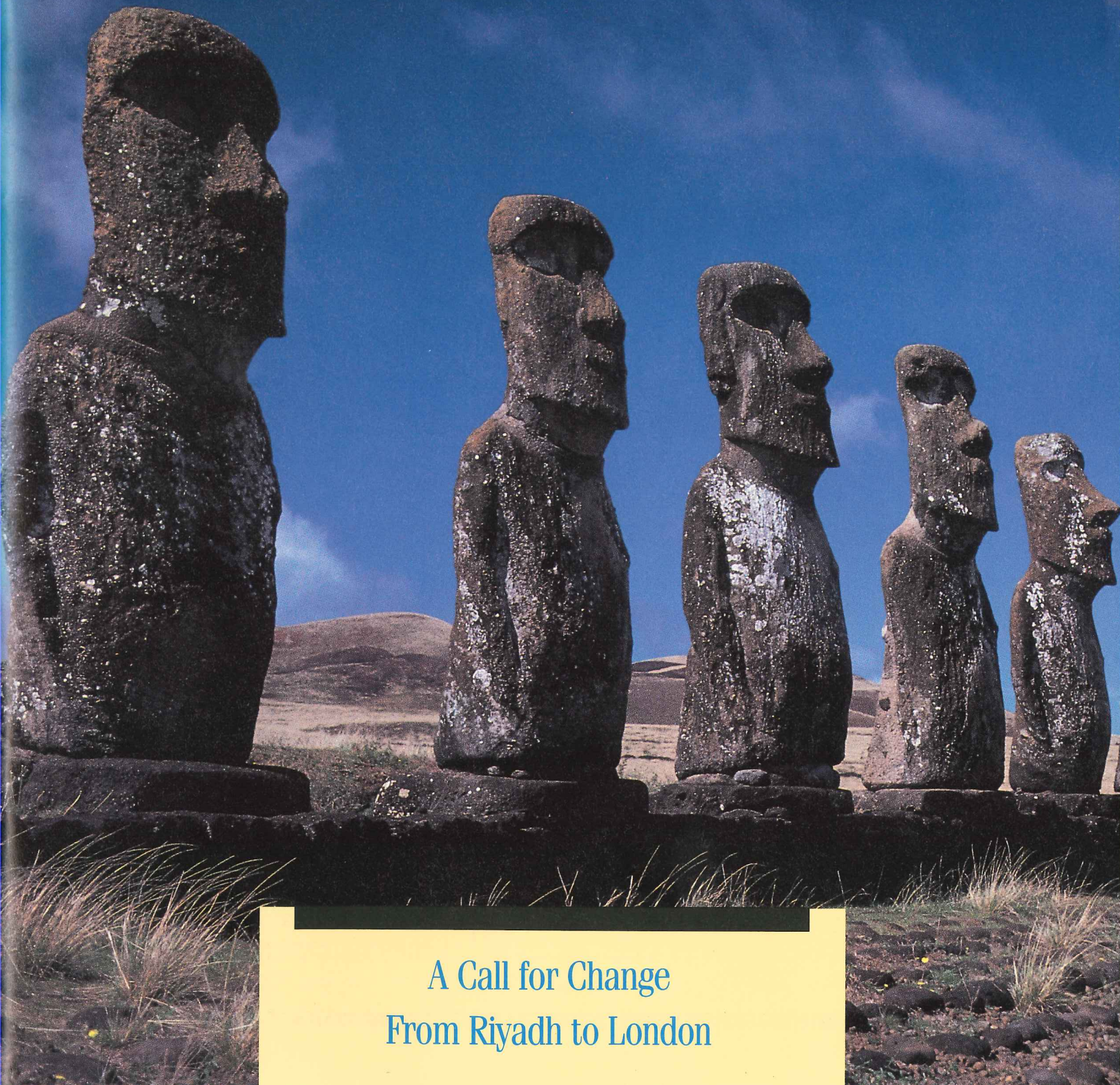


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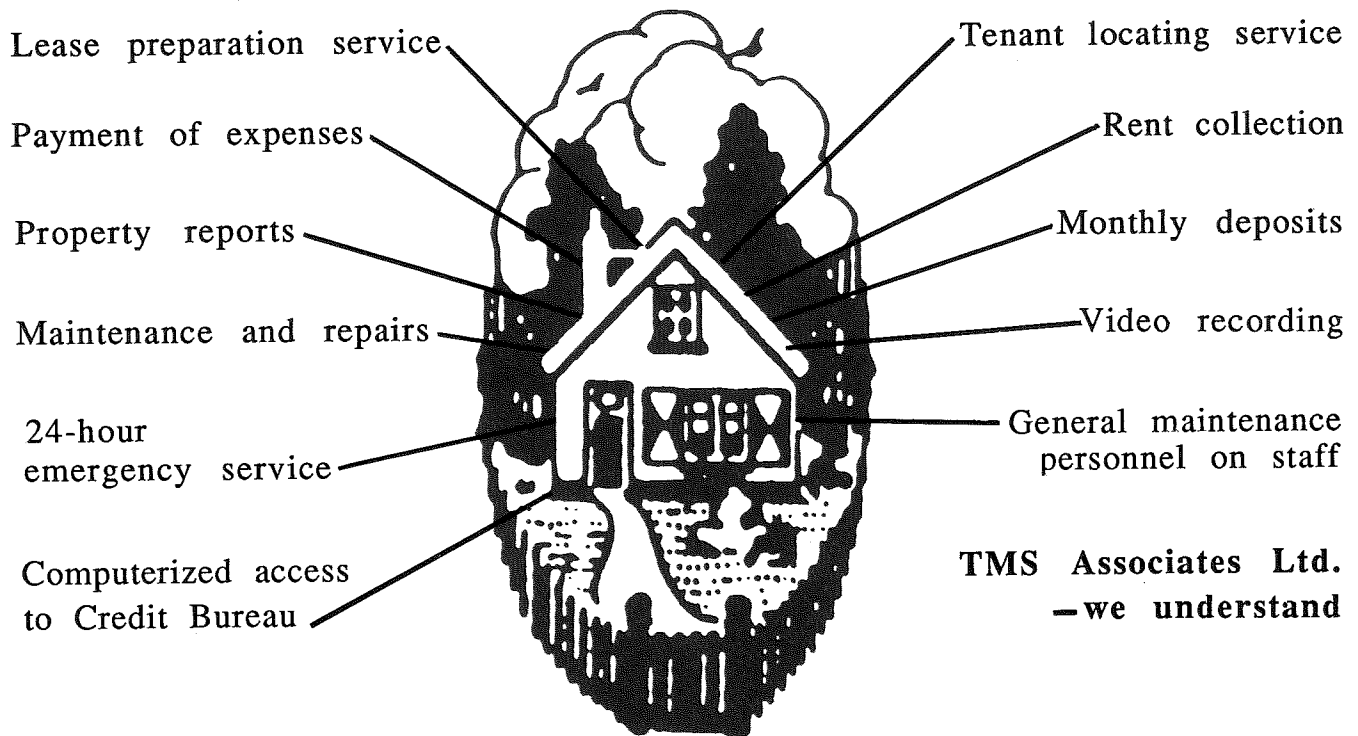
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Features/Reportages

The Political-Economic Relations Program: A Call for Change

John Halstead outlines the results of his eight-month study on the functioning of the Political-Economic Relations Program at External Affairs.

15

À propos d'un aspect peu connu des relations canado-roumaines

J.E. Thibault a découvert pourquoi le Canada avait accordé un prêt de 25 000 000 \$ à la Roumaine en 1919.

18

The Earth Summit

John Bell, Special Advisor to the SSEA on the Environment, reports on the outcome of the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro.

20

Reflections on the Earth Summit

Michael Small, a member of the Canadian Delegation attending the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, shares his impressions about one of the strangest assemblies of world leaders ever gathered.

24

Departments/Chroniques

Editor's Notebook / Carnet du rédacteur

Creative Diplomacy

2

Letters / Correspondance

4

Commentary / Opinion Libre

Independence at Risk

Daryl Copeland charges that the quality of political assessment at External Affairs is seriously constrained.

6

Guest Column / Invité d'honneur

Bread and Laundry in Brazil

Conan Purves describes an unusual Brazilian recipient of funds from the Canada Fund.

8

Pardy's Corner / Rubrique de Pardy

Gaffs and Gambits

12

In Memoriam / En mémoire de

Milton Blackwood, Hugh Keenleyside, Paul Martin Sr. and Alan McLaine.

28

Tales from Far and Wide / Contes du monde entier

Rapa Nui: An Island in Peril

David Bickford explores the mysteries of Easter Island.

30

"Drive" They Said: Overland from Riyadh to London

Albert and Jennifer Galpin drive 8,000 kms through thirteen countries in just twenty-two days.

Books in Review / Critiques de livres

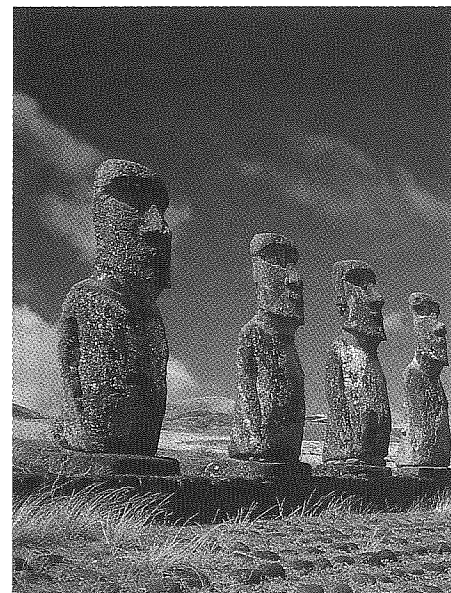
40

Peter Dobell on *"I'll be with you in a minute, Mr. Ambassador": The Education of a Canadian Diplomat in Washington* by Allan Gotlieb; Michael Shenstone on *The Gulf Within: Canadian Arabs, Racism and the Gulf War* by Zuheir Kashmeri and *Saddam's War: The Origins of the Kuwait Conflict and the International Response* by John Bulloch and Harvey Morris; Steven Lee on *Sea Changes: American Foreign Policy in a World Transformed* edited by Nicholas X. Rizopolous and *Same Bed, Different Dreams: America and Japan — Societies in Transition* edited by Alan D. Romberg and Tadashi Yamamoto.

Entertainment / Divertissement

47

Death and Drugs and Rock 'N' Roll by A Aalto



Our cover photo taken by David Edwards, a foreign service officer, is of stone monoliths located on Easter Island.



The Galpins, Albert, Jennifer and then 14-month-old Kristianne (above) drive overland from Riyadh to London. Story, page 33.

In Our Upcoming Issue:

The Canadian Foreign Service Institute
Redefining Defence Priorities

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CREATIVE DIPLOMACY:

Is Canada Up to It?

The practice of diplomacy is probably entrenched in as many ways as is the practice of the legal profession or the military profession. Is there a possibility for "creative diplomacy", or is the concept impossible to achieve from the start? If it is possible for some notion of creative diplomacy to exist, what could this mean?

In describing "diplomat" and "diplomacy", the **Concise Oxford Dictionary** refers repetitively to "skill" or "adroitness" in managing international relations and in conducting negotiations. How skillful or adroit are we if we continue to carry out the practice of foreign policy in a monolithic manner or if we do not change the style to suit the message or the mood of the day? This essay is not about knocking diplomats or knocking External Affairs or knocking Canadian foreign policy. It tries to focus on "reformatting", if you will, the practice of diplomacy.

I have often wondered why diplomats and governments have not looked at how other corporations or professions function in order to achieve the desired result. If we want to achieve a change somewhere, why do we not set out as missionaries have done, or aid cooperants, or public health professionals, or education specialists and actually put people on site locally to work with their counterparts in carrying out the desired change? Why do we not effect change by doing rather than by lecturing, making speeches, negotiating resolutions and delivering démarches; or by writing memoranda to ministers, submissions to treasury board, and letters to heads of state?

Take the notion of peacekeeping or the practice of diplomacy, and the broad interest internationally in Canada's expertise in carrying them out. It is widely accepted that Canadians do both these activities very well. It is not that we are brighter, or bolder, or braver. It is not because we have larger military establishments or foreign service operations than have other countries. In fact, we are smaller by far on both counts than many other countries, developed or developing alike.

It is not clear that any single answer can explain our abilities in these areas. Certainly, we have well-educated and trained individuals — but so have many other countries. We have no history of being colonizers — but that is equally true for many others. We

have no real history of being conquered or defeated as a nation and this is probably rare. Perhaps this explains our basic optimism and openness in approaching other countries and in participating actively in multilateral organizations. But if this is true, then why do we feel compelled to boast loudly, loudly and repeatedly about our success in these matters? Is it because at bottom we do not believe we have made lasting or solid achievements in these fields? Why not let others praise us, or are we afraid that the silence will be deafening? Why do Canadians feel they must be able to total-up the score for public accolades on a job well-done before they accept that it has in fact been done and done well?

Why do we provide the information, expertise or training that is requested in a dead, static or elitist manner? You know what I mean: the Canadian expert, located in a Canadian establishment somewhere, speaking in English or French, standing in front of a group of persons who have been specifically brought in at government expense (using APEX flights and hotels from the white, not the green, pages) from points around the world or a particular geographic region.

Why do we not only tell them how to do something differently but do it in a rigid, vertical, hierarchical manner? Why do we not seek them out in **their** places of occupation, search out **their** views on the subject and speak with them in **their** language? They too watch television and have views on these matters. Why not share our knowledge or expertise in a more participatory, egalitarian manner? We are great holders of colloquia or convenors of conferences. But do they achieve lasting results that are even reproducible when the knowledge imparted or information given is transported to its end site?

We spend our lives writing speeches, briefing notes, talking points, key messages and questions and answers for the House. We also make démarches and speeches, deliver diplomatic notes and cheques, and negotiate agreements, treaties and resolutions. What is achieved by all this? We do achieve a certain number of international agreements, codes of conduct or behaviour, charters of rights or obligations — and these

do have effects to one degree or another. But do they affect the rights, responsibilities, roles or expectations of real, identifiable individuals? Has the understanding of that role or expectation by a soldier in country X or a policeman in country Y been changed in any manner? Will one less tree be wantonly cut down rather than by purposeful design? Will one less unwanted child be born who has no possible hope for a better future?

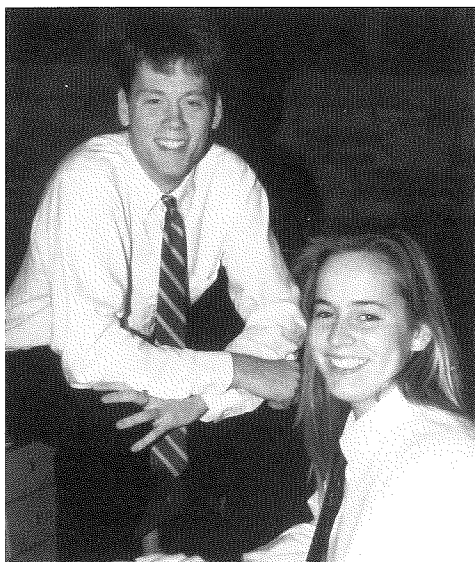
How many speeches, resolutions, threats of sanctions or briefing notes does it take? Is one briefing note equal to, greater than or less than one speech? If we throw away all the speeches and concentrate on producing perfect key messages, would it be any different? What if we forget about key messages and just focus on main messages, or other messages — would this be better or worse than, say, producing one resolution per year, or one resolution per multilateral forum?

What if we did not produce any of these items — simply banned them from the job descriptions of Canadian bureaucrats and then concentrated on, say, memoranda to cabinet, or treasury board submissions, or aide-mémoires, or discussion papers, or non-papers or press releases. Is there some hierarchy of meritorious achievement to be found in these items? Is it more of an achievement to work on the briefing books for three ministerial visits or for one prime ministerial visit and part of a governor-general visit? Does this change if there is an article in the **Globe and Mail** or **Le Devoir**? How does a photograph affect the scale — say a photo in the **Sun** or in **Frank**? What if it is only a cartoon? What if Conrad Black writes a letter to the Editor? What if it is only on the **Op-Ed** page? What if they raise or lower the flag at the same time? Does playing the national anthem count?

How much creativity can we stand?

Carol N. Markham

Carol N. Markham
Editor



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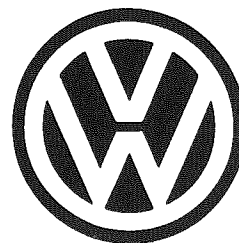
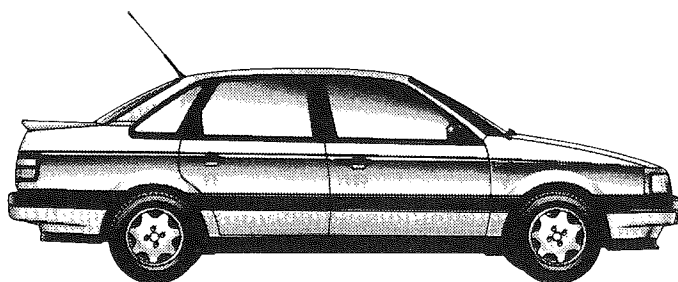
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Editor:

We much enjoyed Hugh Stephens' account of his 1991 trip to Pyongyang, North Korea (*bout de papier*, Vol. 9 No. 4) and congratulate him on it. Particularly interesting were his observations about Kaesong and the truce village of Panmunjon. As he says, he is probably the first Canadian official to have gone "through the looking-glass" and seen Panmunjon from both South and North Korea.



We can add a small historical note in that, contrary to his speculation, Canadian officials from Tokyo did visit Korea in the 1930s. Sir Herbert Marler, then Canadian Minister to Japan, did so in 1930, accompanied by James A. Langley (the Trade Commissioner), as did Hugh Keenleyside (see the latter's memoirs, Vol. 1 pp. 380-81). Somewhat earlier, Langley (then Trade Commissioner in Kobe with responsibility for Korea) visited that country, on one occasion with his family. In case you have space, we enclose a photo of the Langley family on their travels about 1928. (The little boy on the right followed in his father's footsteps in the foreign service).

J.A. Stiles
J.C. Langley
Ottawa

Editor:

Re Transfer of Social Affairs Stream to CEIC — *bout de papier* vol. 9 No. 3, in spite of the excellent coverage of the transfer/expulsion of the Social Affairs Stream from EAITC to CEIC by Manila, Shenstone and

Simpson, one major issue remains to be emphasized:

This transfer, including the essential staff capabilities, involves a major shift of the foreign policy function. It may well be that, for reasons not immediately apparent, the Canadian Government wishes to decentralize its foreign policy responsibilities in Ottawa. It seems to have decided that aid policy, including emergency and disaster relief and international aid to refugee programs should be administered separately from EAITC, immigration policy separately from EAITC, cultural policy separately from EAITC, and trade policy, at least to some extent, independently of its Foreign Affairs Minister.

Practically every government department in Ottawa has some major foreign policy interest. It appears these departments are being allowed or even encouraged to develop and to expand these interests independently of EAITC. The result will certainly be to diminish the concentrated application of Canadian foreign policy.

It is strange that this is happening at a time when most or many other governments, particularly those in Europe, seem determined to establish coordinated national and regional foreign policies. It will certainly not be to Canada's competitive advantage if the trend to disintegrate our foreign policy is maintained.

John Hadwen
Ottawa, Ontario

Editor:

The *feuille de chou* Award of the summer of 1992 goes to the *bout* for the reminder in "Pardy's Corner" that, before the mid-sixties, FSOs were selected from those of the Upper Class who had attended Upper Canada College.

It's nice for us oldies to have our pedigrees made known to the current crop of the democratic foreign service, especially now that few of us can find our UCC diplomas or what's left of our UC inheritances and trappings. Thank goodness that, even 25 years on, "Pardy's Corner" can recall those elite days of yore....

Gordon Brown (Class of '47)
Victoria, BC

Editor:

The last issue of *bout de papier* in 1992 certainly made interesting reading as the

final hours of Canada's one hundred and twenty fifth year drew to a close.

In particular, on page 3, I was highly intrigued by the analogous comment of Mr. Arthur Andrew that a contemporary public servant who takes an aggressive stance against opponents of his/her employers policies and also has the gall to articulate those views in writing, signalled to him that the assimilation of Canada with the United States is "going on apace".

That snippet of questionable logic was followed by another article written by a self professed FTA agnostic, ex senior Canadian public servant Mr. Peter Johnston. Upon applying a subtle brand of his own polemical prose Mr. Johnston neatly took Mr. Michael Hart to task then led the reader into a compendium of "loaded" FTA and NAFTA related questions.

Finally, I would answer yes to Mr. Johnston who despite the devoutness of his negative posture in the use of the wonderfully descriptive word "gobbledegook" uses it himself with considerable aplomb. I refer of course to his querying whether certain of the views of Mr. Mel Hurtig and former US Secretary of State Mr. George Bell could be considered as constipated nonsense.

Paul C. Hubbard
Trade Commissioner
ITC, Calgary, Alberta

Editor:

As the Department has been encouraging Heads of Mission over 60 to retire, you might like to look back at the early days of the foreign service.

In 1884, the 62 year old statesman Sir Charles Tupper was appointed as High Commissioner in London. Apart from a brief period back in Canada as Minister of Finance, he remained there for 12 years. He finally returned to Canada in 1896 in his mid-70s not to retire but to reenter politics. He became the fourth of the Conservative Prime Ministers who tried in rapid succession to fill the gap left by the death of Sir John A. Macdonald.

In London, the 74 year old Sir Charles made way for an older man, Sir Donald A. Smith, 75, later raised to the peerage as Lord Strathcona. He is probably best known to most Canadians as the bewhiskered gentleman photographed driving home the Last Spike in the Canadian Pacific Railway at Craigellachie in 1885. He had risen from his first job as a fur trader in the Labrador to become Chairman of the Hudson's Bay Company and President of the Bank of

Montreal, as well as a leading financier of the CPR. He served for nearly 18 years as High Commissioner, while in Canada power passed from the Conservatives to the Liberals and back again. Lord Strathcona died in office in 1914 at the age of 93.

