

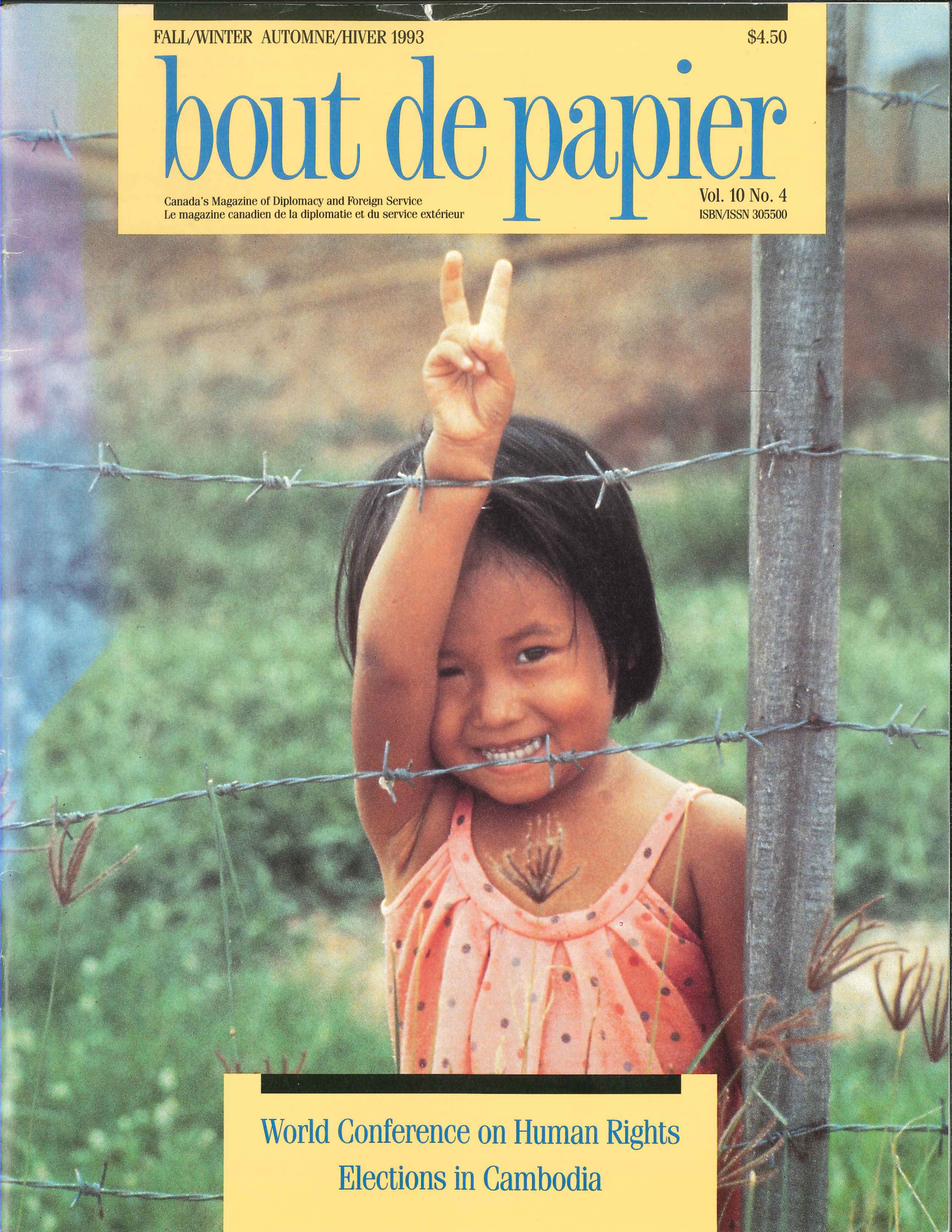
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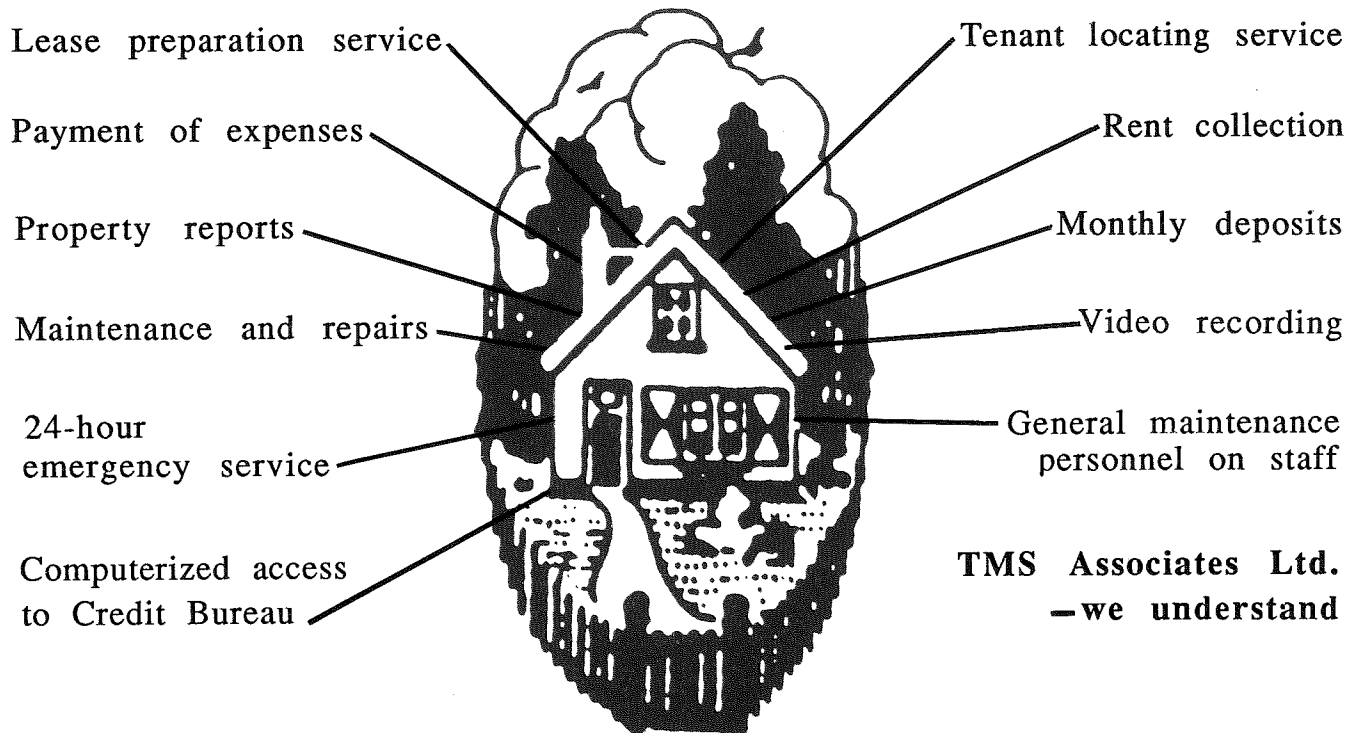
Canada's Magazine of Diplomacy and Foreign Service
Le magazine canadien de la diplomatie et du service extérieur

Vol. 10 No. 4
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World Conference on Human Rights
Elections in Cambodia

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Vol. 10 No. 4

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World Conference on Human Rights

James Trottier recreates the atmosphere surrounding the negotiation and signing of the Vienna Declaration on Human Rights.

Pictures from a Soviet Exhibition

A former Canadian Ambassador to Russia, Geoffrey Pearson, recalls his meetings with leading members of the Soviet government.

Elections in Cambodia

Barbara Shenstone describes the challenge of supervising the elections in the Killing Fields of Cambodia.

L'Algérie à la croisée des chemins est-ouest ou nord-sud

Roger Gilbert décrit une Algérie tiraillée de tous côtés.

The Dangerous Canadians

Nick Coghlan brings to life the importance of soccer diplomacy in Mexico.

Blue Berets in Central America

A successful peace-keeping mission is described by B. Gen. Ian Douglas.

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Our cover photo is of a young girl in a refugee camp in Thailand. The photo was taken by Liza Linklater, a free-lance writer and photographer, currently living in New York.



bout de papier, Volume 9 No. 3 (Summer), won a Certificate of Distinction for Creativity at the Annual Art Directors Awards in New York. This is *bout de papier's* fourth Creativity win!

In Our Upcoming Issue:

Interview with Perrin Beatty, former SSEA

All contents © PAFSO, 1993 *bout de papier* is published quarterly by the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers, Suite 600, 45 Rideau Street, Ottawa, Canada K1N 5W8 (613) 234-1391, FAX (613) 234-4018.

Editorial Note / Note de la rédaction : Unsolicited manuscripts are welcome in double-spaced format, preferably on WP 5.2, 3 1/2" diskette, with a short biographical note about the author(s). Given the bilingual background of our membership, PAFSO's policy for *bout de papier* is to publish all articles in their original language. Subscriptions: one year \$16.; two years, \$30.; Overseas add \$6 per year; USA add \$4 per year. PAFSO itself remains at your service to provide any assistance you require in the language of your preference. Opinions expressed in *bout de papier* are not necessarily those of PAFSO.

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This is my first issue of **bout de papier** as editor. I have written a number of articles in the past under the rubric **External from the Internal**, all of which appeared on the back pages. This is the first time I have made the front half of the magazine, let alone the first article. Being editor certainly has its perks.

I think **bout de papier** is a great mag. And I am not alone. For the fourth consecutive year, **bout de papier** has won a Certificate of Distinction for Creativity for House Organ Design at the Annual Art Direction Awards in New York in October. Professional magazine publishers and art directors are telling us (and the publishing world) that **bout** is one of the better house journals of professional associations.

For that reason alone, I believe PAFSO members, members of other employee groups in the foreign service, and management of this Department and other departments involved with the delivery of foreign policy should be proud of **bout**. It is one of the reasons I am pleased to take on the challenge of editing **bout** over the next year.

bout is more than just a pretty face. It tells the story of life in the foreign service and the story of foreign policy in the making and in the implementing whether it is peace-keeping, election supervising, aid and

humanitarian assistance, multilateral diplomacy, immigration, and bilateral political and economic representation and reporting, and whether this happens in Asia, Africa, Americas, Europe or in the Lester B. Pearson building.

bout tries to capture the variety of challenges, frustrations, highlights, and humour that practitioners of Canadian foreign policy encounter as part of our careers or current jobs. **bout** is not an academic journal of foreign policy analysis; it is a magazine for those actively involved in the making and delivery of foreign policy. **bout** is a window into the foreign service but as important it is a forum for the exchange of views and information for those within the service.

In each edition, we try to examine career and job concerns to our membership and others involved with foreign policy; we look at management of the foreign service; we relate making and delivering of foreign policy at home and abroad through first person accounts covering the wide spectrum of foreign policy—peacekeeping, election supervision, multilateral diplomacy, sports, culture, immigration, and political and economic reporting; we look back at the history of foreign policy; and we publish travel and personal vignettes of life abroad, which is after all why many chose the foreign service or a foreign job.

For anyone who has been asked by curious neighbours, insatiable relatives, or eager undergraduates, what exactly do you do overseas or at headquarters, or what exactly is the reality of implementing foreign policy, **bout de papier** offers one stop relief.

My first issue as editor, I believe, reflects the overall goals of **bout**. James Trottier's article on negotiating the Vienna Declaration of Human Rights, Barbara Shenstone's article on election supervision in Cambodia, Brigadier General Douglas's article on peace-keeping in Nicaragua, and Nick Coghlan's article on soccer diplomacy in Mexico are first hand accounts of Canada using four widely diverse instruments of foreign policy on the front lines of three continents. On a historical note, Geoffrey Pearson reminisces about close encounters of the third kind behind the former Iron Curtain and John Belliveau remembers Lester Pearson. Roger Gilbert covers off another continent and another activity of foreign policy with his analysis of Algeria on the fault lines of East-West and North-South. Brendan McGivern opens up another exotic travel vista to the adventurously-inclined in his account of his travels to the top of Borneo.

As the forum for discussion with members, this issue of **bout** also reports on two initiatives of the PAFSO executive. Colin Robertson, President of PAFSO, wrote before the election to the major four political parties on political patronage in the foreign service. We reprint his letter. The replies will be published in the next edition. As well, Colin and a special advisor to PAFSO testified before the Senate on the transfer of the international cultural programs from External to the Canada Council. We reprint parts of their testimony.

As editor, I want to maintain the excellent quality of **bout de papier** as the house magazine of the Canadian foreign service. I want to match the accomplishments of my predecessors, in particular, Carol Markham, who piloted very successfully the magazine for the last two and half years. And, most of all, Debra Hulley (who as managing editor is in fact the driving force behind this whole operation), the Editorial Board and I want to convince more members and readers to **WRITE ARTICLES** and to **BUY SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR FRIENDS**. Only in that way, will **bout de papier** be able to continue to tell the story of the foreign service to the biggest audience possible. Isn't it a story worth telling?

Kevin D. O'Brien

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Editor:

I was stopped by someone who had read "Borders" and asked, "What kind of rope have you been smoking, Fred?" The comment confirmed my opinion of the modern age.

Readers of my article in the Middle Ages would have understood that "Borders" is a parable in which one person is rational and scientific while someone else is traditional and intuitive. Someone pursues the profane that involves objectivity, restraint and order; someone else looks for the sacred in the family, community and nature.

I hope this clears up any misunderstanding.

Fred E. Haack

Editor:

Like many others in the Department, I was shocked and deeply saddened to learn of the accidental death of Derrick Haro earlier this year in the course of his posting to Tehran, Iran. Derrick was one of those friendly, gentle and capable colleagues with whom you could be proud to serve Canada both at headquarters and abroad. I know that he will be missed by many in the Department, particularly those of us who joined the foreign service with Derrick in the summer of 1982.

Many EAITC employees are regularly called upon to work in areas of the world where the risk of death or injury is higher than is the case in Canada. Among these dangers are car and plane accidents, higher crime rates and disease.

Derrick's untimely death in the line of duty prompts me to suggest that PAFSO and the Department's personnel management establish a permanent memorial in the Pearson Building lobby to commemorate those EAITC staff who have been killed while serving Canada overseas. This year Canada's peacekeepers were justly remembered with the unveiling of a monument on Sussex Drive in the nation's capital. It would be most appropriate for us to set aside part of a wall in our headquarters building for a plaque bearing the names of those killed in the line of duty. Such an acknowledgment would be in good company with the existing Pearson Nobel Prize exhibit and nearby Peacekeeping Monument.

I would urge PAFSO members and your other readers to write or phone PAFSO in support of this proposal.

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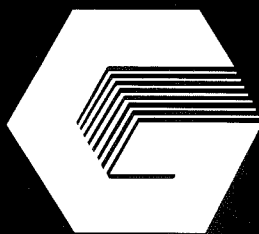
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Memories of Mike Pearson

by John Edward Belliveau

The first time I met Mike Pearson was in Eugene, Oregon, where the state university was giving him another honorary degree and he would deliver a lecture on international affairs. It was in June 1953, and a Canadian election campaign was about to begin.

Even before he had won the Nobel peace prize, his diplomatic achievements had made him better known outside Canada than in. However, the powers who ran *The Toronto Star* wanted to change that. Notably influential with Liberal Party insiders, they had decided that the Minister for External Affairs, the Hon. Lester Bowles Pearson, should be the next party leader and of course future prime minister. So I was dispatched from the parliamentary press gallery to follow him across the country in the run-up to the election. And, incidentally ... though this remained unspoken ... to promote his candidacy through daily exposure of his campaign activities.

Most of the time during that summer we travelled alone or with a *Star* photographer. On occasion, his wife Maryon and Mary MacDonald, his special assistant who looked after his constituency affairs in Pearson's northern Ontario constituency of Algoma East, came along. We started in Vancouver but concentrated in Ontario where the party organizers thought the diplomat's prestigious presence would be most valuable.

At first, as we moved about the province, the party had provided a car and driver for the minister but Mike found this too formal and asked if we would mind his coming along with our photographer, Paul Smith, and me in Paul's car. These were informal travels and no other media people were along so he would not be accused of being "in *The Star's* pocket."

Academics writing about Canadian leaders in public affairs, tend to concern themselves with matters of high policy at home and abroad, especially in Pearson's case, and sometimes miss the more mundane human side. Now, I am reminded that, over all his apparent outwardness and joviality, in that summer of 1953 there had hung an air of mystery about Mike Pearson and his career intentions. Though he protested his innocence of domestic politics and never breathed of leadership ambitions, he was often piqued and sometimes angered by the casual way the Liberals

at national headquarters were running things. Then, after he had experienced the heady atmosphere of campaigning for a while, he began to like it.

He was still much involved in international affairs as president of the UN General Assembly and from time to time would be notified on arrival at designated points that calls from New York of Washington were waiting for him. These, sometimes taken from country homes of local candidates he was visiting, were somewhat less than private.

This was at a time when President Syngman Rhee of South Korea was giving the United Nations a lot of trouble with their attempts to end the Korean war and Pearson was getting frequent calls from Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the UN. One such call he took in the country kitchen of Hugh MacKenzie, the MP for Lambton-Kent. We could all hear Mike's end of the conversation and it sounded upsetting.

When he came back into the dining room to rejoin the group, he continued to talk about the local candidate's problems as though the call had been from a neighbour asking the price of grain.

That same afternoon he was telling us about the problems of impartiality for a UN General Assembly Chairman and cited the occasion on which he was asked by the Indian delegation to say something of Josef Stalin's death. "What could you say about a man who, when you had met him as I had, left you feeling as if you were strolling with a gorilla casually tossing a live bomb from one hand to the other as you talked?" Nevertheless, he managed a few well chosen words.

There was another day, on Manitoulin Island, when he was handed a telegram inviting him to spend a weekend at the summer home of John Foster Dulles on one of the Canadian Thousand Islands. Dulles had been unable to reach Pearson by telephone



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and so phoned the telegraph office nearest him and thus had to wire collect. Laughing about this, Mike said, "I'll fix him. I'll send a really long reply and make it collect."

When we sailed across Georgian Bay on the ferry *Norgama* from Meldrum Bay to Thessalon, Mike overheard two American tourists say that the president of the UN was on board. "What's he look like?" one asked the other. "Oh, ordinary, a little dumpy," her companion had replied. In telling the story, the subject of their comments told us: "I don't mind them discussing my abilities but I resent comments on my figure." His never-failing wit made him a delightful companion and once I asked if it was a fact that he had written Mackenzie King's speeches. Yes, he said, he had written a good many of them. Then, I said, you are responsible for King's reputation of using 18 words when one should suffice? No, he replied, "I'm the fellow who got the 18 down to eight."

The election campaign was dull. There was really no contest between Prime Minister St. Laurent and the Tory Leader George Drew. As John English writes in the biography: "In 1953, St. Laurent put on his grey felt hat and charmed the country once more."

One day after we had spent time in Pearson's own riding, we stopped over in Toronto and I went to *The Star* office to pick up mail. As I did, the managing editor spied me, came out of his office and said: "Been trying to reach you. We've just had a story on the wire about three men eaten by bears down on the Gaspé coast. It's a pretty unusual story and you know that country. Jack Smith (a staff photographer) is on his way to Malton where we've chartered a plane. I think you should go along."

I protested that I'd been assigned to Mr. Pearson for the campaign. "Well, there's no news in that; you can catch up with him when you're back." When I relayed this news to Pearson from a phone at the airport, all

he said was: "Gosh, Ned, I wish I could go along. Nothing could be as boring as what we're doing. Besides, I'd like to see the Gaspé again. Maryon and I got to know it when we were doing the thesis on the Loyalists."

The Gaspésian story turned out to be not about bears but about three men shot in the woods. It developed into the notorious Coffin murder case about which I would eventually write a book and in which Mike Pearson, as a federal cabinet minister, was himself peripherally involved. After all appeals, the hanging sentence for Coffin was before the cabinet for commutation; it was refused.

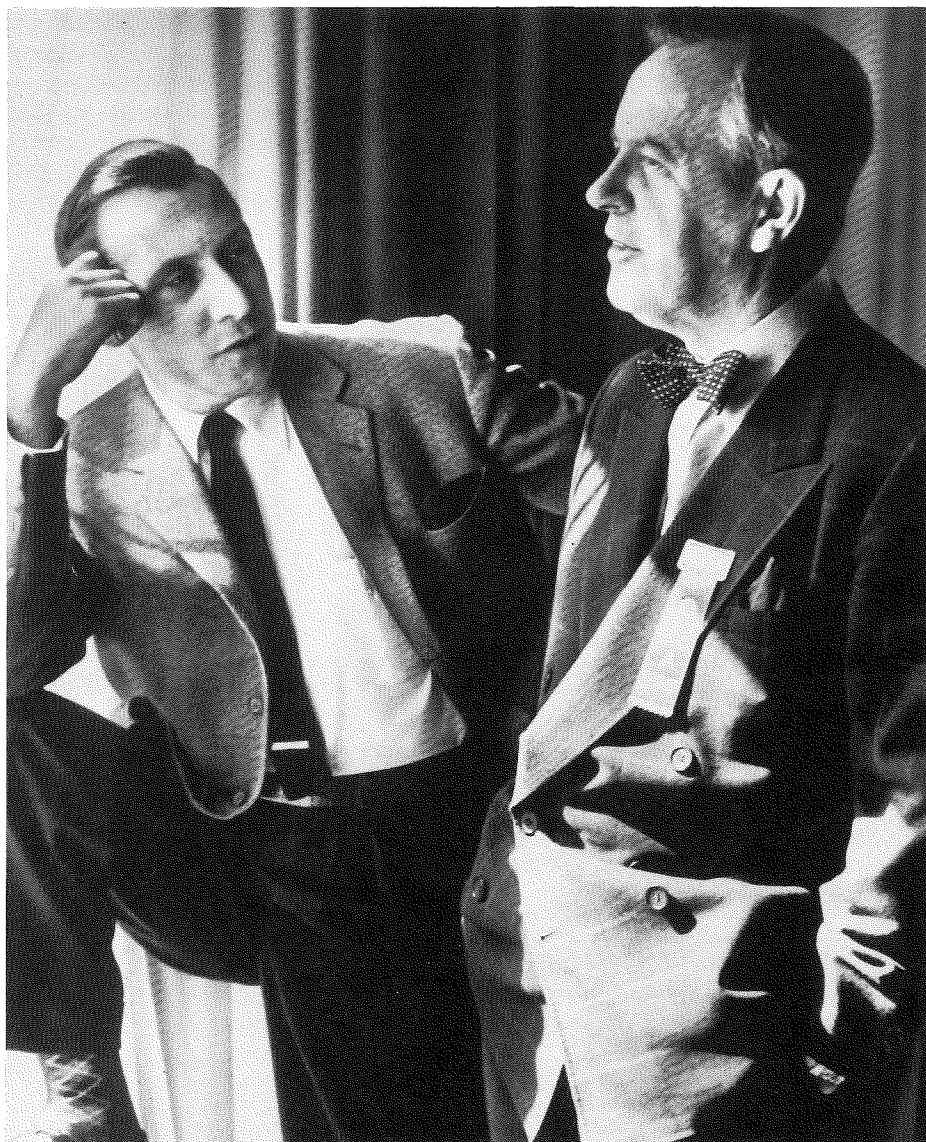
At any rate, I was back with Pearson to await results on election night in a motel suite at Espanola in his constituency. There were just the four of us there, the candidate, Mrs. Pearson, Mary MacDonald and I. As Liberals won riding after riding and the rest of us cheered, the man who would be leader grew gloomier and gloomier.

