

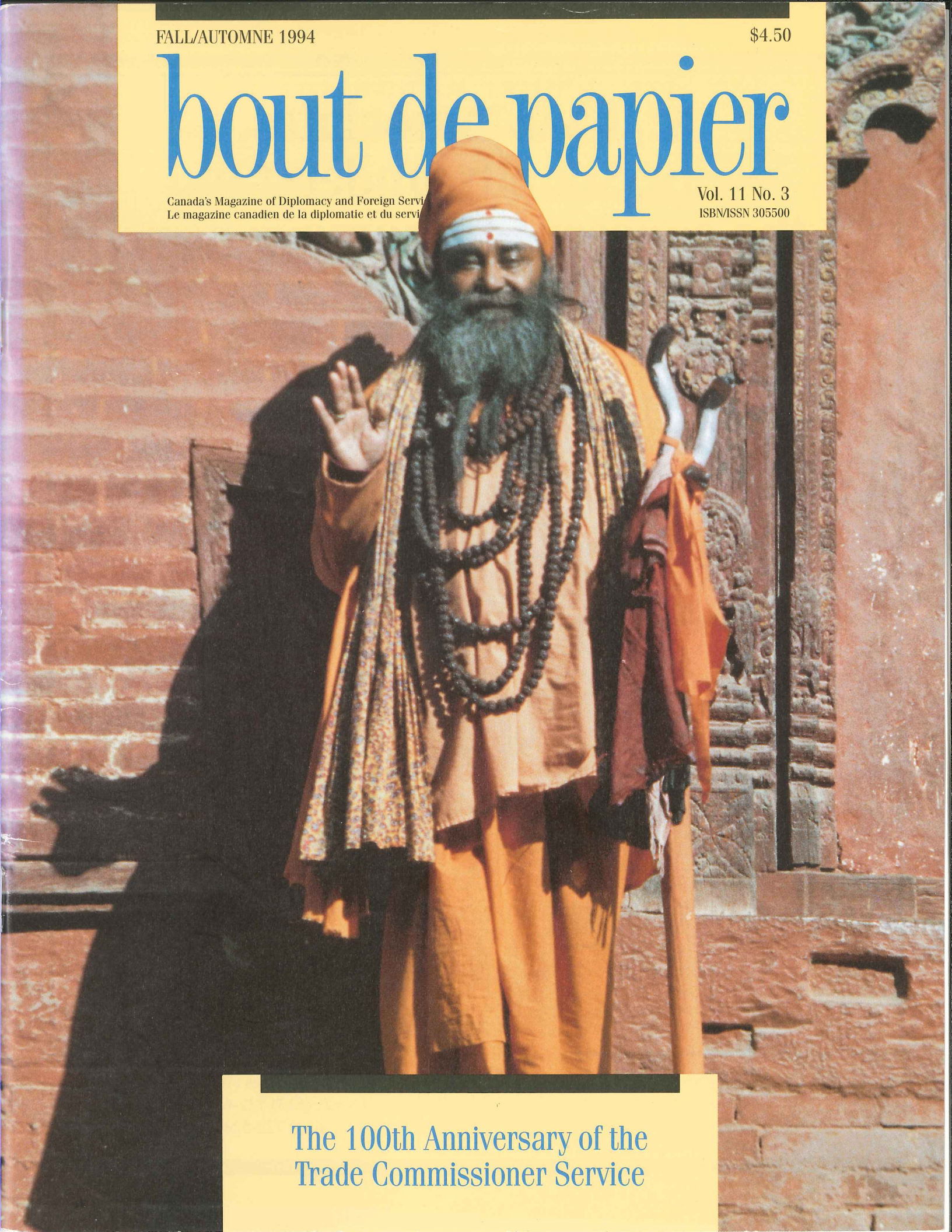
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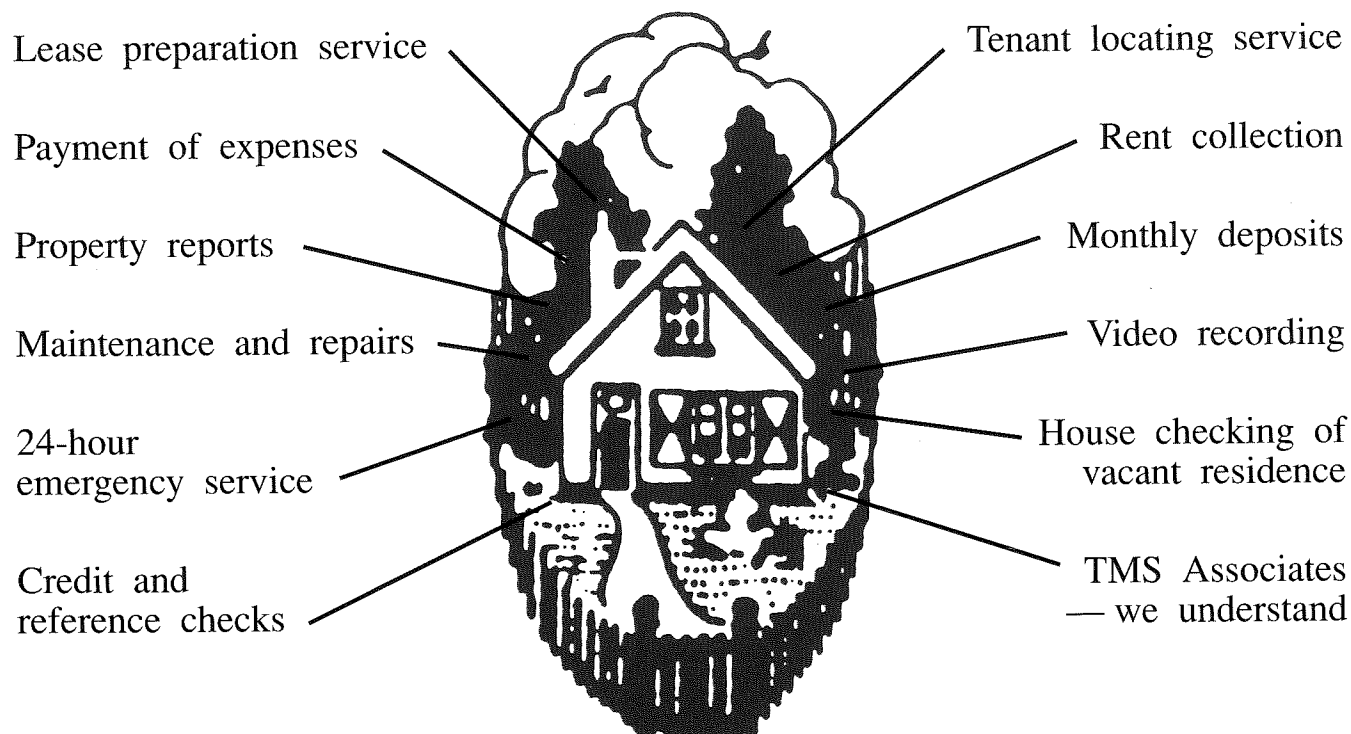
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The 100th Anniversary of the
Trade Commissioner Service

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Our cover photo this issue is of a guru in Durbar Square, Nepal, taken by Vaughn Lantz.



On the summit of Mount Imjatse, Vaughn Lantz and his guide, Bipin, page 34.

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Editor's Notebook / Carnet du rédacteur

A year of anniversaries. Take a Trade Commissioner to lunch or better yet have him or her take you to lunch.

This is the year of anniversaries for members of the foreign service family. This issue of **bout de papier** celebrates the 100th anniversary of the Trade Commissioner Service. In June, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration celebrated the 125th anniversary of the first Canadian Immigration Act. Next year, we will devote a special issue to the Immigration Service of the foreign service.

So Happy Birthday, Trade Commissioners! Take a Trade Commissioner to lunch. Or better yet, have a Trade Commissioner take you to lunch. After all, that's all they do at posts anyway. Just kidding!

This issue offers several glimpses of the Trade Commissioner Service. There is the past. David Knowles and Hector Mackenzie portray *John Larke, the first Trade Commissioner* and give highlights of the first hundred years of the TCS. James Langley recalls the *Early Days in the Life of a Trade Commissioner's Family* as he recounts everyday events in his life in Japan where his father was the first Trade Commissioner to serve within an Embassy.

Then there is the present and the future. Our interview with Minister MacLaren, *The Importance of Not Being External*, Marie Stamp's *Trade Commissioners: The Next Generation* and Andrew Griffith's *Trade Commissioners: Into the Future* set out the challenges facing the current generation

of Trade Commissioners and set out possible directions for the future.

Former Canadian Ambassador to China Earl Drake examines the linkage of human rights and trade, one of the most persistent issues facing any democratic trading nation like Canada, and draws on his personal experience in managing Canada's relations with China. Finally, our two *Vignettes from the Global Village* bring to life the reality of small trade missions. Susan Cartwright recalls *Moving Day in Bombay* and Stewart Beck sketches *Miami Satellite*.

The *Books in Review* section highlights the globalization of the world economy and the challenges for Canadian economic and trade policy. Michael Hart reviews five recent Canadian books seeking to provide a guide to the forces of change and adjustment sweeping Canada and the rest of the world. Hector Mackenzie takes one step back and reviews the development of Post War Canadian Trade Policy.

For those of you who are not into trade policy, there is an Terry Jones's excellent and topical article on *Ethnic Massacres and Refugee Tides* which looks at the events in Burundi and Rwanda from Tanzania. Vaughn Lantz takes us to the top of the Himalayas in his article on *Travel to Far and Wide*.

Kevin D. O'Shea

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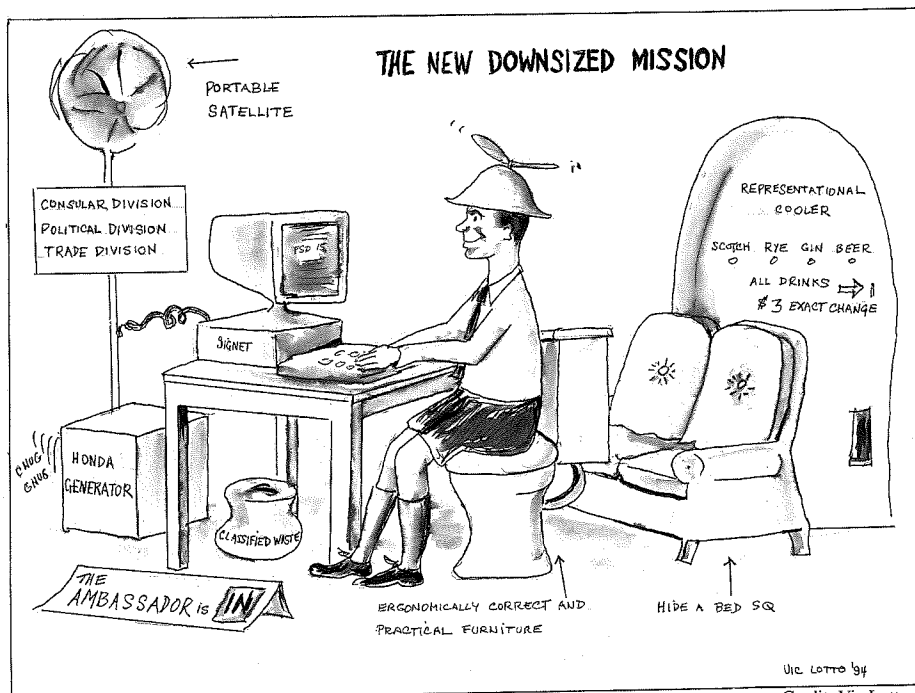
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Articles

Manuscripts are welcome in double-spaced format, preferably on WP 5.2 3½" diskette, with a short biographical note about the author(s). Features are normally around 2,500 words. **bout de papier** publishes all articles in their original language. Send articles to **bout de papier**, c/o PAFSO (see address above). Manuscripts accepted à double espace, de préférence sur WP 5.2, disquette 3.5", accompagnés d'une brève notice biographique sur l'auteur. Les articles comptent habituellement environ 2500 mots. **bout de papier** publie tous les articles dans leur langue d'origine. Envoyer les articles à **bout de papier**, a/s APASE (voir adresse ci-dessus).