An early, hostile biographer suggested that Lord Strathcona had managed to hold office under successive Conservative and Liberal governments because both parties were equally afraid of the political consequences of having him back in Canada. He speculated that for Lord Strathcona, London was an ideal point from which to thwart the plans of rival railway magnates to raise money on the international bond market. Unlike today, neither age restrictions nor conflict of interest regulations then applied.

J.R. Francis
Ottawa, Ontario

Editor:

I would like to comment on Andrew Griffiths' article in the Spring 1992 issue: The Trade Commissioner Service: A Different Second Century.

I think it is very important as we approach the Second Century of the Trade Commissioner Service in Canada that we start to think about the relationship of the Trade Commissioner Service to the private sector and how best to ratchet up our total trade volumes.

As a private international management consultant working with exporters around the world I have become acutely aware of the capabilities and weaknesses of both government and the private sector in our international trade and investment strategy. My firm has worked with numerous national government trade representatives at the provincial, state, regional, municipal and federal levels. The Canadian Trade Commissioner Service is truly unique among government trade officials worldwide. We have managed to achieve excellence in our overseas representation.

While this is cause for celebration and EAITC should be congratulated on a job well done, aptly Mr. Griffiths identifies the need for reflection. I have a few questions myself.

Why is it that we now have more international marketing capability in the public sector than in the private sector? In my own work the goal of creating an export and trading nation beyond our traditional North American market will require a strong strategic alliance between the public and the private sector.

What will be required in my opinion is a commitment to working smarter and [in] some cases harder to make companies and products and services international possibly even company-by-company, sector-by-sector, sub-sector-by-sub-sector. The country needs an active and aggressive trade policy to manage and negotiate our positions in NAFTA, GATT and the EC, but [this] cannot be at the expense of trade development. As aid development gradually shifts from an unhealthy occupation with welfare dependency in the Third World to an investment strategy where the returns are greater both financially and for the development of human resources, we will increasingly need skills in the Trade Commissioner Service to package capital projects; access financial and capital markets; and increasingly integrate merchant bankers, investment bankers, and international marketing professionals as we search for new markets and export successes.

The Trade Commissioner Service does make a difference when they are able to bring resources of the private and the public sector to bear on a target project or new market. Where they fail is when they rely too heavily on concessional financing, listen to the whining of the aid groupies who lobby Ottawa and CIDA Inc for every nickel and

dime they can squeeze out of the system, and support mega-projects that Canada ends up losing after years and years of subsidy. As a country, we will be less and less able to justify and spend money on international mega-projects. Our focus will require constant renewal of existing companies and nurturing of export-ready companies and individuals to maintain a constant exporting edge.

So, for the second century, I hope we will see a Trade Commissioner Service that is lean and nimble, multi-skilled, knowledgeable about trade and include more skills in investment banking and project management that will make the country more competitive. At the same time we need EAITC to get involved in encouraging infrastructure development in Canada that will make us prosper and capture the essence of NAFTA and managed trade agreements. Better logistics and distribution, communications, cargo facilities, port development and transportation will help and the private sector is ready and waiting.

John H. Walker
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Independence at Risk: Thoughts on the Future of Political Assessment

by Daryl Copeland

The Government of Canada's ability to respond creatively to changes in the international environment is seriously constrained by the need to reconcile burgeoning demands against the constraints imposed by diminishing resources. Within External Affairs, talent and money previously available for the formulation and delivery of foreign policy have been reallocated to cover a shifting set of interdepartmental and ministerial imperatives, many of them short term. As the needs of the Government have grown, the Department's traditional centres of analysis, the geographic bureaux, divisions and missions abroad reeling under an enormous operational and administrative burden, have become so thinly stretched that they are now

ill-equipped to deliver. With the levels of political and economic reporting reduced — the lamentable result of cuts in Canada's presence abroad — the problems of analysis have become acute. In a professional foreign service, trying to make policy in the absence of quality analysis is like driving at night without headlights.

As Departmental preoccupations have shifted elsewhere, much of the responsibility for the analysis of international affairs has devolved — more by default than design — to the Foreign Assessments Bureau. This transfer carries important implications which have yet to be fully appreciated. Long accustomed to operating with minimal scrutiny under the pretext of maximum security, the Bureau has now parted with its Cold War past and, figuratively at least, come

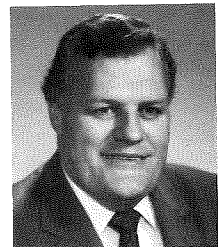
out from behind closed doors. In recalibrating its focus from "intelligence" to "analysis", and by moving a few years ago from a reliance on highly classified material to "all-source" assessments, the Bureau has, in effect, gone retail. Improved quality and exposure to a wider audience have been accompanied by useful innovations in handling procedures, presentation and marketing. Still, it is interpretive excellence and the Bureau's unique access to sensitive and covert source material that remain the distinctive "value-added" dimensions on the operation. An emphasis on these elements in addition to a concerted effort to release unclassified versions to interested parties in the media, business community, and universities, and an active reinforcement of the Bureau's ties to the Privy Council Office

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could help to ensure survival in the even leaner times to come.

The mission of the Foreign Assessments Bureau is to "...provide the Government with intelligence and independent analysis of world events and issues relevant to Canadian foreign policy interests". In carrying out this task, the Bureau must not only produce cogent analysis but must strike a balance between the concerns of the customer and the integrity of the product. Vigilance against pressure to use analysis in the service of other, often conflicting, goals must be constant.

The road to oblivion is paved with bland intentions.

If intellectual engagement, cerebral ability and psychological drive are the obvious prerequisites to analytical success, then the nature of the professional working environment is at least equally crucial. The lack of an adequate travel budget, shortage of support resources, and wavering confidence in the product have contributed to a disturbing sense of drift and, more corrosively, to growing doubts about the commitment of management at all levels to the analytical enterprise. In addition to a clear understanding of objectives, responsibilities, and performance targets, analysts must be provided with the creative space and research tools necessary to get on with the job. To sustain concentration, those at the working level need some degree of protection against the slings and arrows of bureaucratic fortune and adequate shelter from the inevitably high levels of static and interference which come with the territory. The last thing an analyst needs is a supervisor who prefers not to deflect incoming missiles, but to climb aboard for the ride. Analysts cannot expect to be shielded from all assaults or diversions, but a rudimentary anti-ballistic defense is essential.

The formulation of policy requires intensive consultations, extensive consensus, and, frequently, an indication of political acceptability. Not so with analysis, which is more heavily dependent on the organizational skills, writing abilities, knowledge and expertise of the analyst. Consultation is certainly desirable — with posts abroad, divisions at headquarters and other government departments — but is not the *sine qua non*.

The central task facing the analyst is to keep on top of key briefs, to establish an effective network, and to find an appropriate entrée into the policy mainstream while avoiding capture by it. This formula enables the analyst to remain constantly aware of both relevant developments and the official line. In moments of crisis, when getting it right really counts, analysts must avoid becoming mired in an elaborate consultative process over which they can exercise little, if any, control.

In the information-saturated precincts of contemporary public administration, even the most prescient, convincing assessment will have little impact unless it is short, sharp, and issue-oriented. Superior analysis crackles when read, as old assumptions are reconsidered and new perspectives are revealed. The best analysis is disciplined, precise, and pledged to accuracy. Its purpose is not to bless established truths or to celebrate the righteousness of received wisdom, but to probe, to identify and to synthesize. The road to oblivion is paved with bland intentions. Genuine analysis eschews propaganda, refuses ritual anointment and has no pre-ordained destination; instead, it often points the way into uncharted territory. Analytical collegiality tends mainly towards the production of tired, cautious, caveat-ridden

homilies to the virtues of running with the herd. Analysis which is worth the effort to produce can be lively and balanced, persuasive and non-prescriptive, without being reduced to lowest common denominator mush. Analytical integrity requires that the evidence be followed relentlessly wherever it leads ... all of which makes for tough travelling.

Dedication to analytical rigour can make the promoters of doctrinal certitude uncomfortable. Long-standing Departmental norms notwithstanding, the free play of conflicting views inside the institution are not only healthy, but necessary if the decision-making process is to function properly. Like bad habits, old paradigms die hard. Unlike voting patterns at the UN, analysis is dependent neither upon good company nor desirable outcomes. It exists not to please but to prod. If relevance, timeliness and connection to Canadian interests can be taken as given, then the highest vocation of political assessment is to question, to weigh and to judge. In the world of ideas, the path of least resistance is a dead end. 

Daryl Copeland has had postings in Bangkok and Addis Ababa. He spent three years in the Political Assessments Division and is currently in the Asia Pacific South Relations Division at EAITC.

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Bread and Laundry in Brazil

by Conan W. Purves

In October of 1989, the Canada Fund project of the Canadian Embassy donated \$18,000 for the construction of an industrial laundry and training centre in the satellite city of Sobradinho. The following May 1990, the Canada Fund also released enough money for the construction of an industrial bakery for similar purposes. The *Centro Espírita "Adolfo Bezerre de Menezes,"* a spiritual and philanthropic non-governmental organization that had already established itself in Sobradinho, was made responsible for the construction and organization of both the laundry and the bakery. In June 1990, the Embassy sent a representative to Sobradinho in order to evaluate the progress of both of these projects.

Sobradinho is one of the many small satellite cities surrounding Brasília, such as Taguatinga and Ceilândia, where the many workers needed to build *O Plano Piloto*, the

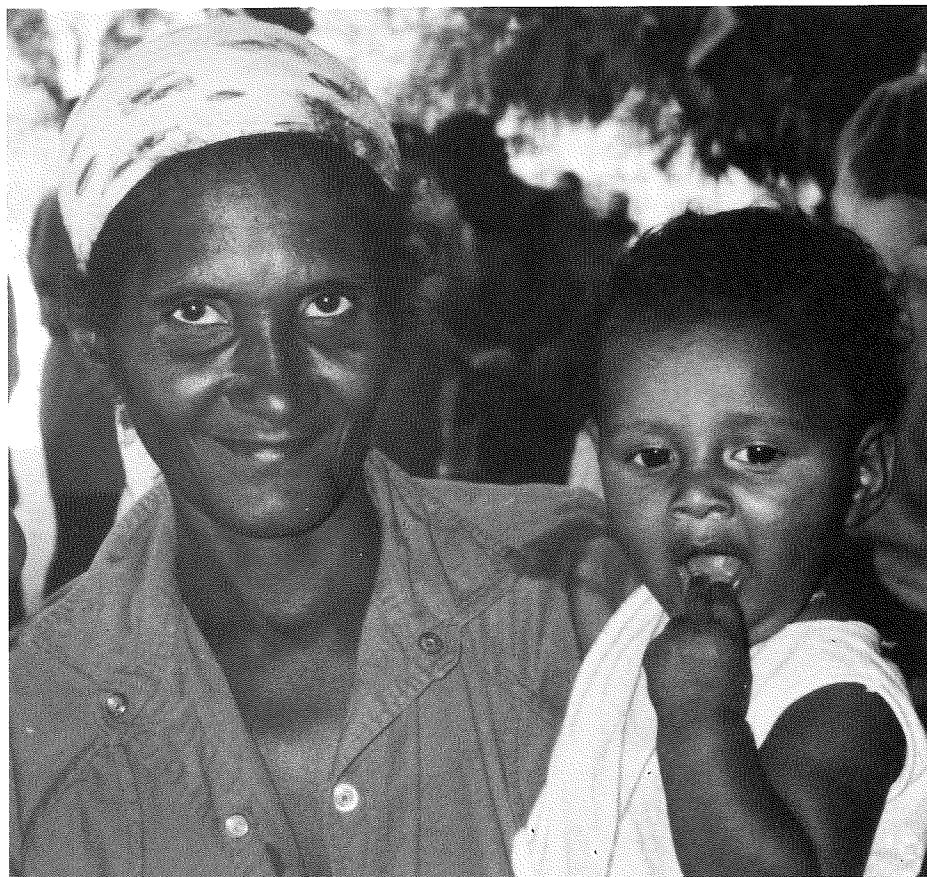
city of Brasília, lived. Today, many immigrants, generally from the very poor provinces of the northeast, continue to come, hoping to find employment in the city. They are almost all illiterate and unskilled. The immigrant community of Sobradinho, officially called *Sobradinho Deus* has 2,500 families, lacks electricity, gas, paved roads and, until May 1990, running water. The need for assistance is severe and, as neither the Brazilian government nor the private sector has been forthcoming, only philanthropic organizations, often religious, are attempting to help.

The *Centro Espírita "Adolfo Bezerra de Menezes"* is a branch of Spiritism, a religion based on Christianity, but very much influenced by traditional Brazilian folklore and ceremony. The fundamental doctrine of Spiritism is the belief that by sacrificing oneself for others more needy, it is possible to reach higher levels of perception and existence. At least in the case of Sobradinho, the Spiritists follow this doctrine thoroughly.

There, the Centro Espírita has two projects: a day-care for 450 immigrant children called *Centro Integrado de Atenção Materno Infantil* (CIAMI) and a much larger educational complex, the *Centro de Orientação e Educação Rural* (COER). The latter houses the site where the laundry and bakery were built. In both places, the mother or father of the attending children must come in for a least four hours a week and contribute to its running. For example, at CIAMI many of the mothers run the cafeteria which feeds the children.

COER is situated on a plot of government-leased land measuring 390,000 square metres. Begun in December 1985, it is intended to respond to the needs of the local migrant community. The complex is run by Heloisa Helena Silveira, who lives on the site with her husband and two children. Already, COER has a large school for the very young and several buildings in which local youth are trained in woodworking, metalworking and auto mechanics. Everything built in these classrooms is either used at COER or sold at the local markets. There is also a large agricultural area where many vegetables are grown for consumption at CIAMI and garlic, an expensive spice in Brazil, is grown for sale. COER offers a total of 21 courses, including health, hygiene, economical cooking, manicure/pedicure and sewing. Many of the courses hope to train an individual in a skill that will ensure their employment. The remainder offer valuable practical knowledge for the local youth, whose upbringing and lack of education guarantee that they will lack many of the skills necessary for survival. Future projects include equipment and faculty for education in other skills and residences for single parents and families. As its blueprint indicates, the managers of COER plan it to be a community almost fully run by the locals of Sobradinho as well as answering to all their needs. The industrial laundry and bakery made possible by the Canada Fund are a significant advance to this end.

The industrial laundry centre is a 10m x 8m room in a concrete building. It houses an industrial strength washing machine, capable of holding up to 20 kg of clothes, a dryer with a capacity of 10 kg and a mechanical iron. The laundry has two functions: it



operates as a commercial laundry, serving the 2,500 families of Sobradinho Deus and it also trains the immigrants in a specific skill. The laundry will wash a basket of clothes for the extremely low price of 30 cruzeiros (70 is the going price in the rest of Sobradinho). The laundry also washes the clothes of the children from CIAMI. All profits are returned to the laundry and used to buy soap and other necessary non-durable supplies. Since its inauguration, all the equipment has worked perfectly and has needed only its regular maintenance. As a training centre, it offers three courses a year. Each course teach up to a maximum of fifteen people. However, in order that each person trained is ensured employment upon completion of the course, members of COER conduct a market study of Brasilia and its surrounding cities to ascertain the actual demand for trained laundry workers. Local business guilds and organizations are also contacted. Thus, the actual number trained in each course depends on the number of workers needed at that time. Because of the competence and efficiency of the students who complete the course, local businesses have begun to contact Sra. Silveira for prospective employees. Since its inauguration, three courses have been completed and every student has received a job, many in hotels in Brasilia.

*The laundry and
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At the time of the visit of the Embassy representatives, the bakery was not yet completed. The building, entirely constructed by members of the COER community, was finished. The bakery's inauguration awaited only some necessary equipment, all of which had been paid for. It will fill a role similar to the laundry. Most of the breadstuffs made there will be eaten at CIAMI, although some will be sold locally. As in the laundry, all

profits will go the purchase of necessary supplies. Sra. Silveira expects that the demand for workers trained in industrial baking will exceed that for the laundry and will thus offer courses for more than fifteen people.

The addition of the industrial laundry and bakery training centres not only represents a huge step forward for the development of COER, but also a step in a different direction. Although every course is open to both sexes, most of those which actually prepared the student for a job taught skills in traditional male activities, such as wood working and cattle handling. Despite the fact that they are open to both sexes, very few women enter these programs. The laundry and bakery offer employment opportunities specifically oriented to the women of the Sobradinho immigrant community.

The Canada Fund allows the Canadian Embassy and Consulate General in Brasilia to spend a certain amount of money each year on projects involving small, underprivileged non-governmental organizations that are deemed to be worthwhile. The object of the Canada Fund is both philanthropic and diplomatic, directly benefitting local communities while also creating relations between Canada and other countries

at the grass-roots level. At this point, the laundry and bakery have fulfilled both of these objectives. The efficacy of the industrial laundry is striking, especially in Brazil where both the public and private sectors of the economy offer little to the needy. Because of the laundry, 45 immigrants, who otherwise almost surely would have been destitute, have managed to get a job and maintain a decent standard of living. Furthermore, the Canadian presence has almost certainly been felt in the COER community. It is significant to note that in the past five years Sra. Silveira has approached several other embassies and received nothing, while the work of the Centro Espírita is not even recognized by the Brazilian Government.

Conan W. Purves was born to Canadian parents in Berkeley, California in 1969 and moved to Vancouver Island when he was ten. He graduated from Reed College, Oregon with a history degree. Because of his uncle's career at EAITC, Conan has had many opportunities to travel and view first-hand Canada's contributions to the world. He hopes to follow in his uncle's footsteps in the Foreign Service. His uncle is John Bell, a former Ambassador to Brazil, and currently Special Advisor to the SSEA on the Environment.

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Gaffs and Gambits

by Laurel Pardy

Among the duties of the Foreign Service spouse is the need to spend hours in casual conversation with absolute strangers, usually persons with whom one shares neither language nor custom. While cultural preferences exist, in all situations it is more significant whether the conversation is between men, women or both. This will determine whether one flirts, one chatters, one listens, one participates or one wanders off in search of another drink.

The standard opening gambit is to go through the introductions again to clarify the "I'd like you to meet Mmmmm. Annnasnnn Gdulmmmmnnnd," muttered by the departing hostess. The sight of a fleeing hostess does not necessarily indicate that she is busy; rather that she has probably forgotten both your names.

This opening manoeuvre is discussed in a 1961 reference by Emily Post, **The Blue Book to Social Usage**, in a pithy passage omitted from more recent editions. The self-introduction suggested is: "Hello, I'm Betsy James. That is my husband sitting opposite you. We live in the country and raise show cattle and dahlias, but we come to town very often in the winter to hear music." That would certainly inject a certain "je ne sais quoi" into the conversation.

A more contemporary version of this showstopper might be, "Hi. I'm Tammy Shalud-Borstal. That is my current partner, admiring the Pratt and drinking non-alcoholic punch. We share an apartment with five cats and a parrot and spend long winter evenings listening to music while lying on a synthetic fur rug in front of our smoke-free fireplace."

Emily Post then goes on to advise on appropriate follow-up topics depending on the gender and age of one's conversational partner. For example, for a woman talking to a man "a safe gambit is to ask advice ... in fact, it is safe to ask his opinion on almost anything ... politics, sports, the stock market, current fads...". On the other hand, should a man be talking to a young woman he may "ask her what she thinks about life, love, work, amusement, romance, almost any question about the things people do or think or try for."

Hmmm, some things never change.

Ms. Post suggests that an ideal conversation should be an "exchange of thought" and the perfect conversational partner should be "gay, beguiling and amusing". This person would delight by the very intonation, twist and "personality he puts into his quip, retort or observation". Therefore, it matters not what he says for it all amuses. Perhaps tastes change, but this fellow ought to be "quipped" to death before dessert!

*"We live in the country
and raise show cattle
and dahlias, but we
come to town very
often in the winter
to hear music."*

One of the greatest disservices that a person can do to humankind is to tell someone that they are "witty". Inevitably, they will believe it. The results are disastrous. A monster of the one-line retort and the three-second put-down is born. If blood could run from the slashes imparted by a sharp wit, the gore on many a dinner table would cause even a battlefield surgeon to blanch. The cutting edge of a sharp wit tends to slice at random, delighting in its own cleverness and heedless of the wounds it inflicts. An individual who thinks he is a wit is usually one "it" short of the truth.

The flailing wit is only one of a cast of conversational characters. One encounters other categories such as the bore, the know-it-all, the wailer (closely related to the whiner), the lobbyist, the hobbyist, and the bulldozer.

The bore has eliminated the need to search for conversational topics by always using the same one and insisting on following it through from beginning to end in each and every conversation. The one advantage of conversation with a bore is that there is no

need to participate. A bore can provide a few minutes for inner reflection or, if one is propped against a table or wall, a brief catnap.

The female equivalent to the male bore is the bulldozer. This is the woman who plunges into conversation like a charlady into the aftermath of a Saturday night bash. Wielding words like a broom and duster, she sweeps everything ahead of her, straightening and polishing, tidying and ordering the conversation to her satisfaction. No dusty ambiguity allowed. But when she mentions fundraising, run for the hills. She is a maestro.

Also beware of the person with a cause. Causes need to be kept under control lest they become obsessions.

Likewise the person who feels compelled to tell the truth. Some truths are held to be self-evident and should be left that way. People who feel themselves to be guided by a higher morality and constrained, therefore, to be bluntly frank are more often than not, frankly rude.

Another, less wilful, set of conversational cannonballs exists. These are the tactless talkers, the ceaseless chatterers, the tale tellers and the intimate intimaters. Conversation with them is like playing pool with a curved cue and with weighted balls. One never knows in which direction it will take off, caroming off the sidewalls and bashing about in a frenzy. It takes nerves of steel not to wind up behind the eight ball.

There are two tactics for dealing with these conversations. One can join the fast lane and pitch in with non sequiturs of one's own, or simply relax and throw in the occasional "You don't say", "Do tell", "Amazing", and "Do go on".

At least once during a function there will occur the dreaded silence, that momentary hush when everyone runs out of conversation at the same time. It is this terror that drives the conversation locomotive, that makes the heart race and the mind go blank.