As he sank deeper into what seemed almost a morose state, I asked what was wrong. All he said was: "Well, that's that. I'll go back to foreign affairs; it's what I like best anyway." Then he added: "That'll finish the Liberals next time around. It's too much and Louis (St. Laurent) and C.D. (Howe) will stay on." They had agreed to retire together two years after this election, he explained, "but now they'll say 'the country loves us so much we can't possibly quit.'" Later he added that, with such a huge majority, the Liberals would do themselves in before the next time around. They would have been too long in office and too arrogant. How accurate his prediction was proven four years later when John Diefenbaker led the Tories to a 1957 national turnaround and formed the government.

Of course, St. Laurent had stayed on to be defeated and depressed by the rejuvenated Tories led by Diefenbaker. He resigned his Liberal party leadership and Pearson became leader. That same year, 1958, I entered the public relations trade, working for the Liberals in Ontario. It was a weary four years before the 1962 general election came, when I was doing some work for the federal party in the Maritimes. There I spent some time with Mr. Pearson and he was not a happy warrior, tense and tired toward the end. His battle for election had become almost a crusade against Diefenbaker whom he had come to detest.

One day on a flight from Halifax to Moncton we were discussing Pearson's reasons for pursuing the course he was on. He had taken the advice of Keith Davey and others running the campaign for the Liberals and it was advice that some of us did not consider suitable to Pearson's style.

At one point, I asked him why he was fighting this campaign anyway since his heart did not seem to be in it. His reply was



J.E. Belliveau with Mike Pearson at Ontario Liberal convention, Toronto, 1958

succinct and without elaboration. He said: "The main reason I'm fighting this election is to rid the country of that awful man (Diefenbaker)." This had been after one of the worst flubs of the campaign and he had been terribly embarrassed. Diefenbaker had linked him to "The Liberal Truth Squad" and held him up to ridicule. The "Squad" was a gimmick dreamed up by Davey and some of his co-workers, and consisting of a committee led by the redoubtable Judy LaMarsh, MP for Niagara. Its function was to do the footsteps of the Conservative leader, check on the veracity of his statements and confront him from the front rows of his party's campaign meetings.

"The main reason I'm fighting this election is to rid this country of that awful man (Diefenbaker)."

The group had first appeared in the Moncton High School auditorium and the national media had made a circus of it. Pearson, of course, had no part in it and seemed unaware of its creation. If he knew of it at all, it was only sub-consciously and when the media took it up he was furious.

When we got to Montreal, Pearson called in his press assistant, Dick O'Hagan, and me to berate us for not advising him. He was angry, literally red-faced as I had never seen him before, when we reminded him that we had done just that. Apparently, he had not paid much attention, perhaps not appreciating the political fall-out of what seemed to him to be a petty campaigning ploy. Davey had mentioned it in a phone call from Winnipeg, saying that Walter Gordon, the campaign manager, had approved the idea. I had thought that a "truth squad" pursuing a leader sounded like something out of a Scotland Yard "murder squad" story.

He didn't win the election, but the minority Tory government was defeated in the House and a new election called in 1963. I was asked to cross the country as Pearson's speechwriter and only then learned how badly disorganized the party was. There was little policy when the campaign began. For the kickoff speech in English-Canada, at Fredericton, I had only a single page of hand-written notes from the leader and a basic awareness of the party policy through Senator John Connolly, the party president, who was travelling with us.

As to platform, there was no platform, almost nothing to go on except daily memos from Jack Pickersgill back in Ottawa. We had been all through the Maritimes before there was agreement on what might be called an official speech pattern for the campaign touching most of the policy bases. Another writer took the Western end of the tour. Scraping through, Mike Pearson had at last become prime minister with a minority government.

The last time I talked to him, he had retired and was writing his memoirs. He was in a mellow mood and I asked him if ever he had been truly interested in fighting politics, the rough and tumble of campaigning. His words as preserved in my notes were: "All my earlier life was in the public service. I never once thought of politics. I knew nothing about it.... When I was in the cabinet and some possibility existed of Mr. St. Laurent's retirement, some people told me I should be after the leadership, because it was my duty and responsibility. Matter of fact, I had thought Doug Abbott would become leader." (The Hon. Douglas Abbott had been Minister of Finance.)

Then I asked him whether he had any ideas of leadership when he made his first national political tour in 1953. "No," he replied, "unless it was subconsciously. I

never really expected to be leader. Besides, the Liberals had been so long in office they had to go soon and when they did they might be out for 20 years. I didn't want to be in opposition that long; I didn't want to be in opposition at all. I don't like opposition."

"No. I never really expected to be leader."

The size of the 1953 Liberal majority had appalled him and, he said, "I was certain it would finish the Liberals in the next election."

It did. 

John Edward (Ned) Belliveau is a former national and political journalist (the Toronto Star) and public relations executive. He was an advisor to Premier Louis J. Robichaud for a decade, and acted as political strategist and campaign speech writer for Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson. He is the author of a number of books including Little Louis and the Giant K.C. Mr. Belliveau now lives in New Brunswick.

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COMING DEAR...

Twenty-five Years as a Foreign Service Wife

by Laurel Pardy

October was Women's History Month. One of the events arranged by External Affairs and International Trade Canada (EAITC) was a panel discussion entitled "The Evolving Role and Contribution of Women". The topic begs the question, "Has the role of women in the department evolved?" Evolution implies the arrival of a more advanced state. The role has changed but the evolution, the revolution if you will, has just begun.

Personal experience, especially emotion-charged experience, colours any analysis of that experience. Ripping heart and hearth away from home and plunging into the minefield of a foreign culture is an emotion-charged experience and thus, every assessment of the positive and negative aspects of the changing role of women in the foreign service will bear this personal stamp.

The women of External Affairs and International Trade Canada (EAITC) comprise a diverse group of people, each with their own perspective on their role and status. The only commonalities for the group are rotationality and femaleness. Otherwise they may be employee or dependent, married or single, English or French, Canadian or foreign-born, officer or support staff, with children or without, young or mature, homemaker or career person.

As Canadian women explored the advantages and disadvantages of the Women's Movement, they brought pressure to bear on the government, their employers and their lovers to respond to their right to equal opportunity, pay and freedom of choice with men. EAITC, as an employer and quasi-paterfamilias, is a cumbersome antiquated bureaucracy, struggling reluctantly to adapt to a changing world. It has, however, accepted its responsibility towards rotational families and carried out this responsibility in light of what it felt was good for them.

On a personal level, the question is, "Where did I start and where am I now in relation to where I expected to be?" "Have I lost or gained by life in the foreign service?"

Probably the largest subgroup of women affected by employment in the foreign service are those who accompany rotational employees to post as dependent spouses, the ones that used to be referred to as "wives". Twenty-five years ago, the majority of women

in the foreign service were there as wives, therefore, any spousal issue was interpreted as a "wives" issue and treated as a tempest in a teapot. That this is no longer true does not mean there are fewer wives. It does mean that the group is more heterogeneous and the issues have changed to reflect that diversity.

Once Upon a Time

The role of these women revolved around homemaking, child rearing, community volunteer work, home hospitality and tending family relations. This role changed very little for most wives when they were posted abroad. It did, and still does, take considerable creativity to solve everyday childcare and home management problems in a foreign culture, but the role does not change.

For women married to officers there was the additional representational role which at the senior levels was quite onerous: social gatherings, good works, expatriate out-reach, TLC for distressed Canadians, Commonwealth associations, diplomatic ladies' clubs and representational lunches and dinners to give and attend. It was assumed that the wives would accept this representational role; not only accept it, but embrace it, expand it and glory in it, carrying out with style and grace (and for free) a major public relations campaign on behalf of the Canadian government.

Along the way from then to now, this representational role has fallen into disrepute. It used to be that if one did it well, it was recognized by the community, and the respect it gathered was almost enough to make it worth while. It took a lot of respect and silent congratulations to compensate for the inroads it made into one's privacy, family life and individual freedom. Gradually, it became obvious that fulfilling one's representational duties was irrelevant to the department, to the advancement of the employee's career or to a woman's status in her group. In keeping with societal changes, departmental wives turned to success in the workforce to gain both self-respect and the respect of other women.

Sorry men, male respect is not enough, women need the respect of other women, too. In Canadian society, that can no longer be earned through vicarious enjoyment of the status of one's husband. Women want to earn their own right to respect and privilege. However, foreign service wives find that their

freedom of choice runs smack up against the confines of a rotational service, just as it always has.

Role of the Foreign Service Wife

So, what is the role of the foreign service wife in 1993?

The *Family Caretaker Role* continues unabated but departmental support has increased. Twenty-five years ago, there were no pre-posting briefings for wives, no acknowledgement of transition trauma, no education reports, no access to the Employee Assistance Program for families — just shots, passports and good luck. Wives depended on each other for information, encouragement and understanding. Now there is a full panoply of services and workshops for families leaving and returning to Ottawa. An extension of this is the continuing role of *Organizer and Manager of Family Moves*, a significant contribution in time and energy. Any single employee will confirm this fact as they struggle to prepare for a posting and still meet the demands of their career.

It is more important now that the wife has a role as a *Contributor to the Family Income*. Important because of the economic stresses that exist today and important because success is, rightly or wrongly, measured by many people in monetary terms. To have self-respect and the respect of other women, a woman must be successful according to the standards of the society in which she lives. One of the criteria in western society today is to prove that one has the option of being economically independent. It is also more important that women maintain their potential for independent earning because of the inherent danger of being economically dependent on one's partner. Therefore, more wives are working during home postings and looking for ways to maintain earnings at Canadian levels while abroad.

In these roles, it could be argued that wives of the foreign service do not differ significantly from other Canadian wives whose partners are relocated by their employers. Certainly, this is an argument repeated by Treasury Board, journalists and believed by most of the public. On the other hand, the number of moves, the fact that all assignments away from headquarters are outside of Canada, and the degree of cultural

and linguistic difference between Canada and posts increase the stress of many foreign service postings beyond that of most employee relocations in other sectors. These factors significantly affect the way in which a foreign service wife may carry out these roles.

In counterpoint to the privilege of diplomatic life, and the cachet of being attached to a diplomatic mission, is the responsibility of always being viewed as an official representative of one's country. The government may shrink the official hospitality budget to microscopic amounts but the *Representational Role Abroad* will continue to exist. For many wives this poses an almost unbearable intrusion into their personal lives as well as limitations on their freedom to make the same individual choices they would make if living in Canada. The department has become ambivalent in its support of official hospitality, and this affects the wives at post who are damned if they do and damned if they don't — often by the same people. Some wives reject this role. It doesn't matter. It still exists. Every time she opens her mouth, dings another car in the parking lot or attends a parent-teacher interview, she represents Canada in the eyes of the foreign beholder. The degree to which the wives of diplomats are always representational far outstrips that experienced by other Canadians abroad.

Another role exists for the wives at post — that of a *Member of the Canadian Mission Community*. At most missions this is a small, visible minority community with special licence plates, tax exemption cards, who are privileged and rich, and who speak and dress like foreigners. It is rare that one finds sufficient acceptance in the host community to compensate for family and friends left in Canada. As a result it is important that people at the mission support each other through common activities and the sensitive, and occasionally selfless, handling of relationships. Outside of the office this was traditionally managed by the wives. This role is being neglected as wives join the workforce, reject representational duties and shrug off responsibility for the well-being of the mission community. Community Coordinators have been contracted at many posts to help fill this gap.

In doggedly pursuing the same goals one would have in Canada, many wives are missing some of the exceptional opportunities offered by foreign postings. It has become easier to transport the Canadian lifestyle abroad. The result is a more comfortable but potentially less rewarding state of affairs.

Not surprisingly, the role of the foreign service wife is evolving in response to the

changing expectations of the women who comprise the group. The impact of their struggle to pursue their individual goals within the framework of the Canadian foreign service is altering the way the foreign service manages its rotational personnel.

Added Dimensions

Years ago there was a paper floating around the department, long lost and source unknown, which concluded that a married man accompanied by his wife and children was happier and more likely to be productive and successful on a posting than any other group of employees at the mission. The credit for this was attributed to the presence of the wife.

That purely supportive role is now viewed as secondary but there were two sides to the coin. Instead of secondary, it was only different and as a result the wife felt herself to be a valued and integral part of diplomatic life abroad. This is not true now. The additional stresses of postings abroad which frustrate women's efforts to achieve individual recognition and equality are placing severe strain on marriages and, inescapably, on employees in the foreign service.

Nevertheless, wives still do most of the management of goods and children throughout a posting, from assignment to return to Canada. Most of the diplomatic wives still maintain a full schedule of representational activities — still for free.

The presence of wives at a mission brings a semblance of normalcy to a posting. House management, home decoration, meals, family events and celebrations are carried out as they would be at home. The necessity of learning about the local culture in order to shop, educate children, make friends, visit the dentist or hospital with family ailments, or to meet one's neighbours through daily activities brings a breadth of experience to a posting that would otherwise be neglected. When these activities include locally engaged staff, families of other missions, other mission personnel, or host country nationals, a posting is much richer. Many of these relationships are forged by the wives, on their own or through family activities.

Resilient, Tough and Unique

Like the wives of policemen, clergy and federal politicians, foreign service wives find themselves alternatively flattered or reviled, surrounded by friends or miserably alone, important or insignificant and expected to pack up and follow with dismal regularity. The careers of their husbands demand much time and energy, require frequent travel away from home and keep them at the beck and call of other people. As a result, the ones who survive have developed a strong sense of

self, a tough independence and have learned to meet challenges head on and win. It also means that a sense of community and mutual support is important as no one else can be expected to understand their experiences.

The personal goals of many wives are incompatible with foreign service life. However, for those who can make the necessary accommodation, it is a unique life and their role in it is open for a creative approach. The role of a foreign service wife is what she makes it; there is no established role model any longer, not even for senior diplomatic wives. It would not be acceptable for the department to define one. Each wife must decide her own role and how to fill it. Scary. Exciting. Unique.

Win, Lose or Draw

Have I reached any conclusions after twenty-five years in the foreign service? Would I rather have done something else?

Two things are key to determining positive or negative outcomes: goals and choices. A foreign service wife has certain choices already made for her; her life is going to include repeated postings, and she will have very little control over where and when they will be.

No life offers any guarantees, so I feel that to blame the foreign service for unfulfilled expectations or unattained goals is to refuse to take responsibility for oneself. I had not realized this fully until recently. Consequently, my only regret is that I failed to take advantage of some of the opportunities, choosing to consider them problems instead.

After years of associating primarily with foreign service people from one country or another, I now spend my time with people, many of them retired, who have spent most of their adult lives in the same place. Their lives have contained as many disappointments as mine and they never left home. I am not a Board of Education Trustee, nor a Supervisor of Schools, nor even a high school principal which is what I set out to be. But, I have climbed a cliff in the Khyber Pass and chewed the dust of a camel caravan with the shade of Alexander the Great; I have shaken hands with Presidents and street sellers, and felt sweat on the hands of both; I have received an education not available to most people and shared the learning with my family; I have built a storehouse of memories to entertain my old age. I would not have had it any other way. 

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.

WORLD CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS: Vienna, June 1993

Story and photo by James R. Trottier

"Invoking the spirit of our age and the realities of our time which calls upon the peoples of the world and all States Members of the United Nations to rededicate themselves to the global task of promoting and protecting all human rights and fundamental freedoms so as to secure full and universal enjoyment of these rights."

Vienna Declaration, World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, Austria, June 1993

The World Conference on Human Rights took place in Vienna from June 14 to June 25, 1993. This was only the second such gathering, the first having been held in Tehran in 1968. The Vienna Conference was probably the largest human rights conference ever. Amidst much concern about what might emerge, the Conference achieved consensus on a final document — the Vienna Declaration — which reinforces and advances the cause of human rights.

It had been a long march from the inception of the Conference in a resolution of the UN General Assembly in December 1989 to the Vienna Declaration. Begun in the heady period of the dissolution of the East Bloc as a celebration of human rights, the process had verged perilously close in the intervening years to challenging the concept of universality contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Lead-Up

The lead-up to Vienna had not been auspicious. Three preparatory committees, meeting in the two preceding years, had failed to agree on the agenda for the Conference let alone a draft final document. The agenda was finally resolved by the UN General Assembly in December 1992. The fourth preparatory committee meeting in April 1993 then turned its attention to drafting a final document but failed to reach an agreement. A draft final document containing

55 pages of bracketed (disputed) paragraphs was sent forward to the World Conference. The Vienna Conference faced what appeared to many as an impossible task.

In addition, three regional conferences in San Jose, Tunis and Bangkok had each come out with declarations. These had been forwarded to the preparatory committee and then to the Vienna Conference. The Bangkok Declaration in particular cast doubt on the concept of the universality of human rights, giving priority to "regional peculiarities and various historical, cultural and religious backgrounds". The Bangkok Declaration also rejected the concept of development assistance being conditional upon the human rights records of countries concerned.

*Opponents of
Myanmar's regime
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political detainee
Aung San Suu Kyi.*

The Setting: NGOs and Governments

This set the stage for the Vienna Conference, held in a conference centre adjacent to the UN Headquarters. The Conference was preceded by a Senior Officials Meeting June 9th to June 14th. This meeting decided how the Conference would go about its work. The Conference itself consisted of the Plenary where Government Ministers and NGO representatives made prepared statements, the key Drafting Committee where the final document would be hammered out, the Main Committee which provided states and

NGOs with another opportunity to address specific agenda items, and the Credentials Committee.

The Conference was preceded by a three-day Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) forum. During the Conference itself there were a series of NGO-organized meetings. All these events occurred on a separate floor of the Conference building. Thousands of NGO representatives of some 1,400 international, regional and local NGOs from around the world met to discuss issues of concern to them. Barred from the all important Drafting Committee, NGO representatives made their views known to delegates through written proposals and formal statements. They also issued a feisty daily newspaper — *Terra Viva* — containing no holds barred opinions about countries and issues. In a journalistic coup of sorts, *Terra Viva* obtained and published the briefing notes of the American Delegation, apparently after an (albeit short) internal debate about the questionable ethics of doing so. Other delegations took note and ensured their own documents were kept secured.

NGO representatives were present at the entrance when delegates arrived for meetings, thus ensuring that government representatives were aware of NGO issues. The dramatic displays at the entrance included a mock execution in an electric chair, indigenous people in traditional garb, NGO representatives in white masks symbolizing repression and dozens of people passing out literature of various sorts. On the walls of the floor where the NGOs met were vivid displays of human rights abuses, many the result of activities of the governments meeting in the same building — an irony not lost on many. During the statement to the plenary of Myanmar's Foreign Minister U Ohn Gyaw, opponents of Myanmar's regime filled the gallery reserved for NGO representatives and created a surreal atmosphere by donning masks of Nobel prize-winning political detainee Aung San Suu Kyi.

Not surprisingly, in a forum involving so many people, feeling passionate about one cause or another, there were controversies. In one of the most unfortunate incidents, former US President Jimmy Carter, invited to speak to the NGO forum in recognition of

his long interest in human rights issues, faced — with impressive dignity — a jeering mob protesting his presence, much to the chagrin of many of the NGO representatives present. After an address by the Cuban Foreign Minister, Roberto Robaina Gonzalez, scuffles broke out between pro- and anti-Castro demonstrators. The Dalai Lama's planned address to an NGO meeting was first cancelled and then, after protests by Canada and several other states, reinstated; the spiritual leader received a hero's welcome.

Some NGOs resented what they characterized as an Upstairs/Downstairs atmosphere. Their discussions were held on the lower floor while government representatives met behind closed doors in the airier upper floors. This sense of grievance was compounded by some early attempts — soon abandoned — to restrict NGO access to even the corridors and facilities on other floors. Dissatisfied with the leadership of the NGO forum and what some perceived as the leadership's too accommodating stance with Conference organizers, NGOs staged a sort of auto-coup and established a new co-ordinating body.

Some parties showed up uninvited and unwanted. Most notorious was the infamous Shining Path group from Peru. It had to be forcibly ejected from the NGO forum. Other NGOs were mysteriously disinvited after having received invitations to attend; there again the Canadian and other delegations protested the exclusions. Some states sent so-called "false-flag" NGOs which became known as GANGOS — Government-appointed Non-Governmental Organizations — more interested in defending particular governments' human rights records than in exposing violations.

These controversies aside (and, after all, NGOs are expected to challenge the status quo), the NGO events were a great success and an eloquent proof of the concern felt by people throughout the world about human rights. This was particularly true of women's rights. Among the most dramatic events of the NGO forum were the hearings by the Women's Tribunal. The Tribunal heard horrendous stories of abuse from 33 women from all regions of the world.