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Credit: Vic Lotto

Editor:

We have much enjoyed the interesting set of articles in your recent edition on "Re-thinking the Foreign Service." Normally, I would have overlooked an inaccuracy in the figures you gave for UK overseas missions. But since Glen Bailey's piece has attracted the attention of national columnists who have quoted your figures, I should point out that the total of 422 missions overseas would, if true, cause fits of apoplexy in the Treasury of London.

Fortunately for them, the true figure is 215. This consists of 140 Embassies/High Commissions, 61 subordinate posts, 9 missions to international organizations, and 5 British Interest sections or trade offices. In addition, there are 18 posts staffed entirely by locally-engaged staff, and 209 Honorary Consulates. I do not know whether this calls into question M branch's infallibility, or was perhaps a minor typographical error. Either way, perhaps the next time you print the chart, could you give the correct figures? Many thanks.

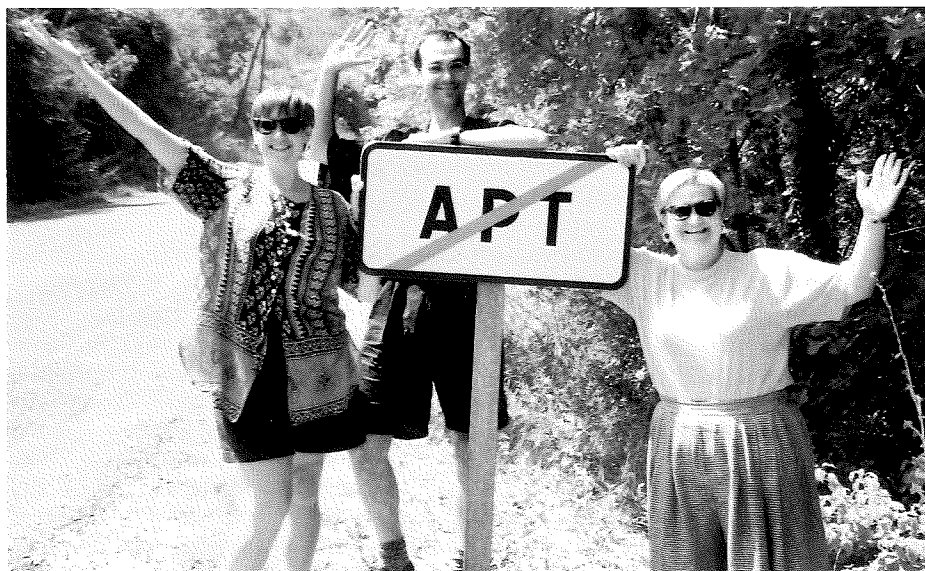
P.G.H. Holdich
British High Commission, Ottawa

Editor:

When I was stationed in Canberra a retired Australian Trade Commissioner to Canada named McGregor paid a courtesy call on me. He told me an anecdote about the final approval by the R.B. Bennett Cabinet of the first Trade Agreement between Canada and Australia in the summer of 1931. He had been permitted to sit in the ante-room to the Cabinet room in the East Block of the Parliament Buildings while the Cabinet was reviewing the Trade Agreement negotiated by officials. An Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet came out from the Cabinet room to state that Dr. Manion had raised the point that the Roman Catholic supporters of the Conservative Party would not understand the inclusion of passion fruit in the list of reciprocal tariff reductions. It would smack of Eve tempting Adam with an apple in the Garden of Eden. It would be easier for the Cabinet to approve the Trade Agreement if passion fruit could be dropped from the list.

McGregor had objected that, if the Canadian side was to eliminate an Australian item, he would have to cable Canberra and they would insist on some tariff reduction in the Canadian list being knocked off. And the negotiation would drag on for months.

In a stroke of genius he suggested substituting the Latin name for passion fruit. What was it? *Passiflora edulis* he replied. And so the good people of Canada were spared temptation.



My own research indicated that the Latin name *Passiflora edulis* was included in brackets after passion fruit in Schedule A of the Trade Agreement, rather than being substituted for it, as I had originally understood McGregor's anecdote. But it still makes a good story.

Arthur Menzies
Former High Commissioner to Australia
1965-72

How apt! Left to right: Michele Wiwchar (New Delhi), Mario Poirier (Tehran) and Sara Hradecky (Tel Aviv).

Editor:

I hope you can find room in an upcoming **bout de papier** for this picture. After all, how often do three Trade Commissioners come upon APT when it's *not* at the Pearson Building?

Sara Hradecky, Tel Aviv



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Ethnic Massacres and Refugee Tides

*Burundi and Rwanda — Hutu and Tutsi Hatred.
Presidential Assassinations. Ethnic Slaughter.
Two tides of refugees into Tanzania.*

by Terry Jones

Burundi lies between the two great lakes of East Africa, with Lake Victoria not far to the North East and Lake Tanganyika forming its western boundary. Its capital, Bujumbura, is located at the head of Lake Tanganyika where Dr. Livingstone believed that the waters of the lake flowed north to form the source of the White Nile. Rwanda is north of Burundi. Like its southern neighbour its population is divided largely between the majority Hutu and the minority Tutsi tribes. Both countries will see massive refugee movements sparked by the assassination of their president which sets ablaze the tinderbox of ethnic hatred.

Burundi October 1993

In October 1993, President Melchoir Ndadaye was assassinated by the army in an attempted *coup d'état*. Ndadaye was a Hutu and the first democratically elected President of the country. His assassination sparked nationwide ethnic violence between the minority Tutsi and majority Hutu ethnic groups, resulting in over a million displaced persons within Burundi and almost three quarters of a million refugees fleeing to Rwanda, Zaire and Tanzania, and this in a country with a population of six million.

Since its independence from Belgium in 1962, this unfortunate country has been plagued with ethnic strife: in 1972-3 over 150,000 Hutu were massacred, following a failed uprising against the then Tutsi government; in the summer of 1988 ethnic clashes lasting ten days resulted in 5,000 killed and over 100,000 homeless. And now in 1993, the Hutu-Tutsi rivalry once again erupted.

When news of Ndadaye's assassination spread, many students fled to neighbouring countries. Past troubles had shown them that they would be targeted for extermination by the army, as leaders of the next generation. Then, as coup leaders assassinated ministers and their families, fighting broke out in all the regions of the country. As the violence spread, so the numbers of refugees swelled until, by December 1993, almost

300,000 had crossed the eastern border into Tanzania.

The people of north-eastern Tanzania are the same people as in Burundi, Hutus and Tutsis, who live side by side without ethnic strife in one of Nyerere's miracles, a non-tribal Tanzania. So when the refugees poured into Tanzania, they were seeking help from their own. Many had families on both sides of the border and they spoke the same tribal language.

And they were helped. Families took in family members, communities opened their doors, clinics, schools, churches. Help was immediate and heartfelt. But it was not adequate to meet the waves of refugees flooding the region.

*His assassination
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The western border area of Tanzania is a beautiful, fertile area which is chronically poor. Kigoma, the regional capital is a run down provincial town, with no community facilities to speak of, bad roads, no public transportation and an air of having been forgotten by the far off central authorities.

The rural areas of the region, which were the most affected by the refugee influx, were worse: very remote with appalling roads (even in the dry season, and now the rains

had started) and no public transport; poor community facilities with antiquated and ill equipped clinics, and run down schools. Subsistence farmers at the best of times, the local people were facing difficulties themselves. But with amazing generosity, they shared unstintingly of the little they had.

On the front line of those receiving refugees was the village of Mabamba, in the Kibondo District. Situated three miles from Burundi, across rolling hills and the river which forms the border, the village was a focal point for the first wave of students who fled the fighting. They were welcomed by the village leaders and by the Missionaries Fathers of Africa, known as the White Fathers, who operated a mission there. One of the White Fathers, a Canadian, Maurice Carpentier from Sudbury, has been in the area for twenty years. He is working with missionaries in the area, under the direction of the Bishop of Kigoma, to bring help to the refugees, and to those Tanzanians who welcomed them.

The first international assistance was from CONCERN, an Irish relief organization which was working in the Tabora region of Tanzania. It was quickly followed by teams from *Médecins sans Frontières* (MSF) and then several other well known emergency NGOs including the Red Cross, CARITAS, OXFAM, Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service the Swedish Free Mission and the International Rescue Committee, all working under the umbrella of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to provide co-ordinated relief to the refugees.

March 1994

By mid-March the number of refugees in Tanzania had dropped to 40,000, most of them women and children and many of them ill. The dramatic shrinking of the refugee community occurred in January because many returned to Burundi at the approach of the planting season, but primarily because of the lack of adequate food supplies in the camps; a full food basket was achieved only in late December. By then refugees had been eating only maize flour for two months,

which resulted in widespread malnutrition. This in turn made them particularly vulnerable to the real treat of dysentery and malaria. One White Father stated that those who returned preferred to die at home rather than in a foreign land.

Those remaining are being moved from the many sites in which they squatted to three semi-permanent camps. These are equipped with first rate, well-supplied field hospitals established and operated by MSF, potable drinking water better than that available locally in the towns of the region, a half-acre of land per family on which to build homes and small gardens, and building materials and seeds with which to get established. In time these camps will become self-sufficient communities, like those in the central region of Tanzania which house refugees from the troubles in Burundi of the 70's and 80's.

*One White Father
stated that those
who returned
preferred to die at
home rather than
in a foreign land.*

Most refugee communities are well organized amongst themselves. Indeed, whole communities in Burundi fled across the border into Tanzania and have re-established their own community structures. Refugee students are helping UNHCR officials to register their people; refugee doctors, nurses and mid-wives are working in the field hospitals beside MSF staff. Even the children are helping each other. In one semi-permanent camp a group of ten orphans, whose parents had either disappeared or been killed, were gathered together in one shelter, under the care of the oldest girl of twelve years. The will to survive is apparent in the efforts the refugees are making to re-establish themselves, and in the faces of the myriad of children who throng the camps.