An alert hostess can override these conversational lulls by pitching her voice lightly higher and saying, "Have you tried the curry puffs, Edgar? James, pass the tray to Sarah, I do believe she has not tried one. The recipe is from my Aunt. You know she lived in India for a time. Has anyone seen the new production of **"The Ladies of the Garden Club"**?"

One danger in diplomatic life is forgetting just who people are. It can be tricky extracting oneself from the morass of a muddled conversation after a case of mistaken identity. When in doubt, be still and listen. "Better to keep your mouth closed and be thought a fool, than to open it and have it confirmed." Words to live by, Ms. Post.

A good conversationalist is like a good fisherman, casting out a variety of baits and trailing them through the water until they attract the victim.

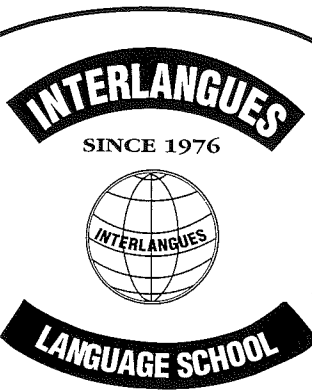
*It can be tricky
extracting oneself
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Trolling does not work with silent types, however. These are people who have honed listening to an art form, characterized by unwavering eyeball confrontation and monosyllabic answers. This is usually a male trait and, in the days before smoking became taboo, offenders usually smoked a pipe. Never attempt a contest of silent wills with these people unless you are sure that you are immune to self-hypnosis. A vague wave across the room, a smile of apology and a quick escape is the best defense.

Conversation might be described as the art of participatory listening. Good conversationalists are "other centred" rather than "self centred". They can pursue any gambit offered, are good listeners, well informed and actively participate in, but do not try to dominate, the ebb and flow of conversation.

"'Stop' ... in conversation means not to rush recklessly forward; 'Look' means pay attention to the expression of the person with whom you are talking; and 'Listen' mean[s] exactly that" writes Ms. Post. Surviving an evening of relentless conversation is indeed like crossing a set of railroad tracks in uncharted territory. Heed the signals. Stay off the tracks. Watch for oncoming locomotives. 

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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The Political-Economic Relations Program: A CALL FOR CHANGE

by John Halstead

As an associate member of PAFSO and a member of RHOMA (the Retired Heads of Mission Association) and after thirty-six years' experience in the Canadian Foreign Service, I find I still use the "we" pronoun when talking about the Department (which now goes by the acronym of EAITC). Since my retirement ten years ago, I have watched the Department from the outside with mounting concern, as it has undergone repeated upheavals and downsizings. So when I was asked, a couple of years ago, if I would be prepared to act as an outside consultant in what was called a "comprehensive audit" of the Political-Economic Relations (PER) Program of the Department, I felt a certain compulsion to take up the challenge, even though I anticipated it might be a thankless task.

It might be well to recall how this exercise began. In the wake of the Corporate Review, completed in 1990, there was a feeling among senior managers, particularly the then Under-Secretary (de Montigny Marchand) and the Associate Under-Secretary (Raymond Chrétién), that the PER Program — a core program with a major proportion of the Department's human and material resources — was not functioning as it should and was vulnerable to possible criticism from Treasury Board, other parts of the Government, and to some extent from the public. Treasury Board was forever pressing the Department to find ways of measuring its "output" in order to justify its resources. Other parts of the Government resented what they perceived to be a "stand-offish" attitude on the part of the Department. The public and media were quick to jump on any sign of perceived "mismanagement". But the most serious concern was that, with an increased workload but a substantial reduction in resources and with no effective structure to substantiate the resource levels it required, the Program might no longer be capable of ensuring the necessary input into

Government policy-making or of protecting and promoting Canadian interests abroad.

Senior management therefore authorized a comprehensive audit of the Program to determine whether the management processes in place were such that the Program could meet its responsibilities. Two phases of the audit were envisaged: the first, concentrated at Headquarters, was to look at the two-way communications between headquarters and missions abroad, as well as relations with the Program's "clients" in Canada; and the second, to be carried out primarily at missions, would depend on the findings of the first phase. Bill Hunter, a management consultant, and I were hired to carry out this work, with the assistance of David Tippin, under the direction of the Audit and Evaluation Division (MIV). In the course of the eight-month study, we conducted interviews with some forty officers from top to bottom at headquarters; with senior officials in most government departments (OGD's) and two provinces (Alberta and Quebec); and with five missions abroad (three bilateral embassies; one multilateral mission; and one consulate). Our report on Phase I, which contained seven major observations and twenty-four recommendations, was presented to the new Under-Secretary (Reid Morden) and senior management in early January 1992.

Looked at broadly, the observations and recommendations fall into two categories: those which deal with management techniques; and those which deal with attitudes or philosophy. Though addressed primarily to the PER Program, inevitably, they spill over into other areas of the Department's operations. In the category of management techniques, the report deals in some detail with three fields of importance to the Program which we considered needed attention: resource management; information management; and policy management.

The Department's most precious resource is its people. During our review we heard echoes of the concerns which have been

expressed for many years in and out of the Department, about the morale of Foreign Service Officers; about the lack of a clear sense of direction; and about the need for some effective use of available human resources. The old "hit-and-miss" approach to human resource management was no longer adequate to meet the challenges of a radically changing international environment and an increasingly demanding national environment in Canada.

Our report recommended improvements in all phases of the process of acquiring and utilizing human resources for the PER Program (recruitment, training, initial assignment and subsequent career). We recommended that the recruitment phase be based on clearer criteria in terms of skills and tasks; be shortened in time from the initial identification of successful candidates to their eventual engagement; and be more consistent from year to year in terms of intake numbers. We urged that there be a comprehensive professional training program for political-economic officers at the entry, mid-career and senior levels. There should be career planning which would make best use from the outset of officers' knowledge, skills and experience.

Since tabling the report, there has been a major step forward with respect to training, with the foundation of the Canadian Foreign Service Institute. Unfortunately, however, the training it offers is still not part of a fully integrated human resource planning program. There is still no career development strategy to complement the training program. And the generalist/specialist dilemma has still not been resolved. There is no doubt that additional knowledge and skills are required today on top of those traditionally associated with diplomacy, but our report suggested that the way to meet this expanded requirement should be sought, not in an either-or approach but in an approach which combines the best of both worlds. Political-economic officers should be equipped at the beginning with specialist knowledge in one

field as well as general knowledge and be trained in core skills common to all branches of diplomatic activity; they should be left long enough in their initially chosen field (geographic or functional) to prove their ability; they should then be given assignments which allow officers to broaden their experience and competence, and thus gradually to become generalists as they rise in the service.

We found that information management needed to be improved, both at missions abroad and at headquarters. A constant theme in our interviews was the surfeit of paper circulating in the Department — short on quality and long on quantity; short on analysis and long on description; and with too little attention paid to Canadian issues and interests.

We recommended the introduction of a monitoring process (based in the first instance on self-monitoring) to encourage meeting these defined criteria of quality — to put the material on "TRAC" (Timeliness, Relevance to Canadian interests, Analytic content, and Conciseness). We also recommended a more intensive dialogue between headquarters and missions abroad. Missions should receive regular feedback on their reporting, be informed of the policy issues which are receiving attention in Ottawa, and be given guidance on policy implementation and advocacy. Finally, we recommended that the communications network be rationalized so that one central system would effectively meet the needs of the Department, and that all users should be advised of the best means of transmitting messages.

We also found that there was room for improvement in policy management. The main problem was policy coordination at the ministerial level (made harder by the fact that the Department has three ministers to serve) and a process of consultation which was often carried on by telephone, without written confirmation, and with a high risk of misunderstandings or mistakes. We suggested that better communication between the Department and the "central agencies" would help, with particular reference to finding a more systematic and reliable way of passing on policy decisions from the political level to senior management.

We also recommended a more formal arrangement to strengthen the Department's position as the focus of foreign policy development and implementation.

Above all, we found that resolution of the problems besetting the PER Program lay in changing attitudes and philosophy. Three main points came to light in the course of our study.

The first was that a combination of reduced resources and increased workload

has been pushing the Department more and more into a reactive operation, leaving little time or energy for proactive policy formation. We did not find it possible to measure quantitatively the increase in workload, since both the quantity and the quality are essentially subjective, but we found convincing evidence that the tasks of the PER Program had been increasing substantially. Some would say that the Department has always been issue-driven and crisis-responsive, but it is a matter of degree. The point has now been reached when political-economic officers at headquarters, even with best efforts, are barely able to cover all the bases in normal circumstances (not to mention a crisis), while those abroad are expected to cover a growing breadth of subjects and to assist an increasing number of visitors. In other words, the urgent is driving the important off the Department's agenda, with repercussions for the quality of service provided to the Department's "clients." The trouble is that the real risks of having to operate in this way have never been evaluated by the Government or by senior management. The cumulative effect is to exacerbate longstanding problems for which the solution has become critical.

We found insufficient recognition in the Department that one consequence should be to treat relations with the Department's domestic "clients" with as much care as it does relations with its external "clients".

The second point was that there was a lack of clear definition and management focus for the PER Program, in spite of its key importance for the Department as a whole. This contributes to the loss of a sense of direction among the officers in the Program, and to the Department's inability to identify resource requirements or to set and revise

priorities for the Program in terms of the relative importance of issues and countries. The result is that what should be a core program has become a residual program, which receives only what is left over after other more precisely defined requirements have been met, and which on the other hand has to carry out any remaining responsibilities which have not already been clearly assigned to other programs (eg. trade or immigration). In the process, political-economic officers, particularly those in missions abroad, are left with the impression that their core work is of discretionary importance, with no clear place in the Department's or the Government's set of priorities. They are often expected to carry out non-PER duties simply because these are not specifically assigned to other programs. In our opinion, the proposed remedy must first include a more precise definition of the PER mission. On this basis, tighter teamwork could be built up for a common purpose. Priorities could then be set and revised in a more purposeful way. On this basis, too, a clearer sense of the individual's role could be developed, along with the skills, training and criteria for excellence which should go with it.

As a starting point, we suggested the following mission statement for the PER Program, derived from the Department's mission statement, which when revised by managers and officers of the Program, could serve to develop a detailed description of their roles and responsibilities:

1. To provide timely reports concerning international developments (particularly analyses) in terms of Canadian interests, necessary for the formulation and management of Canadian foreign policies;
2. To carry out diplomatic activities (including negotiation, representation, advocacy and public diplomacy) necessary for the effective implementation of those policies, both bilaterally and multilaterally; and
3. To provide the communications and liaison necessary to ensure that the international activities of other departments of the Canadian Government and of the provinces are concerted within the overall framework of Canadian foreign policy.

The third question of attitude had to do with the relationship between external and internal affairs. It is a distinction which is becoming increasingly blurred as a result of growing globalization and interdependence. We found insufficient recognition in the Department that one consequence should be to treat relations with the Department's domestic "clients" (the OGD's, the provinces and the private sector) with as much care as it does relations with its external

"clients" (the foreign governments and international organizations with which Canada has relations). We have been chided for giving too much credence to (or at least for failing to evaluate) the criticisms expressed by the OGD's in this respect. Our position is that, whether or not the views of the OGD's are entirely objective or well-founded, their perceptions have to be treated as the Department's realities.

Looked at in another way, there are three kinds of "disconnects" which we identified in the comprehensive audit: those between headquarters and missions abroad; those within headquarters, between senior management and Foreign Service officers; and those between External Affairs and OGD's in Ottawa. These still need major correction, through clearer definition of the PER Program and its priorities, through improved internal communications, through better integration of the operations of headquarters and missions abroad, and through more careful attention to serving OGD's.

The picture is by no means totally gloomy. The Department's chief resource, its people, is overwhelmingly of high quality and strongly dedicated to giving the best, provided individuals know what is expected of them. They are equipped with an extensive information and analytical network, and they have better technology at their disposal than ever before. But technology itself does not ensure effective communication; nor can talented officers ensure effective policy-making and implementation unless they are fully integrated into a well articulated team concept.

None of the problems addressed in our comprehensive audit is really new, and some of them were identified during the Department's separate Corporate Review. Indeed, a Political-Economic Program Review Group made recommendations at the time but, for some reason, these were omitted from the final report. The problems therefore persisted and they will continue to persist until there is a change of attitude. Unless and until responsibility for the PER Program is clearly assigned and exercised, there is unlikely to be much improvement in the way the Program operates, and the whole Department will continue to suffer. Surely it is time to invite an open discussion of these problems.

John Halstead has retired from the Foreign Service and lives in Ottawa where he is a consultant and educator. He was formerly Assistant Under-Secretary for External Affairs and served abroad as Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany and as Ambassador and Permanent Representative to NATO.

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RÉUNIONS DE FAMILLE ET TOUS AUTRES VOYAGES D'ASE
AU CANADA OU À L'ÉTRANGER

À propos d'un aspect peu connu des relations canado-roumaines

par J.E. Thibault

Parmi les livres que j'ai lu en préparation à mon affectation en Roumanie, il en est un qui a retenu tout particulièrement mon attention : les souvenirs de carrière de notre ancien Sous-secrétaire d'État aux Affaires extérieures, Dana Wilgress, intitulés *Memoirs*, et publiés chez Ryerson à Toronto en 1967. Il y était question, entre autres, de son affectation comme Commissaire de Commerce à Bucarest durant les années 1920 et 1921. Il devait, selon ses instructions, étudier sur place la possibilité pour le Canada d'établir des relations commerciales suivies avec la Roumanie et les pays connexes. De plus, on tenait à ce qu'il s'informe auprès des autorités roumaines où en étaient les choses quant au remboursement du prêt de 25 000 000 \$ que leur avait accordé le Gouvernement du Canada en 1919 dans le but de leur aider à revaloriser, à même des produits de fabrication ou d'origine canadienne, les régions de leur pays les plus affectées par la guerre.

Cette référence à un prêt de 25 000 000 \$ accordé par le Canada à la Roumanie en 1919 n'était tout de même pas sans m'intriguer. Qu'un pays qui venait à peine de s'affirmer sur la scène internationale aille offrir pareille somme (énorme pour le temps) à un autre situé aux extrémités de l'Europe et dont on connaissait bien peu, et de l'histoire et des antécédents, il y avait — on l'avouera — de quoi s'interroger. Bien sûr, Wilgress laissait entendre que la Mission commerciale qu'avait établie à Londres Lloyd Harris de la firme Massey-Harris dans le but d'écouler le surplus de notre production de guerre et d'assurer outremer un marché continu pour le produit de l'industrie canadienne, y avait été mêlée. Tout cela n'expliquait pas, malgré tout, la préférence accordée à la Roumanie.

Pour en avoir le cœur net, je suis allé consulter le rapport que devait adresser Wilgress à son Ministère à son retour d'Europe centrale. Il s'ensuivait que l'ouverture d'un bureau dans les parages, que ce soit à Bucarest ou ailleurs, n'était pas pour l'instant à

conseiller, le marché local déprimé par la guerre ne s'y prêtant pas. S'il était vrai d'autre part que la Roumanie avait utilisé à bon escient les crédits qui lui avaient été accordés, en y incluant, bien sûr, l'achat de machine aratoires Massey-Harris, il était tout aussi évident que le règlement de la dette ainsi contractée (nos 25 000 000 \$) devrait, en l'absence des devises requises, inévitablement attendre des jours meilleurs. Quant au pourquoi du prêt à la Roumanie plutôt qu'à un autre pays, je n'ai rien appris de plus que ce que j'en savais déjà.

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L'histoire en serait restée là si, un jour, tout en bouquinant à l'heure du déjeuner, dans les rayons de la bibliothèque du Ministère, je n'avais mis par hasard la main sur un volume intitulé **Joe Boyle, King of the Klondyke** que publiait, chez McGraw-Hill Ryerson à Toronto en 1974, l'historien William Rodney de Victoria. On se demandera naturellement ce que pouvait bien avoir à faire, dans notre galère, ce Joseph Whiteside Boyle dont les fastes aux confins nord de notre pays nous étaient rapportés *in extenso* dans le livre en question. Voyons plutôt. L'homme, ainsi qu'on aura l'occasion de le constater par la suite, était un personnage sans demi-mesure. Né à Toronto dans une famille à l'aise le 6 novembre 1867, d'un père d'ascendance irlandaise et d'une mère écossaise, il était à peine sorti du collège qu'il s'engageait comme matelot de

bord sur un navire en partance pour l'Inde. Durant trois ans, il écuma les mers. Rentré au pays à temps pour participer à la course à l'or du Klondyke, il y ferait éventuellement fortune : les chroniques du temps pullulent de ses combines, de ses frasques et de ses hauts faits. Fin 1914, il était à toutes fins pratiques le Roi du Klondyke.

Entretemps, dès que fut connue la déclaration de la guerre, il avait monté à ses frais et dépens le *Yukon Machine Gun Detachment* dont les effectifs se chiffraient à 50 hommes et 60 chevaux. L'unité deviendrait partie intégrante de la *Second Machine Gun Brigade*, une fois débarquée en Angleterre, et ferait le coup de feu en France avec la Quatrième Division du Corps expéditionnaire canadien. Tout cela ne sera pas accompli sans maintes pressions exercées par notre ami Boyle auprès du Ministre de la Milice du temps, Sir Sam Hughes. De guerre lasse, mais tout en reconnaissant malgré tout son insigne contribution à l'effort de guerre du Canada, le Ministre nommait finalement notre homme, par ordre du 21 septembre 1916, lieutenant-colonel honoraire de son contingent.

Boyle s'attendait à mieux. Dans son imagination, il se voyait déjà au centre de la mêlée, commandant les siens face à l'ennemi. Hélas pour lui, le grade qu'on venait de lui conférer était purement honorifique : il ne lui assurait aucunement le commandement de quelque unité militaire que ce soit. Qu'à cela ne tienne. Puisqu'il était déjà passé outremer, il ne se doutait pas qu'il saurait mener à bien son entreprise, en s'affublant de son titre, de ses connaissances acquises dans l'exploitation des gisements aurifères du Klondyke et de la gestion des affaires s'y rapportant.

Par ses contacts dans le monde des affaires, de la finance et de la politique des deux côtés de l'Atlantique, notre type eut tôt fait (1916/17) de s'insinuer dans les bonnes grâces du Colonial Office et, surtout, de l'American Committee of Engineers, dont l'âme dirigeante semblait avoir été Herbert Hoover, futur Président des États-Unis. Par l'entremise de ce dernier, la Commission

Internationale de Ravitaillement devait lui confier, en juin 1917, le réaménagement du réseau ferroviaire russe. Ignorant à la fois la consigne et le règlement, et ne tenant à toutes fins pratiques au courant de ses agissements que le Ministre des Forces armées canadiennes outremer, Sir Edward Kemp, Boyle mit le cap sur Petrograd. Après s'être assuré, au grand dam des bureaucrates britanniques, de la pleine et entière coopération des autorités civiles et militaires russes quant à son plan d'action, notre homme s'en fut sans plus tarder en direction du sud-ouest du pays où ses services lui paraissaient requis, compte tenu de l'avance foudroyante des forces armées austro-allemandes et de la débâcle des Alliés dans ce secteur. Et c'est ainsi que le lieutenant-colonel honoraire Joseph Whiteside Boyle en vint à prendre contact, fin septembre 1917, avec les autorités roumaines cantonnées à Jassy dans ce qui leur restait encore de leur pays.

Dans ce milieu restreint, il allait de soi qu'un homme de sa trempe ait vite pris connaissance du rôle qu'y jouait alors la reine Marie qui, plus que tout autre, incarnait à ce moment précis de l'Histoire, la résistance de son pays à l'agresseur. Déjà, au cours de 1917, il avait entrepris d'effectuer, à ses propres risques et périls, sans plus s'en faire et malgré ses autres occupations toutes aussi pressantes, le transfert à Moscou, puis, à bref délai pour des raisons bien évidentes, le rapatriement à Jassy, du trésor, des archives et des avoirs roumains. Présenté à la Reine le 2 mars 1918 puis admis peu de temps après dans l'intimité du couple royal, Boyle se fit de la Reine le chevalier servant, en s'incorporant, tant pour elle que pour son pays, le conseiller avisé, l'homme de confiance, voire l'émissaire et le courrier.

Inévitablement, il fallait s'attendre à ce que Boyle, face à la pénurie de vivres et d'équipement de toutes sortes qui affligeait alors ce pays dûment ravagé par la guerre, se prévale de ses contacts canadiens pour quémander, et de la Société de la Croix-Rouge, et du Gouvernement, tant que faire se pourrait, l'aide qu'ils seraient, chacun de son côté, en mesure d'offrir à la Roumanie. C'est bien ce qui arriva.

Il se rendit même à Paris pour mettre personnellement au courant de la situation le Premier ministre Borden qui s'y trouvait alors à titre de chef de la délégation canadienne à la Conférence de la Paix. De plus, pour bien s'assurer qu'on ne se méprendrait pas à la Commission commerciale que présidait Lloyd Harris (q.v.) sur le sens de ses représentations, Boyle fit immédiatement voile sur Londres où, d'ailleurs, d'autres affaires l'attendaient. Et, comme de fait, le Ministre du Commerce du Canada, Sir George Foster, et le Premier ministre de

la Roumanie, Ion Bratianu, paraphaient le 6 mars 1919, l'avant-projet d'une offre de crédits à Bucarest se chiffrant au bas mot à 25 000 000 \$. L'accord final, confirmé par arrêtés ministériels des 2 et 17 avril 1919 et du 28 mai de la même année, prévoyait l'achat par la Roumanie durant l'année courante (1919) de produits canadiens dont un cinquième serait dévolu aux denrées; un cinquième aux matières premières, la balance se soldant en produits manufacturés. Enfin, le prêt, portant intérêt à 5 1/2 %, était remboursable sur une période de cinq ans.

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se produisit à Hampton
Hill, Middlesex, en
Angleterre : quasiment
dans l'indigence,
épuisé pas ses labeurs,
et loin des siens.*

Je tenais enfin la clé du mystère. C'était bien là que se trouvait la réponse à cette question qui m'avait à la fois tant intrigué et préoccupé au moment de mon affectation à Bucarest. Et, comme je l'avais bien soupçonné et que le faisait d'ailleurs remarquer très pertinemment l'historien William Rodney dans son volume précité,

« To Joe Boyle must go the major credit for the agreement, the first aid program undertaken by a Canadian Government. »

Autant que je sache, le prêt, utilisé ainsi que prévu par l'accord, fut remboursé à temps. Pour sa part, la reine Marie, lors de son passage à titre privé au Canada en 1926, voulut bien dire combien la Roumanie était redevable au pays de l'aide qui lui avait alors été si généreusement accordée.