Much of the activity on women's rights was aimed to win recognition that women's rights are human rights and that the rights of women should be considered as a key integral aspect of the work of all UN human rights bodies. Canada advanced and supported these positions. The Canadian Delegation was particularly keen to ensure that claims about cultural and religious traditions were not used as excuses to deny the human rights of women. That the women's rights positions were put forward forcefully by



Some members of the Canadian Delegation, left to right: Alan Kessel, Kerry Buck, Leslie Norton, James Trotter, Irit Weiser, Adele Dion, Ross Hynes.

women from every region belied the claim of a vocal minority of states that this issue was the concern only of a few countries and ensured success at Vienna.

As all this activity unfolded in the NGO forum, statements continued in the Plenary and the Main Committee. The Conference, opened by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, provided a forum for dozens of foreign ministers and other notables including Jimmy Carter, former Philippines President Corazon Aquino and Nobel Prize winner Rigoberta Menchu. Most states were represented by their foreign ministers. Perhaps more importantly, the Conference provided an opportunity for human rights activists — who speak for those without a voice — to express their concerns.

The Negotiations

Simultaneous to the activities in the NGO forum and the plenary, official delegations negotiated the final document in the Drafting Committee and in its spin-off Task Force, both chaired in an exceptional manner by senior members of the Brazilian delegation. These negotiations were crucial to the shape of the final document which would be cited for years to come as the definitive view of states concerning human rights. A good solid document could be used to bolster human rights; conversely a weak document or one containing serious deficiencies would undermine this effort.

Many NGOs, media and some delegates assumed no agreement was possible and expected the worst from the negotiations. The concerns of NGOs deepened when they were barred from the Drafting Committee.

The Canadian Delegation, which had argued for the inclusion of NGOs in the Drafting Committee and had funded many NGOs to attend the Conference, made a public commitment to inform NGOs of the discussions through regular briefings and NGO representation on our delegation. Similar briefings were carried out by the United States and the Netherlands. The Canadian Delegation also organized meetings between NGO representatives and members of the WEOG (Western European and Other States Group) and the Eastern European Group. Knowing there would be scrutiny of their positions lessened the recalcitrance of some states in negotiations.

To the surprise of many of the 5,000 people attending the Conference, states agreed by consensus on a final document. The Vienna Declaration reaffirmed fundamental principles of human rights and set out elements of an action plan. The Declaration was a considerable achievement for a Conference which had been pronounced dead before arrival of several occasions.

The determination of many states to advance the protection of human rights, skillful negotiations, mobilization of support from states in every region to the defence of human rights, and failure of hardline states to obtain general support for their positions contributed to the positive outcome. Contrary to many news reports, the division in the period leading up to the Conference had not been between North and South but between those states which believed that rights belonged to people and those who thought that they belonged to the state.

The exceptionally skillful chairing of the Drafting Committee by Ambassador Gilberto

Vergne Saboia of Brazil was also a crucial factor in the success of the Conference. At the end of the Conference, in a revealing comment in response to the well-deserved tributes, Ambassador Saboia noted dryly that he and his able deputy were two officers of the Brazilian Foreign Ministry with a particular interest in human rights and that they had gathered around them a cadre of younger officers with similar interests.

The Drafting Committee composed of virtually the entire UN membership discussed the draft document paragraph by paragraph. The negotiations stretched late into the night of many days, including weekends and, on one memorable occasion, until sunrise. The Drafting Committee's work had two parts. It first considered the principles in the draft document while an open-ended Task Force of the Committee considered the draft plan of action. The Task Force laboured away in a jammed room with partial translation services and forwarded its proposals to the Drafting Committee. The Task Force left the most contentious issues to the Drafting Committee.

Ambassador Saboia, who was in the chair for every minute, was tireless. He ran the meetings with a skillful and formidable blend of authority, toughness, originality, patience and flexibility — a combination of qualities crucial to getting through the draft document. He generally refused to allow amendments to the relatively few but significant paragraphs — on women, children etc. — which had been agreed upon at the preparatory committee. He allowed delegations to make interventions of no more than two minutes on each paragraph in dispute and generally restricted discussions on most paragraphs to no more than an hour. If delegations proposed new wording, subsequent intervenors were asked to address the new proposals as well as the earlier wording. This put a premium on delegations' preparations, flexibility, attention spans, ability to focus and originality — a challenge any time but particularly in the 16th hour of a day's discussion.

When the Chair decided that later speakers were merely reiterating points already made, he cut off discussion. He either put forward what he believed to be consensus language or sent delegations representing various viewpoints out of the room to reach consensus on the points at issue. Meanwhile he would move on to another paragraph.

More often than not, the small negotiating groups were able to reach agreements which were then agreed to in the Drafting Committee. Having reached agreement, delegations which had been on opposite sides of an issue in the smaller negotiating committees were in no mood to see their work undone

by delegations which had not taken part. They made common cause in rebuffing proposals for amendments from the floor.

The Chair helped this process along by pressuring delegations to reach consensus and gavelling through paragraphs very swiftly, so quickly in fact that some delegations were not able to register their disapproval in time to block consensus. When delegations protested about his rulings, the Chair merely noted that delegations could take the matter up in plenary. Ambassador Saboia deftly overruled delegations from all regions thus preempting charges of favouritism. When the final document did come to the plenary floor, it was accepted without objections.

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Decisions on the rights of women, minorities and indigenous and the right to development were greeted with spontaneous applause. The most moving and exciting moment came towards the end of the Drafting Committee's work. After prolonged and exhausting discussions about the proposed High Commissioner for Human Rights, the gridlock was broken by a quick succession of statements by delegates from all regions in favour of Ambassador Saboia's compromise proposal — developed by a small working group including Canada, Poland and other states — and, in particular, by an impassioned plea by the delegate from Mali, Fatoumata Siré Siakite. She ended her eloquent statement to a wave of applause which seemed to immobilize the opposition and gave the Chair all the opportunity he needed to gavel through the decision. The Chair referred subsequent objections to the plenary.

Given the intensity, complexity and number of simultaneous negotiations, the size and composition of delegations, and in particular, the resources assigned to the Drafting Committee, were crucial. A critical mass was necessary in order to be effective. Key countries from each region were fairly evenly

balanced in the personnel they assigned to the task. For example, like the Canadian Delegation, the very able and active Indian and Indonesian delegations had experienced officials from capitals as well as their Permanent Missions in New York and Geneva.

The Canadian Delegation was directed by Manfred Von Nostitz, Director-General of External's International Organizations Bureau, and Anne Park, Head of the Canadian Delegation to the Commission on Human Rights. The negotiating team was lead by Ross Hynes, External Affairs Co-ordinator for Human Rights; other members were Kerry Buck from External, Irit Weiser from Justice and Alan Kessel and myself from the Permanent Missions in Geneva and New York respectively. Valerie Raymond, Director of External's Human Rights Division and Denis Marantz, External's Co-ordinator of Aboriginal Affairs co-ordinated activities on the rights of women and indigenous rights respectively. In addition, the Canadian Delegation, co-ordinated by Adele Dion and assisted by Leslie Norton, Chantal Winter de Varennes, and Jean Touchette, also included a range of other people from External Affairs, other departments, parliament, the indigenous community, academic life and NGOs.

In addition to advancing Canadian positions on the issues under discussion, Canada was the co-ordinator of the Western European and Other States Group (WEOG).

The Outcome

The Vienna Declaration covers several key issues. Universality of human rights is a fundamental issue for Canada and many other states from all regions. The need to reaffirm the concept of universality of human rights and to resist the claim that cultural or other traditions dictate different and lower standards of human rights protection is crucial to ensuring the protection of human rights of all people. Universality is confirmed in the final document which declares that "it is the duty of states regardless of their political, economic, social and cultural systems, to promote and protect all human rights".

The Declaration also states that the "promotion and protection of human rights is a legitimate concern of the international community", thereby refuting the claim that expression of concern is interference in a states' internal affairs.

Canada and other countries also successfully opposed inclusion of any language critical of linking development assistance with human rights performance.

The universal and inalienable right to development was also reaffirmed by consensus when the United States and Japan dropped their opposition. However, of most

significance for Canada which was already a supporter of the right to development, the Declaration states that the lack of development cannot be invoked to justify denial of human rights.

The Conference recommended that the General Assembly consider on a priority basis at its September 1993 session the establishment of a High Commissioner for Human Rights. The idea is not new. It has been given renewed impetus. Canada and other states believe there is a need to have a focal point for human rights within the UN system. Such an official would be involved in all UN activity regarding human rights.

States which worried about the establishment of such an office, citing the issue of sovereignty in particular, overcame their concerns and agreed to send the project on to New York. The support of states from all regions — including Kenya, Nigeria, Mali, India, Indonesia, Brazil — for the final formula was crucial to the success of the undertaking.

The Conference also requested the Secretary-General and the General Assembly to take immediate steps "to substantially increase the resources for the human rights programme" in general and to increase funding for the Centre for Human Rights in particular.

There were also positive steps taken towards strengthening UN human rights machinery and making human rights more central to the activities of the UN.

Another major achievement was the mainstreaming of human rights of women into the UN human rights system. The Conference also asked that the draft Declaration on Indigenous Rights be completed and forwarded on to the next session of the UN Commission on Human Rights.

In addition to the final document, the Conference also adopted resolutions on Bosnia and Angola. There had been an unwritten agreement that no country situations would be discussed, thus freeing the Conference from spending most of its time addressing the grave human rights situations existing in all too many states — a task already carried out in annual sessions of the UN Commission on Human Rights — and leaving little time for anything else. The Conference was meant to focus on addressing fundamental principles and on strengthening international machinery to prevent and deal with human rights violations.

Through a coincidence of timing and geography, the Vienna Conference took place less than an hour's flight from the vicious conflict and appalling human rights violations in Bosnia — a point made by many participants. A bare majority voted for a specific resolution on Bosnia introduced by

Islamic states. A large number of other states, including Canada, abstained, thus abiding by the previous agreement but expressing, in explanations of vote, their outrage at the situation in Bosnia.

In the end, the Conference exceeded expectations. Universality was reaffirmed, the rights of particularly vulnerable groups were outlined to a greater degree than before and agreement was reached on important elements of a plan of action. And the result was achieved by consensus rather than by a split between regional groups.

The Conference left few of the participants unmoved. Whether they were from NGOs or official delegations, participants came away with the sense that we had participated in something unique, worthwhile and larger than life.

The Conference did not leave participants complacent. That all states were able to agree on a substantive document does not mean that these states will cease violating the human rights of their own citizens now or in the immediate future. However the Vienna Declaration does remove the excuse of some states that the standards in the Universal Declaration are not applicable to them because the Universal Declaration had been approved in 1948 by a UN membership of only 56 states. This was never

an acceptable argument but it is now irrelevant. Virtually the entire UN membership agreed to the Vienna Declaration which reaffirms and goes beyond the principles of the Universal Declaration.

States can and must be held accountable by individuals, NGOs and each other for violations of human rights. The Conference sends the important message that human rights is an international fact of life. It must be taken into account in relations between states.

Vienna was not an end. Rather it was an important waystation to take stock and chart a new course towards that future, far from guaranteed, where respect for the human rights of every woman, man and child can be assured.

Please note that the views expressed by the author do not necessarily reflect those of the Department of External Affairs and International Trade

James Trotter is currently posted as First Secretary at the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations in New York and was a member of the Canadian Delegation to the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna. He has served previously in the Canadian Embassy in Bangkok, Thailand.

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Pictures from a Soviet Exhibition

by Geoffrey Pearson

As Russia struggles to build a democratic system, images of the former, communist system are recalled or invented to justify new or old approaches. Gorbachev called the Brezhnev era a period of stagnation and corruption, but he did not question Marxist doctrine. Western observers then and now mostly believed that the doctrine led inevitably to bureaucratic tyranny and imperial outreach. Russian nationalists, on the other hand, look back with pride at Soviet authority and the fear it inspired abroad. Missing from these images are the people who were there, the rulers and the ruled. My own experience in the USSR before and after the death of Brezhnev in 1982 left me with a sense that Tolstoy and Gogol were better guides to life in that vast and varied empire than were Sovietologists. Both communism and capitalism are Western constructs that the Russians assimilate to their own experience of order and freedom, and so they will deal with democracy. What counts is security and the opportunity to do as well as the climate, both physical and political, will allow.

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life in that vast and
varied empire than
were Sovietologists.*

Certainly, there were true believers in the goals of communist doctrine, but they mostly contented themselves with implausible explanations of why these goals had not yet been met, explanations which few citizens appeared to take seriously. Public and private life were two different worlds, as our Russian cook admitted to us after one of her monthly meetings with the people who wanted to know what kind of household we were running. It was none of their business, she implied. We detected some common and



Author, fourth from the left, accompanying Canadian parliamentarians in their meeting with rising star — Mikhael Gorbachev, August 1983.

genuine emotions, however — pride in Soviet military power (until Afghanistan), fear of a new war, and envy of Western standards of living. Humour salted the daily barrage of propaganda, although no-one dared attack the rulers by name. The Western image of an aggressive and reckless people out to conquer the earth seemed to me to be a caricature equal to that of the Pravda cartoons of Uncle Sam ready to pounce on Mother Russia.

No doubt these and like questions will be raised as historians ponder the late Soviet years and why the whole edifice collapsed as soon as Gorbachev began to tinker with the foundations. In the meanwhile, here are some sketches of those in power as I went about my diplomatic rounds.

Leonid Brezhnev:

I first met Brezhnev in 1966 while in Moscow with an official delegation. He had been two years in power as the First Secretary of the Party, and was full of vigour and self-confidence, expensively dressed with a gold lighter in hand. The contrast with his unkempt and impetuous predecessor, Khrushchev, impressed us. I did not meet him again until November 7, 1982 at the Soviet national day reception, five days before he died. He was barely able to stand, and very red in the face. As I filed by with my fellow Ambassadors, and when he heard the word

“Canada” from the Chief of Protocol, he looked at me vacantly and murmured, “Trudeau”. It was a sad, but perhaps appropriate ending to the Brezhnev era that, at his funeral, the coffin slipped and tumbled into the grave as the assembled heads of state and government looked on, Mr. Trudeau amongst them.

Andrei Gromyko:

Andrei Gromyko had been Foreign Minister for 23 years in 1980 and I expected a short, pro forma interview when I entered his office on the seventh floor of the Stalin-era building which housed the Ministry (the same floor that the Secretary of State occupied in Washington — a coincidence?). Not at all. After the usual preliminaries, I reminded him that Canada was still seeking compensation for the damage caused by the fall of a Soviet satellite in the Canadian north a year or two earlier. He professed ignorance of the subject and said he would look into it. To my surprise he then began to reminisce about how he had learned to speak English after I had remarked on his command of the language. He had studied English as a student at an agricultural college in Minsk and had been able to improve his knowledge when he went to Washington during the war. He had been stumped, however, when President Roosevelt used the word

"discombobulate" at a meeting in the White House and had had to consult the *Random House* dictionary which he kept on a stand in his office before reporting the comment to Moscow. He told one or two other stories in this vein and I feared that my demarche about the satellite would be forgotten. But a few weeks later, agreement was reached on a settlement of the Canadian claim. Although I seldom saw Gromyko again (some Ambassadors spent years in Moscow without ever being in his office), I continued to regard him with respect. He was a man of his word, despite his ignorance of "discombobulate".

Mikhael Gorbachev:

Gorbachev was a rising star in 1983 as I completed by stay in Moscow, the youngest member of the Politburo by several years and a possible successor to Andropov, the ailing General Secretary who had succeeded Brezhnev. Accordingly, his visit to Canada in May of that year was an important event and, while I did not accompany him, I had several meetings with him before and afterwards. His portfolio was agriculture, but unlike most of his colleagues, except Gromyko, he was ready to discuss any and all subjects without referring to notes or surrounding himself with a coterie of advisers. I recall two occasions in particular. At the airport on his return from Canada he made a brief speech to those assembled to meet him, inserting a joking reference to one member of the party who had stayed in Canada to pursue opportunities for increased trade. He hoped, Gorbachev said, that his colleague would not be persuaded to defect. This sally produced a nervous silence from his audience and then, as the great man smiled, a spate of hollow laughter. Was it a coincidence that a year or so later this same official was jailed for corruption?

*His visit to Canada,
I am convinced, was
a turning point
in his career.*

The second occasion was a meeting with a delegation of Canadian parliamentarians, who had no sooner taken their seats than Gorbachev launched into a fifty minute speech on the state of the Soviet economy. Later, in response to a question about east-west relations, he talked about the war when, as

a boy of ten, he had had to cope on the farm after his father was wounded in the battle of Kursk. Gorbachev spoke to visitors in direct and simple language, conveying that air of authority and self-confidence that is the mark of leadership. His visit to Canada, I am convinced, was a turning point in his career, helping him to define the policies two years later that led to the end of the Cold War.

A.V. Romanov:

Gorbachev was a striking contrast with A.V. Romanov, the Leningrad Party boss who was also amongst the group of younger leaders thought to have a good chance at the Party leadership (in fact, it was the 72 year-old Chernenko, a Brezhnev crony, who succeeded Andropov in 1984 only to die in office a year later). It was not easy for Ambassadors to meet the regional Party leaders, but Romanov was an exception. He received me in the historic Smolny Institute, Party headquarters since 1918, seated at an immensely long table in a room of ball-room size. At his side was the mayor of the city, himself a future member of the Politburo, but allowed to say little in the presence of the boss. Seated along the wall behind him were ten or so men who reminded me of the henchmen I had seen in gangster films.

I learned nothing new about Soviet policies from Romanov, who read a prepared speech, but he spoke afterwards about the age-old rivalry with Moscow. The highway between the two cities was in bad shape because Moscow had not done its share of repairs. He preferred to fly. He had noted while in Canada for *Expo 67* (I was always surprised to find how many of the people I met had been to *Expo*) the quality of highway 401. As usual, we compared hockey players. Romanov was reputed to have helped himself to the Romanov crockery in the Hermitage museum for his daughter's wedding. Perhaps he had delusions of grandeur, a malady that Gorbachev did not suffer from until much later. At any rate, Romanov never made it to the top.

Alexander Yakolev:

Yakolev had been Ambassador to Canada for seven years when I went to Moscow in 1980. He was then the Dean of the Diplomatic corps, a position he disliked; it involved too much protocol. He was not a career diplomat, and it was said that he had been exiled for displeasing the Party hierarchy on some matter of Party doctrine. In any event, he did not act like a Soviet diplomat. He was down to earth, eschewing both communist jargon and diplomatic niceties, a feature that attracted Prime Minister Trudeau who would receive him alone at 24 Sussex Drive. Before we left, Yakolev recommended to us the

names of Russian writers who wrote about life in the Soviet Union without political intent or bias. He was not an admirer, however, of North American culture and often spoke critically of the commercialization of politics and the arts in the USA and its influence on Canada. He was also a fierce critic of American foreign policy.

I don't think he had known Gorbachev before he went to Canada, but there can be no doubt that his subsequent rise to power after 1985 was a direct result of Gorbachev's visit to Canada in 1983, a visit that brought them together for most of the ten days he was here. They must have shared a common distaste for the atmosphere of the late Brezhnev period, and a desire for change.

I went to see Yakolev in 1986 during a visit to Moscow. He was now a member of the hierarchy and thought to be Gorbachev's chief adviser on the new policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost*. He told me that the goal of these policies was to democratize the system by giving the people a larger voice in decision-making. He spoke about their skepticism of the regime and of the need to turn it around if economic reform was to lead anywhere. There must be greater "control from below". Yakolev was giving priority to political change over economic renewal, a priority that most of us in the West had not understood at the time. Nevertheless he remained a typical Soviet official in another sense. Human rights in the Soviet Union was no business of the West. Why was the *Voice of America* stirring up trouble in the Baltic republics, for example? There would be change in the Soviet treatment of minorities, including the Jewish minority, and we should leave well enough alone. He obviously had no inkling of the cataclysm of revolt that was to sweep the Soviet Union four years later; but then, neither did anyone else. He and his boss were believers in incremental and rational reform. They were and are the Mensheviks of the second Russian revolution.

Officials of the Foreign Ministry:

One of the seven identical skyscrapers erected in Moscow during the Stalin era, the Foreign Ministry became a familiar place for diplomats anxious to conjugate the verbal nuances of Soviet rhetoric. One was greeted by a junior official at the door, escorted past the grim-faced militia man, and ushered to one of the three (out of six) elevators that were actually working. I once asked my escort on the way up to one of the top floors why the elevator never seemed to go beyond floor twenty, although there appeared to be twenty-two floors. He confessed ignorance ("I don't know" was one of the first Russian phrases I learned), perhaps

not surprising in light of information published later that these floors housed elaborate listening devices installed at the time of construction.

The official I dealt with most at the Ministry was a veteran who had served in London and New York and was listed by American spy watchers as a KGB agent. Perhaps he was, but his obvious loyalty was to Gromyko and his habit of mind was one I soon recognized to be diplomatic rather than interrogative. Once when I informed him that I had been instructed to seek an interview with Brezhnev's assistant, rather than with the Ministry, over some looming crisis in east-west relations he said to me: "Who does your government think is running foreign policy in Moscow?" On another occasion he interrupted my routine delivery of a complaint about Soviet policies on human rights (a favourite subject for Canadian politicians) with the question: "Do you know what day this is?" It turned out to be the fortieth anniversary of the German surrender at Stalingrad. "Look at these hands", he said, "they are covered in blood". He had been an eighteen year old soldier at Stalingrad, and was not about to let the memory of that terrible time pass without ceremony. A bottle of brandy appeared (it was mid-morning) and the rest of our "exchange of views" took on quite a different flavour. I decided to return to the subject of human rights another day.

Most members of the Soviet foreign service were highly professional, like their boss. They were especially well trained in languages and in the big, technical issues like arms control and treaty law. The older members often lapsed into Marxist jargon, but this was rarely the case with their juniors. They were genuinely concerned with the danger of war in the early eighties, as indeed we all were, and I suspect they were not too comfortable with the imbroglio in Afghanistan. Many of them, including Kozyrev who was a middle level official at the time and is now the Russian Foreign Minister, have carried on in the new regime. Freed from the constraints of both dogma and empire, they are an important asset in the struggle to re-invent the Russian future.