In this emergency Tanzanians have been wonderful. The government granted all Burundians prima-facie refugee status and local authorities, overcoming their usual bureaucratic lethargy, have offered complete co-operation. The local Tanzanians, subsistence peasants for the most part, by

their whole-hearted and unstinting generosity have given us a living definition of humanity.

Rwanda April 1994

In Rwanda the Hutu formed the government, driving many of the Tutsi north to seek refuge in Uganda. There the refugees had created a military liberation force called the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), and since 1990 had invaded northern Rwanda, in an attempt to wrest power from the Hutu dictator, President Juvénal Habyarimana, who himself had seized power in a military coup 21 years before.

The RPF were not the only Rwandese who wished to share Habyarimana's power. Many Hutu opposition factions had grown up and since political parties were outlawed, led resistance to the dictator from within the country.

So successful was the RPF invasion that they forced Habyarimana to sue for peace and negotiate a settlement. The peace settlement, which was brokered by the Tanzanian government, was named the Arusha Accord after the northern Tanzanian city in which it was negotiated. It was on April 6, 1994 when returning from a mini summit in Tanzania held to discuss implementation of the Arusha accords, that Habyarimana's plane was rocketed killing all occupants, including the new President of Burundi who was a passenger. Then Rwanda exploded in a bloodbath of barbaric slaughter.

We have come to see that slaughter as genocide, since it was directed by Habyarimana's troops and militia against the Tutsi minority. In the three months since the deaths of the Presidents possibly 500,000 Rwandans have been hacked or clubbed to death, including nearly half of the Tutsi population.

In Northern Rwanda, the RPF were waging a successful war and advancing south. As they advanced, the Hutu civilian population retreated until they were backed against the borders of Tanzania on the east and Burundi in the South. The borders were closed by Habyarimana's troops, who refused to see the population flee before the hated RPF. And so they waited, if they survived, displaced in their own country.

Then at 4:30 pm on April 28, Habyarimana's troops fled before the advancing RPF and the flood gates were opened. In the space of twenty-four hours, a quarter of a million people walked across a narrow bridge over the Rusumo river into Tanzania. The UNHCR called it the largest movement of a refugee population in history.

This avalanche of refugees, 250,000 strong, poured into a thinly populated area of Tanzania. The Ngara district, located on the far west side of Lake Victoria is beautiful,

fertile but remote, very much like the area immediately south where the Burundi refugees had fled several months earlier. The districts shared the same problems; poor roads and no public transport, rudimentary communications, appalling medical facilities and services, little potable water. The avalanche into Ngara could have been a catastrophe.

Several factors averted disaster: there was already a refugee reception infrastructure in place established for the Burundi refugees; a new influx of refugees was expected from Rwanda, and the UNHCR had prepared contingency plans, although no one could have imagined the size of the tidal wave; and COGEFARIMPRESIT, a major Italian construction company, was in the area, working in the roads. Then too, most of the refugees were in good health and had prepared their flight. They were fleeing in fear but most of them, in the first wave at any rate, had not been involved in actual fighting. They carried household goods with them, they drove cattle ahead of them, and some even rode on bikes.

*In the space of
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walked across a
narrow bridge over
the Rusumo river
into Tanzania.*

I learned of this amazing mass movement from an Italian colleague who reported that refugees were entering Tanzania at the Rusumo River crossing at the rate of 200 a minute. I thought this number was hyperbole, but further reports confirmed the numbers, so I gratefully accepted a seat on a COGEFARIMPRESIT twelve-seater plane and flew to Ngara on the border with Rwanda, to see for myself.

From the air the line of refugees stretched twelve kilometres, moving slowly, weighed down by possessions and herding cattle ahead of them, but moving purposefully towards a temporary camp where they set up their makeshift shelters in their thousands.

The UNHCR were already working their miracles. They had flown out from Geneva an extraordinarily efficient and calm

Scottish lady called Maureen Connelly to act as Emergency Co-ordinator, and she was drawing on the fine talents of Anne Vincent, a French Doctor who did marvelous work in directing the *Médecins sans Frontières* team's efforts for the Burundi refugees. As well, UNHCR had the good fortune to have in place a Newfoundlander, Sheila Wilson, who headed the International Red Cross team sent to help the Burundi refugee camps. As I flew back to Dar, over a vast field of tiny fires, I remember thinking that the crisis was in good hands.

June 2, 1994

A month later on a cool, fresh morning, I flew out in a five-seater plane across the breadth of Tanzania, to the border with Rwanda. We flew over this lovely land of green hills, vast stretches of desert and scrub and then across the marvellous inland sea of Lake Victoria. In the distance I could see Speke's Bay and Emin Pasha's gulf gleaming in the distance, and wondered if the thousands of bloated Rwandan corpses that were flowing into Lake Victoria from the Rusumo River had yet washed up on their white sands.

As we approached Ngara I could see the vast field that had been covered with camp fires. Now it was transformed into a huge,

busting town, complete with streets and markets, alive with colour and noise. It was now BENACO camp, home to over 200,000 Rwandan refugees, the largest refugee camp in the world at the time.

*The camps are
also time bombs,
full of bitterness
and ethnic hatred
waiting to explode.*

When I toured Benaco with Maureen Connelly, I was struck by its vitality: many large markets, whole commercial areas with shops of different merchandise and commodities, restaurants, bars, even discos for dancing in the evenings. More important it had superb field clinics set up by MSF and other charitable medical organizations, and even a hospital for major surgery; potable water piped to water distribution areas, regular food distribution outlets, areas for registration of new refugees, all run with the efficiency and care I had come to expect of

UNHCR operations after my tour through the Burundi refugee camps.

Of course life was not easy for those who had lost homes, farms, possessions and often family. Many children had been traumatized by the death of their parents, often killed in front of them. But in the circumstances the camp was a miracle. Two hundred thousand refugees fed, clothed, housed and tended-to in this far off, remote area of Tanzania. Most looked in good spirits and in good health. It was only when you looked into their eyes and the eyes of their children that you could see the bitterness, it was only as you saw them listening to radio broadcasts from Kigali denouncing the RPF and "Tutsi killers" that you saw the hate.

These camps are testimony to the humanitarian efforts of the international community, the Tanzanian people and the care and concern of the many hundreds of aid workers who worked selflessly to aid the refugees. But the camps are also time bombs, full of bitterness and ethnic hatred waiting to explode. To look into the eyes of the children is to understand why ethnic bloodbaths re-occur every ten years. 

Terry Jones is Counsellor in Kingston. He has served in Dar es Salaam, Copenhagen, Accra, Port of Spain and Sydney.



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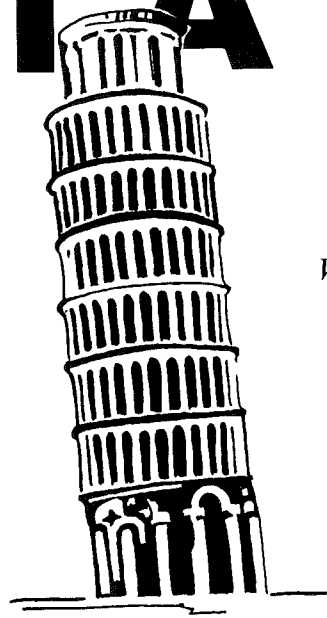
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The Importance of Not Being External

Interview with Roy MacLaren

by Kevin O'Shea

Minister MacLaren leads the International Trade portfolio of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and the Trade Commissioner Service into the next century. After almost one year as Minister and many years thinking about trade and economic issues as a foreign service officer, a businessman and a politician, he offers some views on where we are now and where we are going.

bdp: Minister, what are your impressions on the changes in the Department from the time you served and your time now as Minister? Any really shocking and noticeable changes?

MacLaren: The major change, without question, is the degree to which the External Affairs side of the Department, the political side as it were, has become commercialized. The people in the traditional diplomatic service or practice have become much more commercially-sensitive and see Canada's interests as they should, in part, in commercial terms.

bdp: Minister, do you believe that the present balance in the Department between political officers and the traditional Trade Commissioners is about right? Or should we be, even within the new Department, putting more focus on recruiting commercial officers?

MacLaren: You have to expect that the Trade Minister's answer is going to be somewhat biased. I believe there is certainly room for additional effort, additional training and involvement of our External Affairs officers abroad in the trade promotion side of our activities.

bdp: Do you think the resources within the Trade Commissioner Service today are deployed appropriately from your perspective? One example: We have Trade Commissioners in the United States which is of course our largest trading partner. However, market information is readily available there. Do we need Trade Commissioners

there for trade promotion/trade development or should we be deploying them in less developed markets or dedicating these resources more to trade policy issues?

MacLaren: Well certainly in the recent past when trade with sub-Saharan Africa appeared to be stalled or not going forward as rapidly as we would have wished, and other markets were progressing very well, the previous Government transferred the emphasis from Africa to Asia and Latin America. That emphasis is one we want to continue and enhance.

Other rationalizations or increased emphasis can be seen in our relations with the provincial governments. We are very much concerned at the moment to be able to provide provincial governments with the representation abroad that they used to provide themselves. With fiscal restraint they look increasingly to the federal government to provide that representation. It may be that in those circumstances we should rely more on them to provide the domestic support to exporters.

Another area where I think we can make some real progress in the future is to ensure that we work closely with trade associations and industry associations in our trade promotion activities.

Going back to your previous question, the whole need for emphasis on trade promotion or commercial activities by all our people is not only a recognition of Canadian priorities but also a recognition of what is happening in the world. The globalization, to use the cliché, of the world economy means that all foreign services are much more engaged in commercial activities than they have been in the past. The distinction between the traditional political activities of our diplomats and the commercial side is becoming very blurred. I'm not sure that that won't be a trend that will continue over the next ten years.

bdp: You were a businessman for a long period. Did you ever have recourse to the Trade Commissioner Service?

MacLaren: Yes, many times. When I first joined External Affairs in 1957, I soon learned to have a real respect for our Trade Commissioners and the quality of our Trade Commissioner Service. That respect has only been enhanced by my own business

experience travelling abroad and preparing to go abroad on business. The missions and the Trade Commissioners were most helpful and I greatly benefited from it.

bdp: I noticed the Red Book said that the Government should pay more attention to the promotion of trade in services and the export promotion of small- and medium-sized enterprises. Your business was a services industry and a small enterprise. Have you seen any discernible shift in DFAIT towards helping in those particular niche markets?

MacLaren: I think that services is more than a niche market. It's becoming a substantial part of total trade. That's in part reflected by the Uruguay Round of the GATT addressing trade and services for the first time. Obviously our Trade Commissioners are going to have to and are meeting that challenge of the increased emphasis on trade in services. That is not only amongst developed countries but increasingly so with the developing world as well.