Qu'advint-il de notre aventurier hors pair? Il ne faudrait pas croire qu'il s'en tient là pour autant. Bien au contraire! De fait, c'est tout un livre qu'il faudrait écrire pour raconter ses actions et ses prouesses du

temps. C'est bien ce que notre historien, M. William Rodney, s'était donné comme tâche, dans son volume **Joe Boyle, King of the Klondyke**, ce qu'il a d'ailleurs accompli avec beaucoup d'intelligence et de compréhension.

Pauvre Boyle, lui qu'on avait appelé un jour « le Sauveur de la Roumanie » et dont la renommée dépassa toute une époque et de beaucoup les cadres de son propre pays (1916/22), il méritait tout de même mieux que de mourir comme cela se produisit à Hampton Hill, Middlesex, en Angleterre : quasiment dans l'indigence, épuisé pas ses labeurs, et loin des siens. Lorsqu'il s'éteignit le 14 avril 1923, on fit peu mention de lui. Cet homme avait pourtant été admis de son vivant dans l'intimité des rois; il avait frayed avec les grands et traité d'homme à homme avec maintes autorités dirigeantes du temps. Quelque bien intentionné qu'il ait été, on s'imagine aisément qu'avec son franc-parler et sa façon de brusquer les choses, notre parvenu dû en froisser plusieurs, ici comme ailleurs, en cours de route.

Heureusement, Boyle qui n'était tout de même qu'un simple lieutenant-colonel honoraire de la milice canadienne, se vit décerner pour son courage et son sang-froid face à des situations particulièrement délicates : par la Grande-Bretagne, la Distinguished Service Order, et par la France, la Croix de Guerre. En reconnaissance de son assistance, de ses bons offices et de son attachement au pays comme à ses souverains, la Roumanie pour sa part l'avait créé Grand Officier de son Ordre de l'Étoile, fait Commandeur de son Ordre de la Couronne et reçu membre de l'Ordre de Regina Maria. Bien sûr, la Russie des Tsars puis de Kérensky, qui lui avait été particulièrement redevable des services qu'il lui avait rendus en 1916/17, ne l'avait pas non plus oublié. À diverses reprises, elle l'avait décoré de ses Ordres de Saint-Vladimir, de Sainte-Anne (avec épées) et de Saint-Stanislas.

Joe Boyle repose toujours dans le cimetière de l'église St. James de Hampton Hill. La reine Marie de Roumanie, se rappelant celui qui, par le passé, les avait si bien servis, elle et son pays, voulut faire placer sur sa tombe, sur la pierre tombale qui s'y trouvait déjà, inscrire cette épitaphe, tirée de l'oeuvre de Robert Service :

« Man with the heart of a Viking
and the simple faith of a child. »

J.E. Thibault, retraité du Service extérieur, vit à Ottawa. A servi à Oslo (chargé d'affaires, Islande et Norvège), à Yaoundé (ambassadeur au Cameroun, République de l'Afrique centrale, Tchad et Gabon) et à Bucarest (ambassadeur en Roumanie).

THE EARTH SUMMIT

by John Bell

In the closing speech of the **Earth Summit**, Maurice Strong, Secretary General of the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), captured the mood of the packed plenary hall when he said that international diplomacy would never be the same again; that the relationship between environment and development would never be the same again; and that perceptions of the need for financial flows for developing countries have been altered for good.

This **Earth Summit** (as UNCED came to be called) had brought together 120 Heads of State and Government, and official delegations from 178 countries, to reach agreement on common approaches to undertake the transition to a more sustainable and just future through the twenty-seven principles of the **Rio Declaration on Environment and Development**; through **Agenda 21**, the massive blueprint to translate the concept of sustainable development into workable programs and policies; a **Statement of Forest Principles**; and in two global conventions — one on **Biological Diversity**, and one on **Climate Change**.

As the first major international conference convened after the collapse of communism, UNCED accelerated the process of shifting approaches from "military global security" on an East-West axis to one of "environmental security" on a North-South axis. It sought to make common concern for our planet's life support systems the basis for a new relationship between North and South, leading to the incorporation of environmental issues into an accelerated development process. This UNCED process was greatly enriched by the active participation of sectors outside government, particularly non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from around the world. They included business, environmental and development NGOs, women's groups, youth and indigenous peoples. They participated both on official government delegations and by direct accreditation to the conference and numbered in the hundreds of NGOs deemed to have "relevance and competence" to UNCED. Their active inclusion set a new standard for participation at international negotiations.

The separate NGO parallel conference, **Global Forum**, was held at Flamingo Park in the heart of Rio de Janeiro. It brought together an amazing cross-section of groups from around the world to an event at which NGOs themselves negotiated "alternate treaties" on Environment and Development. There were also important meetings of indigenous peoples, business executives, and spiritual leaders. The eventual follow-up of all these groups and organizations will continue to have impact around the world as they seek to implement their own vision of **Agenda 21**.

*"An essentially open
human economic
system that [is]
pushing against an
essentially closed
ecological system".*

The vast media contingent at Rio (close to 6,000 individuals alone, or about twice as many as at any other major international meeting), ensured that millions of people around the world were exposed to the critical issues discussed at Rio. **Maclean's**, **Time**, **Newsweek**, **Life**, **Le Point**, and countless other magazines wrote cover stories on the **Earth Summit**, and CNN had almost continuous coverage of Rio. As the **Earth Summit Bulletin** noted in its summary of the **Earth Summit**, "When President Collor of Brazil officially concluded UNCED, the hundreds of diplomats, NGOs, support staff and [UN] Secretariat members who had worked together from Nairobi, through Geneva, and New York, to Rio de Janeiro, had not only contributed to one of the most significant international negotiation processes, but had individually participated in the creation of an elaborate programming tool that could set the planet on a new course towards sustainable development."

Still later in Vancouver, Maurice Strong pointed out in his speech at the 1992 annual **O.D. Skelton Lecture**, "The **Earth Summit** was neither the beginning nor the end of a process by which the World Community [has] to confront the threats to its own future arising from the same processes of technology-driven change that have produced our industrial civilization". The seeds of public concern for the environment planted during the industrial revolution grew into heightened public concern in the 1960s when Rachel Carson warned in her book, **Silent Spring**, that we were causing irreparable harm to the environment through excessive use of chemicals. The Club of Rome agreed that there were indeed "limits to growth".

All these factors resulted in a universal call for convening a UN Conference in 1972 on the "**Human Environment**" that took place in Stockholm. After Maurice Strong, the then-President of CIDA, was appointed Secretary General of the Stockholm Conference, he gathered together a few policy experts at MIT to reflect on what the conference should try to achieve. They concluded that effective change would require incorporating environmental considerations into economic decision-making and linking environment and development.

Developing countries, however, feared the Stockholm Conference would lead to new forms of "conditionality" based on pollution control that would slow down their development without any compensating financial relief, and that they would face new "green protectionism" in the industrialized markets of the North. They became less reluctant after Maurice Strong organized a meeting of economists in Switzerland who, in their "**Fournex Declaration**", advocated that environment and development should be mutually reinforcing concepts, and that developed countries should open their markets to facilitate developing countries in obtaining the financial resources needed for their environmental protection.

In spite of the **Fournex Declaration** and Mrs. Gandhi's eloquent statement at Stockholm that "poverty is the single greatest cause of environmental degradation in the Third World", the legacy of Stockholm essentially was limited to the environment. Stockholm had put environmental issues on

the world's political agenda. This factor led to the creation in 1972 of the United Nations Environmental Agency (UNEP) in Nairobi (with Maurice Strong as its first Executive Director). It also led to the establishment of departments of environment (as in Canada) or environmental protection agencies in many countries of the world.

When countries met a decade later in 1982 (in Nairobi under the auspices of UNEP) to assess the results of Stockholm, the risk to the planet's life support systems had become **more** not less acute. The need for further action was clear and led to the creation of the UN World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) headed by Gro Harlem Brundtland, the then-Prime Minister of Norway. The commission's report "**Our Common Future**" was released in 1987 and articulated the concept of "sustainable development". It too called for a major UN conference to begin putting these concepts into practice.

The Brundtland Commission saw the problem as one of "an essentially open human economic system that [is] pushing against an essentially closed ecological system". It concluded that the solution lay in integrating environmental considerations into economic decision-making at the highest level **before** decisions are taken. This would then allow for the multiple increases in food and energy needed to provide a better standard of living for the 1.5 billion people living in absolute poverty today and in anticipation of the likely doubling of the world's population by the middle of the next century. The Brundtland approach calls for increased equity and continued growth.

After bleary-eyed diplomats in New York left an all-night negotiating session of the mandate for UNCED, many of them were left with the impression that preparations were being made for **two** conferences — one on environment and one on development — rather than **one** which integrated environment and development. Following Maurice Strong's appointment once again as Secretary General of UNCED, and Ambassador Tommy Koh of Singapore as Chairperson of the Preparatory Committee, a UNCED process was launched that involved countries, organizations and individuals around the world in an intense two and a half years of preparations for the **Earth Summit** in Rio. This included four month-long Preparatory Committee meetings (PrepComs) in Nairobi, Geneva, and twice in New York, to negotiate texts for approval at Rio; UN Conferences in the main geographical regions, and on key sectoral issues such as "Fresh Water" in Dublin, and "Sustainable Agriculture" in the Netherlands; meetings of Environment and Development

Ministers from developing countries in Beijing and Kuala Lumpur, and from OECD countries in Paris; and meetings of major groups including women in Miami, and business and industry in Wickham, Netherlands. All produced carefully negotiated "**Declarations**" on the issues under negotiation. There were also hundreds of workshops and seminars on UNCED issues held around the world.

This "mega negotiation" had several interesting characteristics. Certain people felt the Rio Conference should concentrate on global environmental issues. However, it soon became apparent that in creating a framework to facilitate transition to sustainable development, a truly comprehensive approach would be necessary. This led to negotiation of "**Agenda 21**"; a forty-chapter, five-hundred page document that was agreed to in principle by world leaders. Although it is not legally binding, it is to be implemented at the national level by governments and organizations according to their priorities.

Treating today's hunger should come ahead of worrying about tomorrow's climate change.

Agenda 21 consists of a preamble and chapters covering four broad categories: economic and social dimensions; sustainable use of resources for development; strengthening the role of major groups; and the means of implementation. Agreements were reached on the basis of consensus. This meant that any one delegation alone could, and sometimes did, hold up the progress made by the other 177 countries. This led to results which critics felt were the "lowest common denominator". However, as negotiations were leading to agreement on an overall package, participants had to be prepared to have flexibility on certain areas in return for gaining in others. Thanks to the unique talents of the chairperson, Ambassador Tommy Koh, countless compromises were eventually facilitated and deals were made to achieve overall agreement in Rio.

In such an atmosphere, there were innumerable tensions of which none were as great as those between North and South. To put it simply, many in the North saw UNCED as a conference specifically about

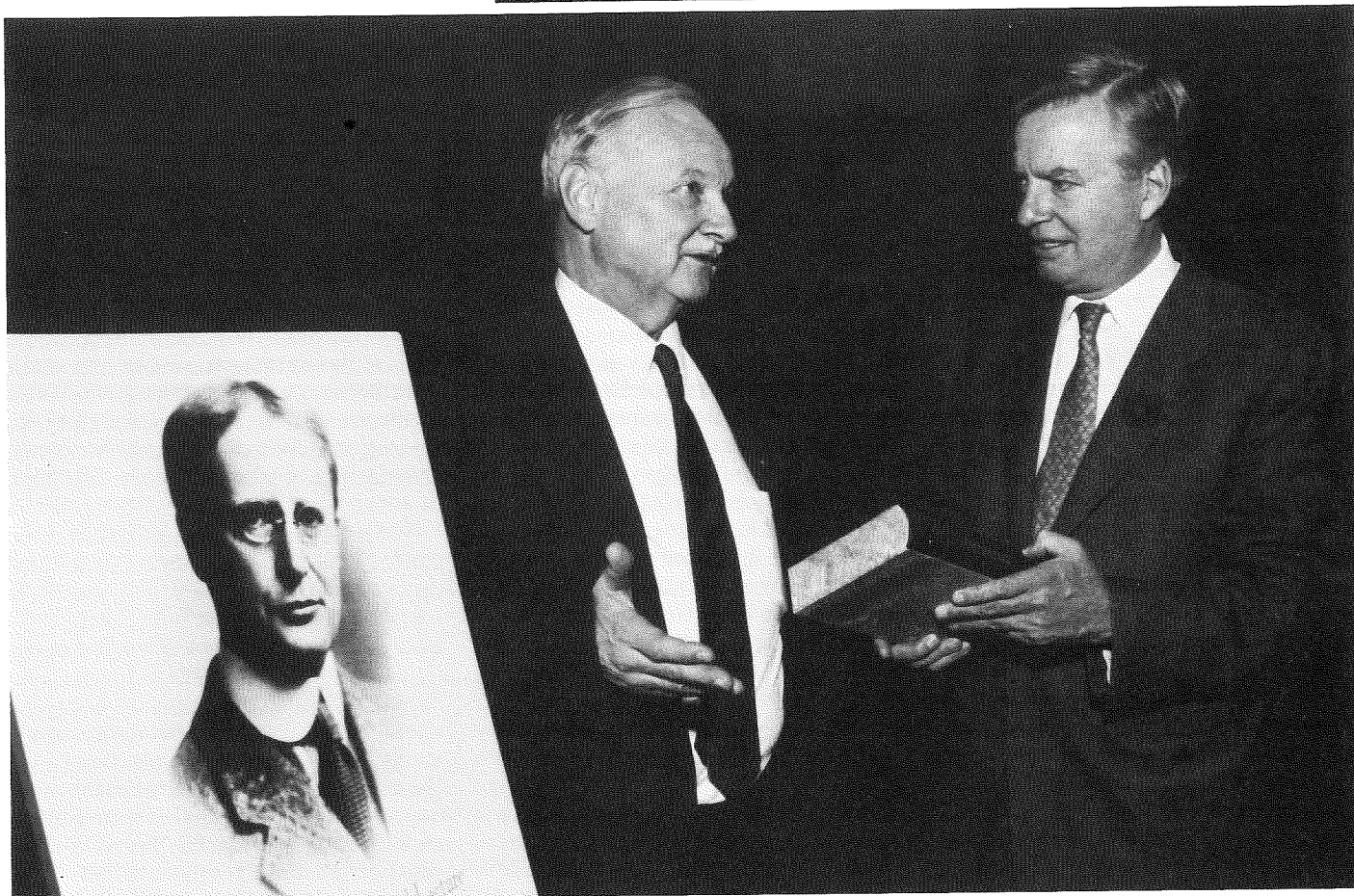
the environment and particularly about the global issues of climate change, biological diversity and ozone depletion. Accordingly, they felt the principal outcome should be a mechanism to help poor countries, namely, the "Global Environment Facility" (GEF) that by 1992 was already a US \$1.5 billion pilot project funded under the World Bank, UNEP and UNDP.

GEF's *raison-d'être* would be to fund projects of "global significance" and especially to finance the incremental costs incurred to obtain global benefits from development projects. Because benefits would accrue to all countries, the GEF was seen not as a form of official development assistance or aid, but rather as a new form of global "cooperation".

The priorities of the South, on the other hand, related to the alleviation of the poverty that, twenty years earlier, Mrs. Gandhi had said was the principle cause for environmental degradation in the Third World. According to countries of the South, treating today's hunger should come ahead of worrying about tomorrow's climate change. They viewed environmental problems as being "local" rather than global and called for creation of a new "Green Fund" to help them implement **Agenda 21**. The South Commission pointed out that industrialized countries, with only 25 per cent of the world's population, caused the vast amount of pollution, such as 80 per cent of greenhouse gas emissions. They stressed that poor countries need "environmental space" to help lift them out of their poverty.

The funding question was undoubtedly the toughest one at Rio. The UNCED Secretariat had estimated the cost of implementing **Agenda 21** to be US \$600 billion each year. The greatest portion would be generated within individual countries, although US \$125 billion a year was to be raised through contributions from the international community for developing countries. This would result in US \$70 billion dollars in "new and additional" resources over and above the current ODA level of some US \$55 billion per year. (Coincidentally, this would raise ODA to the agreed UN target of 0.7 per cent of GNP.)

In the end, developing countries agreed that the GEF would be the principal mechanism for funding global issues (especially the Conventions on Biodiversity and Climate Change). This was in return for consideration of an "Earth increment" for IDA (the soft window of the World Bank) to support funding of **Agenda 21** activities and reaffirmation as soon as possible by developed countries of their intent to meet the 0.7 per cent target for ODA. (The USA and Switzerland, having never committed



Poster: O.D. Skelton, Maurice Strong, and John Bell.

themselves to this target, will be exempt.) There was also acknowledgement of the need for debt relief, greater flows of direct foreign private investment, and open markets.

Tensions also ran high among developing countries worried about competition with countries of the former Soviet Union (FSU) for scarce funds, particularly since the FSU sought recognition of their special plight of being "economies in transition". The FSU went further and emphasized its need for support from the international community to redress the horrendous environmental inheritance from communism. These tensions were partially resolved by including a special reference to "economies in transition" in the preamble to **Agenda 21**.

At the outset, Africans felt excluded at the expense of large developing countries such as China, India and Brazil with their huge environmental endowments. Over time, they skilfully obtained agreement on "desertification" as an issue of both regional and global significance. The UNCED Conference agreed, therefore, to the negotiation by 1994 of a Global Convention on Desertification.

The coalition of small island states successfully argued for an international conference on their special situation in 1993. Saudi

Arabia and other oil-producing states then advocated that nuclear energy come under the same scrutiny as fossil fuels. They insisted that technology for sustainable development must be both "safe and sound". They only withdrew their overall reservations on the **Agenda 21** atmosphere chapter at the eleventh hour of the last negotiating session in Rio.

Canada's priorities related to forests and fishing, affectionately referred to as our "fish and chips" approach.

Was UNCED a success? Jim MacNeill, the Canadian Secretary of the Brundtland Commission, had suggested that a "dramatic failure" would be preferable to a "fake success", devoid of real commitment, and which was little more than a photo opportunity for world leaders. Now that seven

months have elapsed, my opinion is that Rio was a success, albeit a qualified one. World leaders (even President Bush) in the final analysis did attend expecting to make Rio truly an **"Earth Summit"**. The predicted breakdown in negotiations between North, South, and East did **not** happen.

Canada achieved several important national goals. We also contributed substantively to the conference outcome in a variety of ways, especially by helping to build bridges between North and South in key negotiations on issues such as funding, forest principles, and climate change. Prime Minister Mulroney had earlier set the tone in his June 1st speech at the Canadian Museum of Civilization. He outlined an action agenda for Rio and signalled Canada's intent to sign, ratify, and implement the Conventions promptly. This was at a time when the United States was still indicating it would probably not sign the "Biodiversity Convention" and before any other G-7 country, except Germany, had indicated its likely position. This speech made Canada a leader on the issue, and put us on the moral "high ground" by the time the Canada Delegation arrived in Rio a few days later.

Two years' of intensive lobbying by Canada and negotiations to change the way nations think about high seas fisheries

(ie. from a purely "economic" resource to one of "conservation and sustainable use" of an ecosystem) was rewarded when the EC withdrew its objections and the Conference agreed that there be a major UN Conference on "straddling stocks and highly migratory species". Agreement on a "**Statement of Forests Principles**" did fall short of the global convention which Canada had earlier hoped for, but it is nevertheless an important step in international cooperation on forests.

Canada's priorities related to forests and fishing, affectionately referred to as our "fish and chips" approach, reflected our geography which comprises 10 per cent of the world's forests and the world's longest coastline. These reinforced our desire to contribute concretely to achieving solutions on related key issues such as funding, technology transfer, and poverty and to encourage the widest possible participation in our national preparations for UNCED.

The creation of the "Canadian Participatory Committee for UNCED (CPCU)" as an umbrella group for environment and development NGOs, labour, the UN Association, indigenous and women's groups, and the International Chamber of Commerce for business, greatly facilitated NGOs' participation throughout the UNCED process. The fact that the official Canadian delegation included representatives from all these groups made a major difference on how and what we negotiated.

Another factor in the success of Rio was because the Brazilian government, working with the UN, provided excellent conference facilities and logistical backup. Many delegations who frequent UN conferences internationally felt that the "Rio Centro Conferência" complex was in some ways better than UN Conference sites in New York or Geneva. Furthermore, by having the conference in Rio de Janeiro, a developing country megapolis, the stark realities of *favelas*, abandoned children, and the challenges of industrial waste and city sewage, all served to bring the environment-development nexus into sharper focus for all who attended the Summit with their eyes open.

While few delegations left Rio totally satisfied with the outcome, they did take back a far better appreciation of the interconnectedness of the environment and development. This notwithstanding, many observers were disappointed with the weak commitments made by governments in "watered-down" texts. The original idea of agreeing on a short, visionary "**Earth Charter**" which focused on integrating environment into an accelerated development process, had given way to the 27 principles of the "**Rio Declaration on Environment**

and Development". While both poor countries' concerns about development and industrialized countries' priorities on environment were respected, they were not fully integrated in the **Declaration**. This led one head of delegation to suggest it reads like a "municipal by-law". Nonetheless, it is a milestone as this is the first time many of the principles have been agreed to by the world community at the highest levels.

Concerns that **Agenda 21** (the 500-page, 40-chapter, program of action for the rest of this century and beyond) did not properly address the central issues of population, consumption and military spending are only partially justified. In the end, as Gus Speth of the World Resources Institute wrote recently: "The greatest accomplishment of the **Earth Summit** may lie not in the actual commitments governments made, which were mostly modest, but on the way that the event has shaped the international agenda for years to come. It defined the new international values of equity and the environment, and linked them inseparably, and dramatized how powerfully they affect North-South relations."