But will they embrace parliamentary democracy and the market system? Not, in my view, if they believe these to be a threat to Russia's status as a great power. All of them, from Brezhnev to Yeltsin, have enjoyed the authority that goes with power. They will not yield easily, either to people's deputies or to Macdonalds.

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

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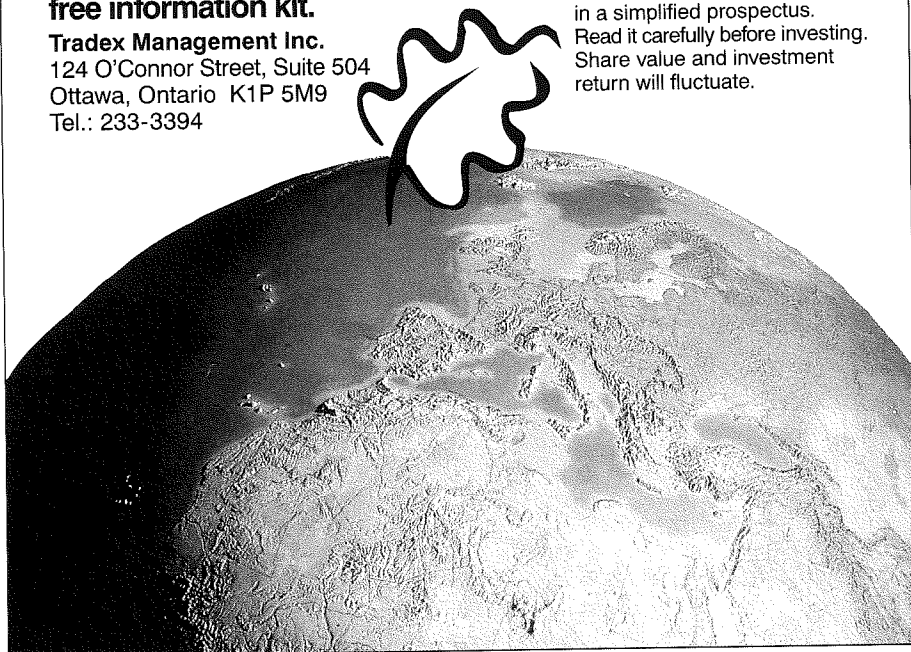
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CAMBODIA

Supervising Elections in the Killing Fields

Story and photos by Barbara Shenstone

As I came down the steep bank towards the boat, I noticed the crowd of children by the water's edge. They were not making much commotion, but obviously there was something of interest in the water. "It's a body," my partner said, "I think it's been tortured. Where are the Civpol?"

Diane turned back towards the UN truck at the top of the slope. As she radioed for the UN police (Civpol), I stood looking down the bank towards the Mekong River. There were adults on the bank. After a few

minutes I did go closer. As Diane said, we had to know what was going on. We both took one look.

The corpse was the bloated remains of a man who had suffered greatly before his death. As he floated on his back, I could see his hands were tied above his head to a pole; he wore a black shirt and pants, but his chest and genitals were exposed, revealing bloody gashes and what looked like burns. The face was pulp.

I remember thinking afterwards how matter-of-fact we were that morning — all of us, not only Diane and myself, but also

the people of the village, the Cambodian police, and our colleagues in the UN police. Although the situation was shocking, we behaved as though it was all in a day's work.

In retrospect, it was all in a day's work that year, from May 1992 to June 1993, when 35 Canadians like myself were posted as district election supervisors for the United Nations in Cambodia.

This was not the last time we were to come across corpses in the river. In the months leading up to the elections of May 1993, lawlessness and political violence coloured



every aspect of life in Cambodia. Although we tried to take on the role of referees, we were helpless to control or even understand the events we witnessed.

There were about 400 district electoral supervisors (known familiarly as DES) in Cambodia, representing about 50 different nationalities. Among the 16,000 other civilian and military personnel, we enjoyed a unique status as volunteers.

The pay was minimal; the job was enormous. We were the front-line "grunts" of the UN. Deployed in twos or threes in each district of the country, our job was to make the election happen: first by organizing the registration of voters, and later the polls themselves.

Setting up an office in each district, hiring local staff, training them, identifying temporary registration sites, spreading the word in each community, supervising teams of registrars, and trouble-shooting — this was the job.

It also meant liaising with local political factions, including the infamous Khmer Rouge, as well as the many new political parties that burgeoned in the country during those eventful months. Later, it meant investigating complaints and violations of the election campaign rules, using whatever means we could to persuade the political parties (and the police and military connected with them) to desist from violence and intimidation.

To encourage political activity and the voters themselves, we also undertook extensive civic education programs to inform Cambodians about their political and human rights, how to vote, and above all, in order to protect them from intimidation, the secrecy of the vote.

We were the front-line "grunts" of the UN.

Cambodia was a difficult place to work. The country had been destroyed by more than 25 years of war. Largely agricultural, much of the land was now unusable because of land mines. There was really no post office or communications system, let alone health care. What were once roads were now intermittent tracks that had become impassable in the rainy season or at best a series of mud pits that sucked a 4 by 4 vehicle to the top of its wheel hubs in seconds. There was a small and corrupt civil administration and a skeletal school system for those who could afford it. It was not unusual for teachers (who earned \$15 to \$20 per month) and others to go without pay for six months at a time.

All this meant that many districts were isolated and difficult to get around. The countryside was lawless. It was difficult to find qualified personnel to do the clerical work involved in an election. To get to our districts, we spent many hours travelling by truck, boat, or helicopter. Once there, we were often cut off from other UN components, although we had radio communications. Within a district, the DES and the Cambodian staff working with them moved by UN truck, UN helicopter, motorcycle, pony or ox cart, and often on foot.

For those of us who had not seen an operation of this size, we were amazed how much equipment we were constantly moving: diesel for trucks, drinking water, office supplies, posters and pamphlets, tarps, generators, and

electrical gear like extension cords, plastic card laminators, cameras, lamps, fans. All of it had to be delivered, warehoused, loaded on and off vehicles and boats, set up and taken down in the right places, and kept track of.

On top of this, the climate of Cambodia was extremely hot and humid, making any physical activity arduous. Everyone was vulnerable to malaria, dengue fever, dysentery, hepatitis, and those other famous tropical diseases. If someone fell sick or injured, help was difficult to get.

Although the DES were the outermost arm of the UN, we were always conscious of being part of a gigantic operational machine. Supporting us was a great network of people organizing supplies, working out procedures, producing videos and posters. An election office worked at the provincial level, and another at the national level. The UN was committed to planning, organizing, and delivering the entire election.

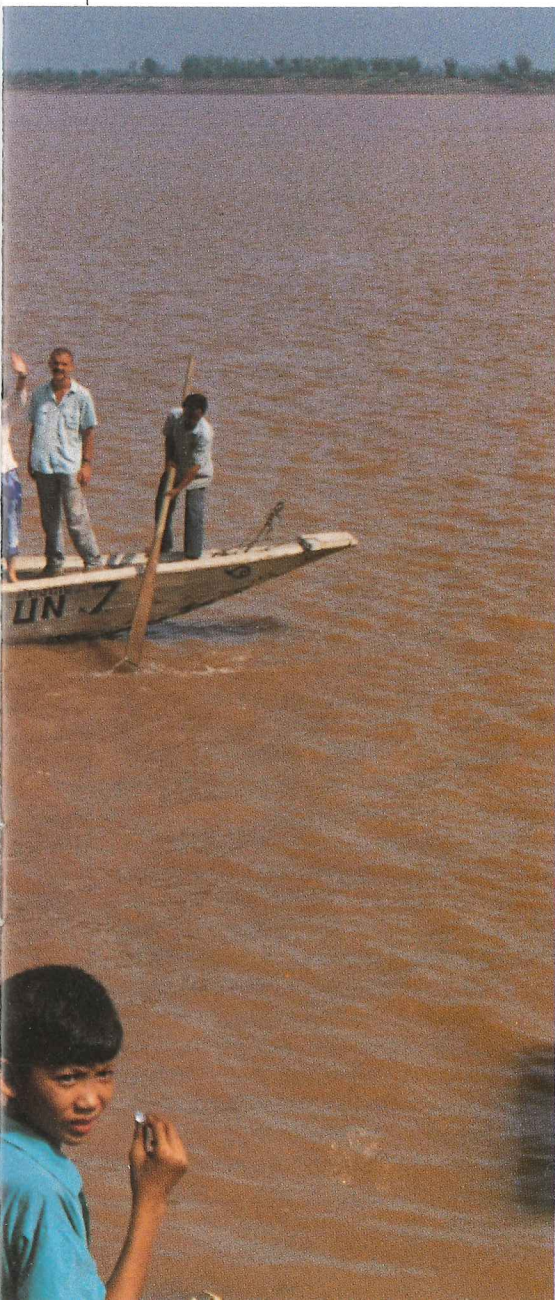
Elections was one of several major tasks the UN had committed itself to carrying out in Cambodia. As DES were scrambling to organize voter registration, UN military components were attempting to get the four Cambodian military factions to demobilize, as the factions had promised in the Paris Agreement of October 1991. The UN was also monitoring Cambodia's borders, verifying the withdrawal of foreign troops, and seeing that no new troops or weapons were coming in.

The UN Civil Administration component was taking charge of key ministries in the existing Cambodian government to put an end to the worst abuses of power, smoothing the path for a "free and fair" election and a transition to peace and democracy.

About 350,000 Cambodian refugees, most of them in camps along the Thai border, were returning home and resettled with the help of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

At first, the only other UN presence the DES ran into in many districts were the UN police, known as Civpol. Civpol were small units of 10 persons drawn from the national police forces of about 40 UN member states. Their role was to supervise the local police, investigate complaints of human rights violations, keep an eye on returned refugees to see they were not being harassed, and help DES at registration and voting sites, and in their travels throughout the districts.

The UN's plans for Cambodia were ambitious. As events unfolded over the first six months, things were not working out as



One of the UN boats used to ferry around district election supervisors in Cambodia.

originally planned. The failure to demobilize and disarm the military factions, and the refusal of the Khmer Rouge to take part in the elections, were the first major setbacks.

By late 1992, the Khmer Rouge had reneged on the promises made in Paris, stepping up attacks on villages and closing their regions to the UN. They also began a new policy of murdering ethnic Vietnamese residents of Cambodia. They apparently wanted nothing to do with UN efforts to hold an election.

The UN Civil Administration component also came up largely empty-handed. By all appearances it failed to take hold of the existing government structures with authority, thus undermining the confidence of other military factions, including the Khmer Rouge. Gross corruption continued unchecked. Police and army elements continued to intimidate and even murder political opponents.

The UN Civilian Police failed to work effectively either, for a variety of reasons, among them language problems, poor training, and cultural tensions, contributing, on occasion, to an embarrassing show of incompetence and cultural insensitivity, or an infuriating display of sloth and an unco-operative disposition. For example, the tortured corpse that floated ashore in Kroch Chhmar District was never identified. The investigation was quickly dropped because, as the Civpol explained, "We think he was only a robber anyway."

While things looked glum by early 1993, there had been success on two fronts. The repatriation of refugees, although behind schedule, was taking place in a generally orderly fashion. Many refugees tended to settle in urban areas, but some did end up in districts like Kroch Chhmar. There, because of their education, their influence was felt almost immediately by the UN. For those DES looking for staff to act as registrars and polling officials, they were invaluable. Not only were they literate, but they were also already familiar with many concepts of democracy and human rights.

The other big success was voter registration. Over 4.5 million Cambodians had registered by early January, 1993. This represented almost 100 per cent of the estimated voter population of the country, surpassing



Unloading ballot boxes in Kroch Chhmar.

everybody's expectations. Many DES viewed the results with some scepticism. While people had turned out in large numbers to get voter cards, would they actually vote on Election Day? We were not convinced that Cambodians really understood what the card was for. In any case, political events threatened to overtake the whole process and render the election a farce, if not a blood bath.

The security situation was going from bad to worse in many districts of the country. Kroch Chhmar District, about 150 km northwest of Phnom Penh up the Mekong River, was typical. Before Christmas a boat carrying eight Vietnamese fishermen was attacked on a creek not far from the UN office. Four people died, and another disappeared without trace. The assailants were never identified. The local police blamed the Khmer Rouge. Although seven political parties made efforts to open campaign offices, local authorities launched what looked like a concerted effort to intimidate and frighten as many people as possible. Villagers suspected of joining rival political parties were rounded up and forced to sign contracts



renouncing any connection with these parties. Inflammatory pamphlets and posters, some of them clever imitations of UN posters, were printed. A number of Cambodians told us they would suffer if they were even seen speaking to an official from a rival party. The local authorities also seemed to be testing the UN, for instance, dropping hints that election offices would be attacked. Cambodian UN staff were harassed and threatened by local army and police. At the end of January, a member of the FUNCINPEC party was murdered in his bed. He had visited our UN office only a few weeks before to complain that he feared for his life.

On April 8, a Japanese DES, Atsuhito Nakata, and a Cambodian interpreter, Lay Sopheak, were brutally killed in an isolated district of Kampong Thom province. Atsu was found dead under a UN truck, where he had apparently crawled to get away from his assailants. He had been

shot several times, and beaten about the face with a rifle butt. Sopheak, a returned refugee, died later that day of gunshot wounds to the stomach.

For many DES in Cambodia, this event marked a turning point. We were angry about Sopheak and Atsu's deaths. The political temperature of the country was rising dramatically and it was time to take measures and even rethink the entire mission. We thought that some UN military and Civpol units had been downright negligent in their duties. It outraged many DES that the first person on the scene for Atsu and Sopheak had been another DES, and that both Civpol and the military unit in that region (a notoriously hot one) had hesitated and delayed taking action, even after repeated requests from Atsu's partner who had heard Sopheak's call for help on his truck radio.

It did not console us to learn later that Atsu and Sopheak were not killed by Khmer Rouge, as was first thought, but probably by a disgruntled soldier who had been turned down for a job as a polling official in Atsu's district. The DES had been saying for months that the dangers all UN staff faced in the districts came not only from the Khmer Rouge, but equally from the other still-armed factions and the general lawlessness of the country.

Since December, the DES had stressed to headquarters in Phnom Penh concerns about

security. We repeatedly had asked two questions. With so many weapons and soldiers around, how was the UN to guarantee a "free and fair" election? Given that the factions had not put down their weapons as originally planned, what new measures was the UN taking?

The official answer had always been very frustrating. "Stop being negative. You DES should do your job and leave the rest to the experts."

In fairness to the top ranks of the UN, even before the deaths of Atsu and Sopheap, some changes were taking place in the UN. If the elections did not take place, or became a farce, the UN could be held accountable for one of the most expensive failures in its history. All components, including military and Civpol, were slowly making the elections the focus of their work. In my opinion, however, the deaths galvanized a new focus, energy, and determination by all the components by the end of April.

Security became paramount in every district. In Kroch Chhmar a company of large and fierce-looking Indian soldiers from Kashmir moved in. They set up camp underneath our office, a traditional wooden house on stilts, with sentries, sandbags, trenches, wire — the whole kit. They began making armed patrols throughout the district, letting it be known that if any groups were interested, they were looking forward to having it out with them. From then on, DES and Cambodian UN staff moved whenever possible with an armed escort.

DES also worked closely with unarmed UN military and naval observers who were assigned in teams to each district. Their job was to keep tabs on the armed factions, monitor troop and weapons movements, and advise DES about unsafe areas for travel. In Kroch Chhmar, we worked mostly with naval observers from New Zealand, Britain, and Canada — a great bunch of guys — hard-working, professional, and brave.

Political tensions continued to rise as the elections approached. The Khmer Rouge leadership had left Phnom Penh and cut off communications with the UN in early April. In many parts of the country Khmer Rouge troops were on the move, gathering in larger groups, apparently in preparation for new operations. Khmer Rouge leaders announced they would do all they could to disrupt the elections, predicting a blood bath.

UN staff in the districts lived with sickening feelings of tension and dread. We constantly reworked plans for the poll. We agonized over the location of polling stations. Which ones were more likely to be attacked? How could we protect them? There was the Cambodian polling staff to worry about, and, as the election was to take

place over six days, the ballot boxes. They had to be transported and protected at night, and eventually delivered to the provincial centre where the counting would take place.

To the DES, it seemed an endless balancing act, and to many a bluff, because we all knew (and the Cambodian staff working with us knew even better) how easy it would be to make it all go horribly wrong. One day I asked an interpreter what the rest of the staff feared most about election day. He said they did not fear a large-scale military attack from the Khmer Rouge. They feared a man on a motorscooter driving past a polling station and tossing a grenade into the crowd. This scenario haunted all our plans and preparations.

*Against all the odds,
the voters came
by the thousands —
rowdy soldiers,
saffron-robed monks,
ancient women
bent double,
young girls, families.*

By the middle of May, we had reduced the number of planned voting centres to the bare minimum. In two communes in Kroch Chhmar district, we eliminated voting centres altogether, hoping people would be willing to walk the six, seven or even ten kilometres to the next commune. In several areas we no longer dared venture at all, for fear of making ourselves targets for the growing number of Khmer Rouge who appeared to be collecting there. Elsewhere, we took circuitous routes by river or track to avoid hot spots, where we feared ambushes or mines.

Three days before the election, it began to rain. The country became a river of mud. In our district, a lake appeared in front of one polling station, cutting it off from the road. The voting materials and boxes would have to be carried across the lake on people's heads or with ox or pony carts — twice a day for three days. Still, we consoled ourselves that at least at this voting centre it would be hard to drive a grenade-laden motorscooter within lobbying range.

Torrents fell all night before the first day of the election. UN staff braced themselves for a low turnout at the polls. We had

expected the first day might be slow in any case, as voters were likely to be cautious.

What took place, however, was one of the most moving sights I have ever witnessed. Against all the odds, the voters came by the thousands — rowdy soldiers, saffron-robed monks, ancient women bent double, young girls, families. They waited in the rain before the polls opened at 7 am, having slogged through mud and rain, waded across lakes, and trudged or bicycled for miles in the dark. They came in large numbers all day the first day, and the ballot boxes filled to bursting.



As DES, we knew from our civic education efforts that Cambodians were keen to vote, but this surpassed all expectations. The turnout was enormous all over the country. I asked the Cambodian presiding officer with whom I worked what he made of it all.

"Sathariorh," I said, "will everyone who got a voter card come to vote?" Sathariorh looked at me as though I had two heads. "Of course," he said, "all Cambodian people want to vote."

Over half the population had voted by the first evening. By the last day, the turnout was 90 per cent country-wide, and in some districts an incredible 99 per cent.

Although there was some isolated violence, the Khmer Rouge did not after all make much effort to disrupt the election. It is still a mystery why. Was a deal with one of the political parties made behind the scenes at the last minute? Did the Khmer Rouge not have the strength they pretended? Or did they realize there was little to be gained from interfering in an activity that was so enthusiastically engaged in by so many Cambodian people?

Most DES loved their work in Cambodia. Although they were part of a gigantic, multi-faceted UN mission, the nature of their work, as well as their isolation, meant that they actually enjoyed great personal freedom and individual responsibility. The work was different every day. We dealt with real problems and issues; and we had enormous satisfaction. Amidst all the frustrations, we, the DES, used to say that we had the best jobs in Cambodia.

Barbara Shenstone has done development work in Zimbabwe and is now a consultant at Elections Canada and World University Service of Canada.

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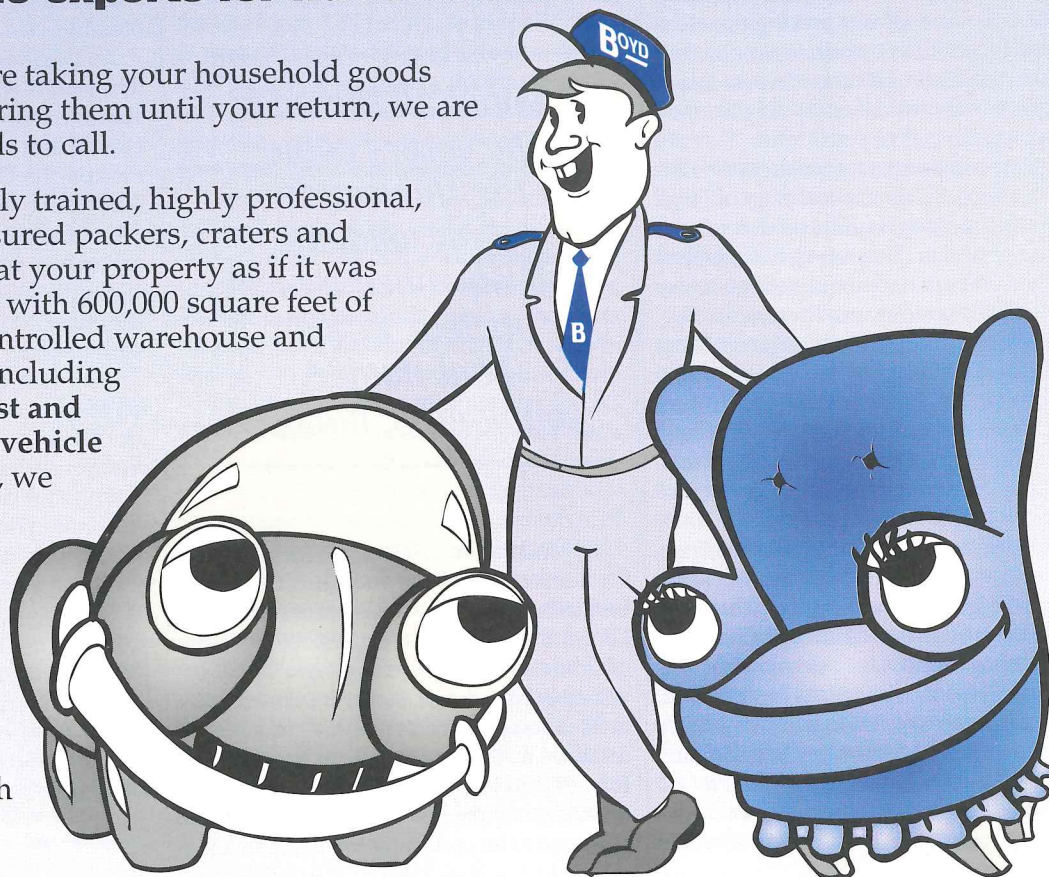
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L'Algérie à la croisée des chemins est-ouest et nord-sud

par Roger Paul Gilbert

Depuis le 26 décembre 1991, l'Algérie a vu s'interrompre un processus électoral crucial pour son avenir. Le Front islamique du salut (FIS) avait gagné le premier tour des élections législatives modelées sur le système français à deux tours. Le FIS allait probablement gagner au deuxième tour une majorité des deux tiers des sièges de l'Assemblée nationale, ce qui lui eût permis de gouverner seul et sans devoir s'associer à d'autres forces politiques, d'amender la Constitution et d'imposer une forme de régime intégriste totalitaire. Le cas de l'Ayatolisme iranien était encore suffisamment présent dans l'esprit des dirigeants algériens pour que ceux-ci interviennent à temps afin de bloquer le dérapage vers l'obscurantisme.