We have obviously given great emphasis to small- and medium-sized enterprises since we came to office. I have been working to ensure that our Trade Commissioners abroad are fully sensitive towards the needs of these enterprises. One of the principal activities in that regard has been to get the banks and the Export Development Corporation working separately and together to help finance exports of small- and medium-sized enterprises. So it's working. It's coming but we have some distance to go yet. We have got to get out into all corners of Canada and ensure that everyone is aware of the services and support we can provide for small- and medium-sized business.

bdp: Minister, it is almost a year since you have been in office. Is there a particular highlight in your first year in office that springs to mind as your most memorable occasion?

MacLaren: Obviously the conclusion of the Uruguay Round and the coming into effect of NAFTA were two major events. Both of them have reduced trade and non-tariff barriers and injected rules-based regimes into services and trade and agriculture. Now the challenge is to ensure that

Canadian companies are able to take full advantage of those increased opportunities abroad. I guess that is my principal emphasis and has been the event that has impressed itself on me.

bdp: And the flip side of this? What has been your major disappointment?

MacLaren: I have not had any disappointments, I am glad to say. There are lots of challenges.

bdp: Not even trade negotiations with the United States?

MacLaren: Well, that's been certainly difficult. I guess if I did have one disappointment, if you wish to put it that way, is that, despite our GATT and NAFTA commitments, Canadian/US trade is still marked by some substantial disputes. They don't account for a massive part of our total trade but they seem to me incongruous in a free trade relationship. I want to work with the Americans and Mexicans to ensure that we can reduce those points of abrasion as rapidly as possible.

bdp: Minister, your priorities for the next year?

MacLaren: Regionally, Asia and Latin America. Secondly, to try to ensure that we make some progress in reducing the impact of US anti-dumping laws on bilateral and trilateral trade. Three, that we work towards the implementation of the World Trade Organization. Finally, above all things, we get small- and medium-sized Canadian businesses more involved in exporting.

bdp: Minister, the Red Book talks about looking at the role of the Trade Commissioner Service in cooperation with the trade associations and others. Have you any particular thoughts or ideas on what is the appropriate role or direction of the Trade Commissioner Service in the future?

MacLaren: I think what we should all recognize is that the traditional trade barriers have been reduced or eliminated. Global trade is opening to a degree that we have not seen before. Investment and trade march hand in hand and indeed to a substantial degree trade and investment are becoming indistinguishable. I think we are going to see increasingly an emphasis on joint ventures — Canadian companies involved in joint ventures with local partners. We already see it in Mexico and in much of Asia. I think that's the next

challenge for our Trade Commissioner Service over the next decade.

bdp: Are you still writing memoirs?

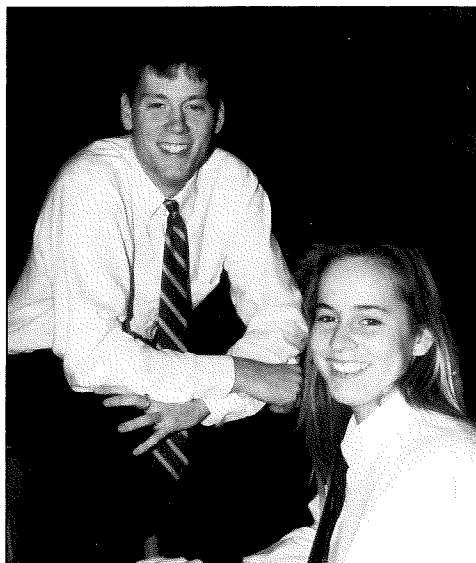
MacLaren: I have written a book about a Canadian who was an African explorer and that will be out early next year. But no, I haven't been keeping a diary as it were.

bdp: Do you know any good Trade Commissioner stories?

MacLaren: I do recall when I was at the first UNCTAD conference in 1964 in Geneva, Dana Wilgress was the head of our delegation. During the inevitable longueurs of the four-month conference Dana Wilgress used to regale me with stories of the Trade Commissioner Service prior to the First World War in 1913. I realized then and I have realized since, that the Trade Commissioner Service has a long and honourable history. So my own knowledge of the Trade Commissioner Service, either first hand or second hand, stretches back 80 years.

bdp: Thank you very much for your time, Minister.

Kevin O'Shea works in the Bureau of Assistance to Central and Eastern Europe. He has served in Accra and POECD.



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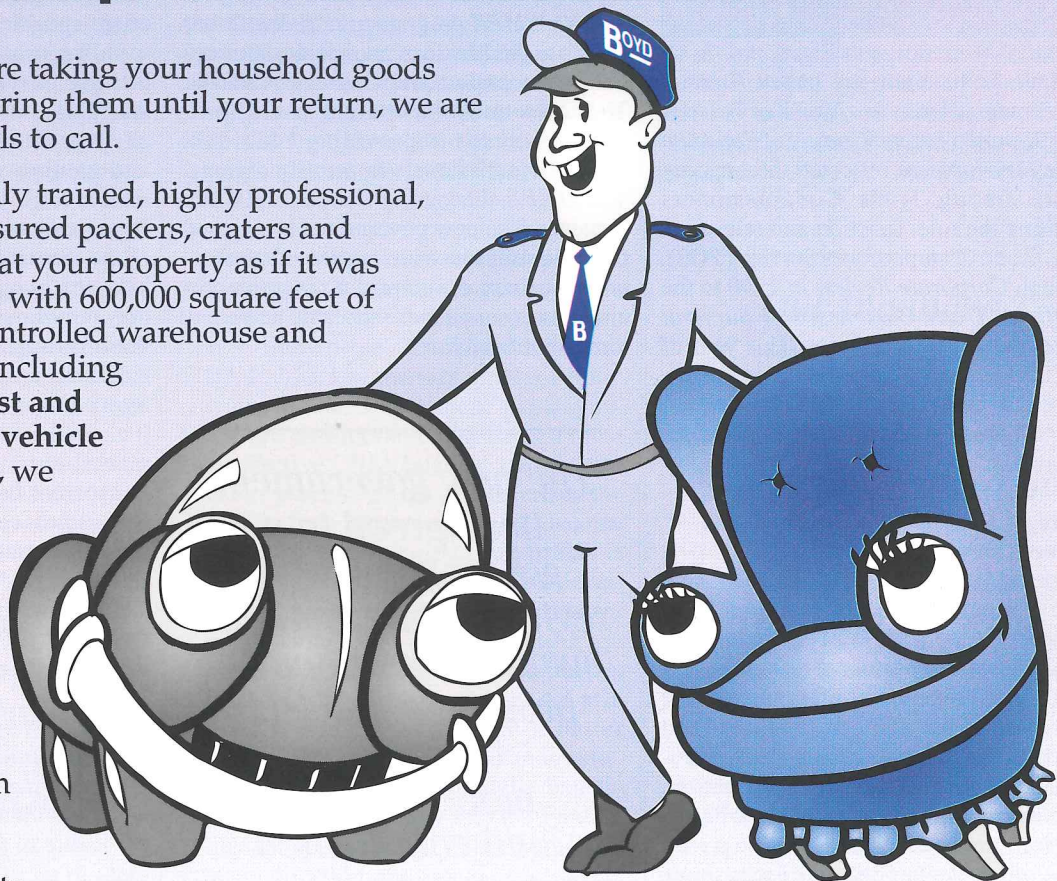
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Into the Future

by Andrew Griffith

The completion of the Uruguay Round and the implementation of NAFTA inaugurate the second century for our Trade Commissioner Service. Andrew Griffith looks at the ongoing evolution of the TCS and points out directions for the next century.

Two years ago, my paper *From a Trading Nation to a Nation of Traders: Toward a Second Century of Canadian Trade Development* reflected the ongoing debate among Trade Commissioners regarding the role, function and relevance of the Trade Commissioner Service (TCS). Through *Corporate Review in 1990* to the *Unofficial Trade Commissioner Survival Guide*, the debate continues. This year of the TCS Centenary provides an opportune moment to look back at the issues raised over past years and how the focus of debate is changing.

Strategic Approach to International Business Development

The debate has highlighted the need for a more strategic approach to international business development. In an environment of limited fiscal and personnel resources, it is argued that government programs should concentrate on sectors, regions and approaches where such assistance is instrumental to private sector success. Moreover, a more sophisticated approach to international business development by the private sector, whereby our clients are increasingly integrating trade, technology and investment approaches to expansion and, of equal importance, are more aware of policy and access issues, forces an equally sophisticated response on the part of government.

This approach was considered heretical by many who argued that Trade Commissioners provided an essential service to companies in all markets and all sectors. Universality was largely unquestioned. Today, implicitly or explicitly, a more strategic approach, incorporating such concepts as differentiating our clients, providing value-added and targeting has become ubiquitous in publications as diverse as *The Unofficial Trade Commissioner Survival*

Guide, the bulletins of the Trade Development Branch and the *International Trade Business Plan* (ITBP).

Efforts from within are encouraging. Innovative targeted programs such as the *Action Plan for Japan* — the “agent of change” approach at its best, whereby government encourages industry-based cooperation in adapting to the challenge of the Japanese market — have been developed. The *NEWMEX* program to introduce companies to the Mexican market incorporates obligatory export preparation in Canada. The Department has started to shift program resources to providing additional Trade Commissioners in priority regions. The *ITBP* is becoming sharper and more strategic. The new government has agreed to a government-wide review of international business development programs precisely to ensure a more strategic and coordinated approach.

The new government has agreed to a government-wide review of international business development programs precisely to ensure a more strategic and coordinated approach.

The new generation of Trade Commissioners have more varied backgrounds, higher educational qualifications and more sophisticated expectations of what being a Trade Commissioner in the 1990s means, reflecting the more sophisticated approaches of many of our clients. They bring a stronger policy sense to the service, expecting to have a mix of policy and development assignments, recognizing the importance of each to the private sector. They are more demanding of their managers, expecting

managers to be able to set strategic directions and establish priorities.

This change in corporate culture is far from complete. A brief review of ongoing issues is encouraging:

Differentiation of markets, sectors and clients: There is more differentiation and targeting than acknowledged yet we are often poor at articulating our region, sector and client-specific objectives. We have started to shift resources into the new growth sectors (e.g. services). We are being forced to articulate our objectives with respect to client profile (e.g., the emphasis on small and medium sized enterprises). Yet we remain largely unable, given the nature of the organization, politics and personalities of the Department, to make real trade-offs between geographic regions. We still do not, in policy and program terms, distinguish between market size and potential for individual companies, and market and client requirements for government assistance (i.e., markets with high potential but where market entry is difficult because of less transparent business practices and different business cultures). As a result, resources are concentrated in the USA and Europe. The modest shift of resources to Asia and Latin America have been taken only at that level given the current structure of the Department.

PEMD (Program for Export Market Development): The shift in emphasis towards a market strategy approach rather than individual events has largely changed the nature of the program from an entitlement to an incentive program. There has been some criticism that companies still confuse a “shopping list” of activities with a business development strategy and we may need to consider obligatory exporter preparation and counselling. SME focus groups tell us this approach is most welcome. They tell us as well that what they really want is information and service, not more funding. If we are in a situation of increasing trade-offs, what would these companies prefer: maintaining PEMD and other programs or strengthening our representation in priority markets and sectors?