"International diplomacy will never be the same again".

Canada's post-Rio agenda is already off to a good start. First, a meeting in November 1992, under the chairmanship of Environment Minister Jean Charest, brought together members of our core delegation to Rio and Canadian institutions involved in the issues of sustainable development and was an indication that we will continue to build on the "multi-stakeholder" approach to environment and development questions as was so effective in the leadup to Rio. Secondly, in a ceremony in early December at the Reifel Game Sanctuary in Delta, BC, Prime Minister Mulroney signed the *Biological Diversity and Climate Change* agreements making Canada the first G-7 country to ratify both treaties.

In his speech, the Prime Minister also announced that the UN Secretary General would recommend to the General Assembly that Ms. Elizabeth Dowdsell from Environment Canada, who had played a particularly prominent role in the climate change negotiations, should become the next Executive Director of UNEP. This

appointment is yet another reflection of Canada's leadership in this area. On the international front, Canada will closely follow both the new Sustainable Development Commission (now responsible for monitoring the follow-up to UNCED) and the Earth Council (an independent body recently established in Costa Rica to keep high level attention on the issues from Rio).

Canada has also begun to implement commitments made by the PM at Rio to support developing countries in capacity-building and on the inter-related issues of aid, trade and debt. The IDRC has a newly expanded mandate related to **Agenda 21**. Canada will contribute \$2 million to the start-up costs of the UNDP's "Capacity 21" program of support to developing countries in their development of sustainability plans. On the aid side, CIDA has made its mission statement "the promotion of sustainable development in developing countries". Canada will build on the \$1.3 billion we have spent on sustainable development over the past five years, including the expenditure in 1992 of \$115 million on forest management in developing countries. The Prime Minister's speech on 1 June 1992 also noted the relationship between environment and trade and suggested that the next round of international trade negotiations pay particular attention to environmental considerations. On the debt front, he announced a program to convert \$145 million of debt in Latin America to fund sustainable development practices.

There will also be important follow-up negotiations to prepare for a high seas fisheries conference, in finding ways to proceed internationally on the forests principles (including a \$10 million program toward an international network of model forests), participation in the Desertification Convention negotiations, and in other UN conferences and initiatives promised at Rio.

At the end of the day, however, what really counts is that there has been a good start made toward the integration of environmental considerations into our overall approach to development, trade and other economic issues. This will change the execution of Canada's foreign policy for the better in the years ahead. As Maurice Strong said at the Closing Plenary at Rio: "International diplomacy will never be the same again".

John Bell has had postings in Stockholm, Accra, Abidjan, Paris, Sydney, Sao Paulo, New York (as Deputy Consul General), Abidjan (as Ambassador), and Brasilia (as Ambassador). His most recent assignment at EAITC has been as Special Advisor to the Secretary of State for External Affairs on the Environment.

Reflections on the Earth Summit

by Michael Small

The Earth Summit that concluded the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) proved to be the largest — and in many ways the strangest — assembly of world leaders ever gathered. For two days last June, over one hundred heads of state and government met in a converted trade fair grounds on the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro to deliver their views on the future of the planet. Some of their speeches were highly combative (George Bush); others were folksy and funny (Yoweri Museveni of Uganda); and others were tough but inspiring (Gro Harlem Brundtland). In the end, their presence was more important than the content of their statements, because it signalled that the agreements officials had laboured for over two years to produce — conventions on climate change and biodiversity, global principles on forests, and a comprehensive Action Plan called **Agenda 21** — merited political commitment at the highest levels.

UNCED had its origins in one of the most influential initiatives ever undertaken by the UN — the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), better known as the “Brundtland Commission”. The Commission’s report, tabled before the General Assembly in 1987, recommended holding a global conference on sustainable development (the central concept popularized by the Commission) to mark the twenty year anniversary of the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment. In the fall of 1988, Canada and Sweden sought co-sponsors for our resolution to convene such a conference in 1992. It was passed by consensus and Brazil offered to host the Conference in a diplomatic master-stroke, designed to counter the devastating public criticism it had received over deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon. In the fall of 1989, the General Assembly negotiated the critical resolution that gave UNCED its mandate. Canada successfully advocated the appointment of Maurice Strong as Secretary-General of the Conference; and the General Assembly approved by consensus the nomination of veteran Singaporean diplomat, Tommy Koh, as the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee. By mid-summer 1990, Strong’s Secretariat had been established in

Geneva, and the negotiating process was ready to roll, through a series of four month-long meetings of the Preparatory Committee, leading up to the final conference in Rio in June 1992.

Such is the official UN genealogy of UNCED. But looking back, it is clear that UNCED should be viewed as the product of a wider explosion of international concern over the global environment in the period 1988-89. This concern was driven by the convergence of a number of phenomena, including the discovery of the Antarctic ozone hole, new and alarming data on global warming, the long hot North American summer of 1988, and the accelerating loss of the world’s rainforests. Four years later, environmental negotiations are still propelled by the political momentum unleashed in this short period. One measure of how rapidly the environment moved from the fringes to the centre stage of world leaders’ pre-occupations in this period are the communiqués from the G-7 Summits. In 1988, Canada as host had to push hard to include one line on the environment in the communiqué from the Toronto Summit, reflecting the findings of the Brundtland Report. In 1989 at the Paris Summit, no less than a third of the entire communiqué was devoted to a sweeping discussion of global environmental issues. The same issues were also discussed at length by leaders at the Francophone Summit, the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, and the special Hague Environmental Summit — all in 1989.

At least six international negotiating processes were either launched or given a major political push by this “big bang” phase of environmental diplomacy. This list included: the OECD’s work to integrate environmental factors better into economic policy making; negotiations to create a multi-lateral fund under the *Montreal Protocol* to assist developing countries to phase out production of ozone depleting substances; the negotiations, launched by France and Germany, to create a pilot *Global Environmental Facility* tied closely to the World Bank, to meet newly recognized global environmental needs; the negotiations under UNEP towards a global convention on biological diversity; and the negotiations, under the General Assembly, towards a convention on climate change.

The sixth and most ambitious negotiating track, encompassing all the issues dealt with by the previous five and much, much more, was UNCED.

UNCED was not intended to duplicate any of these more specific negotiating tracks. In theory, its purpose was to generate the over-arching political commitment to move towards sustainable development, at the national and international levels. In practice, this translated into a number of more specific objectives, which were never clearly articulated, and which were met with varying degrees of success.

*“Never have the rich
felt so poor.”*

At its simplest, UNCED set a deadline of June 1992 for completion of negotiations on the two conventions and UNCED’s own work plan, known as **Agenda 21**. June 1992 also served as a major milestone for the progressive restructuring of the Global Environmental Facility. Without the political imperative to have a package of agreements for leaders to sign in Rio, negotiations would undoubtedly have dragged on for years on both conventions. Both conventions were reduced to a “lowest common denominator” than most delegations would have liked in order to meet this deadline; but at least a basic legal text has been achieved, which can be amended and made more concrete through new protocols in the future.

UNCED was also widely expected to generate the impetus for a series of new negotiations on other global environmental issues — such as forests, marine pollution, and possibly freshwater. By mid-1991, it was clear that virtually all delegations, both developed and developing, were already taxed to the maximum to manage the on-going load of environmental negotiations and there was little willpower to launch new conventions. For the most part, the best we were able to achieve were commitments to hold conferences in the future dedicated to these subjects. Canada sought right up until

Rio to build support for a future global forest convention and had widespread support for this goal. However, we were blocked by the determined resistance of several influential LDCs, principally Malaysia and India, that saw no national advantage in such a convention, and a considerable risk that it would be used to restrict their freedom to develop their forest resources. The best we could achieve in the end was a highly general, "non-legally binding authoritative statement of principles on the conservation management and sustainable use of all types of forests", whose text was as crisply drafted as its title. It remains to be seen whether countries will build upon the forest principles by making tangible commitments for

of course never officially subscribed to this vision of the Conference — but with the recent experience of the *Montreal Protocol* as a yardstick, most developed country delegates began this enterprise expecting that increased commitments of cash would inevitably be required to bring the developing world on board. Only the United States, from the outset, publicly refused to countenance any commitments of "new and additional resources" as a necessary outcome of UNCED.

If the world economy had not entered a recession just as the UNCED negotiations began in earnest in mid-1990, and if either Japan or the EC had decided to make a strategic commitment of major new financial resources to the developing world and

Global Environmental Facility (GEF), as the only large pot of "new and additional" money around, assumed increasing importance and most industrialized countries hardened their negotiating positions around the view that the GEF would serve as the fund for both the climate change and biodiversity conventions.

This left the negotiators on the generic issue of financial resources in UNCED to explore the scope for expanding the definition of "global issues" eligible for GEF funding into new areas, beyond the conventions; and to probe the willingness of donors to increase ODA flows, either through a real increase in the IDA — the World Bank's soft lending window — and/or a renewed



Members of the External Affairs UNCED Task Force: Roch Ledoux, Louise Côté, Michael Small, Susana Lopez, and Alison LeClaire.

increased forest protection — or instead, the principles turn out to be a diplomatic dead letter.

On a grander scale, UNCED was widely expected to forge a global political consensus around a gigantic, new "North-South bargain", in which the North would provide dramatically increased flows of "new and additional resources", in return for significant new commitments by developing countries to protect their environment. Many developing countries hoped or believed that the environment would give them the leverage with the North to extract the aid and trade concessions that they lacked the last time this kind of global bargain was pursued in the era of the "North-South dialogue" of the late 1970s. Industrialized countries

challenged other donors to meet them, a bargain along these lines might conceivably have come to pass. Instead, as Maurice Strong unfailingly told developing country audiences "never have the rich felt so poor". The prospect of new money was steadily pushed further into the future awaiting the "political commitments" that would come in Rio; meanwhile negotiators began work on the specifics of **Agenda 21**. It became increasingly obvious that what new money was available would only be made available for "global issues" — which basically meant the two conventions under negotiation. The rest of **Agenda 21** would be categorized as "local issues" to be met by developing countries' own expenditures, supplemented by existing ODA flows. At the same time, the

commitment to reach the 0.7% GNP/ODA target by a specific date. The agreement reached after a seventeen hour negotiating session on the final day in Rio left the scope of the GEF unchanged, in return for a commitment to make its governance more democratic (ie. more open to influence from developing countries); while donors agreed to consider a real increase in IDA, without making a firm commitment to it, and agreed to reach the 0.7% target "as soon as possible". This result was far less than the grand global bargain many originally envisaged.

What happened to the developing countries' purported leverage in this exercise? In the end, it proved to be over-stated — although certain LDC delegations attempted to link agreement on specific chapters of

Agenda 21 of interest to the donors — notably forests — to progress on financial resources. My own interpretation of the LDCs behaviour was based on another negotiating exercise described in the pages of this magazine — namely PAFSO's latest round of contract negotiations with Treasury Board. Like PAFSO, the developing countries invoked the moral superiority of their position until absolutely the last minute before the clock ran out — and then settled for whatever money was on the table. But beyond the *real-politik* of the situation, another phenomenon became apparent during the fourth and final Preparatory Committee meeting in New York. Developing countries themselves realized they had real interests at stake in many of the environmental issues under negotiation through **Agenda 21** — and that it would not serve their needs to hold **Agenda 21** hostage for a large cash settlement from the donors that seemed unlikely to materialize.

As a formal negotiating exercise, UNCED was structured along classic UN lines as a re-play of the twenty-year-old "confrontation" between the industrialized countries and the Group of 77, that has rendered the UN, on the economic side of its agenda, a comparatively irrelevant organization. The issues dealt with by UNCED represent the most active areas of the UN's economic agenda, essentially because they are the only economic issues for which the industrialized world needs to secure the willing co-operation of the developing world. Unfortunately, the prospect of "leverage" this provides has perpetuated the survival of the Group of 77 within the UN, instead of hastening its demise. It was striking that the most creative negotiations towards **Agenda 21** occurred precisely when countries broke out of the mould of North versus South (e.g. in the chapter on oceans, in which Canada, Chile and New Zealand built a coalition of coastal water states to press our interests in marine conservation on the high seas). In an era when the UN is undergoing significant renewal on its political side, one wonders when new alignments and coalitions among member states will emerge that might revitalize its economic agenda as well.

The principal outcome of UNCED was **Agenda 21** — a vast, global blueprint, covering 39 separate issues from the disposal of hazardous waste to the role of indigenous people in sustainable development. UNCED's strength, and its weakness, lie in the inclusiveness of **Agenda 21**. For the first time, there is an agreed inter-governmental action plan embracing all facets of sustainable development. At the same time, there are no priorities set, nor starting points identified. Doubtless, the implementation of **Agenda 21** will be

very uneven, between countries and between issues. It will be up to individual governments to determine how to implement **Agenda 21**, up to the newly created UN Sustainable Development Commission to maintain the international peer pressure on governments to do so, and up to NGOs and the media to hold everyone accountable for the results.

In my opinion, the true importance of **Agenda 21** lies in the learning process countries went through to negotiate it. The requirements of negotiating this vast document served brilliantly to shift governments' thinking from an "environmental agenda" (considered the narrow concern of one department in most governments) to a multi-disciplinary "sustainable development agenda", in which national leaders' credibility was at stake. This required breaking down both bureaucratic and conceptual barriers, within government and between government and public interest groups. Through the UNCED preparatory process, foreign ministries were obliged to work closely with environment departments, development NGOs had to collaborate with environment NGOs, and both groups learned to find some common cause with business associations.

UNCED gave non-governmental organizations an unparalleled degree of access to a major inter-governmental negotiation and the opportunity to participate in many official delegations, from both developed and developing countries. In this way, UNCED capitalized on the latent idealism that the UN, at its best, can command from a global public; and Maurice Strong, as UNCED's chief impresario, was brilliant in brokering media interest, public involvement and private sector sponsorship for the conference. Minister Jean Charest, who led the Canadian delegation until the Prime Minister arrived in Rio, identified the early and effective involvement of NGOs (including business representatives) in our official delegation as the most important strategic decision we made in preparing for UNCED. I believe that this new form of public diplomacy, which the Canadian delegation had to invent as we went along, will be one of the enduring legacies of this conference.

Six months later, it is clear that the political momentum generated by UNCED has not dissipated. The UN had a vigorous debate this past autumn to hammer out the terms of reference for the Sustainable Development Commission. Canada had now fulfilled the Prime Minister's commitment in Rio to ratify both treaties by the end of 1992 — making us the first industrialized country to do so. The UN Secretary-General has made two new key appointments to guide the UN's work in the post-UNCED

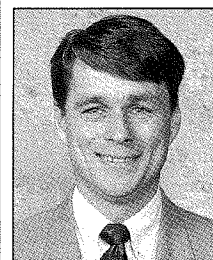
era: Nitin Desai of India (the former Deputy Secretary-General of UNCED) will head the secretariat of the Sustainable Development Commission and Canada's Elizabeth Dowdsell (former co-chair of the climate change negotiations) will become the new Executive-Director of UNEP. At the same time, the USA has changed its political leadership. Al Gore, the only other elected American to address the Plenary in Rio, is widely expected to shift the USA's stance from scepticism to advocacy for the outcomes of UNCED.

UNCED and its associated conventions, did not "solve" the long-term problems of the planet — but it changed the way governments think about them and the international frameworks they use to address them. Canada's basic message in Rio was that UNCED was not an end in itself, but the beginning of new forms of co-operation to achieve sustainable development. Judged by that standard, UNCED honestly met the high expectations placed upon it. 

Michael Small was the Co-ordinator of the UNCED Task Force in EAITC's Environment Division from 1990-92. He has served in Kuala Lumpur and Brasilia and is currently posted to the Canadian Embassy in San José, Costa Rica.

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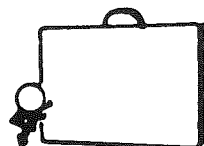
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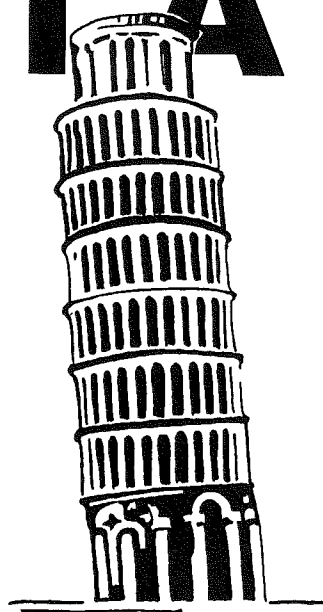
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Paul Martin, 1903-1992

There will be a great variety of assessments of the life and work of the Right Honourable Paul Martin. It is fitting however that **bout de papier** contain an early appreciation of his service in the Department of External Affairs.

Mr. Martin's life had many notable features, but one of the most significant was his commitment to Canadian international affairs. His first main address in the House of Commons, January 18, 1936 was on the subject and as a back bencher he attended the 17th session of the League of Nations in Geneva (see photograph).

As Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Labour, during the Second World War, as Secretary of State, and as Minister of Health and Welfare he assumed many foreign affairs tasks. He was proud of having initiated some of Canada's welfare programs and, as a liberal by conviction, emphasized international humanitarian effort.

Throughout his time as Secretary of State for External Affairs (1963-68) he pressed constantly for "initiatives". Some thought this an attempt to achieve personal credit, but his performance day to day and over the years was so consistent that the record will reveal the pursuit of Canadian national interest as his central motivation. One of the consequences of his aggressive style was that Canadian representatives, wherever they were, became involved in the heat of the foreign policy action. He kept to a punishing schedule in hours and in travel and responded to crises with vigor. In his time, Canadian foreign policy was activist and wide-ranging.

He was a legendary user of the telephone night and day in the pursuit of foreign policy concerns in Canada and abroad. He expected and indeed got corresponding efforts from his department.

Wherever he went as a foreign minister, he was required to swim each day as part of a therapeutic program. Anyone who worked with him has a Paul Martin story. In general these reflect regard for his original character. A devout Christian, he was never irritable for long and very forgiving. He was widely read and maintained a special interest in political biography. He balanced seriousness with an unexpected sense of humour.

Mr. Martin's commitment to Windsor went beyond the usual. His staff at External Affairs knew that whatever the pressures, his constituency requirements were to be respected. Still, he kept his political priorities separate from his ministerial duties. He was very conscious of the borderline between personal or party interests and the dictates of foreign affairs. His family and friends were a continuing sense of strength.

Mr. Martin respected the public service. He required objective analysis and recommendations and almost welcomed official papers which gave rise to debate. Mr. Martin valued Marcel Cadieux as much as any public service confidant. External Affairs remained a strong coordinating and initiating agency of government during his tenure. In retirement, he produced a detailed record of his political lifetime and of his period as High Commissioner in London.

Mr. Martin was proud to be a member of the Department of External Affairs. He knew a great many individual foreign service staff members, and made friends among them. It is not surprising, therefore, that he received much support and many confidences. He accepted his ministerial responsibilities and expected departmental loyalty in return.

He put great effort into relations with the press and for that matter with many members of the parliamentary opposition. He was a "House of Commons man" and insisted on very detailed preparation each day and for special debates. His personal speechmaking style was discursive. A great deal of material was prepared and sometimes little used. Laurier was his hero, but Mackenzie King influenced his public style. Mr. Martin always managed however during many foreign policy crises and at innumerable public occasions to promote Canadian objectives.

Mr. Martin and Mr. Pearson had of course foreign policy differences but they agreed on public positions. For those who worked with both, theirs was a remarkable partnership. As Prime Minister, Mr. Pearson was scrupulous to respect Mr. Martin's territory. There was full consultation when Mr. Pearson spoke or acted on foreign policy and Mr. Pearson was regularly and fully briefed by Mr. Martin. For his part, Mr. Martin admired Mr. Pearson and respected his record and his advice which was always sought on major issues. Their offices in the House of Commons were adjoining and the flow of paper between them constant. There was no trace of resentment over Mr. Pearson's leadership. Together they managed, for example, the change from "support for the principles and objective of USA foreign policy in Vietnam" to an objective Canadian position. Mr. Pearson supported Mr. Martin's efforts on Cyprus. Together they coordinated a response to M. de Gaulle. There were many other examples. Mr. Pearson valued Mr. Martin's skills in the House of Commons. From the House Galleries it looked like and was an effective working collaboration.

Throughout his life Mr. Martin was proud of his heritage as a francophone. In the Department of External Affairs, he encouraged the use of French and spoke it constantly. He considered himself a friend of M. Couve de Murville amongst a host of colleagues at the ministerial level in world affairs. He emphasized Canada's francophone character in foreign policy development throughout his career, and was one of the first to support the concept of *la francophonie*. National unity was a basic element in all his foreign policies.

Mr. Martin's life will be remembered in many Canadian contexts. It may be, however, that he would have especially appreciated



Canadian Delegation to the 17th Assembly of the League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, 1936. Left to right: W.A. Riddell; O.D. Skelton; Georges Vanier; Paul Martin; Raoul Dandurand.

the respect and even affection with which he is remembered by his colleagues in the Canadian Foreign Service.

John Hadwen was a special assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs from 1964-67.

Hugh Llewellyn Keenleyside

Hugh Keenleyside joined External Affairs by examination in 1928 and was sent the following year to open the Canadian Legation in Japan. On return to Canada in 1936 he assumed responsibility for American and Far Eastern Affairs.

At the outbreak of World War II he was involved in discussions with the Americans and, indeed, on behalf of Prime Minister King, with President Roosevelt himself, on such questions as the relocation of the Government of the United Kingdom and of the British Naval Fleet in the event of the invasion of Great Britain, which, in 1940 seemed inevitable before the Battle of Britain swung the tide in favour of Britain and the Commonwealth. When the Canada-US Permanent Joint Board on Defence was established in 1940, Hugh Keenleyside was appointed Secretary of the Canadian Section of the Board.

He was appointed Assistant Under-Secretary in 1941 and was deeply involved in all aspects of Canadian-American cooperation in the prosecution of the war against Japan in the Pacific. He opposed the forced evacuation of Japanese Canadians from the west coast to internment camps in the interior and consequently was relieved of that responsibility.

In 1945, Dr. Keenleyside was posted as the first Canadian Ambassador to Mexico. In 1947 he returned to Ottawa as Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources and Commissioner of the North West Territories.