L'armée algérienne, incarnée par son haut commandement et notamment le ministre de la Défense nationale, le général major Khaled Nezzar, décide de pousser le président Chadli Benjedid, lui-même porté à accepter la cohabitation avec un gouvernement islamiste, à la démission. Le vide constitutionnel qui résultait de l'absence d'autorité présidentielle entraîna la création d'un haut comité d'État (HCE) composé de cinq membres qui sera présidé par Mohammed Boudiaf, ancien leader historique de la révolution algérienne, et, comme homme clé, le ministre de la Défense nationale. Restaurer l'autorité de l'État devait aux yeux du HCE reposer sur la sécurité et sur le dialogue avec toutes les forces sociales qui rejettent la violence.

Des mesures sécuritaires se sont imposées, axées sur la répression des Islamistes dans le cadre de la proclamation de l'État d'urgence et de l'instauration du couvre-feu dans les *wilayates* (départements) du centre du pays. Les principaux leaders islamistes, notamment Cheikh Abassi Madani et Ali Belhadj se virent emprisonnés en même temps que des milliers de leurs compagnons. Des camps d'internement ont été ouverts au sud du pays. Au demeurant, le dernier rapport d'Amnistie internationale a consacré un chapitre affligeant sur l'Algérie.

Les Islamistes crient à l'injustice, eux qui avaient gagné les élections démocratiquement et qui ont été renversés par la force militaire. La tentation était forte de protester par la violence : attentats contre des policiers et militaires, pose de bombes notamment à l'aéroport d'Alger et dans les institutions

publiques, assassinat du président Boudiaf, (on compte à peu près mille morts des deux côtés au cours de l'année 1992). Ces actes sont les signes manifestes d'un mal plus profond, dont l'ampleur conduit au désespoir et à la guerre civile.

De leur côté, les Islamistes occupent une position de force sur le terrain (alimentée par des armes venues de l'extérieur, ce qui a entraîné la suspension des relations diplomatiques de l'Algérie avec l'Iran et le Soudan). Ils se sont, en outre, mérités des appuis chez certains militaires qui ont déserté avec leurs armes et dont un nombre important vient d'être jugé par les tribunaux militaires de Ouargla et de Bechar. Dans ces conditions, on imagine, aisément les loyautés et l'adhésion d'une partie de la population, en proie au chômage et à la pauvreté, aux mots d'ordre et à l'action du FIS.

Le pouvoir se voit contraint de rechercher des points d'entente par le dialogue et des solutions de compromis, auxquels le général Nezzar serait devenu particulièrement sensible. Est-ce pour cela que Nezzar vient d'échapper à un attentat à la voiture piégée dont la technique trahit une main et une organisation des plus professionnelles? Le pouvoir algérien se trouve-t-il divisé contre lui-même et incapable de parvenir à une solution qui ne soit autoritariste. Vraisemblablement, c'est la position d'une partie de la hiérarchie militaire qui ne croit pas à une solution politique; ce qui semblerait être l'avis de l'actuel premier ministre, Belaid Abdessalam.

Ce dernier propose de relancer l'économie par un retour à la gestion centralisatrice de l'État. Cette démarche s'oppose à celle qui avait été initiée à l'époque du président Benjedid et son premier ministre Hamrouche, visant le passage à l'économie de marché (libération du commerce extérieur, préparation de la convertibilité du dinar, incitation aux investissements étrangers directs, accord cadre avec le Fonds monétaire international (FMI), en vue d'une réforme radicale du système bancaire, douanier et fiscal).

Or, Abdessalam se trouve à contre-courant des réformes précitées en obligeant les entreprises à verser des salaires sans contrepartie productive, en interférant dans leurs actes de gestion contrairement à l'autonomie qui leur est toujours dévolue par la loi. Bref il s'agit du retour aux méthodes bureaucratiques de l'ancien système. Le premier ministre refuse en outre d'obtempérer à la

recommandation du FMI au sujet de la dévaluation du dinar (50 pour cent), de la réduction des dépenses de l'État et de la privatisation d'une partie du secteur public. Il rétorque, au contraire, pour l'exercice 1993, par un budget avec un déséquilibre prévu de 168 milliards de dinars, sans toutefois préciser comment sera financé ce déficit si ce n'est par la planche à billets, avec des dangers d'aggravation d'une inflation déjà insoutenable pour les catégories moyennes et démunies.

Pendant qu'il existe abondance de produits de luxe (voitures, équipements électroniques, audiovisuels et autres), les produits essentiels comme les médicaments sont raréfiés ou terriblement coûteux, et la gestion des services sociaux est réduite à néant. On rapporte le cas d'un hôpital qui ne dispose que d'une seule seringue depuis plusieurs semaines pour l'ensemble de ses malades. L'économie parallèle produit une abondance factice au-dessus des moyens de la grande majorité des citoyens et nourrit des fortunes spéculatives qui échappent à tout contrôle fiscal. La crise du logement, aggravée par une pénurie de matériaux de construction (fer à béton, ciment, etc.), trouvera-t-elle un début de solution grâce au prêt de 280 millions de dollars US de la Banque mondiale pour le logement social en Algérie? Selon certaines indications statistiques, deux millions de logements corrigeraient l'extrême précarité de la grande majorité des familles entassées dans des espaces d'une exiguïté incroyable, quatorze à seize personnes pour une habitation normalement destinée à une famille de quatre ou cinq personnes. (Songez que la population de l'Algérie oscille à près de 30 millions d'habitants et doublera vraisemblablement d'ici l'an 2030).

Cet apport de capitaux est dérisoire par rapport aux exigences réelles d'une relance véritable de l'économie algérienne qui souffre d'abord d'un manque d'argent frais, condition essentielle pour la création d'industries et d'emplois dans un pays où le chômage atteint 18 pour cent de la population active et où le système d'éducation déverse plus d'un quart de million de jeunes diplômés (autant que la France) sur le marché du travail. La plupart des jeunes doivent se contenter d'initiatives dans l'économie parallèle et le marché noir. Fini les régimes de bourses gracieusement offerts par les pays de l'est.

L'économie algérienne ne peut plus compter sur le commerce de troc avec ces

pays (une situation qui a perdu Cuba au lendemain du départ des Soviétiques), mais sur des échanges indexés sur les cours mondiaux en devises fortes.

En outre, les ressources exportables, gaz naturel et pétrole, sont mobilisées à un niveau de 80 pour cent pour le paiement des services de la dette extérieure à hauteur de 26 milliards de dollars US. Il s'en suit une pénurie de produits essentiels normalement importés. La solution du FMI et son remède de cheval (rééchelonnement en échange de mesures draconiennes au coût social accablant, v.g. licenciements massifs, privatisations, dévaluation de la monnaie) place l'Algérie au rang de bien d'autres pays, devant un échéancier qui ne lui permettra pas de respirer avant quelques années.

En termes d'équilibre est-ouest aussi bien que nord-sud, un pays comme l'Algérie est porteur d'un fardeau énorme, lourd de conséquences et de dangers de déséquilibres politiques pouvant faire pâlir des conflits comme celui de l'ex-Yougoslavie. Imaginons des 'boat people' se lançant sur l'Europe et l'Amérique à partir des pays du Maghreb, victimes des vagues obscurantistes qui s'abattent sur eux ou de la misère dans laquelle leurs pays s'enfoncent par manque de compréhension, de dialogue et d'assistance (coopération, aide à la formation, des crédits commerciaux).

Le cas de l'Algérie est-il tellement différent de tant d'autres? Ces pays doivent apprendre à produire des richesses au moyen d'un partage du savoir-faire et de la technologie occidentale. À cet égard, l'Algérie devra s'efforcer de surmonter certains complexes hérités de son passé colonial et de rechercher des équilibres culturels et techniques qui s'offrent à elle par le biais de la Francophonie, un instrument valable pour son épanouissement et qu'il serait injuste de repousser au nom d'une arabité que personne ne saurait contester.

Le nouvel ordre mondial ne doit-il pas prendre en compte l'impératif essentiel que l'équilibre des pays et des peuples est fondé aujourd'hui sur des frontières sociales et non pas militaires. La sécurité n'est plus affaire de bellicisme armé, mais de pauvreté et de besoin de survie. L'Europe pourrait connaître une nouvelle invasion des Maures, celle-là composée de pauvres gens désespérés plutôt que de producteurs de civilisation encore visible à Cordoue et Grenade. La plupart des pays du sud sont détenteurs de ressources d'ordre stratégique. Serait-il utopique d'imaginer un partage équitable des richesses de la planète dans le cadre d'un partenariat où les pays du nord, sans s'appauvrir, pourraient servir de locomotives du progrès social et de la paix civile des populations du sud?

Pour le Canada, un tel engagement signifierait un retour à sa vocation diplomatique initiale (maintien de la paix, coopération, développement des peuples démunis) et non pas à une forme de continentalisme étroitement commercial, comme ses derniers énoncés politiques semblent le suggérer. Un tel effacement du rôle du Canada dans les régions, hier encore stratégiques à bien des égards, sera aussi préjudiciable aux Canadiens qui connaissent bien les exigences de l'interdépendance et ses bienfaits. L'engagement traditionnel du Canada dans les opérations du maintien de la paix, là où elle se trouve menacée, allait de pair avec une impulsion globale qui anticipait d'abord sur les besoins des peuples et notamment de leur accès à la technologie et à la coopération canadienne comme moteur de leur développement. Le commerce n'en souffrait pas pour autant.

Loin de s'atténuer, ces besoins et ces attentes se sont au contraire accentués, au point de nous interpeller plus vivement.

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

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The Dangerous Canadians

Story and photo by Nick Coghlan

All week, headlines had blared "Canada Dangerous!", "Don't underestimate the Canadians!" and, a little less respectfully, "Here come the Ugly Ducklings". I had to bluff my way to the ramp of the incoming Japan Airlines flight from Vancouver — the Mexican media had snapped up every available security pass.

Surely even the Prime Minister hadn't been able to muster a reception like this, I thought, as I fought my way through the Arrival lounge. "Ahí, vienen!" — "Here they come!" — went the jubilant cry as the first red and white tracksuit was glimpsed among a sea of bewildered Japanese faces. Five TV crews, fifteen photographers and thirty or more reporters stampeded forward, flashbulbs popping, microphones and miniature tape recorders thrust forward aggressively. The Canadian Soccer team had arrived!

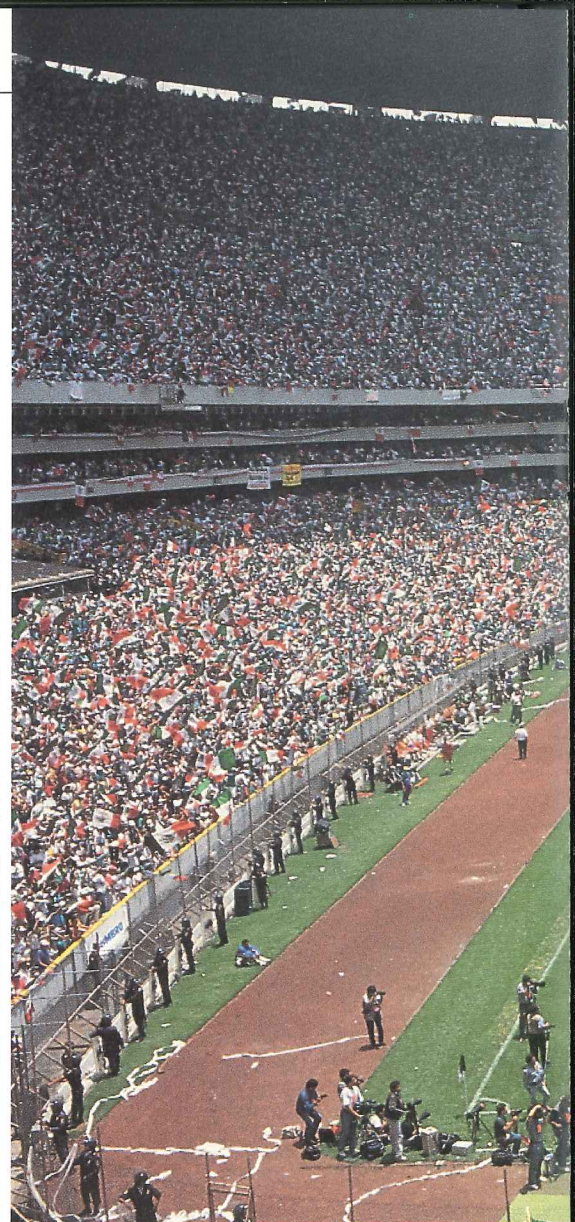
Surely even the Prime Minister hadn't been able to muster a reception like this.

Professional soccer is little known in Canada but the game is, of course, the world's most popular and attracts nothing less than religious fervour in Mexico and the rest of Latin America. Mexico's fortunes at the international level have been mixed. The 1970 World Cup was held here but since that time her teams have been lacklustre and she was disqualified from the 1990 World Cup for fielding over-age players in an earlier youth tournament. The fans have remained faithful, though, and tickets for the Canada-Mexico game, one of a series of World Cup qualifiers that Mexico, Canada, Honduras and El Salvador were playing on a round-robin basis, had been sold out for days.

Sirens blaring, lights flashing, six members of Mexico City's elite police motorcycle squad escorted "my" delegation to the hotel in the *Zona Rosa*, clearing the busy highways and charging through a score of red lights. The escort would stay with the team throughout, constantly amazing those who sat at the front of the bus with their daredevil swerves and their ability — one hand on the throttle, the other signalling or thumping cars on the trunk — to open channels through the apparently impenetrable Mexico City traffic jams. Travelling to practice in Vancouver or Toronto would never be the same again.

The royal treatment was deceptive, as we found out when we reported to the *Azteca* stadium for our first practice. In spite of personal assurances from the President of the Mexican Football Federation that we would be allowed unlimited time at the "Colossus", as the world's second largest stadium is known, the field was mysteriously "not suitable for use" when we arrived at the gates. This was no surprise, it is part of the gamesmanship with which virtually every country in this region approaches soccer. We had already taken the precaution of arranging back-up ground at the nearby German Club.

Match day. Today the escort was doubled, the streets around the hotel closed off. At 80 kph we rumbled south to the stadium, the escort riding up to three km ahead to clear the road. This was no small feat. Ten km from the *Azteca*, the traffic was virtually solid with huge Mexican flags billowing from every car and bus and horns honking. It seemed as though half of Mexico was on its way to the ground. The effect on the players was salutary. Not a word was spoken as we moved through the stadium gates and down the steep, dark tunnel that leads straight to the dressing rooms. Getting off the bus, we were immediately aware of a great dull booming sound: the heavy concrete walls of the tunnel were vibrating. Squatting in the shadows, flak-jacketed riot police held their muzzled dogs on a short leash and eyed us impassively. One hundred feet above in the sunlight, with ninety minutes



still to go before kick-off, 120,000 singing and cheering fans already packed the arena.

For a few moments, the eyes of half of Mexico were on Canada and Canada alone.

As the players dressed, I walked out of the tunnel and into a dazzling, unforgettable scene. Around the rectangle of bright green turf, the entire stadium pulsated with 50,000 red, white and green flags waving rhythmically to an emotional *mariachi* song that echoed out from the giant loudspeakers that are suspended two hundred feet over the centre spot. Tentatively, unnoticed in



Wide angle view of the stadium

the tumult of press photographers behind the goal and the phalanxes of riot police moving to their positions around the perimeter, I trod the sacred turf of the Azteca stadium in front of 120,000 fanatical football supporters — and a tiny part of a long-forgotten childhood dream came true.

Moments later, the din reached a sudden, frightening crescendo. Out of the tunnel the Canadians were coming, tracksuits a brilliant white and red, blinking and pale-faced, each one no doubt fulfilling his dream too. Two helicopters swooped into the oval patch of sky above, their rotors unheard against the deep, throbbing wave of booing. For a few moments, the eyes of half of Mexico were on Canada and Canada alone. Forget NAFTA, forget the parallel accords, the ministerial visits, the Montreal symphony, the press conferences in the Embassy. At this moment, for the crowd in the Azteca and for the TV audience of 40 million, "Canada"

was its eleven lonely soccer players and their even lonelier coach.

*What a pity that
Mexico does not
field a hockey team,
though.*

And the game? Well, the least said the better. Whatever the reason — the crowd, the stadium, the altitude, the pollution, the heat — it was an off day for the maple leaves, and we finished on the wrong end of a 4-0 scoreline. Fortunately, when they are on their way to a win, the Mexicans are the most generous of hosts. *O Canada* was listened to in a respectful silence that was almost as deafening as the roar of the crowd preceding it. The team's gesture of carrying

a Mexican flag onto the field was enthusiastically applauded. The thirty or so Embassy personnel who bravely sported the white and red on the terraces were treated to beer, slaps on the back and wry condolences. What a pity that Mexico does not field a hockey team, though.

(P.S. A week after the game in Mexico, Canada went on to beat El Salvador. On May 9th in Toronto, Canada and Mexico were due to meet again. The winner would get a direct ticket to the finals in the USA, but in the event of a draw or a loss by Canada, the latter would enter a *repechage* with Australia.)

Nick Coghlan, who has long been a closet fan of West Bromwich Albion and has always harboured a secret ambition to be a sports star, settled instead for the Department of External Affairs in 1991. He is an officer in the Political/Economic stream and is currently serving as Second Secretary at the Canadian Embassy in Mexico City.

Blue Berets in Central America

Story and photo by Brigadier General
Ian Douglas

The worldwide hand-wringing, posturing, and sense of impotence over the tragedy unfolding in the former Yugoslavia, is a constant reminder of the fragility of international peacekeeping. A short review of another, much smaller but completely successful, peace mission illustrates the value and importance of this mechanism.

The *Organization Naciones Unidas Centro America*, ONUCA, was the United Nations answer to the plea from the Central American Presidents for international support for the implementation of their regional peace plan. The plan was for a small international military group, headquartered in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, to negotiate the disengagement and disarmament of the combatants in the civil wars in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

The end of civil war in Nicaragua and the demobilization of the Nicaraguan Resistance, the *Contras*, is well documented. Problems have been evaluated, logistics scrutinized, costs calculated, and reports written. When all is said and done, however, it was the people and their efforts which made the peacekeeping mission a success.

The advance party of ten Canadians, including myself, left Ottawa in the dawn hours of 3 December 1989 in a blinding -18°C snow storm. We arrived that evening in San Pedro Sula, Honduras, to a tropical downpour and 90°F heat. Having been briefed that summer had arrived in Central America, and told that it probably would be hot and dry until the following May, you can imagine our surprise! We wondered what other parts of the briefing were questionable. Within a week, it was obvious. I had to write home and ask for all of my winter sweaters. I found myself freezing to death after dark. In my wisdom, I had chosen to rent a bungalow with a magnificent view over the tree tops. It turned out to be above the morning cloudline, unheatable, and chilly as an Arctic bunker. As many of my guests pointed out, while they shivered in one of my sweaters, the nights are

cold on the hilltops of Honduras all year round.

We had deployed without accommodation or infrastructure, bunking in temporarily in the offices of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in Tegucigalpa. Just one big happy UN family, so to speak; three to four officers crammed into one office with priority one chasing up scarce secretarial and other support resources. Generally speaking, a "we'll make it work" attitude drove the chaos that became ONUCA.

Establishing relationships within the disparate parts of the ONUCA group was essential. As Christmas approached, an opportunity to enhance cohesion became obvious. It was decided to have a Christmas party for all members of ONUCA, representing at least six different countries, and UNDP, representing at least another six. As logistical details were still in flux (and that's an understatement), the problem of obtaining Christmas cheer while avoiding exorbitant local prices became critical. A member of the US Embassy came to the rescue. While the legality of the transaction was not in question, it was obvious that the transaction could not take place at either the US Embassy or the UNDP offices. There was nothing else to do but back up two Landrovers on a quiet street and transfer the goods. The party was a resounding success. Excellent relationships were established between the two UN agencies, and the team started to gel nicely.

The other essential relationship, at least for Canadians, was the one with the Canadian diplomatic and consular staff in the region. As UN observers, we were in theory cut off from formal contact with our consular staff. Formal contact perhaps, but whoever suggested that our Ambassador in the region was formal. Seriously, Ambassador Gar Pardy and his team throughout the five countries of the mission area were most proactive and helpful, both professionally and personally. From insightful briefings and a relaxed dinner for the entire advance party, to practical counsel and help with visa applications for new brides from the area, we never felt alone. The staff in all offices truly lived by the slogan "being there to help."

While the Chief of Mission and his political staff worked at Government level to establish working and personal relationships, those in uniform started the bonding process with the military in the region. The history of the region underscores that the military of Central and South America enjoys a place in society quite different from that in our own. Despite this and other cultural differences, they felt comfortable with others in uniform and it was common to find oneself discussing topics more relevant to the affairs of the politicians and diplomats. We emphasized the political/military team, and ONUCA became an excellent manifestation of joint political/military operations.