Universality: It is widely accepted that we can no longer afford universality. Individual

posts and some geographics have established more systematic and effective screening techniques, with senior management support. This post-based approach does not help us address the governmental coordination approach. Companies can choose to participate in a number of missions led by different government departments and levels of government. The ITBP has helped in this area but lacks "enforcement" muscle.

The most appropriate approach is the definition and establishment of clear levels of service. This applies to both public and private sector clients. For the private sector, we need to ensure that expectations are reasonable and that we are able to deliver. If we cannot deliver, or believe we should not deliver a particular service, then we have to advise companies up front. For the public sector, we should equally consider a fee for service for other government department (OGD) missions and trade fairs. If we collect full co-location costs for OGDs within posts, should we not also impose service charges for missions? This would reduce the number of trade events and make OGDs understand our cost structure (and, more important, opportunity costs) for providing such a service. A "performance" contract with OGDs would thus impose service requirements on both other departments and ourselves, ensuring better prepared mission participants and better service at post.

There are considerable questions on just how effective CIDA bilateral trade initiatives have been.

Tracking system: The tracking system is finally being revamped as a proper evaluation tool. Integration of in-house data bases is proceeding. This should provide us with the ability to assess the effectiveness of programs through tracking our clients' participation in trade events, use of programs such as PEMD and use of other post services. This will further enhance sourcing, as this data is compared to the actual "international track record" of individual companies. We may wish to define other criteria as well as to assess a company's readiness to pursue

specific market opportunities. Future challenge includes development of "cross-walks" with CIDA Inc and Export Development Corporation databases to provide the base to assess the effectiveness of different programs as well as ensuring that WIN Exports is an effective sourcing tool.

Delivery mechanisms: Outside delivery should be more strongly oriented towards cost sharing. We should not be creating more intermediaries by providing funding. The policy on funding for business and bilateral trade associations — essentially, funding should support incremental activities and should sunset — will be buttressed by ongoing fiscal pressures.

Aid-Trade Linkages: This is an ongoing and major management challenge. CIDA Inc is not the main issue. Consolidation/coordination with other trade development programs through shared data bases could dramatically improve the effectiveness of CIDA Inc, by forcing more rigorous evaluations.

We need to focus more on CIDA bilateral programming. While hard numbers are not available, CIDA trade development spending (e.g., Enterprise Canada-Malaysia, CIDA Inc), in key markets of Asia Pacific may exceed our Department's spending. There are considerable questions on just how effective CIDA bilateral trade initiatives have been. Of equal concern is the shift away from programs in middle income countries such as Indonesia and Brazil. Is it really in Canada's economic and development interests that close to fifty percent of bilateral funding is earmarked to Africa, where development prospects are poor in comparison to Asia Pacific and Latin America? Can we not strike a better balance between purely humanitarian assistance and that which is mutually beneficial? While it is unlikely that the Foreign Policy Review will lead to such dramatic shifts in direction, we should nevertheless continue to press for such change.

Science and Technology: This is the orphan of international business development which needs to be integrated into our programs. Our lack of strategic focus reflects Canada's lack of strategic focus in S&T. The Department's natural focus is "technology acquisition" for our SME clients, often through investment linkages, rather than "science" which is institution- and government-based, access to which requires significant funding. Given the continuum of trade, technology and investment, more training for officers, and better deployment of our existing base of technically-literate officers, particularly

in OECD markets, may be required to address the issue, with specialized expertise in certain key sectors/markets as appropriate.

While there has been a change in how more and more Trade Commissioners approach their work, there has been less effective change in how we should be organized to design, implement and deliver our programs and services.

An Appropriate Organizational Structure?

The current post-consolidation Department has remained intact despite major government-wide reorganization and two changes in government. Our official name has (finally) been changed to the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. The fundamental argument for an integrated department — coherent management of international relations — remains valid. Given this framework, do we still face serious internal organizational programs?

Our business development value-added lies in the quality of service provided by our international network and not headquarters.

The reorganization of June 1993 reduced the number of functional Trade Branches from three to two. Implicit in the reorganization was the need to strengthen the policy capability within the Department in both trade development and trade policy. The geographic Branches are different. Their role is inherently more program management and delivery than design or policy making. Given this, does the current structure of two parallel geographic divisions in each Branch — i.e., trade, and political relations — provide effective direction and support to our trade objectives?

According to our private sector clients, our business development value-added lies in the quality of service provided by our international network and not headquarters. Trade policy is different with a strong and visible Ottawa role. Providing strategic direction to this international network would

appear to be the major function of headquarters, in order to ensure that the posts respond to government and industry priorities.

The geographic Branches have concentrated on filtering of government and private sector enquiries, recruiting for trade events, preparing briefing material, liaising with other domestic players and resource management. This role needs to be refined given today's technology.

With SIGNET (the Department's information technology), the tendency to go directly to posts will increase even further. Briefing material will be even more compiled by post. Given the high costs of resources abroad, briefing requirements need to be reduced to what is needed and what will be read. Direct access means that the only way to limit the insatiable appetite both within and outside the bureaucracy will be through the establishment of policy guidelines to define the mandate of the particular posts — i.e., levels of service guidelines for both public and private sector clients. The filtration of demands on posts by the geographic divisions will be central to the effectiveness of the international network.

Trade officers are concerned that political officers may not be sufficiently service-oriented to respond to private sector requirements.

We also need to get the geographic divisions out of fairs and missions through the creation of a central "logistics support group". One recruitment contact point would greatly reduce client irritation at multiple contact points. It should also free up the geographic divisions to focus more on what the posts should be targeting in their respective regions.

What alternatives are there to the current parallel structure of political and trade divisions within the geographic Branches? Country desks/divisions are feared by many trade and political directors. Trade officers are concerned that political officers may not be sufficiently service-oriented to respond to private sector requirements. Political officers in turn may question the political and

policy judgement of trade officers. As a result, the extension of country desks, destreaming, is highly contentious.

Yet from a management and post perspective, the country desk could provide greater focus and integration. For example, it might be particularly beneficial for secondary markets (e.g., Sweden, Malaysia) where the post would have one dedicated officer rather than two half-officers in two divisions. Country teams, being implemented on a pilot basis within Asia Pacific Branch, should provide greater coherence, focus and management to our posts.

If separate divisions are preferred, the sectoral model of large single country geographic divisions of the USA and Japan could be considered for Western Europe and Latin America. This would likely mean a shift away from individual country "action plans" toward regional "action plans" such as the plan developed for the telecom sector in Latin America. This regional "overview" and direction could be an effective complement to the particular geographic expertise at post. Yet applying the US or Japan trade division model to other geographic divisions risks creating the impression of rebuilding a sectoral capability rather than applying the matrix structure within the geographics. Given senior management's decision last year to focus the sectoral function on coordination, liaison and dissemination, the establishment of sector expertise within geographic divisions may send the wrong signal to other government departments.

The goal in any such reorganization should be a leaner headquarters in favour of strengthening resources abroad. Both models — the country desk and the "sector" desk — could free up resources to be redeveloped elsewhere, presupposing greater central agency flexibility with respect to personnel management. We may need to consider a number of pilot projects, recognizing that different models may be appropriate for different regions.

Organizational change without personnel management change is unlikely to be productive. Greater specialization, geographic and functional, imposes some operational constraints. Clients continue to complain about Trade Commissioners being only posted for two or three years. High relocation costs provide an additional impetus. Three year postings should be the absolute minimum, matched with a "domestic" posting in the geographic division, ideally both prior and following the posting. This would not preclude assignment in functional branches but would serve to address the concerns of our clients. Can we not aim that fifty percent of all trade officers are placed

in the appropriate geographic division for a one year period following postings?

Entering the Second Century

The fundamentals of a Department of International Trade may not change — the provision of quality value-added service to our private sector clients — but definitions and strategies may. The end result should be even more differentiated levels of service, depending on markets, sectors and client characteristics.

With the completion of the Uruguay Round and the implementation of NAFTA, government needs to address how best to position and assist Canadian companies to take advantage of the market access to painstakingly negotiated.

The communications and political challenge in telling our clients, both inside and outside government, what services we will and will not provide, is not to be underestimated. Yet the responsiveness to client needs implicit in greater differentiation provides the means to address this communications challenge.

With the completion of the Uruguay Round and the implementation of NAFTA, government needs to address how best to position and assist Canadian companies to take advantage of the market access to painstakingly negotiated. A more auspicious start to the second century could not exist. It is for us, collectively and individually, to ensure that this opportunity translates into continued and ongoing renewal of the Trade Commissioner Service. 

Andrew Griffith was former Executive Assistant to the Deputy Minister for International Trade. He is now Counsellor in Geneva and has served in Riyadh, Cairo and Buenos Aires.

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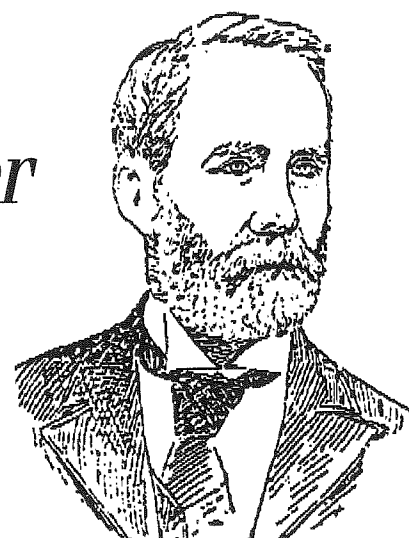
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VAN LINES AGENT

John Short Larke, the first Trade Commissioner

TCS: John Larke was Canada's first professional Trade Commissioner, appointed in 1894. He set a course for the generations of the first hundred years of the Trade Commissioner Service.



by David Knowles and Hector Mackenzie

In December 1894, John Larke left Vancouver aboard the *Warrimoo* to begin the long sea voyage to the Australian colonies. In a sense, that journey had begun four months earlier, when the first Minister of Trade and Commerce, Senator Mackenzie

The Initial Instructions

Larke's instructions were simple to state, if not always so easy to achieve:

- "1. To collect and send to the department information both on the general trading requirements in Australia and on specific trade opportunities.
2. To report the names and addresses of firms dealing in products made in Canada.
3. To pass on to dealers in Australia the names of Canadian firms anxious to sell products in which they might be interested.
4. To report to the minister each month on the demand for goods that Canada could supply and on related trade matters.
5. To answer correspondence received both from Australian firms and from Canadian suppliers dealing with commercial matters.
6. To promote trade between Canada and Australia in every possible way while acting under instructions from the minister of trade and commerce."

[From O. Mary Hill, *Canada's Salesman to the World: The Department of Trade and Commerce, 1892-1939* (McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1977), page 64]

Bowell, recommended that Larke "be appointed a Commercial Agent, with instructions to visit the Manufacturing and Trade centres of Canada and other such Countries as may be deemed advisable for the purpose of investigating and reporting upon the requirements of the various markets of the world with a view to more extended trade with such Countries, not only in manufactures but in the agricultural products of Canada." Larke thus became the first full-time salaried trade representative of Canada.

