin with the same letter. Together the name and the noun tell you the location of the branch.
- The letters that are *not* used for the name of the genius (again, each used only once) form another anagram. Use the number-letter code to change this anagram into a number. Then do what the anagram says to that number — the result is the necessary 7-digit account number. "Clear as mud," complained Sleazewagon. "Actually, it's not bad for Jimmy," replied

Liebnitz. "He must be trying to give you a break. But how are we supposed to choose among all the banks in the world..." The sub-editor interrupted him. "I can help you with that. We've narrowed it down to five investment houses — Zudden McFreeze, Aerie Smyles, Slye Krook & Dodge, The Coldfish Group, and Lizard Peres. It's one of those — but they have branches everywhere!"

Within a few minutes, Liebnitz had it all worked out. Can you duplicate his feat, by: (a) restoring the balance sheet to a usable form for the Annual Meeting; (b) working out the three anagrams; (c) giving the firm, branch location and number of the account where the funds are deposited?

As an urgent side matter (but not necessary for the answer), please suggest how Rialto Sleazewagon can justify a five-figure expenditure for coffee, especially given the Centre's new Lifestyles Curtailment Program.

Born in pre-revolutionary Tannu Tuva and raised by Patagonian missionaries on the Zambesi, free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto now commutes between Hell (Norway) and Paradise (Pennsylvania). He frequently loses his balance, especially after a heavy evening at the Cock and Bull.

Interlocking Organs: Answers

Members by Sector:

- BRIGADOON, DOGPATCH
- RURITANIA, WONDERLAND
- CAMELOT
- NEVER-NEVER LAND
- empty
- MIDDLE-EARTH, NARNIA
- CELESTEVILLE
- EL DORADO
- BROBDINGNAG
- ATLANTIS
- UTOPIA, EREWHON, SHANGRI-LA
- VANITY FAIR
- GOTHAM CITY

Bodies by Circle:

(A) CSCE; (B) IMF; (C) UNESCO; (D) OAS.

The country Jimmy identified was Canada. The "gap" or empty sector (number 5) is the one designating membership in all four bodies — the CSCE, the IMF, UNESCO and the OAS. In the real world (see Jimmy's secret message), Canada is the only country that belongs to all of them. Some countries will do anything to win an international flugel-off!!

A Aalto Puzzle Winner, Vol. 9, No. 3:

Michael Small
San José



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