As it became more and more obvious that the United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO) and Violetta Chamorro might indeed win the Nicaraguan election of February 1990, the possibility of demobilizing the *Contra* Army became a reality. Notwithstanding the magnitude of the equipment and logistic problems, the real problem was to cement a good, positive working relationship with the *Commandantes* of both the *Contras* and the *Sandinista* Army. The advantage of face to face dialogue versus a third party discussion was well manifested as we wrestled with the problem of security zones. The exact location and size of these zones, which the *Sandinista* Army would vacate and then the local *Contra* organizations would enter, had to be negotiated. After a few attempts at shuttle diplomacy — Tegucigalpa — Managua — Tegucigalpa — Managua — we decided that face to face discussion was essential.

Convincing the *Contras* that they should return, unarmed, to Nicaragua from their stronghold in Honduras to discuss the peace process with the *Sandinistas* was an interesting exercise. It was marvellous to watch their faces during the trip. Obviously feeling very awkward in civilian clothes and naked without their weapons, these hardened warriors fidgeted uncomfortably as we flew south. Their faces changed from anxiety to amazement to genuine pleasure as we flew over Lake Managua and approached the city. It had been almost ten years since they had visited Managua, their capital city, or

indeed their country, without a weapon in hand and the very real possibility of being killed or, at least, wounded.

The highlight of the trip, however, was the actual meeting of the two disparate groups of Nicaraguans. The initial contact was cool, in fact outright frigid, but the normal gregarious nature of Nicaraguans soon thawed the atmosphere and personal conversations began. Within thirty minutes the anecdotes were flying. We had achieved that which for so long was impossible — to get the two combatants face to face. Though essential and a breakthrough, this personal sociability had to be turned into serious negotiations. Once started, the political hard ball went on for almost forty-eight hours. A final agreement was reached at three-thirty in the morning and became effective only two or three weeks later.

creative problem-solving. For periods of time it was necessary to exist on beans and rice, rice and beans and mixed rice and beans for breakfast, lunch and dinner. The complaints were minimal and spoke very highly of the professionalism and downright understanding of the soldiers concerned.

The *Contras* on the other hand were fed in the security zones by CIAV, an organ of the Organization of American States (OAS). CIAV was mandated to feed and provide civilian clothing to the soldiers after we had demobilized them, to give them two months food for their family and, finally, to relocate groups in chosen areas of the country. From a human point of view, what is interesting is that beans and rice were the staple and this, along with a small bottle of cooking oil, was all that the *Contra* families received.

did stop the formalized and organized killing. We had achieved our mission: the *Contra* Army of 22,000 plus, fundamentally consisting of dissatisfied *campesino* farmers, was now a thing of the past. The country, with horrific economic and fiscal problems, is still working on the long term solutions, but it no longer has to waste scarce resources on a fratricidal war. After a short period to ensure that stability had indeed been gained, ONUCA faded away. Some of its members were repatriated; others moved over to El Salvador where another army, the *Farabundo Marti para la Liberación Nacional* (FMLN), needed demobilization. That process continues today.

From the young soldiers, sailors, and airmen of 89 Rotary Wing Air Unit (RAWU), the helicopter squadron, to the Military Observers scattered throughout the five countries, much sacrifice and effort was expended. One member, Capt Bergeron, a pilot with 89 RAWU was decorated for gallantry when he entered a crashed *Sandinista* helicopter, which was burning fiercely, and helped drag the pilot to safety. As someone who had the rather more comfortable job of directing operations from the HQ, I applaud the efforts of all who left family and friends from periods of six months to a year and devoted themselves to the cause of peace.

In these days of horror and anguish over how the problems in the former Republic of Yugoslavia might be solved, it is encouraging to note that given the correct conditions and people, much can be gained by the blue helmeted peacekeepers.

Brigadier General Ian Douglas, M.S.C., led the Canadian contingent and was Deputy Commander of United Nations peacekeeping force in Central America. General Douglas was born in Glasgow, Scotland and came to Montreal with his family in 1948. He joined the Canadian Guards in 1956 and had a distinguished military career with the Royal Canadian and Airborne Regiments. He commanded the Airborne Regiment from 1982-85 and served with the United National Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus. He has been with the Canadian Forces Military Attache in Washington since 1991.

In Central America, General Douglas was instrumental in turning the political ideas for peace into the hard realities of military disengagement and disarmament of the contending forces in Nicaragua. In shuttle and face-to-face meetings he commanded the respect of *Contra* and *Sandinista* commanders and within a few short months after the February 1990 election of President Violetta Chamorro, the civil war in Nicaragua was successfully negotiated to an end.



Left to Right: B. Gen. L. MacKenzie, B. Gen. I. Douglas, and Commodore Bruce Johnson during a visit to Matagalpa in Central Nicaragua.

The actual demobilization process was also one of people making things work. A group of military observers with some support/administrative background, augmented by a UN purchasing officer who had been called out of retirement for the job, carried out the logistics organization. That fellow, a Greek national who had retired in Ireland, was a charming character and one of the most positive men I have ever met. He could negotiate a contract with the devil himself. The entire logistic support for up to a thousand soldiers, in eight different remote jungle locations, was creatively managed in flamboyant UN resupply convoys of smoke belching, multi-coloured banana trucks.

In a country where food supplies were scarce, devising varied menus defied even

Hardship rations for us were the food of choice for the *Contra* soldiers. A newly demobilized *Contra* dressed in his Calvin Klein jeans and shirt, his family of two or three children in tow, happily boarding a banana truck with his bags of rice and beans, and a bottle of cooking oil, was a moving sight to witness. At first, it was very hard to understand as a Canadian, who had so much, why this individual with so little, felt so good. But, when you have had nothing, a little is a lot. He was no longer at war, he had food for a few months, and he was off to his home village where he hopefully would be granted a small plot of land on which he would subsistence farm.

Though no panacea for the ills of Nicaragua, the demobilization and repatriation

To the Top of Borneo

Story and photos by Brendan P. McGivern

Mount Kinabalu, the highest mountain in Borneo, dominates the landscape of the East Malaysian state of Sabah. At 13,450 feet, Mount Kinabalu is the largest mountain between the Himalayas and Papua New Guinea. The name of the mountain is derived from *Aki Nabalu*, which means "the revered place of the dead" in the language of the Kadazan, the largest aboriginal tribe of Sabah.

Climbing Mount Kinabalu requires a good two days. It begins with a two hour drive from the Sabah state capital of Kota Kinabalu to the base camp of Mount Kinabalu, at 5000 feet. Most visitors stay overnight at the base camp, and begin the trek early the next morning. The Sabah park authorities require each hiker to be accompanied by a guide, who is usually a member of the Kadazan tribe.

The hike is not difficult. No special mountain climbing skills or equipment are required. Anyone reasonably fit can walk up. However, the trail basically winds straight up for about five and a half miles, and so the hike is certainly a workout. Much of the hike is under a canopy cover, and the cooler temperatures on the mountain provide a welcome respite from the normal tropical heat of Malaysia.

Visitors who begin the hike at about 8:00 a.m. normally reach the Laban Rata Rest House, at 11,000 feet, by about 2:00 p.m. After a vigorous six hour hike, Laban Rata provides the relative luxury of beds, hot water, and a restaurant. It also allows visitors to rest their sore muscles and to gaze upwards at the peak of Mount Kinabalu, looming above.

They cannot rest for long. Clouds cover the mountain peak soon after sunrise, so hikers must reach the top and begin the descent before the clouds roll in. To do this, it is necessary to commence the final trek at about 2:00 a.m., using flashlights to light the way.

As the hike continues upward, the landscape changes. The trees disappear and are replaced by a sheer rock face. For the most part, visitors can just walk up the rock, but in parts it becomes so steep that ropes are needed. The park authorities have placed ropes on the rock, anchored in with spikes, so hikers can pull themselves up.

The summit of Mount Kinabalu, 13,450 feet, is usually reached by about 5:00 a.m. Low's peak, the highest point on the mountain, is named after the British soldier credited with being the first to reach this pinnacle, in 1851. After reaching Low's

Peak, one sits and waits for the dawn. It is quite cold at the summit, with temperatures at about zero or below. It begins to warm up as dawn breaks, shortly after 6:00 a.m. When the sun lights up the mountain, hikers can see for the first time the spectacular view from the peak.

After about an hour at the summit, it is time to begin the climb down. The descent is quite hard on the legs, with steady pounding on the knees for five and a half miles, straight down. The base camp can be reached by about noon, ending the trip. The park authorities provide certificates to those who have made it to the top of Low's Peak.

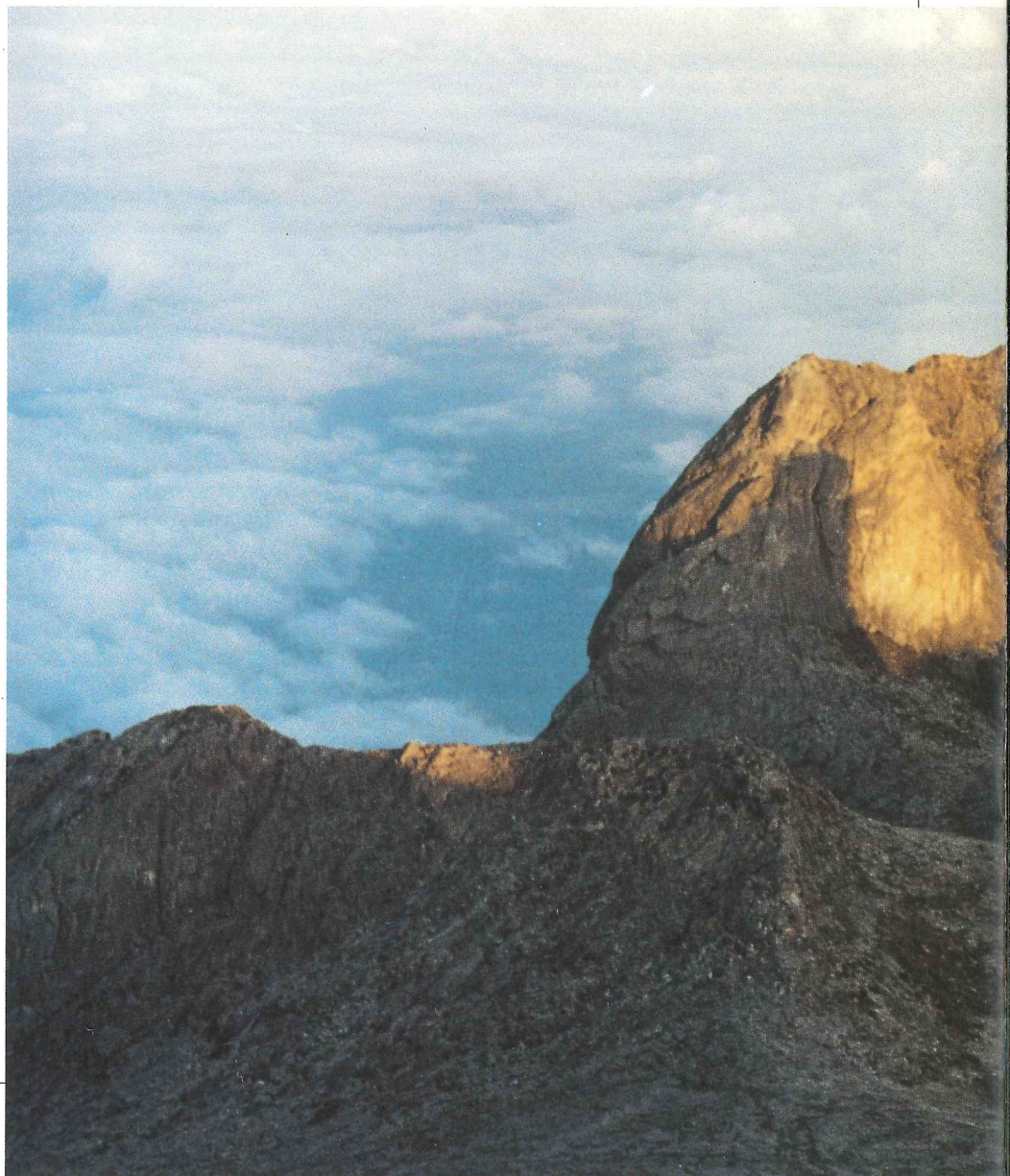
The hike up and down Mount Kinabalu takes two days of hard work. Each September the Malaysian government sponsors a

"climbathon", or a race from the base camp to Low's Peak and back. The record time for this race is held by a Gurkha soldier, who made it to the summit of Mount Kinabalu and back in just two hours and twenty nine minutes, a staggering speed which can scarcely be comprehended by those of us nursing aching legs from a two day climb.

Brendan P. McGivern has been posted to Kuala Lumpur. He is currently serving as Counsel in the Trade Law Division at EAITC.

Right: Laban Rata Rest House, 11,000 feet. A resting place before the final ascent to Low's Peak.

Below: View near the summit of Mount Kinabalu





'He was too far ahead of his time'

Quiet radical recognized for UN work

from the Ottawa Citizen, October 16, 1993
by Mike Shahn

Each year, the United Nations Association in Canada awards the Pearson Peace Medal to a Canadian who has contributed to the causes embraced by former prime minister Lester B. Pearson. These include the developing world, mediation in armed conflicts, aid to refugees, human rights and peaceful change through international law.

Past recipients include Paul-Émile Cardinal Léger, King Gordon, Hugh Keenleyside, George Ignatieff, Rev. Lois Wilson, Maurice Strong, Murray Thomson and Dr. Eric Hoskins. The Pearson Peace Medal has been awarded to Escott Reid, a veteran Canadian diplomat now retired, who helped draft the founding charter of the United Nations.

Half a century ago, Escott Reid went to San Francisco and wrote a 40-page paper that changed the world.

Reid, at the time a "radical" and "idealistic" senior mandarin at External Affairs, drafted his own version of the United Nations' charter. He passed it around for feedback among his peers in the Canadian delegation.

"(Then-prime minister) Mackenzie King never knew about this," says Geoffrey Pearson, a longtime friend of Reid. "If he did, he probably would have fired him."

Reid's paper, and his gumption, had a profound influence on what became the UN's founding charter and statement of principles. With the Cold War now over and the United Nations regaining some of its lost power, Reid's work looms as important today as it was when the UN was born at that San Francisco conference in 1945.

Reid, now 88, is being recognized for his contribution to international progress and stability. The United Nations Association in Canada has awarded him the 1993 Pearson Peace Medal, named after former prime minister Lester B. Pearson.

"(Reid) was a radical at that time," says Geoffrey Pearson, son of Lester B. "He irritated a lot of colleagues because they thought he was too idealistic and unrealistic. But he fought for human rights before others did, before it was a big cause."

"He was too far ahead of his time."

If that is true, Reid won't admit it. The great-grandfather is modest about his

accomplishments and is reluctant to speak about them — partly because he doesn't trust his fading memory and partly because he never liked to toot his own horn.

"I've achieved enough," Reid says. "Probably more than I deserve."

In his 1989 memoirs called *Radical Mandarin*, Reid apologizes for his mistakes, says Pearson. "He was very Canadian; proud of his country and of his work, but he didn't pat himself on the back."

Born in Campbellford, Ont., Reid became principal Canadian adviser at the first UN General Assembly session in 1944. Four years later, he was right behind Lester B. Pearson, helping to create NATO by, once again, writing his own treaty as a starting point for discussion.

He went on to serve as high commissioner to India in the 1950s. He spent four years as ambassador to Germany, then worked with the World Bank in Washington until the mid-1960s.

In his UN and NATO days, Reid was "one of the shining lights of the External Affairs department," says former external affairs minister Mitchell Sharp, 82, who served 16 years in the public service and another 15 years as an MP.

"At the time when the UN began, there was more confidence that it could perform its functions than there is today," says Sharp, who has known Reid since 1945. "These were the people who believed that the world could unite under the UN."

"I think we're a little more cynical now than we were then. But Escott had faith and he worked hard to make it a reality."

Reid always thought the Soviet Union was the biggest obstacle to a successful UN. With the U.S.S.R. in pieces, Sharp says, "there is a revival of interest in making the UN work."

"It's not easy," notes Reid. "We have to build on the United Nations, and it takes time and a willingness to experiment."

If there are any Escott Reids out there, making the UN work again may well be possible.

"I always admired him," says Pearson, who was on the committee that chose Reid for the medal. "He had idealism wedded to intellect. And he had the courage to say the things he thought."

"Some governments would fire you for that."



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PAFSO and Political Patronage

The President of PAFSO wrote to the four major political parties before the October 25 elections setting out the views of the PAFSO membership on the appointment of persons outside the foreign service at both the Head of Mission level and below. He asked their position and commitment to a professional foreign service. Printed below is his letter. We will publish the replies in the next edition of **bout**.

September 2, 1993

The Right Honourable Kim Campbell, P.C.
Prime Minister of Canada

Dear Prime Minister,

I write to invite your attention to an issue of abiding concern to the members of our Association. It concerns your commitment to a professional foreign service and the appointments of persons outside the foreign service at both the Head of Mission level and below.

As with most of our allies, Canada has chosen to have a professional foreign service to advance our national interests beyond our borders. We help Canadians in distress, we advance our trade and investment goals, we select new Canadians, and we play a role in the ongoing quest for peace and security, and in the promotion of Canada's identity abroad.

Selected after a rigorous and open competition, our men and women are put through a comprehensive training program. Throughout our career, training in foreign languages and the art of diplomacy is fundamental to development. Our performance is assessed annually and we must meet high standards, both at home and abroad, before we are eligible for promotion, again through a competitive process. Heads of mission are chosen from our most experienced and senior officers. For most of us, a career in the foreign service will encompass our entire working life. We are proud to serve Canadians and we believe we do our work well.

My predecessor wrote to Mr. Mulroney, shortly before he took office in 1984 and in his reply the Prime Minister stated, "the standard of professionalism so characteristic of our Foreign Service will be reflected in the diplomatic appointments we will be making." Sadly, his record belied his words. Prime Minister Mulroney made more non-career appointments than any of his predecessors. We believe that this marks a significant deviation from a long established Canadian tradition.

The practice of making some 'politically-inspired' appointments is unassailable. We believe that the national interest has been served by the contributions of individuals such as Vincent Massey, Roland Michener, Yves Fortier and Stephen Lewis. We believe, however, that such appointments should be made only when it is generally obvious that they are the best candidates for the job and when none is available within our professional foreign service.

The foreign service has provided leadership in which Canadians take justifiable pride. Professionals such as L.B. Pearson, George Ignatieff, Jules Léger, Escott Reid, Norman Robertson, Dana Wilgress, Marcel Cadieux, among many others, made significant contributions to Canada both at home and abroad. It is in no one's interest to see their legacy devalued. At a time of extreme pressure on resources, the foreign service is vital to sustaining the quest for excellence on behalf of Canada.

Canadians do not want to see their diplomatic network used as a repository for those seeking rewards for faithful service to a political party. Such appointments diminish the role of the foreign service and send a clear signal to professional diplomats that merit, hard work and ingenuity are less important to career prospects than 'political loyalties'. This is the wrong message and contrary to the concept of a professional and politically neutral public service.

With the increasing emphasis on the expansion of trade and economic relationships as prerequisites to Canadian prosperity, our diplomatic performance must remain no less than excellent. This can only be achieved by continuing to field a cadre of trained and experienced, career professionals.

We should welcome receiving the benefit of your views on this important issue.

Thank you for your personal attention.

D. Colin Robertson
President

PAFSO and the Transfer of International Cultural Relations

Colin Robertson, President of PAFSO, and Peter Roberts, Senior Adviser to PAFSO, testified before the Standing Senate Committee on National Finance on February 25, 1992 on Bill C-93 which would have transferred the international cultural program of External Affairs to the Canada Council as part of a reorganization of the Canadian government. The Bill was subsequently defeated in the Senate.

Excerpt from the Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on National Finance, Tuesday, May 25, 1993

Mr. Colin Robertson, President, Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers:

La diplomatie moderne transcende nettement les relations classiques entre États. Elle est conditionnée par le magasinage transfrontalier, les échanges d'étudiants, la pêche au filet maillant, le maintien de la paix en Somalie et en Bosnie et les « échanges » sportifs, notamment la Série mondiale et les éliminatoires de la Ligue nationale de hockey.

La culture détermine l'identité nationale au pays comme à l'étranger. Expo 67 a représenté un moment magique pour la nation. Le moment le plus dramatique de l'histoire du sport au Canada a peut-être été le but que Paul Henderson a compté à Moscou en 1972.

Pendant bien des années, le sport et la culture ont souvent été le seul lien concret entre l'est et l'ouest.

To spurn cultural diplomacy is to ignore an important tool of foreign policy and trade promotion. Let me give you an example from personal experience.

To underline our support for Hong Kong, two years ago our diplomatic mission led the organization of Festival Canada '91. Opened by the Prime Minister, it consisted of over 45 events, including performances by cellist Ofra Hamoy, a festival of films as well as poetry readings, street buskers and pottery exhibitions. It also included appearances by dances from Les Grands Ballets Canadiens, supermarkets promoting Alberta beef and pasta from Ontario, and the inauguration of the new 747 Canadian Airlines International flights by Miss Canada, a native Canadian from Edmonton. Over 80 per cent of the funding for the festival came from the private sector.

Culture was used directly to promote our trade and political interests. During the next 16 months our trade increased significantly and Governor Patten has publicly stated that Hong Kong has no closer friend than Canada. The festival worked, not least because culture was used as a basic tool of foreign policy.

Canada has not been alone in entrusting the promotion of culture to its foreign ministry. Rather, we follow the example of most of our G-7 partners, including Britain, Germany, France and the United States. Nor are we alone in examining how best to promote culture abroad. Each has reached the same conclusion. Cultural diplomacy plays a crucial part in improving political and commercial relations with foreign countries.

Each year nearly 60,000 foreign students attend our schools and universities. About half are from Asia, the region with the greatest potential for economic growth and

trade during the next two decades. It is estimated that foreign students inject more than \$440 million annually into the Canadian economy. They give young Canadians an early exposure to the wider world. More importantly, today's overseas student is tomorrow's trade minister or captain of industry. When you knock on doors selling Canada Inc., these people-to-people linkages create the kind of competitive advantage that Canada needs.

Plutôt que d'essayer de prédire les effets des modifications proposées, je vais vous proposer des questions.