Previously, local residents had been appointed on a part-time basis to promote Canada's exports in places like the West Indies, though there were still only six part-time commercial agents by 1894. Other markets were served by Agents General (as in London) or trade missions travelling from Canada. Indeed it was such a trade mission to Australia by Bowell, in the autumn of 1893, that had prompted Larke's appointment.

Larke's initial territory included the states of New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania and New Zealand. In 1903, Larke divided Australia with the newly arrived D.H. Ross, who had been sent to Melbourne, Victoria, as part of the first real expansion of the nascent service. But it was not until May 13, 1910, that a separate Trade Commissioner (the term which replaced "commercial agent" in 1907) was sent to New Zealand. As with his colleagues and successors, Larke was not recognized officially as a diplomatic or consular representative, a fact that compounded the confusion and difficulty caused by his initial title.

Whatever his title or his territory, Larke was at work from the moment he stepped off the gangplank in Sydney. On his arrival, he described his mandate to the local press as the promotion of trade between Canada and the Australian colonies, as well as the improvement of shipping services and

the development of the Pacific cable to facilitate communications. As he commented, how he accomplished these tasks was left 'pretty much in my own hands' by Bowell, by then Prime Minister of Canada.

After his appointment but before his departure, Larke had toured Canadian towns and cities to learn more about Canadian agriculture and industry. This anticipated later pre-posting tours. Not until 1905, after considerable pressure from the Canadian Manufacturers Association, was Larke invited back to Canada to reacquaint himself with Canadian firms and products. That busy tour also presaged a later phenomenon.

Within days of his arrival in Sydney, Larke was reporting to Bowell that he would be accompanying the premier of New South Wales to a meeting of the state premiers, an early manifestation of his interest and involvement in Australian confederation. Unfortunately, that gathering, as he later wrote, was so preoccupied with the political future of the colonies that it paid little attention to his own concern for improvements and subsidy for the shipping service between Canada and Australia.

Over half of Larke's first formal report dealt with trade prospects and impediments, supplemented by words of advice for Canadian firms wanting to do business in Australia. His second report (in March 1895) covered a wide range of activities and inquiries (from cigars to pianos), as well as sales of a variety of goods, including cottons, rubber goods, spokes and carriage wheels. Perhaps more impressive was a long list of Canadian firms with whom Larke was in contact to encourage trade with Australia. Though few of his later reports have survived (a fate shared with most of the correspondence of the Department of Trade and Commerce for the years 1902 to 1910), his other early reports follow a similar pattern. Comments

on the state of trade and current developments are interspersed with occasional statistics, commodity notes, suggestions of trade prospects, warnings about inhibitions to trade, discussion of transportation arrangements between Canada and Australia, reports on Canadian visitors, accounts of assistance rendered to Canadian travellers in distress (often out of his own pocket) and, perhaps inevitably, claims for expenses. Appended to these reports would be copies of letters written to Canadian firms about commercial prospects in Australia as well as correspondence with Sir Sandford Fleming and others about the Pacific cable. Larke's efforts in the latter case helped to secure support for the project and the first messages were sent on October 31, 1902.

Whatever his title or his territory, Larke was at work from the moment he stepped off the gangplank in Sydney. On his arrival, he described his mandate to the local press as the promotion of trade between Canada and Australia.

Not surprisingly, Larke was also enlisted in Australia for speeches and consultations about Canada, particularly the Canadian experience with federalism. This was a fascinating and productive time for a Canadian trade representative in Australia: Australian-Canadian trade increased dramatically; the Pacific cable facilitated direct communications; transportation across the Pacific improved; and the Commonwealth of Australia became the second dominion in the British Empire. While Larke was in Australia, Canada's exports to that country increased tenfold and Canada's imports from Australia more than doubled. By 1911, Australia was Canada's fourth largest market, a position closely related to Larke's other quest, the improvement in shipping services between the two countries.

Larke died in April 1910, working to promote and to defend Canadian exports to his

final days, still waiting for the raise promised when he accepted his position! His final letter includes an account of his activities, a reference to his illness, a reminder about his salary and a concern about provision for return of his wife and daughter to Canada if he should die. According to one of his two sons, Larke was working until 48 hours before his death, though he had been ill for weeks. Rather poignantly, his obituary in the *Sydney Morning Herald* appeared side-by-side with a letter defending Canadian exporters against suggestions from a Commissioner of the British Board of Trade that they were trying to 'palm off inferior goods' on unsuspecting Australians.

In keeping with the times, Larke's appointment had been a political one, as were all of those before the First World War. His subsequent record in public service, however, amply demonstrated that he served Canada well.

David Knowles is in the Trade Development Branch. He has served in Ottawa in the trade divisions in Western Europe, Pacific & Asia, US and Latin America.

*Hector Mackenzie is the Senior Departmental Historian of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and a member of the Editorial Board of **bout de papier**.*

Milestones in History of Trade Commissioner Service

- 1887 Act Respecting the Department of Trade and Commerce passed and given Royal Assent
- 1892 First commercial agents appointed in British colonies in the West Indies (all permanent residents)
- 1892 Act Respecting the Department of Trade and Commerce proclaimed
- 1892 Mackenzie Bowell appointed as first Minister of Trade and Commerce
- 1893 Trade mission to Australia
- 1894 Minister of Trade and Commerce authorized to appoint full-time Commercial Agents
- 1894 John Short Larke sails to Australia as Commercial Agent
- 1904 First issue of *Weekly Report* with trade information from commercial agents
- 1907 'Trade Commissioner' replaces 'Commercial Agent' as term for full-time representatives
- 1911 *Instruction to Canadian Trade Officials* (manual) appears
- 1911 'Trade Commissioner Service' renamed 'Commercial Intelligence Service'
- 1914 First recruiting of economic specialists from universities as career officers (Norman Johnston and L. Dana Wilgress)
- 1918 Appointments to Outside Service brought under Civil Service Commission
- 1921 Director of Commercial Intelligence Service created
- 1922 *Commercial Intelligence Journal* replaces *Weekly Report*
- 1922 Classification system for trade commissioners created
- 1929 James Langley transferred from Kobe to Tokyo — first trade commissioner formally attached to a diplomatic mission
- 1932 Director of Commercial Intelligence Service (L.D. Wilgress) participates in trade negotiations for first time (Imperial Economic Conference, Ottawa)
- 1940 Wilgress first Trade Commissioner to become Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce
- 1945 'Commercial Intelligence Service' reverts to 'Trade Commissioner Service'
- 1947-8 Wilgress heads Canadian delegations to conferences leading to General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Geneva and Havana)
- 1969 Department of Trade and Commerce merges with Department of Industry to form Department of Industry Trade and Commerce
- 1982 Trade function of ITC, including Trade Commissioner Service and International Marketing, International Trade Relations and Defence Programmes, plus assorted other offices transferred to Department of External Affairs (later renamed External Affairs and International Trade Canada)
- 1993 Among other changes, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade replaces EAITC

John Short Larke (1840-1910)

John Short Larke was born on May 28, 1840, in Lascelles, Cornwall, England. When he was four years old, his family emigrated to Canada, settling in Oshawa, Canada West. Larke was educated at Oshawa Grammar School and later attended Victoria University, but his health failed and he did not obtain his degree. He worked first for the Post Office, then for the Grand Trunk Railway, before teaching school for three years.

In 1865, Larke became editor of the weekly *Oshawa Vindicator* and later its sole proprietor. He was also involved in a syndicate that controlled the management of the principal papers of Ontario County. After he sold his newspaper interests, he became associated with the Oshawa Stove Company, an iron foundry firm which he managed and later owned. Apparently, he was an inventive and innovative businessman, who patented a stove design which was "widely adopted" in Canada. He also took a progressive approach to employee participation in the ownership of his firm.

A lifelong Conservative, Larke was active in politics, serving at different times as chairman of the local Board of Education and Reeve of the Town Council. He was also a lay preacher who worked hard for unity in the Methodist Church and for the cause of temperance. Despite the latter commitment, he was a close friend of Sir John A. Macdonald. Larke worked in national political campaigns, once even running, unsuccessfully, for Parliament himself. In 1893, he was named "Executive Commissioner for Canada" at the World's Columbian Exhibition held in Chicago. Among those who attended the opening of Canada's impressive exhibition there was the Minister of Trade and Commerce. So when the time came to appoint a commercial agent to the Australian colonies, Larke was already well qualified and well known to Bowell. When he recommended Larke's appointment to the prime minister, Bowell commented that he knew "of no man in Canada so well fitted for this position as Larke, he having a thorough knowledge of the manufacturing and other resources of the Country; and what is of equal or greater importance, he is an enthusiast on the extension of Canadian trade. He has also a happy aptitude for public speaking and could do much good in addressing Boards of Trade and other bodies."

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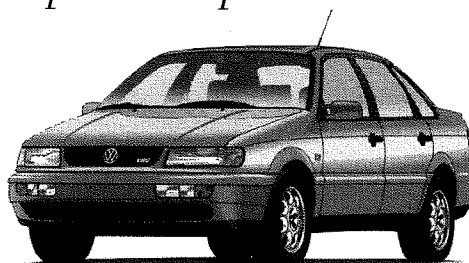
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Human Rights and Trade Relations: A Personal Commentary

The Tiananmen Massacre in 1989. The Canadian Ambassador to China at this time remembers how the crisis was managed and offers his own personal views on human rights and trade relations.

by Earl Drake

Photo by David Edwards

“As soon as the killing stops, we should return to China and make a financial killing in this lucrative market.” These remarkably insensitive comments by a Canadian businessman at the time of his evacuation from China just after the Tiananmen tragedy in 1989, were widely quoted by the media and became an emotional focal point for a debate which was to continue for years afterwards. The media, human rights activists and some members of the general public pointed to them as an illustration of the compartmentalized thinking of businessmen and the need to promote respect for human rights by linking human rights and trade. Others, including many businessmen, academics and government officials, were torn between revulsion over the recent brutality and the need to retain an objective, balanced and long-term engagement with China in order to pursue a host of Canadian interests there.

My own view has always been that it is important to conduct a comprehensive policy toward China, involving both trade and human rights as well as other economic, social, strategic and political objectives, but that we should be very careful in choosing the best means of achieving them. While an emotional response was very understandable in 1989, it was not a good basis for devising a long-term foreign policy, nor was linking trade and human rights an effective way to pursue either goal. This article reports on my personal involvement in trying to defuse this persistent tendency to emotionalism and linkage.

Emotionalism

Soon after the evacuation of most Canadians from Beijing, as Canadian Ambassador to China, I was summoned to Ottawa to meet Minister Joe Clark and to appear before a Parliamentary Committee and some gatherings of Canadian stakeholders. Although the Minister was calm and objective about Canada-China relations, I found many others were very emotional on the subject.