From 1950-59 he served as the first Under-Secretary General of the United Nations for Technical Assistance. From 1959-69 he was Chairman of the BC Hydro and Power Authority, with a strong influence on the negotiation of the Columbia River Treaty.

Dr. Keenleyside never really retired, but remained active in educational activities and in writing his two-volume memoir. A Chair in his name for the teaching of international affairs was established at the University of British Columbia.

He died in Saanich, BC in September 1992 at the age of 94. He was an outstanding early role model in the Department of External Affairs.

Milton Blair Blackwood

Friends of Milton Blair Blackwood were saddened to learn of his sudden death in La Jolla, California on October 31, 1992. A memorial service at La Jolla was held on November 8.

Following a distinguished career in the RCAF in World War II as a Navigator on Lancaster bombers (35 operations) and completion of his studies at the University of Manitoba and the University of Minnesota in agricultural economics, Milton joined the Trade Commissioner Service in 1951. In a 36-year career he served in Hong Kong, Bonn, Djakarta, Mexico City, Singapore, London, Johannesburg, Sydney and Detroit — in the latter two as Consul General.

Milton also served in Ottawa as Assistant Director (Administration) of the Trade Commissioner Service (1961-64) where his wide field experience brought a thorough understanding of the needs of those serving at posts abroad.

In retirement he and his wife Helen enjoyed gardening, bridge and travelling widely. Each year they spent seven months in Vancouver and the winter period in La Jolla. In Vancouver, Milton organized an informal and popular Sunday morning club at which he and his wife were able to keep in touch with and enjoy their many friends living in or passing through that city.

*John Stiles
Friend and retired Ambassador*

Alan McLaine

bout de papier is honoured to print below the text of the speaking notes for Mr. Blair Seaborn's oral eulogy on that sad occasion.

— Editor

I have been asked to say a brief word about the professional career of Alan McLaine, an old friend and a devoted, hard-working and loyal public servant.

My wife and I first met Alan and Tudy McLaine when they arrived in Moscow on their first posting in June of 1960. From his arrival, Third Secretary McLaine threw himself with energy and enthusiasm into the role of young Canadian diplomat in the fascinating area of Soviet affairs. And with this posting began a career of ever-increasing responsibilities over more than thirty years. It took him to Havana, to Washington, a second time to Moscow as Counsellor, to Warsaw as Ambassador, and finally to Prague.

In between these foreign postings, he was back in Ottawa, attending to Canadian interests in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Most recently, just before going to Prague

as Ambassador, he had a long and gruelling stint as Director General during the period when walls and curtains were falling, the Soviet Empire was disintegrating, and the Soviet Union itself was going through incredible change, turmoil and upheaval. During that period, as indeed on all his postings, Alan earned the respect of those from the area with whom he dealt for his fairness, his straightforwardness and his genuine desire to establish the best possible relations with them and their countries.

One of the things I admired most in Alan was his great fund of common sense. Where other Kremlin watchers and Eastern European experts were caught up, often fascinatingly, in the subtleties and uncertainties of the scene, he could cut through all this to assess the situation, and particularly the Canadian and Western interests involved, with practical and politically astute good sense. He had, moreover, the capacity to convey to the non-specialist, including Ministers and Members of Parliament, the essentials of complicated situations in clear and direct language — a talent not characteristic of all public servants.

Alan was not a "hard-liner", but he knew how and when to be tough when the circumstances called for it. He had a knack for getting along personally with even the most obdurate and outrageous Communist officials; but he did not mince words with them when they were being obdurate and outrageous, especially if Canadian interests were at stake.

But the characteristic which perhaps endeared him most to his colleagues and fellow-workers, especially at difficult posts abroad, was his irrepressible cheerfulness, his kindly humour and sense of fun (his doggerel verse was great!) and his constant concern for the well-being of those who were working with him.

Alan and I kept in touch even after our professional lives had gone their separate ways, largely because we shared a fascination with what we used to call "the Soviet Bloc" — and because we had become firm friends through being together in Moscow many years ago. I visited the McLaines in Prague in June of this year, and as always found Alan absorbed by this posting, by what was going on in a former Communist country apparently determined to tear itself apart.

Tudy, god-daughter Heather, all members of the McLaine family: the Department of External Affairs — and Canada — were well served by Alan. I rejoice to have known him as a warm friend and colleague, to have worked with him, and to have shared that love for his work for which he will long be remembered.

*Blair Seaborn
Friend and retired Ambassador*

Rapa Nui: An Island in Peril

Story and photos by David Bickford

Easter Island, or Rapa Nui, was christened by its ancient inhabitants "The Navel of the World". Far from appearing to be something special, the island is a windswept, bleak and inhospitable chunk of rock far, far off the beaten track, some 3,700 kms from mainland Chile and 4,000 kms to Tahiti. Its 160 square kms can be covered in a few hours despite the dusty pockmarked tracks which serve as roads. The landscape is barren, grassy, with a few stubby trees, volcanic humps and lots of rocks.

The one "town" Hanga Roa, contains almost all of Rapa Nui's 2,000 inhabitants. It sprawls along the rocky coast next to the airstrip, lengthened to three miles by NASA some years ago as an emergency landing field for the space shuttle.

The few people who live here maintain themselves precariously through small-scale fishing, agriculture and tourism. The pace is downright laid-back, but who needs to hurry here — there literally is no place to go. The overpowering feeling, in many ways shared by the locals, is the sense of isolation. If this is not the most distant inhabited point in the world (from anywhere else) it certainly feels like it. Why are these people here? Why are we?

These questions fade when you come face-to-face for the first time with a "Moai", the famous stone statues with their haughty demeanor, hooded eyes and enigmatic smiles which make them appear lost in a secret joke. Yes! the tired old pictures from postcards do come alive, and new questions leap out — Why did these people carve these monsters, how did they transport them, why did this come abruptly to an end? You attempt to place yourself back in time, but the answers don't come. The Moai just stare back.

There are theories and possible answers, but research remains spotty and speculative. Those who produced the Moai, an alphabet, and petroglyphs came to Rapa Nui from Polynesia some 1,000 years ago — that much is known. They built a unique civilization which flowered for a few centuries. The



decline and fall of this civilization came, most likely, from overpopulation, deforestation, the devotion of too high a proportion of labour to the production of Moai and ancestor-worship, and finally to internecine warfare during which the Moai were toppled.

A visit to the south slope of Rano Raraku volcano provides several pieces of the puzzle.

The Moai quarry is found here with some 300 partly-finished faces staring up at the sky. The technique was to carve the face and trunk from the rock and gradually chip away the surrounding rock until the support or "backbone" underneath collapsed. This was accomplished with obsidian tools alone. The statues, weighing tons and measuring up to 20 metres long were then slid down the hillside and off to market. Many remain erected at the base of the hill. Was this a display from which buyers could choose, or was there a deeper purpose? Moai were dragged, in some manner, for up to 15 kms over broken ground from Rano Raraku, not a mean feat for a people who had not discovered the wheel and did not have trees of sufficient length, girth and strength to use as rollers. They made mistakes as evidenced by the number of abandoned broken statues en route. They must have learned since most Moai made it to their destinations where they were somehow erected on elevated ceremonial altars, again, without the aid of strong poles or levers. Such skills died with these craftsmen 800 years ago and the tight-lipped Moai aren't giving up the secret.

The severe lines of the Moai clash with the intricate petroglyphs which illustrate a different sense of beauty that these people possessed. At Orongo, a spectacular site perched on the rim of a volcano, between the crater and a thousand-metre drop to the ocean, a small village existed which was used once a year for ceremonial purposes. Low houses with thick stone walls, sod roofs, rounded corners, tiny doors and no windows — to counter the strong winds — and petroglyphs of the "bird-man" have given rise to many a legend about the site. One cannot but be impressed by the spectacular choice of site, notwithstanding the uncertainty of its purpose.

What is alarming is that the past is being slowly but irretrievably lost. This open-air museum is deteriorating not due to natural causes but through human thoughtlessness. Control over this heritage is limited. Anyone can enter these priceless sites, commit vandalism, collect "souvenirs" or generally

tramp all over the past. Our own experience was shocking. We went with a local guide who let people clamber all over 1000-year-old houses and petroglyphs in order to get better picture angles. It was the bus driver who eventually pointed this out to an embarrassed tourist. If this attitude continues much will be lost and the solutions to puzzles which have thus far eluded researchers will prove even more difficult to discover. Unfortunately, the awareness of the necessity to protect this heritage is just not there. As another example, locals selling wood carvings proudly point out certain of their works because they are produced from a particularly beautiful, slow-growing tree which is all but extinct — giving new meaning to the phrase "Get them while they last".

The uniqueness of Rapa Nui is found not only in its archeology, but also in its people. The Rapa Nui came from the East — most likely the Marquesa Islands — perhaps a thousand years ago, and developed a thriving civilization which came to an end several centuries later. The descendants of these people first met Europeans in 1722. That and subsequent experience was not positive and the attitude towards strangers changed from open arms to hostility, a familiar theme for indigenous peoples everywhere. Disease, and slavery reduced the population to about one hundred by the time Chile formally claimed the island in 1888.

The current population is small — some 2,000 people — of whom three-quarters are Rapa Nui, with perhaps another 1,000 Chile or French Polynesia. They are friendly but lack the drive, purpose and fire of their ancestors. The "native-people's" syndrome is alive and well — substandard health, education which does not reflect culture, alcoholism, and high infant mortality rates. The problem is compounded by the dichotomy between political linkages with Chile and cultural links with Polynesia. This has brought political alienation and the



attempt to recreate a previous culture by borrowing (or inventing) from the East.

While the authenticity of the Rapa Nui culture may be suspect, its rich linguistic heritage cannot be questioned. A highlight of any visit to the island is Mass at Hanga Roa church. Much is sung in Rapa Nui, unaccompanied, in four-part harmony, improvised and sung with joy. In contrast, the parts in Spanish lack spontaneity and life.

A bone of contention on the island is Thor Heyerdhal's theory that the people came from South America — Kon Tiki and all that. There are indeed legends of two waves of immigrants of somewhat different physical characteristics, but was one of these from South America? Heyerdhal's physical evidence is tenuous. The centrepiece is a platform near Hanga Roa built of close-fitting dressed stone without mortar, that resembles Inca or pre-Inca walls in the interior of Peru. This is more difficult to explain away than the presence of reeds in volcanic craters similar to those of Lake Titicaca.

Whether this is convincing or not, the local people don't see themselves as having South American connections, nor do they appear to want them.

In all, Heyerdhal doesn't appear to be a popular figure on the island. Nonetheless, no one else has been able to complete the Rapa Nui jigsaw puzzle.

Perhaps Easter Island is fascinating because not all the answers are known, and we "advanced" folk are unable to explain how "primitive" people could have done what we could not do today if we used the materials that we believe they had at their disposal. It makes you think, but that is the magic of Easter Island. Maybe it is the "Navel of the World" after all.

David Bickford has had postings in Vienna, Cuernavaca (language training), Mexico City, Caracas and Santiago. He is currently Deputy Director in the Economic Relations with Developing Countries Division at EAITC.

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“Drive” They Said:
Overland
from Riyadh
to London

Planning was the key to the success of our overland trip from Riyadh to London. After 3 years in Saudi Arabia, we (Albert, Jennifer and Kristianne, our then 14 month-old daughter) decided that we would brave the overland route from Riyadh to London.

We pondered the various routes that we could take. One way would have been to drive from Saudi Arabia through Jordan, take the ferry to Nuweiba in the Sinai, travel overland to Alexandria, and then go by ferry to Brindisi, Italy. We also considered driving through the Sinai Desert to Israel and then proceeding by ferry to Europe. Being intrepid Canadians, we decided that if we were going to **drive** to London, then **drive** we would.

Our planning was complicated by the war in Yugoslavia. As a result, we were forced to drive through Bulgaria and Romania, which to our knowledge, no one driving directly from Saudi Arabia has ever done before. In general, colleagues thought we were mad to attempt such a trip. We heard horror stories about the red tape at the Jordanian and Syrian borders; the Kurdish problem in Turkey; the thieves and road bandits in Romania; the lack of food in Romania; the low quality fuel in Romania (when you can find any); the poor roads in Romania; and pretty generally Romania itself.

Our route would cover approximately 8,000 kilometres, driving through thirteen countries including Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria, Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Austria, Germany, Holland, Belgium, France and England. We allocated 22 days for the drive to London and made two rules: (i) never drive at night; and (ii) take a two-day break after each day of driving. We only broke the first rule once — in Romania of all places. Our one-day driving limit was much more difficult to maintain because of the difficult road and border conditions in Turkey, Bulgaria, and Romania. In hindsight, we should have given ourselves four full weeks.

For those who like detail, the first priority concerned where to obtain visas. Neither Bulgaria nor Romania have resident missions in Riyadh, which meant we had to obtain visas elsewhere; in this case, in Kuwait City. Visas for Jordan, Syria, and Turkey were obtained in Riyadh, with the Turkish Embassy spontaneously providing very helpful ideas on routes and hotel accommodation.

The second priority concerned our car. A "Green Card" is required for all transit travel in the Middle East and in some parts of Europe. This is essentially a document that proves you have appropriate automobile insurance. The difficult task at hand was to find an insurer willing to take on the perceived risks of such a trip. After much searching, strangely enough, it was a Canadian firm that took up the challenge, making an easy \$650 for a one-month policy. In addition, a "Carnet du Passage" is also required to drive through the Middle East and parts of Europe, proving that the vehicle is registered and will be removed from the country following transit.

The third priority, accommodation, meant that in the Middle East and Eastern Europe, we took the easy route and stayed at major hotels. In Western Europe we stayed at small pensions off the major highways.

The fourth priority concerned where we should go. Good, up-to-date road maps of the Middle East and Eastern Europe were difficult to obtain locally. In the end, (another kudo for Canada) the Canadian Automobile Association provided excellent road maps of Europe up to, but not quite all of, the Balkans. We did find a relatively good map in Cyrillic for the Balkans, and by comparing the Cyrillic with an atlas, we managed to find our way through Bulgaria — "OK now, turn right at C3PO"! We never did find decent maps for Jordan or Syria.

The fifth priority was non-harassment. Thus, we carried approximately US \$200 in one dollar bills. This was especially useful in the Middle East and Eastern Europe where "tipping" is required for any kind of service. Although we hate to admit this, another useful commodity was to have packs of **Marlboro** and **Kent** cigarettes on hand: **Marlboro** in Turkey and the Middle East; and **Kent** (for some unknown reason) in Eastern Europe. Everyone to their own tastes!

Our first night was spent in Hail, Saudi Arabia (pronounced "Hell"), so Jennifer could say she had been through Hell to get home! We planned to spend the second day in Tabouk, (of Lawrence of Arabia fame), but arrived there around 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Our early arrival in Tabouk was indicative of the superb Saudi highways. We had driven approximately 1,700 kilometres (20 percent of our total distance) in just two days.

The scenery between Tabouk and the Jordanian border is some of the most beautiful in Saudi Arabia. High mountains, striped with red, green and yellow bands, form the boundary between the desert and the pastoral hills of the Holy Land. Between Jordan and Syria, the pastoral scenery changed to agricultural; and from Syria to Turkey, this shifted to mountain ridges.

People, language and culture all seemed dictated by their particular geography. Our surprise at these differences was perhaps indicative of the artificial borders that divide us in North America.

As we were leaving Saudi Arabia, one of the most memorable moments of the trip was listening to an Israeli FM radio station just as we descended from the Saudi Western Mountains and turned toward the waters of the Gulf of Aqaba shimmering in the afternoon sun. At this point, the Gulf of Aqaba is only five kilometres wide, and Saudi Arabia, Israel, Egypt and Jordan are all visible at the same time.

Although we were looking forward to leaving Saudi Arabia, we were struck by the reception at the Saudi border and the relative efficiency of the Saudis. What took twenty minutes at the Saudi border, took two-and-a-half hours when passing into Jordan and again when entering into Syria. An enormous amount of red tape required endless stamping of paper, waiting for people to show up and stamp paper, and then having still other people claim that we did not have the right stamp, and so on. However, Jordanian and Syrian bureaucrats were models of Swiss efficiency when compared with Romanian officials! In any event, the American dollar bills and **Marlboros** certainly came in handy each time things began to slow down....

We spent two days at Petra, a Nabatean city. (Movie fans may remember seeing scenes of Petra in the last Indiana Jones film.) Petra is truly one of the great sites in the world, comparable to the Pyramids, Persepolis and Mohenjodaro. It is remarkably well preserved because of its isolation, with a broad spectrum of architecture dating from the Greeks and Romans, and even the Stone Age. Petra was the junction between two of the ancient world's most important trade routes. The silk and spice routes that linked China, India and Southern Arabia with Rome and the Mediterranean world passed less than twenty kilometres east of Petra. The city was first developed by the Nabateans in the 7th-5th centuries BC before becoming a Greek, and then a Roman, capital city. (However, do **not** visit Petra during the summer season because of its extreme heat.)

By the seventh day, after stops in Amman and Damascus, we reached the Turkish Mediterranean port of Mersin. From Mersin, we had envisaged a relatively short sprint (450 kilometres) to Kemer, a resort on the Mediterranean where we planned to spend three days relaxing, swimming, and sight-seeing. However, what was supposed to be a five-hour drive, took nearly ten because there is no flat land anywhere in Turkey! Nearly all 1,500 kilometres through which

Previous page:

Saint Sophia (Ayasofya) Museum Istanbul.

Background:

Mineral precipitates colour the walls of the Triclinium at Petra.

we passed in Turkey contained some of the most beautiful mountain ranges we had seen, filled with fresh-smelling pines overlooking the Mediterranean coast. While the scenery was beautiful, the roads were very narrow, always winding steeply up and down.

On the eleventh day, we headed north to Pamukkale which is renowned for its sheer white cliffs of mineral salts. These were formed from hot mineral springs which, over time, cascaded down the hills leaving massive deposits of pure white calcium. For thousands of years, people have sought solace in the healing powers of the mineral baths located in Pamukkale. For a more modern touch, local swimming pools are filled with these warm soothing mineral waters. However, there is a drawback as the water does bleach your sun tan!

Istanbul was an important milestone for us as we crossed the legendary Bosphorus from Asia into Europe. It is an absolutely spectacular city which compares visually with Hong Kong or Rio de Janeiro. We stayed at a wonderful hotel located in the shadow of the Blue Mosque near the Golden Horn. It was absolutely perfect — a very small

place with big brass beds — called the “Yesil Ev” (Green House) which had been a Pasha’s mansion. Its location was ideal as we could leave the prison of our car and walk to all the main sites, including Topkapi Palace, Saint Sophia’s Cathedral, the Blue Mosque and the Covered Bazaar.

The drive from Istanbul to Bucharest was one of our longest in terms of time. For miles and miles before reaching the Turkish/Bulgarian border, and still miles and miles after crossing the border, we saw thousands of hectares of sun flowers — a magnificent sight, with rolling fields of golden yellow as far as the eye could see. During this portion of the trip we started to feel that we were leaving the Middle East behind. The climate became more moderate; the vegetation changed from Mediterranean to the temperate hardwood forests of Central and Eastern Europe. Bulgaria had a faintly reminiscent Middle Eastern/Mediterranean atmosphere.

We were able to make good time on the excellent Bulgarian roads. It was a fascinating

period to be in a country that had only recently been a closed society and a staunch, hardline supporter of the former Soviet Union. Despite its new openness, access to western technology is limited (if electric car windows can be termed western “technology”). While waiting for an accident to be cleared up, a few village children came to peer in the windows of our car (still carrying its green Saudi diplomatic plates and heavily black-tinted windows). Because we did not want to awaken Kristianne, we quickly hit the button to make the power windows go up — the look on the children’s faces was priceless. We are certain that not one had ever seen anything like it before. Our little Jetta, with its magic windows, was probably the dinner-time topic in every village house that night!

the time we cleared customs that day, it was well after dark and we were forced to continue on with the short 70 kilometre drive to Bucharest at night. Our first time driving at night, and it had to be in Romania of all places! The roads were treacherously pitch-dark. We encountered trucks with no lights, tractors with no lights, horse carts with no lights, and automobiles with no lights. It was only as we neared Bucharest that things became marginally better.

Near the city centre things brightened up somewhat. Bucharest was also the only city in which we had to stop a taxi to lead us to our hotel (at the bargain rate of five one-dollar bills) because it was simply too dark to make out where we were going. We finally pulled into our hotel at 23:00 hrs after a gruelling fifteen-hour drive.

Throughout the city, we saw signs of the violence which had occurred during the overthrow of Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu in 1990. Bullet holes pocked many of the buildings in the downtown core, including the Intercontinental Hotel where we stayed. In the 1930s, Bucharest was described as the Paris of Eastern Europe,

with its broad tree-lined boulevards, stately mansions, and chic stores. However, Ceausescu put an end to that by razing entire quarters of the city to build his grandiose projects. One of the most spectacular examples is the as-yet-incomplete Presidential Palace containing hundreds of rooms. It is so large the Romanian authorities do not know what to do with it.

After a day of walking around Bucharest, we started off towards Hungary and hoped to make Budapest before nightfall. We had heard horror stories about gasoline shortages, roads with potholes that could swallow a car, and highway bandits (people so desperate they stop your car on the highway at gunpoint and take everything). However, we had a wonderful drive and did not encounter a single problem en route to the Romanian/Hungarian border.

Time seemed to have stood still throughout the Romanian countryside. The wheat harvest was still cut by hand using scythes; donkey carts plied the roads piled high with



Detail on remains of pilasters near the Arched Gate in Petra.

Traffic came to a grinding halt as we drove onto the narrow two-lane bridge crossing the Danube. Several truck drivers were cooking food on the side of the road and they seemed to be planning for a long night ahead. Because of the war in Yugoslavia, most trans-European truck traffic had to pass through Romania rather than taking the more traditional Yugoslav route. Unfortunately, the Romanian customs authorities were not set up to handle the increased volume of trucks. We waited for two-and-a-half hours before the customs authorities allowed a small troupe of private automobiles to move to the front of the line.