Premièrement, le Conseil des arts aura-t-il l'argent et le personnel nécessaires pour faire fonctionner le programme international? Le Conseil des Arts a été plus d'une fois victime de compressions draconiennes. Pourra-t-il préserver le programme culturel international? Au sein d'un organisme dont la vocation concerne essentiellement les affaires intérieures, quelle importance accordera-t-on au programme international? Le Conseil des arts créera-t-il un service international?

Si la culture n'est plus une des bases fondamentales de la politique étrangère, les missions à l'étranger vont-elles faire bien plus qu'un petit effort pour la forme?

Troisièmement, l'enseignement dispensé aux étudiants étrangers pourrait devenir l'un

des volets les plus importants du secteur des services. À l'heure actuelle, les agents du Service extérieur s'occupent de promouvoir la question grâce à toute une série d'arrangements qui font partie d'un contexte plus vaste pour la politique étrangère, y compris Asie-Pacifique 2000, les Bourses de la francophonie, les Hautes Études commerciales en administration, le *Commonwealth Fellowship*, le programme Fulbright et le Programme d'Échanges Internationaux visant la jeunesse. Qui va administrer ces programmes maintenant?

Fifth, in the proposed bill, the Canada Council is to act as executing agent for international cultural relations. Yet, as an independent agency it is removed from government. The independence of the Canada Council was designed to meet domestic requirements. However, beyond our borders promoting culture has everything to do with Canadian foreign policy. The bill says the council is merely to "take into account consideration of the foreign policy of government."

For example, if the government decides to put emphasis on Latin America because of NAFTA, of the new states in the former Soviet Union for reasons of peace and security, must the Canada Council carry through? In External Affairs, decisions were driven by foreign policy; in the Council they have

a different priority. Who will have the final say?

Canada faces a world in which the emphasis on diplomacy is moving away from the narrow confines of the political chancery and the trade ministry and towards a more complex spread of contacts: commercial, educational, journalistic and cultural. Other countries understand this. Cultural diplomacy is best practised as part of the foreign ministry.

Mr. Peter Roberts, Senior Advisor, Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers:

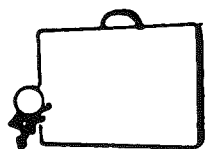
The Canada Council, as originally conceived, was a unique institution in this country. It made and still makes its decisions about how to spend its money almost entirely through juries of artist peers or on the advice of panels made up of artists. The Council can, but very rarely does, overturn those jury decisions.

The Canada Council is concerned about Canadian artists performing or exhibiting abroad. Its concern, however, has nothing to do with the foreign policy of the government of the day, but rather with the development of the artist. Is now the right time in the career of this painter to exhibit in New York? Is this the moment for this young pianist to perform in Wigmore Hall, or before a sophisticated Russian audience in the Great Hall of the Moscow Conservatory? Should the Calgary Philharmonic be helped to tour Latin America now, or would it be more useful to them as an orchestra to go five years from now?

The Department of External Affairs, whose decisions are made not by juries of private citizens but by ministers, has to know what it wants and must have the money to pay Canadian artists and scholars to fill the identified need. We would like a major Canadian orchestra to play in Beijing to improve our image there, to promote our grain sales, to make the Chinese more aware of Canada. Fine. Call up Montreal, Toronto or Vancouver and see if the orchestra is free and would like to go. But don't pretend that what you are doing is developing the orchestra artistically. You may or may not be, but that is not your primary concern.

For the Department of External Affairs to back out of international cultural affairs on the grounds that they are not basic, which is the word that is used, or for the Canada Council to become a minor foreign ministry on the grounds that the Department of External Affairs is too busy to do the job, will result in failure in both places.

Which major country runs its foreign cultural policy out of an essentially domestic institution? None that I know of. I think we should not be the first to venture into this swamp.



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The Foreign Service and Political Patronage

By Kevin O'Shea

Political patronage in the foreign service was one of the big issues for members of the Canadian foreign service during the recent federal elections. The number of political appointees both as the Head of Post and below had increased dramatically in the last ten years. As a result, the President of the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officer (PAFSO) wrote to four of the major political parties asking for a commitment to a professional foreign service.

bout de papier has now discovered that members of the foreign service played a much more active role on the issue during the elections than was originally expected, going much beyond the PAFSO letter. There are some who believed foreign service personnel played a key role in the elections results.

DAPPER Citizens Movement

The national headquarters of Diplomats Against Political Patronage in External Relations (DAPPER) Citizens Movement is located in a shopfront office on Rideau Street in Ottawa. The stark offices have the stale ambience of the aftermath of a national day reception. Half empty glasses of 1984 St Esthephe stand forlornly on the wooden tables. Serving platters of hors d'oeuvres — smoked salmon, prunes wrapped in bacon, flaky puffs of crab, and the devilled eggs — lay on photocopiers, printers and fold-up seats. The chairs for the string quartet from Kemptville are still neatly arranged under a bank of television sets. It is much like any election office, the day after the election.

Geoffrey "Spunky" Boothwick, former Second Secretary, Political Affairs, Canadian Embassy in Chile, steps out of his tiny office in the back. He brushes the Ritz cracker and pâté crumbs from his patrician lips and flicks the back of this hand over his vest, making sure that no crumbs stay on his dark pin-striped suit.

"DAPPER made political patronage in the foreign service the central issue of the election. You'd be a fool not to admit it." He takes a flaky puff of crab from the serving plate.

"First, there was our two hundred page campaign document, *Taking Away Opportunities*, which set out the arguments — pro

and con — on political appointments in the foreign service."

He continues, "I think the parties appreciated the objective, non-polemical, and reasoned approach in the document. Here on the first half of Page 156 we outline the advantages of political appointments. The rest of the document shows the other side of the coin: crippling costs, career genocide for a generation of the best and brightest Canadians, and the meltdown of Canadian foreign policy."

Boothwick reaches for his demi-tasse of espresso coffee which a white tuxedoed servant brings to him. "Thank you, Alfonso. I guess it was rather a pity that the document did not get out in time for the election. We redrafted it a lot to get it just right. In fact we still are redrafting. The document should be ready at the end of November if we can get it signed through our office here, which is patterned on the External Affairs bureaucracy. In any case the spirit of the document infused the campaign".

"As for the campaign itself," Boothwick continues, "we did not get distracted from our game plan. All across the country we had foreign service officers, relatives, cousins, school chums, and pen pals going to the all party meetings to keep the issue in front of the Canadian public."

Boothwick pops a video into a VCR. "This is typical of our campaign. It's an all candidates meeting in Thunder Bay." The screen comes alive. It shows a table of seven candidates facing an audience of about fifty people. In the back row, a well-dressed man in a three piece blue suit rises, shifts his umbrella with a hand-carved wooden handle from his right to left arm and reaches for the floor microphone.

He begins to speak. "Gentlemen and ladies. It is a great pleasure to be here in your, er our, electoral riding and I bring the best wishes of my Department, er my best wishes, for the successful election of all candidates here present. Yet I believe that all of you are ignoring the foremost issue facing the Canadian public—jobs, jobs, jobs in the foreign service. Briefly, it is the position of my Department, er I mean, my position that there should be none for you lot. Can I hear your views on this subject of utmost interest to my authorities, er to me, so that I can report back to myself? Thank you and my highest regards to your leaders." The screen shows all the candidates looking puzzled at each other and shrugging their shoulders.

"You see!" Boothwick exclaims, his pale blue eyes sparkling with excitement. "It was like this all over the country. This constant forcing of our agenda. I admit it was a bit of a struggle in Quebec, trying to get the sovereignty thing off the front pages and in the West placing the issue in the context of Western alienation. But then again, our media events helped our cause. The Head of Posts, holding hands around the Lester Pearson statue on Parliament Hill and singing "We shall overcome", was particularly moving. Pity the national press did not pick it up."

Boothwick looks ahead with his self-confident regard, tugging on his lapels to straighten his suit. "Yes, I can assure you. This was an issue the Canadian public could identify with. With the campaign we ran, you won't be seeing many political appointees in the foreign service in the near future."

Campaign Headquarters of Major Political Party

"Political patronage in the foreign service as an issue in the campaign? Zilch. Who cares? The only time was Senator Rizutto's statement that defeated candidates would be found jobs in diplomatic posts. But that didn't last long. Too bad." Allan Reid Cleggmeister, campaign pollster, sighs. "The DAPPER Citizens Movement? No, I can't say I've heard of them. You heard of them, Marcel?"

Marcel Cote-Rivard-Tremblay-Morin, a leading party strategist and organizer, is smoking a cigar in the corner of the small hotel room. "Yeah, they're those puffs from External. We're still waiting for the press release they promised us at the beginning of the campaign. No, DAPPER didn't kill us. Know what did? IPBFSP."

Cote-Rivard-Tremblay-Morin gets up from his chair and adjusts his trousers up to cover his slight paunch. He take a deep breath of cigar smoke and sits on the edge of desk in the room. "We should never have agreed to it." He shakes his head slowly.

He continues. "Never heard of it, eh? Not too many people have. External Affairs senior management was concerned over the number of political appointees in the posts abroad. Their ADM personnel talked us into IPBFSP. He demanded reciprocity. So all political parties signed on to IPBFSP — the Interchange Program Between the Foreign Service and Political Parties."

"We were hurt the most. As we had the greatest number of political appointees

overseas, we had to take more External personnel for assignments in our electoral ridings. About fifty of them. Now, that had an impact on our campaign."

Cote-Rivard-Tremblay-Morin brushes his thick hand over the stubble on his face. "They gave us a Head of Post to run as a candidate in Saskatchewan. He kept inundating campaign headquarters with messages, memorandums and faxes about what kind of car and driver he needed and how his wife needed it during the day. It was difficult to win Moose Jaw with a candidate in a BMW driven by a Filipino."

"There was the Assistant Deputy Minister they gave us to run as a candidate in Trail, B.C. He kept wanting to have power lunches with the other candidates. He also refused to share any info with our other candidates in B.C. Said something about it wasn't their bailiwick. Also something very bizarre — he didn't seem to know how to operate a telephone."

"Then there was the FS they gave us to work as a speechwriter in Truro, Nova Scotia. She kept on insisting on drafting a text and faxing it to at least thirty people to comment on it."

"The Director General they gave us as a campaign organizer in Metro Toronto kept organizing staff meetings that kept most of

our canvassers off the street. He wanted briefing books of issues revised continually. He couldn't make decisions either. Kept wanting to refer every decision to the eighth floor. I think that's how he called Campaign Headquarters."

"We had some great CRs and ASs working for us in Ontario. Great as canvassers, good organizers. I don't think their hearts were into our campaign however, kept muttering something about "stick the wage freeze in your ear."

"The communicators External gave us for our logistics and communications were quite an independent lot too. They wouldn't allow us into the campaign offices if they were sending a fax or making a phone call. Something about security."

Cote-Rivard-Tremblay-Morin gets to his feet. "You know, all in all, it was a big mistake. If people are hired to do one job, they should do it. You should just leave the professionals to do the job they know." He stops and pauses. "Do you know what I mean?"

Kevin O'Shea has served in Accra and Paris (OECD). He is currently assigned to the Bureau of Assistance to Eastern and Central Europe at EAITC.

MARGARET CAMERON GALLERY

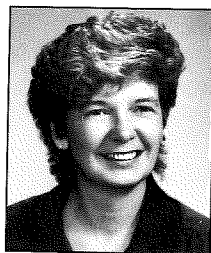
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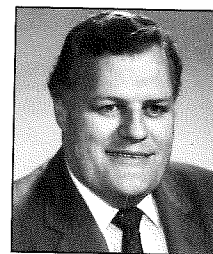
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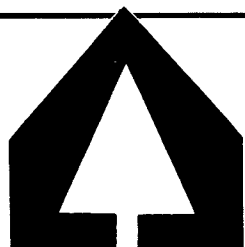


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Limiting the Proliferation of Weapons, the Role of Supply-Side Strategies edited by Jean-François Rioux, Carleton University Press, 1993, 208 pp., \$21.95.

par Michel Fortmann

C'est avec beaucoup de nostalgie que j'entame la rédaction de ce compte rendu dans la mesure où l'ouvrage dont il sera question ici est probablement la dernière contribution publique de l'Institut canadien pour la paix et la sécurité internationales qui, après avoir constitué pendant six ans un point de référence pour tous ceux qui s'apparentent à la communauté des études de sécurité au Canada, est malheureusement tombé victime des restrictions budgétaires en 1992.

Par contre, il est particulièrement agréable de constater que ce petit livre reflète le niveau d'excellence auquel l'Institut était arrivé et qu'en substance, il supporte fort bien la comparaison avec des publications américaines ou européennes d'origine plus prestigieuse.

Pourtant, ce n'est pas sans préjugés que le présent commentateur a entrepris la lecture de ce texte. *Limiting the Proliferation of Weapons*, en effet, a tout pour susciter la méfiance : il s'agit d'abord (oh! horreur) des actes d'une conférence, tenue à Ottawa au

printemps 1991 et, donc, d'un ouvrage de circonstance, ouvrage où tous les « gourous » de la non-prolifération sont venus mettre leur grain de sel. *A priori*, il y avait donc fort à parier que l'on aurait affaire à une collection hétérogène d'articles plus ou moins originaux et probablement déjà dépassés.

De plus, plutôt que de se concentrer sur un aspect de la prolifération, la conférence et le livre, par extension, se sont éparpillés dans tous les sujets, de la diffusion de la technologie nucléaire au transfert des armes conventionnelles, en passant par les armes chimiques et biologiques et les missiles balistiques. Comment un ouvrage d'à peine 181 pages pouvait-il prétendre couvrir un terrain aussi vaste?

Autre problème, certains des auteurs ont refilé au coordinateur de l'édition des textes qui allaient être publiés ailleurs (une technique acceptable, mais qui réduit la valeur d'une publication).

Finalement, en choisissant l'approche de la non-prolifération par la réduction de l'offre (*supply-side strategies*) l'analyse adoptait un point de vue qui est à la fois étroit et très critiqué actuellement.

Malgré ces handicaps, et quelquefois à cause de ceux-ci, *Limiting the Proliferation of Weapons* mérite assurément une place dans la bibliothèque de tous ceux qui s'intéressent non seulement à la question de la prolifération des armements, mais aussi ceux qui s'interrogent sur l'avenir du contrôle des armements après la guerre froide.

Le mérite de cette réussite « contre toute attente » revient assurément à Jean-François Rioux qui, par un travail d'édition rigoureux et minutieux, est arrivé à rendre sa cohérence à un *patchwork* de textes très divers et de qualité, à l'origine, inégale. Ce faisant, monsieur Rioux montre d'ailleurs que le bilinguisme canadien ne produit pas seulement des analphabètes, mais aussi des personnes expertes au maniement de nos deux langues nationales. À ce titre, son travail s'est attiré les louanges de la revue qui sert de référence dans le domaine : l'*Arms Control Today* de Washington.

La raison principale qui m'a fait apprécier cet ouvrage est son caractère pédagogique. Loin d'être, dans ce sens, une oeuvre destinée aux seuls spécialistes, il s'agit probablement d'un des rares textes, dans le domaine, qui permettent d'introduire à la question de la prolifération sans perdre le lecteur dans une masse de considérations techniques. En même temps, *Limiting the Proliferation of Weapons* ne sacrifie pas à la facilité d'une démarche journalistique ou sensationnaliste. Finalement, le livre est court et n'intimide pas par sa taille, comme c'est souvent le cas des ouvrages de référence. Bref, cette collection d'essais est le livre dont vous avez

besoin si vous voulez vous familiariser avec l'ordre du jour de la prolifération dans les années 1990, et Dieu sait que ceci répond à un besoin criant, autant pour les pédagogues que pour les praticiens. En particulier, depuis que le phénomène de la prolifération s'est diversifié au point d'inclure l'ensemble des armes de destruction massive, il devient plus difficile de saisir la problématique que de la prolifération sous tous ses aspects. Parce qu'il prend soin de préciser de façon claire les principaux thèmes et concepts abordés, parce qu'il propose des analyses uniformément simples (sans être simplistes) et instructives (sans être trop lourdes), le présent texte arrive, peut-être mieux que d'autres ouvrages, à donner une vision d'ensemble du problème de la prolifération tel qu'il se présente dans la décennie qui vient de commencer. Par dessus tout, les dix chapitres qui ont été sélectionnés reflètent les qualités que nous venons de décrire. Chacun des quatre parties présente ainsi une sélection des principaux éléments du débat, qu'il s'agisse des armes chimiques, du transfert des armes conventionnelles ou des missiles balistiques, en ne tenant jamais pour acquis que le lecteur est déjà familier avec le sujet. Il s'agit donc de l'ouvrage parfait à donner à un étudiant ou à un FSO pressé qui veut tout savoir sur la question, mais ... en une soirée.

L'ouvrage arrive-t-il à des conclusions claires? Absolument, ce qui est aussi une rareté dans le milieu universitaire. Étrangement, ces conclusions vont à contre-courant du thème principal : les stratégies de contrôle de la prolifération par la réglementation de l'offre ne soulèvent l'enthousiasme d'aucun des auteurs. Ceci n'a guère d'importance, cependant, car chacun des chapitres propose suffisamment d'options de rechange pour inspirer la Division du désarmement bien au-delà du tournant du siècle.

Michel Fortmann est professeur adjoint au Département de science politique de l'Université de Montréal. Avec Albert Legault, il a écrit Une diplomatie de l'espoir : Le Canada et le désarmement 1945-1988, publié en 1989.

Pledge of Allegiance: The Americanization of Canada in the Mulroney Years by Lawrence Martin, McClelland & Stewart, 1993, 296 pp., \$29.99.

Reviewed by Norman Hillmer

In 1984 there was a widespread belief that Canadian-American relations were at their lowest state in years, perhaps ever. Prime Minister Trudeau's Third Option thinking

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had apparently gone too far, and polls showed that Canadians wanted the two countries to be friends again. Yet four years later, after getting to know Brian Mulroney and despite considerable support for free trade, the pendulum had swung in dramatic — and very Canadian — fashion. The government had cosied up too close to the Americans. Without a healthy distance from the United States, Canadians now seemed to say, there could be no independence.

Lawrence Martin thinks that we were wrong in 1984 and right in 1988. In his thought-provoking account of “the blurring of the border” under Mulroney and the Conservatives, Martin asserts that the Prime Minister and his gang dismantled the essential instruments of national integration and ruthlessly aligned Canada with right wing US policies from drugs and deregulation through tax reform and free trade to film policy and foreign policy. The Tories’ way “was the American way, and if they had to preside over the demise of the Canadian dream — if such a grand description could be used for the civility, compassion, and restraint that Canada stood for — then so be it.”

Only recently it had been very different. Canadian governments down the years, whatever their political stripe, had rejected

free market continentalism and developed a tradition of state intervention to offset north-south impulses and “reinforce the unnatural east-west infrastructure that ensured the survival of the country.”

Then came what Martin dismissively calls the “border boys,” men like Derek Burney, Jim Kelleher and Tom d’Aquino, raised within sight of the Canadian-American frontier, unafraid and unaware of the consequences of much more intimate ties with the United States. They were not annexationists, and they were certainly not beyond redemption or some retrospective good sense, but theirs was a key role in putting forward and promoting the American agenda of materialism, individualism and free trade at any cost. The ultimate border boy, of course, was Mulroney himself, whose well-known origins at the knee of Colonel McCormick and subsequent business connections guarantee the most egregious of branch plant mentalities.

Lawrence Martin is too fine a journalist not to give occasional evidence for a second opinion. The trends and forces that he describes, it is clear, are much broader and deeper than any leader or political movement. Moreover, Mulroney did not always support Reagan and Bush on foreign policy, and the Conservative government took strong stands against certain questions such

as Arctic sovereignty and acid rain. That Mulroney’s overall approach to Canadian-American relations was conciliatory there can be no doubt, but it seems to have borne fruit in Washington in the form of an upgraded profile and confidence. Martin points out that Mulroney gained entry into the Bush inner circle, “not just by virtue of his skill as a stroker, but also by demonstrating on several occasions to the president that he was a sharp, well-informed interlocutor.” Nor was the Conservative record on culture all negative. And, far from being Americanized under Mulroney, Canadians were more sceptical and fearful of US influences than before. That might have been *because* of Mulroney, but if so, the Prime Minister, from the Martin point of view, must at least have done one thing correctly.

Balance, however, is not the author’s aim. His distaste for raw, narrow, violent and unintellectual Americanism is all too evident, and he sets out to demolish those who have propelled us in that direction — the Canadian agents of American Empire, the schmoozing, huckstering you-know-who in the lead; Ronald Reagan, dozy, ignorant, but possessing a master plan for an homogenized continent; George Bush, coming North “just a few months after running up the body count in Panama” and invoking his own vision of Manifest Destiny; and their collaborators, the “would-be traitors” who deserted Canada to set up shop in the United States after the Free Trade Agreement went through.

Martin delivers wicked phrase-making and valuable information — a good deal of it based on more than a hundred (imperfectly documented) interviews — but never sufficient analysis. There is, crucially, no thoroughgoing discussion of the impact of free trade, Martin arguing that the FTA’s real importance has been psychological. There might be something in this. It may be that Canadians are being put in a mood to accept and chase the American dream. However, the evidence, as for so much else in this book, is slight and largely anecdotal. The canvas of this 1960s version of *Lament for a Nation* is impressive in scope and reach, but the author does not linger long enough over any one issue to get below the surface.

So much of what makes this book powerful — its very singlemindedness — also makes it in the final analysis less satisfying than it might have been.

Norman Hillmer is Professor of History at Carleton University and the co-author of For Better or For Worse: Canada and the United States to the 1990s (Copp Clark Pitman, 1991).

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Deadly Illusions (The KGB Orlov Dossier Reveals Stalin's Master Spy) by John Costello and Oleg Tsarev, Crown Publishers Inc., Random House, New York, 538 pp., \$31.50 Cdn.