People had been unusually affected by the vivid television coverage of the

demonstrations in Tiananmen Square and their brutal suppression. The coverage had been massive and dramatic, if not very objective. Day after day, Canadian viewers had seen unforgettable images of hunger-striking, unarmed students, brandishing banners and symbols calling for an end to corruption and repression. Then came the grim finale, with tanks crushing all opposition and leaving a trail of carnage and shattered aspirations. Canadians naturally identified with the students and wanted to express their outrage at their treatment. Most had no sympathy with businessmen who wanted to continue doing profitable business with these butchers!

It was in this context that, after sounding out a range of Canadian stakeholders, Minister Clark decided to express moral outrage over the human rights abuses and then to strike a balance between high-minded internationalism and a tough assessment of our national interests. In typical Canadian fashion, we cobbled together a compromise based mainly on the realistic traditions of Machiavelli and Metternich but salted with Pearsonian idealism.

The main elements in Joe Clark's policy statement on June 30, 1989, were as follows:

1. "Tiananmen Square and the subsequent campaign of repression have changed the relationship between Canada and China. The Chinese authorities have called for 'business as usual'; this cannot be accepted."
2. Do not isolate China. Existing links by government, industry and academics should be preserved. Focus on people-to-people exchanges.
3. Avoid programs which benefit the military or state propaganda apparatus.
4. Defer indefinitely high-level contacts with the Chinese Government.
5. Pursue human rights action in UN agencies.
6. Withdraw from three development assistance projects and defer some others.
7. Cancel one Export Development Corporation (EDC) project, apply the above criteria in considering new EDC projects and downgrade trade

representation in Beijing "in anticipation of an expected downturn in trade activity."

Nowhere was the word "sanctions" used. It was also stressed that this was a first response and the policy would be reviewed in the light of changing circumstances.

I returned to my post in China ten days later satisfied that Canada had a good position that met the immediate need to express the outrage of Canadians at human rights violations by the current regime while preserving long-term links with China, a country of great importance to us economically, socially, politically and strategically. However, I had underestimated the lingering emotion which China would continue to stir in many Canadian (and American) breasts.

The first warning came when we announced an EDC loan for telephone equipment to China in the fall of 1989. This loan was clearly within the Minister's guidelines. It had been approved before June 4, 1989, and did not support the military or state propaganda apparatus. Moreover, we had hoped that, by increasing telephone communications, we would encourage the spread of information and ideas and promote people-to-people exchanges.

We had underestimated public outrage. And we had some bad luck: just at that time, the international press discovered that the Chinese Government had installed special telephones for informers to report on any friends and relatives who had supported student demonstrations. They were instantly dubbed "fink phones" and presented as another example of Chinese evil and duplicity. The Canadian media immediately linked the two stories and gave the public the impression that the taxpayers were subsidizing the installation of the hated "fink phones."

The next evidence of continuing strong emotion came on China's national day in October 1989. As usual, the Chinese authorities invited diplomats and resident journalists to attend an official banquet at the Great Hall of the People. Few of us felt comfortable about attending that year but decided that protocol required it as long as our governments maintained diplomatic

relations. The journalists decided they should go in case any newsworthy announcements were made. During the desultory meal, I wandered over to the area where the journalists were gathered. To my surprise, one Canadian journalist had dressed in mourning for those killed on June 4 and another, who dearly loved to eat, was refusing to do so on this occasion, stating loudly: "I don't eat food served by people with blood on their hands." So much for unemotional journalistic detachment!

There was emotion on the Chinese side too. Premier Li Peng had been to Canada and liked it. When I paid my farewell call on him in September 1990, he asked when Canada was going to normalize relations with China. I replied that he would have to be patient: "The Canadian people have long cared deeply about China and the wound of recent events will take more time to heal."

China — referring to that famous trifle, the massacre of more than 2000 pro-democracy demonstrators in Beijing in 1989." The editorial was accompanied by a cartoon showing a corpse waiting by a Canadian Human Rights Hotline. Unfortunately, the Canadian media approach to China is too often characterized by emotionalism and oversimplification of complex issues — the obverse of the rationality, pragmatism and informed, deeper factual analysis we need as a basis for Canadian policy formulation.

Linkage

In fiscal year 1989/90, the G7 group of major Western industrialized nations used their voting strength to block World Bank lending to China. This bothered the Chinese and the Bank management because the Bank was a major source of capital, technology transfer and management advice

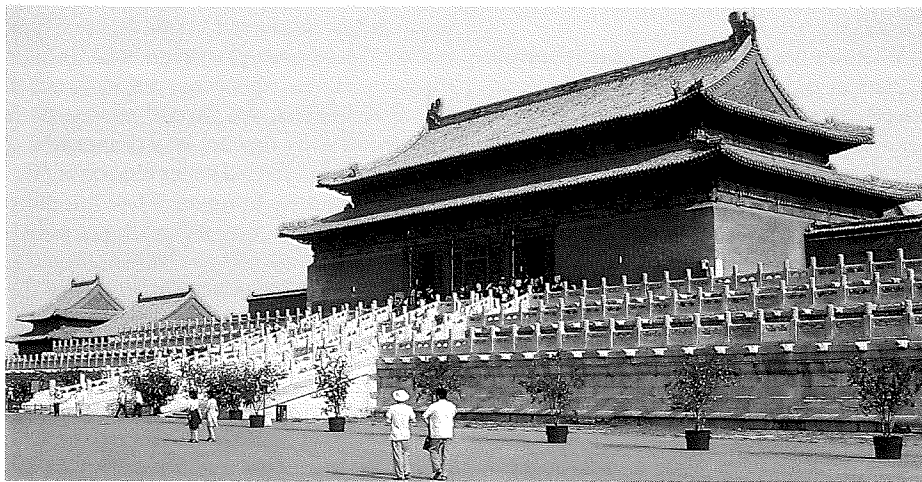
officials, including the USA Secretary of State himself, visited Beijing in unsuccessful attempts to extract sufficient concessions from China to enable the USA to avoid the use of the double-edged sword of MFN withdrawal. Despite President Clinton's recent switch on MFN, the question of linking trade and human rights continues to be debated among some members of the American Congress and the media.

In Canada, the Mulroney Government had begun to give greater emphasis to human rights as a central element of its global foreign policy approximately a year after Tiananmen. Indeed, in late 1991, Prime Minister Mulroney articulated a tougher human rights policy at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Harare.

The Chinese Government was puzzled why, as memories of Tiananmen receded in most of the world, Canada turned up its rhetoric on human rights. We did not subject Beijing to an annual Parliamentary debate on renewal of MFN status but we did give public reprimands to Chinese leaders or snub them on every possible occasion. China welcomed a renewal of Canadian ministerial visits but was unhappy when all these technical visits, aimed at promoting Canadian exports, began with a public scolding about human rights. They were also sensitive to the fact that, when Barbara McDougall was Foreign Minister, she always arranged her schedule to avoid senior Chinese visitors.

After I retired from the Foreign Service in mid-1992, the Chinese frequently asked me as an "old friend" to explain to them privately why Canadian policy toward them was hardening at a time when most other countries were moderating theirs and why Canadians thought their strange approach had the slightest chance of success in respect of either human rights or trade. As my interlocutors pointed out, China had never made a concession on human rights in direct response to public criticism from any foreigner (for reasons of national dignity, they made only goodwill gestures ostensibly based on domestic criteria). Secondly, Canada offered no exports which China could not buy with relative ease from our competitors, so we had virtually no leverage in linking human rights and trade talks.

Not only the Chinese were puzzled by Canadian policy. As an officer of the Canada Chinese Business Council in Vancouver, I was frequently questioned by businessmen and others interested in China about Canadian government aims and methods. What were Canada's current objectives in China? Was human rights or trade more important? Why was the government both-ering to send trade delegations to China if



Tiananmen Square — business as usual.

Then, to my surprise, he flushed, turned abruptly away from me and snarled: "You take all the time you want. We don't need you!" This outwardly-phlegmatic leader clearly felt more strongly on the issue than anyone had ever imagined.

Emotion continues to creep into media commentary on this issue, even years later. During the recent visit of the Vice-Premier of China, *The Globe and Mail* presented a lead editorial on April 29, 1994, entitled "Principles for Sale." It included such emotive passages as: "Canada is passionately, desperately keen to get in on the Chinese economic miracle, whatever the cost to its principles. None of the [Canadian] visitors so far has made a fuss about human rights, not even the Governor-General, who, instead of representing the ideals on which his country is founded, has descended to the level of microchip salesman ... Foreign Minister André Ouellet has made it clear that he does not want to get 'bogged down by Tiananmen Square' in his dealings with

in the modernizing of the Chinese economy. This opposition was initiated by the USA but, by the accident of seniority at the World Bank Board, the Canadian director became the most visible spokesman for this G7 policy of economic sanctions.

After 1990, the G7 common line on China slowly fell apart. The Japanese pressed to drop this common G7 policy and began to normalize their bilateral economic relations with China. Gradually, the Europeans followed the Japanese lead. But in the USA, things were different. The Bush Administration was sympathetic to normalizing relations with China but had to face strong Congressional pressure to threaten China annually with the withdrawal of MFN [Most Favored Nation] trade status unless China improved its human rights performance.

With the election of President Clinton, the drama heightened because the executive branch joined Congress in using the threat of MFN withdrawal to try to obtain human rights' concessions. Several senior

everyone knew they would be rendered ineffective by linking them to a public criticism on human rights? Why were we singling out China for public criticism when many other countries were also human rights' offenders? Why was Canada not giving an unqualified signal to its exporters to plunge into the lucrative China market, like all our competitors? Could it not be argued that the best prospect for democracy in China was to have our businessmen promote trade, investment and improved management and technology, thus encouraging peaceful evolution along the lines of neighbouring Asian countries toward economic prosperity and the strengthening of an emerging middle class?

With the election of the Chrétien Government in late 1993, Canada's policy toward China shifted sharply. Roy MacLaren flew to Vancouver, within days of taking office as the new Trade Minister, to declare that the Government's highest priority would be to create jobs through increased exports to places like China. Subsequently, Prime Minister Chrétien candidly acknowledged Canada's limited ability to influence human rights in China, thereby opening himself to vocal criticism that he had little interest in this issue. Many people welcomed the new pragmatism and the de-linking of trade and human rights — but some wondered if the pendulum had swung too far and we were now stressing trade to the virtual exclusion of human rights.

International Trade and the New Conditionality

I was recently asked to present my personal views on "international trade and 'the new conditionality'" to the Joint Parliamentary Committee reviewing Canadian Foreign Policy. My comments were phrased in global terms but were largely derived from my experience with China.

In principle, I believe it is right for Canada to encourage not only the liberalization of international trade but also greater respect for human rights, environmental integrity and humane working conditions because these are policies which Canada practices at home and believes will contribute to international peace and stability, sustained and balanced economic growth and enhanced quality of life. In practice, however, I believe that it would be counterproductive to seek these objectives by linking them. We should use appropriate means to pursue these disparate aims.