The Romanian authorities were very considerate to have allowed us to move ahead; we could have been trapped at the border for days. As we drove over the bridge into Romania, we saw hundreds of trucks lined up in both directions; not moving at all. By

hay; while the local population looked tired and worried about an uncertain future. Although quaint and picturesque, the state of the countryside was indicative of extreme poverty.

Interestingly, the gas station attendants were all women, wearing impeccable dresses, carrying stylish handbags, and often wearing hats and white gloves. They were very smart-looking. While the roads were not super highways, they were fine for driving

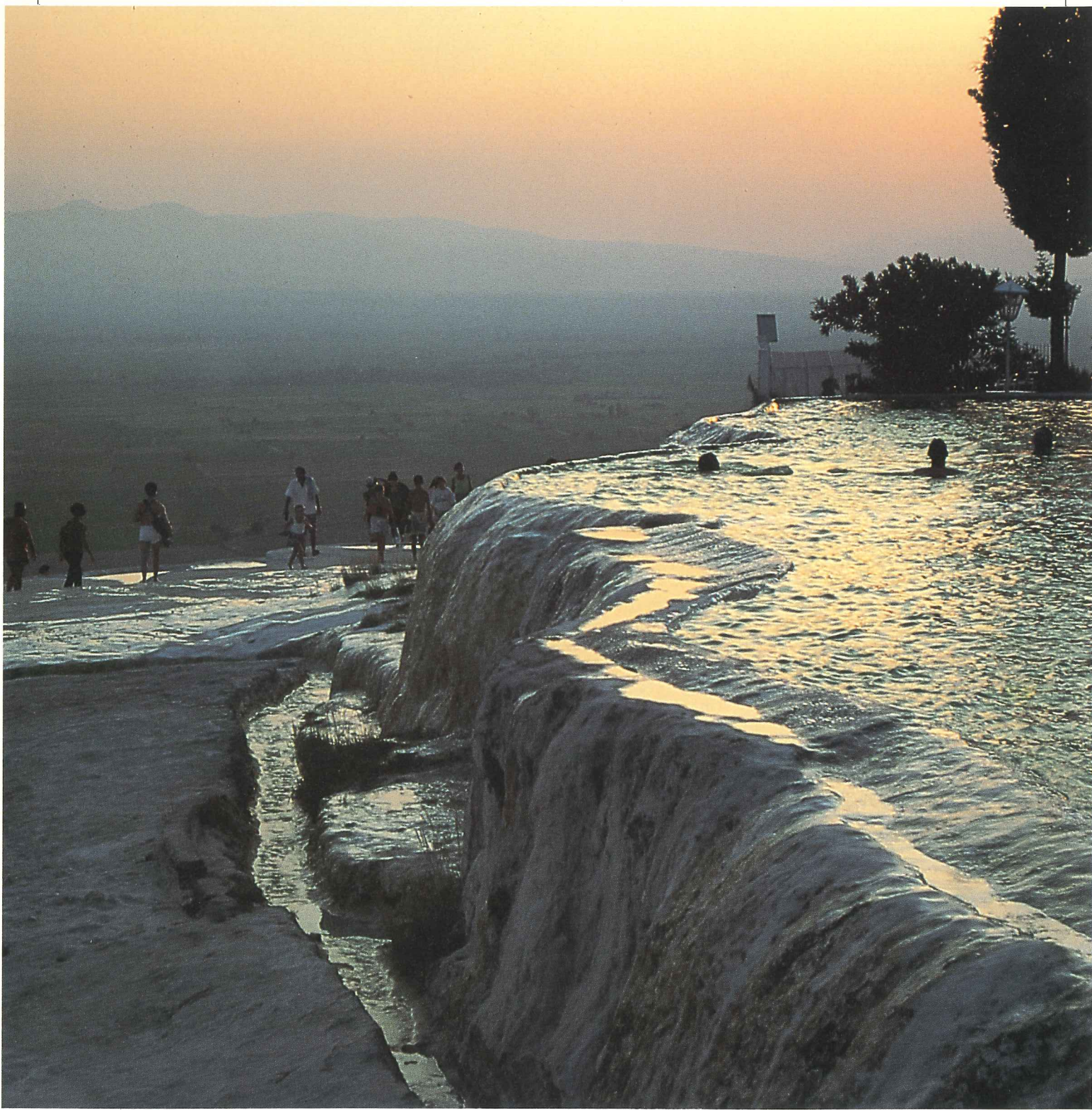
Thermal springs of Pamukkale at dusk.

through the beautiful terrain which changed from large flat plains of golden wheat to the spectacular pine forests of the Transylvanian Mountain ranges. We must admit that we did not encounter any "bandits" en route.

The uneventful drive through Romania had lulled us into what was a false sense of security as we neared the Hungarian border. We were not prepared for the last shocker: cars lined up for tens of miles, while the Romanian authorities struggled to meet the influx of thousands of travellers returning from the Mediterranean after their

summer holidays. People were sleeping in the fields, their garbage piled everywhere. At the very front of the queue, a young woman told us she had been waiting there for nine hours!

After a long thirteen-hour day, we finally drove into Budapest where we stopped for a three-day respite. It was in Hungary where we felt that we had arrived in the "modern" West; the contrast with Romania was truly unbelievable. Bucharest provides an example of the 1920s; whereas, Budapest is the 1990s (well, at least the 1970s).





Tomb of the Roman Soldier at Petra.

From Hungary onward, we began to stay over night in little bed and breakfasts, stopping in Grien, Austria and Bad Wimpfen, Germany, and then visiting relatives in Brussels. We eventually crossed the Channel at Calais and arrived in London where we stayed for a few days with British friends from Saudi Arabia. We then shipped the car to Canada from London and finally flew home to Ottawa.

In all, we drove 8,000 kilometres in 22 days and passed through 13 countries. Slowly, but surely, the terrain had transformed itself from blazing rolling hills of sand sprinkled with camels, to cool green forests and pastures dotted with cows and horses. We had

Mineral deposits at Pamukkale thermal spring.



started our trip in a country where gasoline cost 11 cents a litre and ended in England where the cost was more than one dollar a litre. The temperature in Saudi Arabia had been in the high 40s Celsius when we left in late July and then dropped to the mid-teens by the time we reached London. We had left behind a closed and conservative Muslim society to arrive at the relative openness of Europe and Canada.

Albert Galpin was First Secretary of the Canadian Embassy in Riyadh from 1989-1992. He is currently responsible for the UN arms control and disarmament coordination in the Disarmament, Arms Control, and Non-Proliferation Division at EAITC. **Jennifer Galpin**, an early childhood educator, started and operated a pre-school while in Riyadh prior to the birth of **Kristianne** there during the Gulf War.

Benefit Coverage for Same-Sex Spouses

by Peter Cenne

Several recent court cases have focused on the issue of equality for same-sex spouses. In the absence of movement in government policy, these cases likely will form the basis for subsequent changes to existing benefit plans.

The Supreme Court of Canada is currently reviewing a potential landmark case which may affect the federal government's existing practice of denying benefits to same-sex spouses. In deciding this case, the court must decide whether an individual and his or her same-sex spouse constitute a "family" under the law. Should a family unit be deemed to exist, the Court must then decide whether discrimination occurred contrary to the "family status" provisions of the *Canadian Human Rights Act* and the equality requirements under the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. The Supreme Court is expected to rule on this issue within a few months.

In another recent case, the Ontario Court of Appeal ruled that the *Canadian Human Rights Act* was unconstitutional as it failed to recognize sexual orientation as a prohibited ground of discrimination. The Court further decided that the Act should be read and applied as if it covered sexual orientation. As a result, all complaints of discrimination based on sexual orientation must be investigated by the Canadian Human Rights Commission. Although this decision does not extend spousal benefits to same-sex couples, it does provide a legal basis to contest discriminatory policies or practices. The Minister of Justice has recently announced that the federal government does not intend to appeal this decision.

Although it is hoped that the federal government will voluntarily recognize the need to address the inequalities created by its current policies, it does not appear that this will happen unless such changes are specifically ordered by the courts. Given the nature of rulings which have recently emerged, it would seem that such changes are inevitable. For example, prior to a recent decision by a Board of Inquiry appointed under the *Ontario Human Rights Code*, Ontario employers were permitted to operate benefit and pension plans which deny benefits to same-sex spouses, while providing benefits to eligible heterosexual common law spouses. This Board of inquiry determined that such practices were contrary to the *Canadian Charter*

of Rights and Freedoms and ordered the Ontario Government to amend its pension and benefits programs to provide equal benefits to the dependents and spouses of gay employees. In addition, this decision prevents Ontario employers from relying on the traditional "spousal" and "marital status" definitions found under the *Ontario Human Rights Code* to justify discrimination in benefits between same-sex and heterosexual couples. While this decision is an Ontario decision, it may well be followed in other Canadian jurisdictions and may eventually influence benefit and pension plans which are subject to federal legislation.

Although this issue will be further clarified by future court rulings, individuals may, nonetheless, wish to file a complaint through the Canadian Human Rights Commission. Once a complaint is filed, the Canadian Human Rights Commission will pursue the case on behalf of the complainant through all legal channels. In this case, PAFSO will also provide assistance and advice to facilitate any investigation or adjudication conducted by the Commission.

To initiate the complaint process, an individual must communicate directly with a designated Human Rights Officer either by phone, fax or letter, outlining the nature of the complaint and the specific grounds of discrimination. On the basis of the information provided, the Human Rights Officer will then complete the required forms and file the complaint. Should an individual wish to initiate this process, we recommend that communications be directed to the attention of Ms. Marie Wankam, a Human Rights Officer dealing specifically with complaints involving sexual orientation, at the following address:

Canadian Human Rights Commission
National Capital Region Office
Box 2052
Postal Station "D"
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 5W3
Fax: (613) 996-9932
Phone: (613) 996-0026
Attention: Ms. Marie Wankam, Human Rights Officer

Should members have further questions concerning this issue, please contact the PAFSO office.

Peter Cenne is Executive Director of PAFSO.



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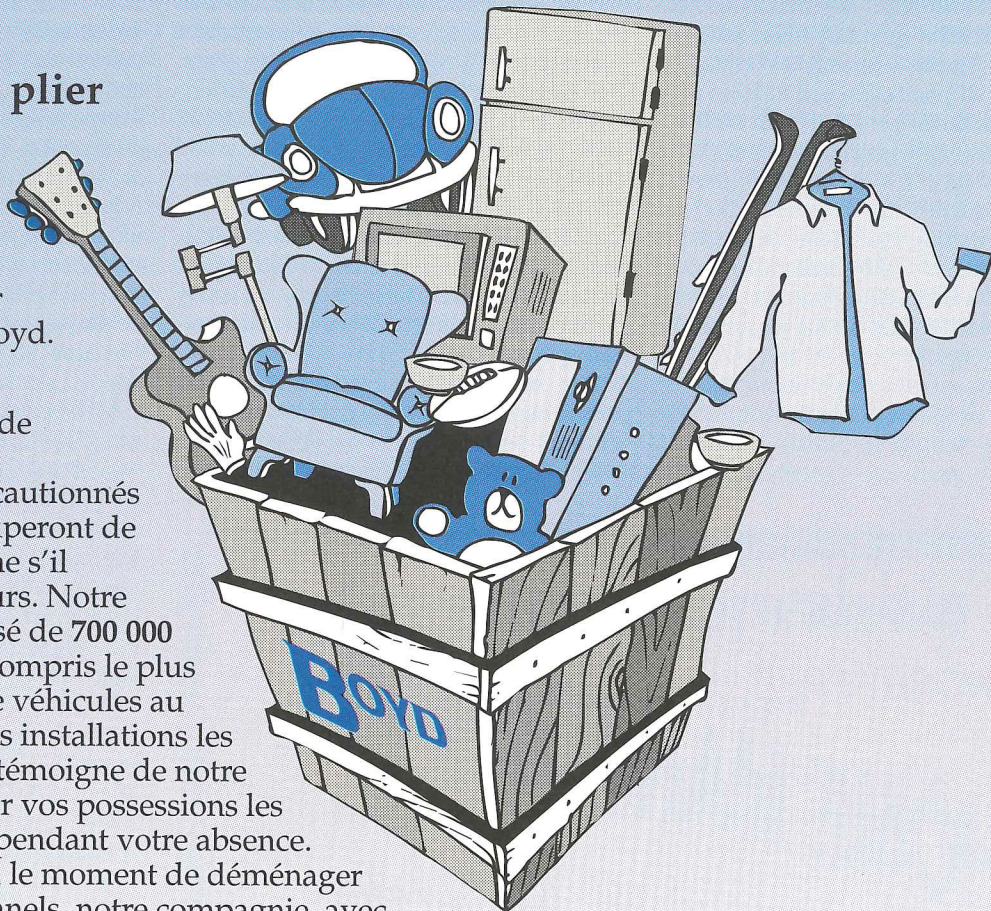
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"I'll be with you in a minute, Mr. Ambassador": The Education of a Canadian Diplomat in Washington by Allan Gotlieb, University of Toronto Press, 1991, 161 pp., \$12.95.

Reviewed by Peter Dobell

Anyone interested in the dynamics of decision-making in the United States will find this book extremely enlightening. Readers with a background in diplomacy will experience an additional reward: they will discover that a posting to Washington is a unique experience, different in its challenges from serving in any other mission. Even those who have served in Washington in the past will be fascinated to learn how much the political geography has shifted.

The book is appropriately subtitled *"The Education of a Canadian Diplomat"*. Gotlieb frequently illuminates his analysis of the fascinating intricacies of the USA political system — the decentralization of power within Congress on the one hand and the limitations on Presidential power on the other — through experiences and anecdotes that contributed to his own education.

Gotlieb dramatizes the novelty of the diplomacy which he and his staff in Washington practised — lobbying within

the Administration and the Congress to promote Canadian interests — by quoting from Arnold Heeney's memoirs. Heeney served twice as Ambassador in Washington and was enormously effective. Yet in writing about his two terms there, he mentions only one visit to Congress. The fact that this was to Lyndon Johnson, then the Majority House Leader, and that Johnson was able to give a commitment to stop an action of the Congress — something no majority leader today could undertake to do — is used by Gotlieb to emphasize how much power in that institution has been dispersed.

I was disappointed that Gotlieb had not attempted to trace the evolution of the Embassy's relations with Congress. Mr. Pearson once advocated USA participation in NATO directly to a Member of Congress and was subsequently requested firmly by the Secretary of State to leave Congress to the Administration. Although very little has been written on this theme, the experiences of a number of subsequent ambassadors could have been quite easily collected and would have provided an interesting background.

My presumption is that such an inquiry would confirm that Gotlieb affected something of a revolution in the audacity with which he approached Congress. But if it was

a dramatic change in approach for Canada, it was a road some other countries had already travelled. The British Embassy, for example, had many years earlier recognized the importance of Congress. When I first launched a program in the early 1970s to bring Congressmen to Canada, virtually every Member of Congress whom I met in those years referred to Mr. Drover (whose first name I cannot recollect) who was a Counsellor in the British Embassy. I remember asking Marcel Cadieux, then Ambassador in Washington, who Drover was; Marcel described him as a minor official. I eventually arranged to spend an evening with Drover and discovered that he had been on the British Embassy staff for twenty years, building links with Congressmen and trading — at a time when invitations to Congressmen to travel abroad were limited — on his ability to invite them to attend meetings at Ditchley House at British Government expense. This was a time when Congressmen were still largely ignored by foreign governments, so that a determined middle-rank officer could gain access to their offices. Now the working environment of Congress has changed so dramatically that even an Ambassador with a problem of direct concern to a Congressman may be kept waiting — as the title of the book suggests.

Although the British may have started early, they were quickly out-distanced by others who were more purposeful. Israel, exploiting the organized strength of the Jewish community in the United States, has long occupied a unique position in terms of its capacity to influence Congress. For those countries whose culture and language render easy communication with Congressmen difficult, the solution has been to turn to paid lobbyists. Japan for many years has done this discreetly and effectively, in circumstances complicated by the rancour in official dialogue between the two countries.

The extent of this practice of using paid intermediaries, not all of whom have exercised the same discretion, was revealed when the *Koreagate* scandal surfaced over a decade ago. By this time, Members of Congress were being inundated with offers of costly travel and lavish entertainment, all intended to garner favours of the country making the offer to protect itself. Congress responded by establishing procedures for vetting foreign invitations, in the form of the "Ethics Committees" of the House of Representatives and of the Senate.

During the past decade, the reach of Congress on matters such as trade, energy and environment policies has been extended so far that a neighbouring country such as Canada must pay close attention to the legislature. Gotlieb perceived how important Congress had become and proceeded to change the way

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the Canadian Embassy operated. He recognized that the entire Embassy had to reach out to Congress if they wanted to gain the attention of Members. In the past, the Embassy cultivated Congress by offering Members hospitality; but as Congress became busier, these opportunities declined. I recollect hearing of a luncheon offered by Ambassador Marcel Cadieux for Ron Basford, then Canadian Minister of the Environment, for Members of Congress. Eight had accepted to meet the Minister. Yet when the time came to sit down, none had come to the residence because votes had intervened. The guests were to be distinguished only by the fact that the more polite had phoned at the last moment to say they could not come.

Now that the new Embassy has been erected less than five minutes from Capitol Hill, this is scarcely a problem. Thanks to the initial foresight of Jake Warren, while he was Ambassador, and the determination of Gotlieb that the project be completed, the former incumbent, Derek Burney, and his colleagues have a facility ideally placed for entertaining Congressmen. It facilitates both the social and physical dimensions of lobbying Congress, an actuality that has become so important for Canada.

Having acknowledged Allan Gotlieb's role in transforming the focus of Canadian diplomacy in Washington, it is interesting to look at a report entitled *Canada-United States Relations: the Institutional Framework for the Relationship* issued by the Canadian Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs in 1975. The Chair of that Committee for many years, Senator George van Roggan, is known best for his advocacy of free trade with the United States. This earlier report, which has not received the attention it deserves, shows that in another respect van Roggan was also ahead of his time. Specifically the Committee urged

"the government to recognize that it is of crucial importance to Canada's relationship with the United States that the Embassy take a more positive approach to Congress. Contact with Congress has been neglected too long.... Congress should become an area of concentration for Canadian efforts and ... the government should provide the Embassy as soon as possible with the instructions and the means for an expanded Congressional relations programme."

The Senate Committee likewise advocated other approaches that Gotlieb subsequently pioneered. These included the conscious support and involvement of provincial authorities during visits to Washington and resort to arbitration and other dispute-settling instruments rather than depending exclusively on traditional diplomacy.

Gotlieb's book is timely. As the United States' largest trading partner, it is no surprise that Canada is being hit by a number of defensive actions launched by USA commercial and industrial interests that have been hurt by the recession. While our primary line of defence must be the dispute-settling mechanisms developed as part of the Free Trade Agreement, some problems can be headed off through maintaining close relations with key Members of Congressional committees. This means that the Embassy must be constantly on the watch for actions by Congress that could adversely affect Canadian interests. This is a never-ending task that requires good intelligence and easy access on Capitol Hill, which the Embassy now has thanks to Gotlieb.

"*I'll be with you in a minute, Mr. Ambassador*" is based on four public lectures given by Allan Gotlieb at the University of Toronto. To provide a transition from lecture to lecture, there is some repetition that is unnecessary in a short book that can be read in one sitting. This apart, it is easy and enjoyable to read, and it makes a substantial contribution to our understanding of the American political system.

Peter Dobell is a former Foreign Service Officer who left in 1968 to set up the Parliamentary Centre for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade. Apart from staffing the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, he has regular and extensive contacts with the USA Congress.

The Gulf Within: Canadian Arabs, Racism and the Gulf War by Zuheir Kashmeri, Toronto, James Lorimer & Company, Publishers, 1991, 132 pp.

Saddam's War: The Origins of the Kuwait Conflict and the International Response by John Bulloch and Harvey Morris, London and Boston, Faber and Faber Limited, 1991, 210 pp., \$7.99 (paper).

Reviewed by Michael Shenstone

Many of *bout's* readers were probably directly involved in some way, at least marginally, in last year's Kuwait crisis. This was so at headquarters, where dozens of units toiled to cope with the political, security, consular, administrative and public relations aspects of the situation, and scores of individuals served long hours on duty in the Operations Centre. It was equally true abroad, where posts all over the world had to deal with a stream of Ottawa enquiries and instructions for local démarches, as well

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as emergency security and visa arrangements, and enquiries from anxious Canadians and the like. Most members of the Foreign Service found themselves caught up breathlessly in the momentum of Canadian policy on the crisis, even if some personally questioned aspects of that policy.

But few in the Pearson Building or outside it were aware of the full domestic ramifications. The book by Kashmeri, a respected Canadian journalist who reported for the *Globe* for over a decade, is a salutary reminder to us all that in Canada there was another, darker side to the crisis, of which our society cannot be proud. *The Gulf Within* is a well-documented study of how numerous Canadian individuals and families of Arab or Muslim origin across the country suffered under the surge of emotion, bordering at times on war hysteria, which marked reactions in Canada to Saddam's invasion, the despatch of Canadian forces, and stories of Arab terrorists poised to strike.

There followed a wave of racist hate calls and threats to Iraqi, Palestinian and other Arab Canadians; mosques were targeted; insults were proffered on the street; offensive graffiti appeared; children were harassed in school, and not always well protected by their teachers, and some were beaten up on the streets. The book documents these

incidents vividly, and convincingly. They were widespread, although somewhat less in Quebec; the book points out that "most of the racist backlash that the Muslims of Montreal suffered came from English-speaking Montrealers". Heavy-handed enquiries by local CSIS and RCMP agents often created panic among people from countries where security organizations were feared as instruments of torture and tyranny. A number of those questioned did not know enough English to understand fully what was happening, or what their rights might be.

Kashmeri cites laudable exceptions: school principals and local authorities who pleaded for tolerance; senior security officials who early on assessed the risk of terrorist attacks in Canada as low and who promised investigations of improper conduct by their subordinates; Premier Rae, who offered to help a constituent draft a letter of protest to the RCMP; and Joe Clark, who "expressed his concern at the few incidents that the media had written up", and finally agreed to meet six Canadian Muslim *imams*, even though, says the author, "the mandarins of External Affairs were opposed to such a meeting" arguing that "it would cause undefined problems".