Reviewed by John Starnes

Deadly Illusions offers many things at once. It offers a much needed authentic documentary history of secret intelligence activities by both sides in the years prior to the outbreak of World War II and during the Cold War and a complementary history of the ruthless struggle behind the scenes waged by all the protagonists. Using material from German (Gestapo), British, French, US (FBI & CIA) and KGB archives, the book is a remarkable attempt to strip away the myths, and the inaccuracies, which have surrounded the intelligence activities of a number of countries over a period of several decades and to try to place them objectively in an historical context which can be understood by non-professionals. The authors have succeeded in writing an important book, and much credit is due to them for having had the vision to appreciate the importance of what they were attempting, and the perseverance and skill to see it through. It is a fascinating book of interest and of value to

the average reader, and to scholars and professional intelligence officers everywhere.

The core story concerns Alexander Orlov (born Leiba Feldbin in Bobruysk, Byelorussia) and his quite extraordinary career as a professional intelligence officer in the U.S.S.R. and abroad, clearly revealed by the unprecedented release of documents from the archives of the First Chief Directorate of the former KGB (now the Russian Intelligence Service). The account of Orlov's role as an "illegal" in Germany, France and England (in the mid-1930's) makes fascinating reading, much of it based upon his cryptographic reports to the NKVD/KGB 'centre' in Moscow. Particularly interesting is the account of his key role in the recruitment and running of Philby, Maclean and Burgess, among others. No less interesting is the description of the role he performed as NKVD chief in Spain in the summer of 1936. Nominally a political attache, he held the special rank of "major of State Security" with the authority of a general in the Red Army.

The book also provides a very cold look at the cynical manner in which governments systematically exploited one another's weaknesses, and the nature of the methods they permitted in order to achieve their aims; political assassinations, 'liquidations' for operational reasons and the skillful

implementation of complicated deception and espionage operations (active measures). The authors make clear in a most credible way, that it wasn't only the Russians who were engaged in such activities; every major power used such methods, with varying degrees of conscience, skill and success.

A very cold look at the cynical manner governments systematically exploited one another.

The book is well-written and well organized (given the evident difficulties Costello and Tsarev must have had in dealing with such a mass of complex material). In places, and especially in the earlier chapters, the writing is dense, even opaque at times. This may be due to the peculiar argot of espionage and the difficulties of translating Russian into colloquial English, e.g., p. 300; "The Spanish secret police *careered* out of control...."

The most important and interesting part of the book is contained in the 'Afterword',

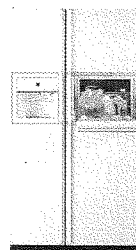
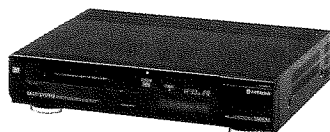
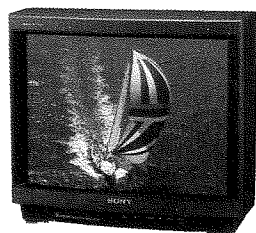


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pp. 487-510. It is indispensable reading for those with questions concerning the motivation and operational intentions of Vladimir Kryuchkov, the hard-line Communist head of the KGB, when, in 1991 he encouraged the writing of the book and authorized the release of so many highly sensitive documents, including KGB operational cryptograms! On that score, I strongly recommend that these twenty-three pages should be read before the rest of the book. Indeed, the 'Afterword' could have formed an integral part of the 'Foreword'.

Canadian scholars of such matters will be interested to note the odd reference to Canada in Orlov's story and in particular in 1938 when he sought to escape what appeared to be certain 'liquidation' by NKVD assassins. Unable to contact William Bullit, the US Ambassador to France, in an effort to seek a safe haven in the United States, he then approached the Canadian Legation in Paris, where the Canadian Consul General, described by Orlov as a "friendly sort of man", agreed to help him. Fortuitously he turned out to have been a former Canadian Commissioner for Immigration (sic). The Consul General wrote a letter of introduction to the Canadian immigration authorities, noting that the Soviet General was travelling to the United States on a diplomatic passport,

and had asked permission to take his wife and sickly daughter to Quebec for a vacation before facing the summer heat of Washington. The ploy worked. He arrived in Montreal on the *SS Montclare* on 21 July 1938, being admitted as a non-immigrant for a two month period. He arrived with \$60,000 US secreted in his hand baggage and his wife immediately opened a savings account with the Bank of Montreal (No. 300937), using the name Berg.

The book should effectively silence those in government in Canada (senior officials and politicians alike) as well as journalists and academics, who have scornfully dismissed threats of espionage from the Soviet Union. It is impossible to ignore the mass of documentation offered in the book, which illustrates very clearly just how widespread and how effective Soviet espionage activities have been for many years. One of the more interesting aspects of the release of so much material by the new Russian Intelligence Service (RIS) is the circumspect and responsible manner in which this has been done. They have refused to identify a number of their former agents, some of whom may still be active or could be re-activated. In doing so they appear to have remained true to the principles which guided Orlov when, in 1953, after ostensibly defecting to

the United States, he managed successfully for ten years thereafter to protect the "Cambridge Group" of Soviet spies (Philby, Maclean and Burgess, etc.). The RIS has refused to name any of the members of the hitherto unknown "Oxford Group" of spies (some twenty odd), who are only identified by their cryptonyms. Principles aside, clearly these secret agents and the others the newly formed RIS are continuing to protect, must be regarded by them as valuable assets for future operations!

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

A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order, 1918-1939 by Robert Wright, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991, \$44.95, 337 pp.

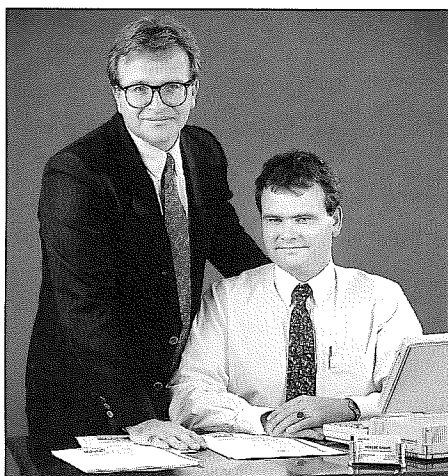
Reviewed by Don Page

This is a book that is long overdue in Canadian historiography because it brings to light

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the importance of religious thinking on Canadian attitudes towards international events. The author has written a series of topical essays on the thinking of the main line protestant denominations (Anglican, Baptist, Congregationalist, Methodist, Presbyterian and later United Churches) on major international issues of the interwar period. The focus is not on how any given denomination thought about an issue but on how this branch of Christendom, as represented largely by their central Canada spokesmen, press and missionary training schools, collectively responded to Russian Bolshevism, European relief, disarmament, the League of Nations, the Far Eastern crisis, and a Christian alternative to the rise of communism and oppressive totalitarian regimes in Italy and Germany.

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The vision for a Christian international order was rooted in the belief that in commitment to Christ alone was the universal embodiment of the ideals of brotherhood, peace and justice that the world was looking for. Like other internationalists of their time, their thinking was a reaction against their experiences in the First World War. Organized Christianity was to make itself indispensable in the molding of a "new internationalism" without the "tragic mistake to divorce the missionary and the maker of foreign policy" in the pursuit of peace. For the churches, however, there was the additional concern of how to fit their message of spiritual renewal through personal salvation into changing international events. Missionary zeal was to be found not only in the churches' Great Commission but also in responding to the threats of communism and fascism against their persecuted brethren.

In some ways, the churches had a much wider perspective on the world than those who were responsible for the nation's foreign policies. They saw the world beyond

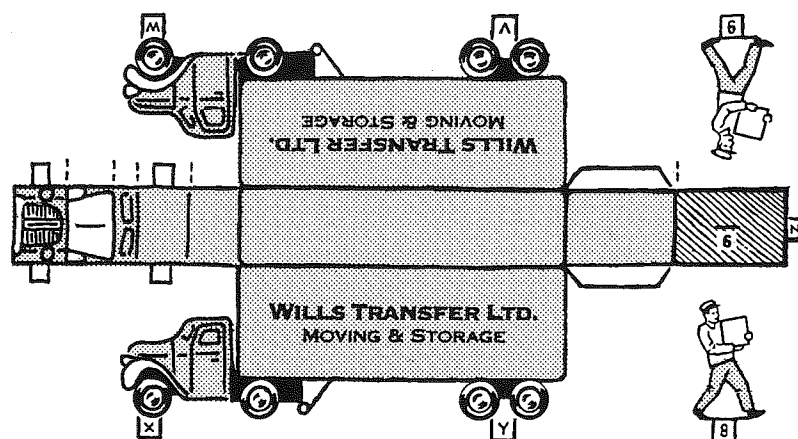
war-torn Europe. Their missionaries had first hand knowledge of Russian influence in China and Japan's invasion of Manchuria. When Canada was still relying largely on British reports to find out what was happening around the world, these Canadian church leaders had in 1920 some 768 missionaries abroad that gave them information on such diverse countries as India, China, Japan, Palestine, Egypt, and Bolivia, and western and central African and Caribbean colonies. While such information on China may not have made them any more perceptive on the importance of nationalism in China, they were certainly better informed about the competing forces for the souls of the Chinese people. The common problems faced by missionaries and their compatriots abroad gave them, in most instances, a united perspective on the world, or at least the international threats to the west and Christendom in general.

The churches were also responsible for educating a large number of Canadians about international affairs. Before the universities were organized to study international relations and foreign cultures, the mission training schools had incorporated them into their curricula. They had seen the necessity of studying nationalism, militarism, social revolution, and cross-cultural communications

in an increasingly interdependent world. Before the universities had established international relations clubs, there was the church sponsored Student Volunteer Movement that was organized on every campus to get students excited about world evangelism and service. Through their publications, speakers who had travelled and lived in foreign lands, and international conferences, they brought news of the world to those who dwelt in "the fireproof house". Their speakers commanded large audiences and not infrequently that of the prime minister and leading journalists. Probably the largest international gathering hosted by Canadians to that time was the 1928 Congress of the Baptist World Alliance which brought over 7,000 delegates from 56 countries and all continents to Toronto.

During this period there was also a very significant change in missionary philosophy. The white man's burden and a Christian superiority over non-Christians had become embarrassingly anachronistic by the 1920s and missions switched their philosophy to brotherhood and service that provided a powerful backup to the internationalists of that era. The author has done a great service to students of Canadian foreign policy in that he has provided the basis for understanding so much of the underpinnings of the internationalists who were to serve in the

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Department of External Affairs, like Lester Pearson, Escott Reid, Walter Riddell, Chester Ronning, and their contemporaries who may have had less direct connections with religious thinking. The churches certainly provided the foundation for a wider acceptance for dialogue with foreign cultures, as well as the translators. While they may not have been any more generous towards Japanese-Canadians during the internment period or magnanimous in their acceptance of Jewish refugees, they did acknowledge their failings and sought to make amends before the state did. It was the churches that led the way in publicly recognizing the importance of the rising East and the tyranny of fascism in Europe. One cannot help but conclude in reading this book that the church did a much better job than the state in educating its constituencies for the possibility of war in 1939.

Wright has demonstrated the churches' significant role "in the subtle metamorphosis of Canadians' sense of themselves and of their nation as they became increasingly cognizant of the outside world." This was especially true in the development of international aid. Long before there was any thought given to the establishment of an External Aid Office or a CIDA, Canadian missionaries and churches were in the

forefront of international relief, development and education.

Still the question remains, why did the Christian internationalists not make a greater impact? While most of the answers are found in this book, there is one fundamental one that still must be addressed. The strength of its new international order had to rest not on the churches response to temporal events but in its theology, which the author did not examine. He has, however, made a valuable contribution to historiography in drawing attention to the vast array of literature that Christians were reading about the church worldwide. He has also consulted an impressive list of knowledgeable scholars in the field who have read and contributed to this scholarly book. It deserves to be read not only by social, religious, and intellectual historians, but by students of the Canadian contribution to the internationalism of the interwar period and those who wish to understand the ethos of more recent Canadian foreign policy. 

Don Page who is Vice President for Academic Affairs at Trinity Western University, was previously an historian in the Department of External Affairs.

The American Response to Canada since 1776 by Gordon T. Stewart, University of Michigan Press, 1992, 218 pp., \$35.00 US.

Reviewed by Greg Donaghy

Students of US foreign policy have largely ignored the question of the American relationship with Canada. In this sweeping and ambitious monograph, Gordon Stewart, a University of Michigan professor specializing in 19th-century Canadian history, attempts to rectify this glaring omission. *The American Response to Canada* promises "to take a fresh look at the primary sources and [to] assess whether there are some permanent features that have characterized the American response to Canada." Consciously and deliberately, Stewart has set out to articulate a new interpretation of Canadian-American relations.

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The American Response to Canada traces the relationship from 1776 to the present. Convinced that most Canadian historians share the view that their country has suffered grievously at the hands of American imperialists, Stewart explores and rejects the notion that an expansionist impulse defined the American response to Canada. During its first 75 years of existence, he contends, the United States viewed its northern neighbour primarily with apprehension and suspicion, fearful that Britain would use it to clip the new republic's wings. From these fears developed the first of the objectives that has characterized the American response to Canada: a strong desire to sever the ties linking Canada and Britain.

While this attitude lingered well into the 20th century, by the middle of the 19th century, Stewart suggests, a number of American politicians, officials and businessmen shared the view that geographical forces would draw Canada naturally and inevitably towards the United States. This, it seems, partly obviated the need for Americans to articulate an explicit imperial ideology. From about 1850 on, this faith in continentalism characterized the American response to Canada and provided a basis for a series

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of inconclusive and sporadic discussions between US officials and American business interests on how best to create and to manage an integrated North American economy. Clearly comfortable and confident when working with material from the middle of the 19th century, Stewart carefully documents the recurring plans to extend or to deny tariff concessions to Canada; the US market was apparently the only facet of their society that Americans thought of interest to Canada.

Such schemes, whether implemented or not, had little effect on Washington's ability to achieve its objectives. Canada's exertions, Stewart concludes, were instrumental in determining the nature of the North American partnership. It was Canada's determination to achieve its own independence from Britain that fulfilled Washington's long standing goal of excluding the British Empire from North America. Similarly, it was Canada's persistence in seeking access to the American market that ensured the development of the closely integrated economy that characterizes the bilateral relationship today.

The American Response to Canada represents a useful reminder of the need to acknowledge Canada's role in shaping its own North American destiny. Nevertheless, this work is marred by a number of problems.

Throughout it, for example, the ever dangerous and ambiguous term "imperialism" is employed freely. Inexactly, "economic adjunct" is presented at one point as an adequate definition for an "imperial relationship." While Stewart rightly rejects American imperialism as the dominant characteristic of the US attitude toward Canada, he still pursues an essentially economic line of inquiry. As a result, he tends to dismiss as so much rhetoric the descriptions of partnership and friendship that have accompanied the development of the continental relationship. In doing so, he does not understand that many of these sermons and lectures are attempts, by people on both sides of the border, to define the terms of North American co-operation and integration. What these terms were, how they subsequently developed and how they were ultimately articulated are the kinds of precise questions that Stewart neither poses nor answers.

The notion that Canada can be treated as a coherent whole from 1776, towards which one set of prevailing attitudes is applicable, is open to question. For most of the 19th century and a good bit of the 20th century, the American attitude towards their northern neighbour was shaped by Canada's imperial and Commonwealth connection. In striving so determinedly to focus on the

American attitude to some geographic and economic entity called "Canada," Stewart obscures the more substantial American interest in addressing the problems and opportunities present in Anglo-American relations.

Stewart's preoccupation with North American economic developments leads him to underestimate the political dimension of the North American relationship. Thrown together by the Second World War, the Cold War and the broader struggle to shape a peaceful international order, both Canada and the United States have been forced to confront each other in a relationship that is partly defined by broader foreign policy goals. Absent from this study is any attempt to examine the impact that these kinds of objectives had on the attitudes of American policy-makers towards Canada. Surely, American policy toward Canada after 1945 began to include considerations that flowed, not from its North American concerns, but from its global responsibilities.

The first to consult a number of American records on Canada, Stewart has usefully unearthed much new material on this North American partnership. Still, he comes nowhere near meeting his proclaimed objective of having a fresh look at the primary sources. His bibliography suggests that he did not consult any Canadian archive and that he has neglected the papers of most of the 20th century American presidents, including, most remarkably, Franklin D. Roosevelt. This seems an odd oversight in a work devoted to the views of American policy-makers. Indeed, Stewart's general approach to a perennial problem in American diplomatic history — who is making what decisions when? — is problematic. He refuses to define his group of decision-makers with any precision and, more frequently than not, substitutes the views of junior officials, publicists and lobbyists for the absent views of more influential individuals.

The American Response to Canada leaves unanswered the central question of how and why the architects of American diplomacy have remained so poorly informed about Canada. While Stewart may not provide a persuasive answer to this important question, he deserves to be recognized for raising it. He will be well-rewarded if this work succeeds in sparking the interest of American scholars and publishers in things Canadian.

Greg Donaghy is a historian with Historical Section, Corporate Communications Division, External Affairs and International Trade Canada.

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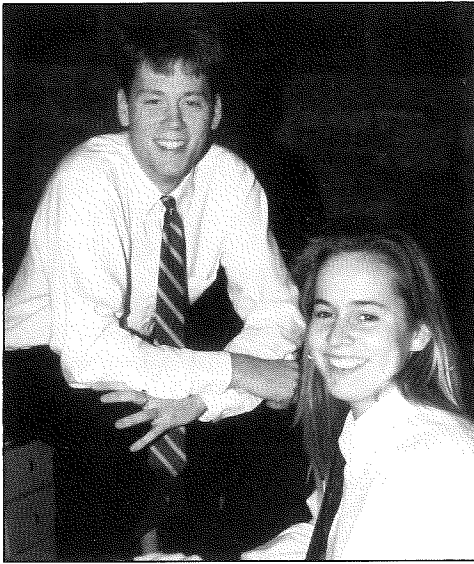
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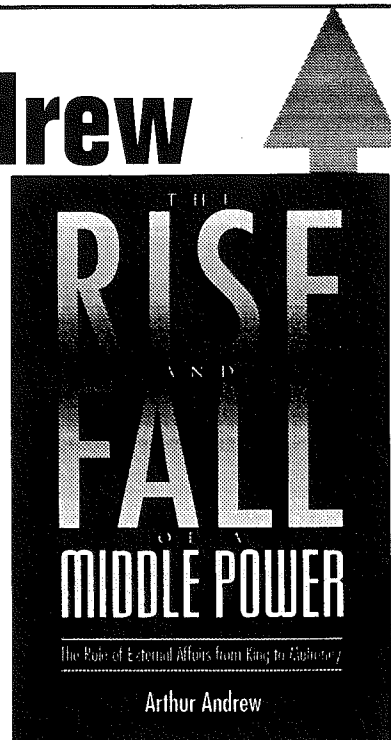
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Jimmy the Turk's Fair Weather Report

Another letter-bound puzzle by A Aalto

It was in the morning mail, along with a last few desperate election flyers and Jersey Joe Coffin's monthly advert for waterproof pasta. The envelope was wrinkled and stained as if from extended proximity to a poorly-corked wineskin, and smelled slightly of old goat. "Jimmy Flecker," said Liebnitz without even glancing at the return address. Stuffing the junk mail into a nearby aspidistra, he took the letter into his den and opened it. It contained a single sheet of paper, with a pictograph of the sun at the top and the following lines beneath:

- (1) Certain in Bolovia
- (2) French ecclesiastical district
- (3) Peacenik in the white cliffs
- (4) LBJ biographer in Egypt
- (5) Punctuation marks from Panama
- (6) Carioca threesome
- (7) Chesterfield in the Balkans
- (8) 151 Romans in Colombia
- (9) A godfather in the Prairies
- (10) The Way of Harmony in the Southwest
- (11) Oracle near Raj capital
- (12) Scraps from Styria
- (13) Spirit in kimchi land
- (14) Citified in Natal
- (15) Falls behind in West Africa
- (16) Raced in Barbary
- (17) Revolve in Ferrari-town
- (18) The press in a pilgrimage site
- (19) Cut in Dalmatian port
- (20) Bohemian soprano in vice capital
- (21) Bettelheim or Frank from Moravia
- (22) Madness in envelope town
- (23) A furry weasel in Belarus
- (24) Norwegian screamer in Bavaria
- (25) Bargain day in witch city
- (26) Give up in the Andes
- (27) Pound verse in the Pearl River Delta
- (28) Parlour socialist in the Pripet Marshes
- (29) Recent African victim in Indochina
- (30) Former first lady in Lombardy
- (31) A little person from Alaska

Liebnitz recognized the format immediately as a variation on the standard city code. Each clue referred to a pair of words: one was the name of a city or town, the other a

word that differed from that name by only one letter added or subtracted, with no rearrangements — eg LEEDS/BLEEDS or ORANGE/RANGE. Thirty-one clues, Liebnitz recalled, meant at least five cities from each of North America, Latin America, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa/Middle East. The message itself was found by reading off in order the letters added or subtracted.

Liebnitz deciphered the message easily enough, but sat for a long time perplexed by the result. Just before noon, the phone rang, and the ace logician heard the voice of his (habitually) incoherent Chief, Hamish MacBannock, demanding his immediate present for an emergency staff meeting. Irrked at being disturbed on his day off, Liebnitz coolly asked what the problem was. MacBannock guardedly mentioned a counter-espionage case where the suspects were five brothers named Rehnquist. Before the Chief could go into any further details, the logician asked him the first names of the brothers. MacBannock replied with Fortas, Scalia, Burger, Marshall and Warren. Liebnitz told him which one to arrest, citing Jimmy the Turk as his source, and then hung up, leaving MacBannock spluttering into a dead phone.

Liebnitz was right, to the Chief's disgust. Can you duplicate the ace logician's feat by providing the 30 word-pairs, the cipher-message and finally the name of the guilty brother? To help out the Service further (but not as part of the puzzle), where would you expect to find him?

Free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto was born in pre-revolutionary Tannu Tuva and educated by Patagonian missionaries on the Zambezi. Now a commuter between Hell (Norway) and Paradise (Pennsylvania), he is widely known as a man of letters, but also likes the Supremes.

A. Aalto Puzzle Winner,
Vol. 10, No. 3

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The Hague, Netherlands

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