At the meeting, the *imams* asked, among other things, for the appointment of Muslim ambassadors by Canada, to which Clark is

quoted as replying bluntly that he would not appoint a Muslim ambassador to a Muslim country; "who would the ambassador be loyal to, Islam or Canada?" The author claims this as evidence of bias and asks rhetorically whether the same rule would be applied when appointing Christians to a Christian country or Jews to Israel. His question has since been answered.

This is **not** an objective, dispassionate book. The author is himself profoundly opposed to Canadian policy in the Kuwait crisis, which he describes simplistically as a decision "to wage war against a foreign state thousands of miles away", without mentioning the important inter-Arab and UN dimensions of the conflict. He also glides over the fact that Saddam himself helped to fan anti-Arab fears in Canada by calling on Arabs and Muslims everywhere to fight in his support.

Instead he speaks intemperately of Canada having "unleashed its security forces against Canada's Arabs and Muslims"; and he says that even when the terrorist threat proved to be minimal, targeting continued "perhaps because the security forces were taking their cue from their political masters and the bureaucrats, especially from the Department of External Affairs, which was at the centre of policy-making during the conflict." Or so he thinks.

But there are important lessons to be learnt from the book. Canada is not as tolerant, multiracial a society as we like to think; ugly passions lurk beneath the surface. Moreover our security authorities, despite basically enlightened leadership at the top, can be clumsy and unfeeling, to say the least, in dealing with new Canadians from minority groups. If and when Canada becomes embroiled in another Kuwait, perhaps in some quite different part of the world, all those who formulate our policy must remember that innocent and loyal Canadians may well become its victims.

The authors of *Saddam's War* are journalists with considerable Middle East experience who write for Britain's *Independent* newspaper. The book is a competently written "quickie", obviously largely completed by December 1990 (as indicated by the dating of the introductory acknowledgements), but stretched to cover the end of hostilities on February 28, 1991. It starts with a handy chronology of events from the Iraqi Revolution of 1958, and contains much useful information, anecdotal and otherwise, on Saddam's character and probable motives, and the interplay of events that led up to the conflict. This reviewer, for example, found of particular interest the explanation of Kuwait's reckless expansion of its oil production beyond its OPEC quota, even at a lower world oil price. This move, motivated

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by its huge investment in down-stream oil activities which would profit by increased production, was one of the main factors which goaded Saddam into action, financially desperate as he was after the war with Iran.

But the book, despite its qualities, is not one of those which every student of the area must have on his shelf. It is poorly organized, so that given themes are hard to follow from chapter to chapter; some alleged statements of fact are given in too highly coloured terms to be wholly credible; and some of the analysis is flabby (the "ultimate dilemma" for the international community and the USA in the summer of 1990 is stated to have been "to fight or to appease, to put preservation of the nascent new world order above all else, or to allow domestic anti-war pressures to dictate policy"). Certain of the book's judgments are questionable, particularly in retrospect, such as that the mistaken USA raid on a big air-raid shelter in Baghdad, with its heavy civilian casualties, would "have repercussions in the Middle East for years to come"; or that because of European disagreements during the conflict, "it would be another decade at least before Europe again found the drive towards political cooperation and unity which it had shown in 1990"; or that "another casualty was the UN and its Secretary-General".

Still, *Saddam's War* makes one think again about the complex causes and ambiguous

outcome of the Kuwait conflict, which now seems so long in the past but is still so acutely relevant to the present. Incidentally, Canada's role is nowhere mentioned, either in its military aspect, or in the form of the much-vaunted postwar peace proposals launched by the Prime Minister on February 8, 1991, in the promotion of which so many readers of *bout* were for a time engaged.

Michael Shenstone recently retired after 39 1/2 years in the Foreign Service, during much of which he was involved in Middle East affairs in Ottawa and at posts abroad.

Sea Changes: American Foreign Policy in a World Transformed edited by Nicholas X. Rizopoulos, New York, Council of Foreign Relations Press, 1990, 294 pp., US \$14.95.

Same Bed, Different Dreams: America and Japan — Societies in Transition edited by Alan D. Romberg and Tadashi Yamamoto, New York, Council of Foreign Relations Press, 1990, 138 pp., US \$14.95.

Reviewed by Steven Lee

Although *Sea Changes* is aimed primarily at an American audience, its essays are

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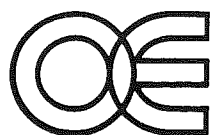
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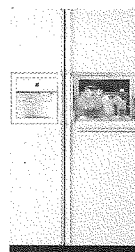
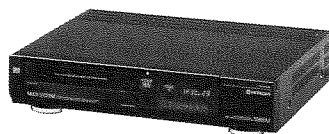
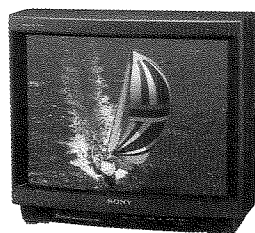
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relevant for anyone wishing to understand the implications of the global changes which have occurred over the past decade. The articles encompass a wide range of topics centred around the theme of the end of the bipolar world. *Part One* analyzes USA relations with the major geographic regions and assesses the foreign policy implications of technological and environmental issues. *Part Two* is more synthetic in approach and scholars present their prescriptions for the future direction of American diplomacy. The variety of views presented in this section demonstrate the lack of consensus on how to approach the post cold war era.

A particular strength of the book is that issues are analyzed in both their international and domestic USA context. Most authors agree that American diplomacy will be more concerned with regional and local factors and less with global strategic considerations. The large public debt and conflict between domestic and foreign policy goals will enhance the need for the United States to moderate its participation in world affairs. As Crawford Young's essay on Sub-Saharan Africa points out, the United States is unlikely to devote the same scale of resources and aid to Africa that it gave in the cold war period. Similarly, Mark Falcoff's article on USA relations with Latin America

argues that the absence of an overall ideological and strategic rationale for the region will mean a lessened American presence in the area as a whole. In relation to drug smuggling he suggests that if a solution is to be found, it should begin with the internal domestic problems in the United States.

If Africa and Latin America do not sustain their importance in American foreign policy, Europe is likely to remain a key interest to policymakers. Ronald Steel argues that in the context of a united Germany and turbulent nationalism along the Soviet periphery, it is not in the American interest to allow the Soviet Union to disintegrate into a series of feuding nation-states. Sceptical about the ability of the European Community or NATO to dilute German hegemony in Europe, he recalls the importance of reestablishing the balance of power on the continent. A peaceful and prosperous Europe, notes Steel, requires both a strong Germany and a broader security partnership between the former Soviet Union, America and Western Europe. Essentially Steel advocates the creation of a broader hegemonic system to replace the outdated cold war balance of power.

The articles on environmental and scientific issues are both topical and important. Roger Stone produces some rather alarming statistics about the international costs of

environmental problems and concludes with the optimistic hope that a combination of American antipollution technology and Japanese capital could make important strides toward a solution. However in light of America's position at the Rio summit in June 1992, Stone is apt to be disappointed. Kenneth Keller also takes issue with American science and technology policy. He argues that the United States will have to develop a coordinated scientific strategy to deal with the global problems of energy, ecological change, the environment, and population growth.

Perhaps the most interesting theme to emerge from this collection of essays concerns how the changing focus of economic power in the world system affects traditional concepts of national sovereignty. Miles Kahler, Robert Heilbroner, and Susan Strange discuss the political and economic implications of the acceleration of the supranational aspects of international capital. Strange argues that the past decade in particular has witnessed a shift in relative power away from the state to the multinational corporations and banks in the global market. According to Heilbroner, the growth of supranational capitalism has eroded the sovereign powers of the traditional state system, and nations are losing their ability to regulate supranational capital in their domestic economies. The implications of this shift in power for democratic politics are wide ranging, because it means that the individual voter is losing his ability to control the forces which shape his community and nation. For Strange, the problem is "how to translate the reality of corporate power in the world market economy into a share of political responsibility for its better government."

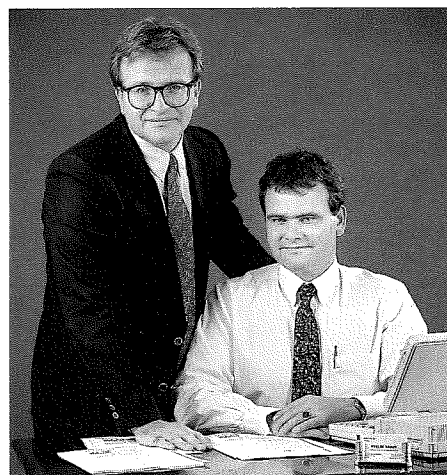
The major weakness of the book stems from the fact that recent events have overtaken some of the analysis. The section on the Middle East was written before the Gulf War, and in general, the book lacks an adequate discussion of the role of the military in the emerging multipolar international system. Canadian readers will be disappointed that only a passing reference is made to the North American Free Trade discussions. Nevertheless, the collection is stimulating, comprehensive, and a very useful introduction to themes which will predominate international politics in the foreseeable decades.

The essays edited by Romberg and Yamamoto originated at a conference held in Osio Japan in December 1988. The general thesis of the book is that the United States and Japan should work to get along better in the international system because the costs of increased conflict would hurt both American and Japanese interests. This proposition is substantiated in William

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Gleysteen's article in *Sea Changes* and readers may wish to consult his discussion of the regional implications for USA East Asian policy of increased Japanese-American tensions. Although *Same Bed, Different Dreams* has a more narrow focus than *Sea Changes*, its essays have less overall cohesion and have not survived the test of time as well. Of value in themselves, the articles do not always provide a systematic treatment of American and Japanese societies "in transition". Furthermore, the linkage between popular opinion and policymaking is not precisely defined or rigorously evaluated. For example, Howard Shuman argues that overall trends in the USA are toward a more liberal orientation. Even if one accepts this proposition (perhaps a better case can be made that American society is becoming more polarized than less), how these trends are being translated into government or corporate strategy toward Japan is not made clear. Other evidence is cited to suggest that American and Japanese societies are moving in similar directions. Sumiko Iwao states that Japanese are emphasizing greater individuality, more respect for the role of women in the workplace, and less emphasis on productivity and greater emphasis on leisure activity. All these indicators are said to be mitigating competition between the

two countries and providing an avenue and context for greater cooperation and peaceful coexistence. The extent to which non-western cultures are adopting western liberal values is a fascinating and valuable theme. However selective use of public opinion surveys can distort trends in the opposite direction and asking Japanese whether they feel equal, superior or inferior to Americans may not yield the most significant sociological insights into Japanese societal attitudes.

The essays on American and Japanese policy processes are interesting but the reader will have to look elsewhere for an analysis of specific issues in Japanese-American relations. A discussion of President Bush's Japan strategy and the executive branch's relations with Congress would have been helpful in setting the broader context for Japanese-American relations. All in all, researchers and academics are more likely to turn to this book for its individual contributions to comparative political science and sociology than for any overall systematic analysis of trends in Japanese-American relations.

Steven Lee has recently completed a D. Phil. at the University of Oxford and is currently working in the historical section of the Department of External Affairs and International Trade Canada.



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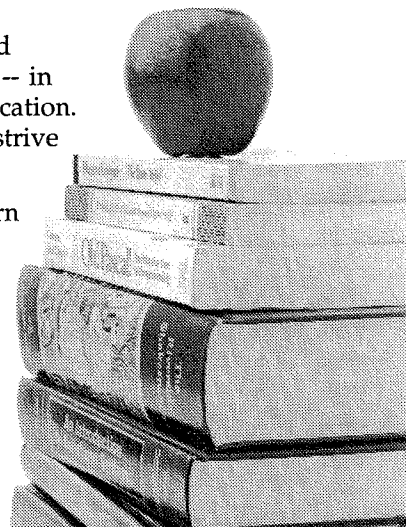
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In a previous assignment as Ambassador to Thailand, Mr. Bild has been known to arrive at similar children's parties dressed as Santa and riding on an elephant or in a *tuk-tuk* — a local three-wheeled motor-cycle/taxi — both the locals and the kids were impressed!

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A Aalto Takes his Chevy to the Levee

"Cyanide in his nasal spray — it happened so fast, he probably never knew what hit him," said Chief Inspector DeToombs sadly. LDC Liebnitz looked curiously at the contorted features of Roger Blooz, puzzle editor for *MossGather Magazine*, the Journal of Record for Rock 'N' Roll. The ace logician had been lunching with DeToombs when the detective had been called to the scene of the crime, and had invited Liebnitz along.

"Blooz was our main source of information about a big drug and payola operation here," the Chief Inspector continued. "One of the big record promoters was paying off in cocaine for falsification of the Top Ten charts. A spot on those charts can make millions for the record companies. Blooz agreed to help us find out who it was, but he was a total paranoid, and would only communicate in writing through some crazy indirect channel — a different one every time. Well, if he left a last message for us, the killer found it — you can believe we've searched the place with a fine-tooth comb. Blooz must have been closer than we thought."

"We know that his killer had to be one of five men: Reggie Dwight, Steve Georgiou, Rick Starkey, Art Wellesley or Rob Zimmerman. It being Saturday, anyone coming to work has to sign in with the guard — they were the only ones in all morning, and they were all still around when we got here. They also all had access to the charts. The guard saw Blooz take a hefty shot from his nasal spray in the lobby when he arrived — so there was certainly nothing wrong with it then. Roger always had that thing in his face — he must have cement sinuses. I guess someone slipped into his office when he was out and doctored the bottle. No fingerprints, of course."

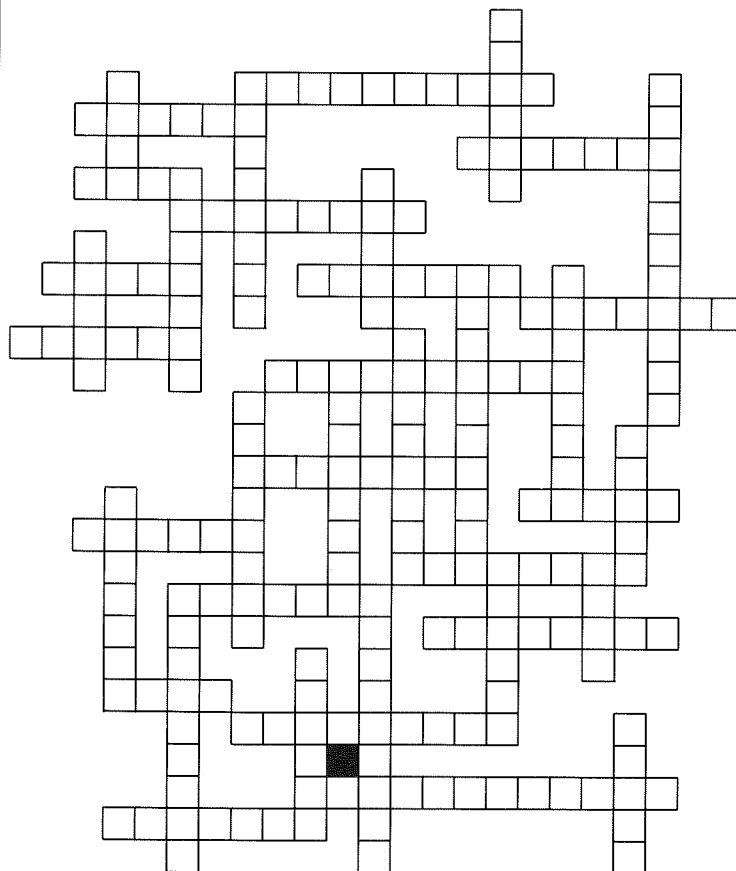
Liebnitz looked at the desk on which Blooz was slumped. "He had just finished a puzzle, by the looks of things. Maybe it will tell us something." He carefully extracted the sheets from under the dead man's clenched fist and scanned the text:

The following clues relate to songs what were Number One on the USA or UK charts at some point in the 1960s or 1970s. In each case, you are looking for the longest word in the title of that song; one title has two different longest words of the same length. The number in brackets at the end of each clue is the number of letters in the word(s) you are seeking. The resulting list will come out in alphabetical order of the words sought (the first such word in the case of the two-word clue).

- (a) Don McLean eats dessert, 1972 (8)
- (b) Queen goes to Prague, 1975: reissued 1991 and heard in a really excellent movie, not! (8)
- (c) The Eagles stay here on the Coast, 1977 (10)
- (d) The Monkees go late by rail, 1967 (11)
- (e) Abba meets a terpsichorean monarch, 1976 (7)
- (f) Herman's Hermits praise a beauty, 1965 (8)
- (g) Otis Redding by the sea, 1968 (4)
- (h) David Bowie extols notoriety, movie title, 1975 (4)
- (i) James Taylor promises companionship, 1971 (6)
- (j) Marvin Gaye gets the lowdown by informal channels, 1968 (9)
- (k) Neil Young, good fellow with a metallic ticker, 1972 (5)
- (l) The Supremes have trouble accelerating affection, 1966 (5)
- (m) The Rolling Stones have a gas leaping, 1968 (7)
- (n) The Doors play with matches, 1967 (5)
- (o) The Beatles meet the Material Girl, 1968 (7)

- (p) The Mamas and the Papas start off the week well, 1966 (6)
- (q) Roy Orbison meets Julia Roberts, 1964 (6)
- (r) The Animals go gambling at dawn, 1964 (6)
- (s) Simon and Garfunkel meet Crusoe's wife, 1968 (8)
- (t) Mick can't get none, 1965 (12)
- (u) The Bee Gees get sick over the weekend, 1978 (8)
- (v) Eric Clapton kills a policeman, 1974 (7)
- (w) Simon and Garfunkel listen hard, 1966 (7)
- (x) The Bee Gees survive, 1978 (7)
- (y) The Beatles go undersea, 1966 (9)
- (z) The Lovin' Spoonful endure urban heat, 1966 (6)
- (aa) Stevie Wonder gets personal good weather, 1973 (8)
- (bb) ... but he doesn't walk under ladders, also 1973 (12)
- (cc) The Byrds and Dylan both shake his drum in 1965 (10)
- (dd) The Troggs: this savage makes their hearts sing, 1966 (5)
- (ee) The Turtles are most content with each other, 1967 (8)
- (ff) The Bee Gees meet their terrible fate, 1979 (7)
- (gg) Simon and Garfunkel pass above the rapids, 1970 (8)
- (hh) The Byrds revolve thrice, 1965 (4)
- (ii) The Beach Boys get happily shook up, 1966 (10)
- (jj) Abba meets Napoleon's fate, 1974 (8)
- (kk) Procol Harum gets bleached, 1967 (6)
- (ll) Three Dog Night preaches global happiness, 1971 (5)
- (mm) The Beatles dwell on the immediate past 1965 (9)
- (nn) Carly Simon makes accusations of arrogance, 1976 (5)

To make things a little easier, here are the words you are looking for. Of course, they're out of order and in anagram form (ignore hyphens): RUNT, MEAF, OK-DC, GILTH, THERA, NIGHT, DROWL, OUREY, RHYUR, TYPRET, GRINIS, REFINO, WRITHE, MUMSER, DYNAMO, LOWER-OAT, DAMANON, JUNG-IMP, GNANDIC, GYRATED, GASTINY, LICENSE, REFFISH, SOBORNIN, HUNINESS, RUYS-DATA, DEATHRUG, MAINCARE, DARSOPHY, GOR-TEETH, HAMBOINE, DEBORTUL, PAVINGEER, EASY-TRYED,



NUMBARIES, RUIN-ME-BOAT, ROBS-VANITI, FAIR-NICOLA, KRILL-CALVES, PTEROSIN-SUIT, FATTI-CASINOS.

Once you've got the words, fit them into the attached skeleton puzzle, together with a KNOT to tie the ends together. One long horizontal word goes in backwards, and one short vertical word goes up instead of down.

"That's strange," muttered Liebnitz. "There are forty clues, which makes forty-one words including the double. That checks with the anagrams. Assuming that the reference to KNOT means that should be included in the skeleton as well, we should have forty-two. And yet there are only forty spaces in the skeleton. Which ones are left out?"

He examined the list closely, then said, "Oh-ho, so that's your game, Blooz. Well, I know the name of the killer, and that's half the battle. The other clue must have something to do with the company involved in the scam — you have a short-list, DeToombs?" Replied the Chief Inspector, "Of course: MegaDreck Records, Thatcher Delors, Iso-Fantastic, Zen Boogie Associates and Doo Wah Delight."

With some scrambling, Liebnitz solved that as well. Can you duplicate his feat by filling in the skeleton and revealing the two "extra" words, then naming the murderer and the company involved? As an extra challenge (not necessary in the solution to the puzzle), do you notice anything unusual about the other four murder suspects?

Born in pre-revolutionary Tannu Tuva and raised by Patagonian missionaries on the Zambezi, free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto now commutes between Hell (Norway) and Paradise (Pennsylvania). He notes with regret that Roger Blooz had no male siblings.

A Aalto Puzzle Winner, Vol. 9, No. 4:

Mark Floyd, Berlin, Germany

Called to Account — Answers

Annual Financial Statement and Budget Projection

Item	FY 91/92	FY 92/93
Revenue		
Subscriptions	6 0 1 8 5	5 0 5 9 8
Advertising	2 1 7 5 0	2 5 0 9 4
Block Grant	9 4 6 2	1 9 1 8
Under the Table	3 2 8 0	2 5 5 7
TOTAL	9 4 6 7 7	8 0 1 6 7
Expenditure		
Graphics	4 5 1 0 8	3 7 1 0 5
Printing	2 7 5 3 5	3 0 1 9 5
Distribution	8 2 8 0	3 5 7 8
Coffee	1 3 1 8 5	9 7 9 9
TOTAL	9 4 1 0 8	8 0 6 7 7
Surplus (Deficit)	5 6 9	(5 1 0)

The two missing entries encode to CHILL and PERCH, identifying The Coldfish Group as the bank. The ten encoding letters form an anagram for BIRTHPLACE, and the genius who has been "decomposing" since his death in 1750 is BACH (what else would a dead musician do?). Bach's birthplace is EISENACH, Germany, where the branch is located. The remaining six letters are an anagram for TRIPLE, which re-coded into numbers is 806,275. TRIPLE that and you get the account number: 2418825.

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