I say this because Canada is a middle-sized economic power, which does not have the capacity to force policy change on any other country. Indeed, it has a good record of solving international problems through

dialogue and negotiation in multilateral fora rather than through imposing bilateral conditionality. Even super-powers have had great difficulty in forcing fundamental concessions from their trading partners through unilateral economic pressure.

We should also recall that human rights, environmental policies and working conditions are not regarded by most developing countries as legitimate international trade issues; such governance issues are deemed domestic matters or unfair trade barriers. Any attempt to impose trade conditions by rich industrialized countries may be viewed in the Third World as non-tariff barriers to protect their own high-priced local industries. The American-French initiative to link labour standards and trade at the recent world Trade Ministers' meeting was widely regarded as a new form of big power protectionism and cultural imperialism wrapped in the colours of moralism.

Whether we like it or not, the definition of human rights tends to be very culture-bound. Most Asians believed the American version places too much emphasis on political rights and freedoms of *individuals* and not enough on the rights of *the collectivity*, especially the right to subsistence. Even former Japanese PM Hosokawa, an American ally, said on his recent visit to Beijing: "It is not proper to force a Western or European-style democracy on to others."

My view is that Canada should chart its own course to pursue these issues. We should not be too closely associated with big-power bullying. We should adopt a multi-faceted policy along the following lines:

- First, we should de-link trade and governance issues in our bilateral relations with developing countries because linking is ineffective in obtaining results on any of the issues and casts doubts on our good intentions.
- Second, we should encourage, rather than threaten, these countries to pursue good governance as part of modernizing their economies. Moreover, we should concentrate on persuading their leaders in private discussions because it is usually only at the highest level in a developing country government where this type of decision can be made and because a private forum encourages dialogue and enables the other party to contemplate change without the public humiliation of bowing to a foreigner.
- Third, we should use the venue of meetings of the relevant international bodies dealing with human rights to make factual, public criticisms of all countries deviating from internationally-agreed

standards of behaviour. We have found other governments to be more sensitive to public criticism in these multilateral bodies than in bilateral encounters. In addition, we would not be seen as imposing our Western standards or trying to gain trade advantages but, rather, stressing adherence to international obligations.

- Fourth, we should try to target our development assistance programs on governance issues using non-emotive titles like "public management, international law and human development" in order to foster gradual, non-disruptive change from within the developing countries.
- Fifth, we should work with developed and developing country representatives to reach a consensus on these issues in global and regional organizations.

In Conclusion

During the lengthy and sometimes emotional public debate in Canada on our China policy, I had always argued that linking trade and human rights does not serve either interest. Instead, we should pursue both policies in ways that are less-dramatic and fashionable but have a better chance of success. Sometimes, however, I had felt quite isolated from the current thinking of politicians and bureaucrats in Ottawa. Was it a generation gap? Was it the influence of the businessmen and academics whose company I was now keeping? Or was it the pernicious atmosphere of British Columbia, that notorious den of unconventional thought and behaviour?

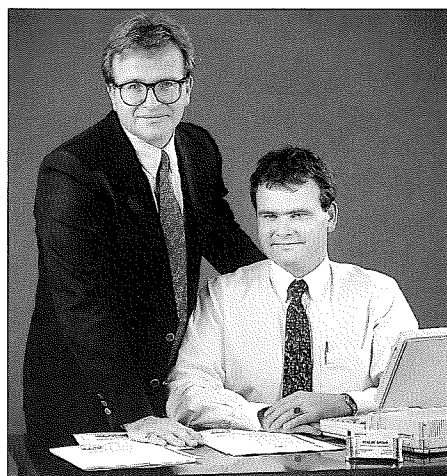
During my recent appearance before the Parliamentary Committee, I was therefore anxious to hear the comments of members, particularly my former Ministers, Senator Allan MacEachen, Kelleher and Carney. With non-partisan nods of approval from Parliamentary colleagues, Committee Co-chair MacEachen concluded that he felt comfortable with my position because it advocated the sort of balanced policies which Canada had usually followed in the past. Perhaps some witnesses would have been chagrined to be told that they had said nothing very original. But after thirty-seven years as a Foreign Service Officer, I found it reassuring to hear that one was considered to be in line with the thinking that had long stood Canadian foreign policy in good stead. 

Earl Drake is former Canadian Ambassador to Indonesia and China. He has had assignments to Pakistan, Malaysia and at the OECD and World Bank. He is currently a professor at Simon Fraser University and Executive Vice President of the Canada-China Business Council.

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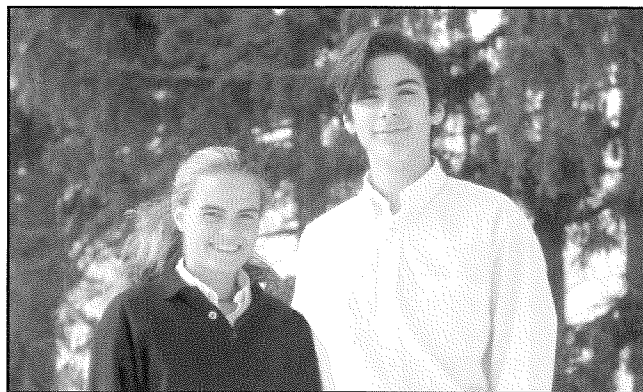
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Early Days in the Life of a Trade Commissioner's Family

Seventy years ago, what was it like for the family of a Trade Commissioner in Japan? James Langley lets his mind wander back to those far off days.

by James Langley
Photos from a family album

More than seventy years ago my father, James A. Langley, joined the Trade Commissioner Service. In November 1923 he was posted as Assistant Trade Commissioner to Kobe, Japan, and in 1929 moved to Tokyo as Commercial Secretary at the newly established Legation, becoming the first Trade Commissioner formally integrated into a Canadian diplomatic mission. There are no witnesses left among the players of that era. I have therefore allowed my mind to wander aimlessly through a decade or so, centered on 1929. What follows are fragments from the life of a Canadian trade official and his young family in those early days recorded in the simple language in which they are registered in my memory.

I don't remember much of the early good old days. I know we lived in Kobe near the yards where they kept the electric trams that crackled like lightning and showered down sparks. We always lived in Japanese houses. I liked that. You could climb on the tile roof that was hot to the feet and, if you made a small hole in the *shoji* (sliding partition of rice paper mounted on a wooden frame), you could see into the next room. But according to Dad, the Inspector was not pleased and said that we should set a good example and live in a Western house that had a bath with taps and WC. However, Mamma said that if you want to know the country and do well at selling Canada and wheat and stuff, you must get close to the people. So we just went on living like the Japanese, except that later we had carpets from China and shiny enamel stoves with salamanders on them that burned anthracite. Later still Mamma had glass put into the *shoji* instead of paper so we could see the garden from inside and the candles in the stone lanterns by the pond at night.

Dad and Mamma often went out, especially at night. Mamma wore long dresses and fur around the neck. She had a glass bowl with a silver top and great feathery puff where she kept powder that smelt very good. My sister, Lorna, and I were unhappy when they went out and very scared they mightn't come back even though the *amahs*

were nice and took us into their room until bedtime. Asa-san in particular would play with us. Her father was a fisherman at Atami, where we went in summer, and she stayed with us almost the whole time we were in Japan. The other servants were always from her family. They wore Japanese clothes like almost everyone, except schoolchildren and policemen.

On Sunday we always went to the English church where you met lots of friends. In Kobe there were lepers outside, some with no feet or hands and people would give them money. I got 25 *sen* for collection and 25 *sen* as my allowance. For as long as I can remember I liked to buy little things in the antique stores that Mamma and Dad went to. Sometimes it was an old coin; once it was a little ivory man with no clothes, whose legs and arms moved. I couldn't pay all at once, but Nambu said I could pay a bit each week. That Sunday, when Dad gave me my collection money I looked at it and asked "Who is more important, Nambu or God?"

When we moved to Tokyo it was because Dad was to be an experiment at the Legation. We lived near Prince Chichibu's palace and Dad had his office in a big building near the Imperial moat down-town. Mamma and Dad seemed to go out even more than in Kobe.

Once they had to go to a lunch given by His Excellency. Lorna and I were lonely, so I said "Let's go and find them on my tricycle. If we're quiet, Asa-san won't notice and I'll peddle because I'm bigger. You stand behind on the bar with your hands on my shoulders and maybe push a bit on the hills." So we got the tricycle and went down the lane to the park where the policeman was, and then in front of the palace, and round the grounds of the dowager Empress' palace. We came to the American church and turned left down a very long street to where there were soldiers at a gate and other bad men inside. We crossed the street so as not to be too close to them and went down to the big crossroads where there was a policeman cranking a stop-go sign that flapped like a bird. We went down the hill into *Rippongi*, then up again to *Nishi-machi*. When we got there, I rang the bell and Yanagawa-san (I think) came to the door. He looked very surprised and took us into the

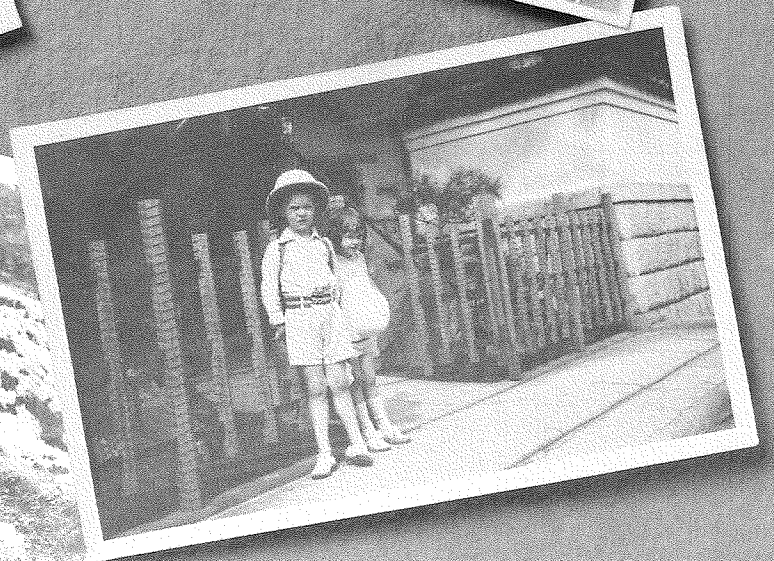
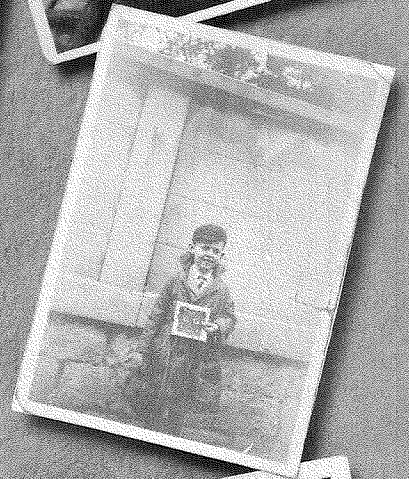
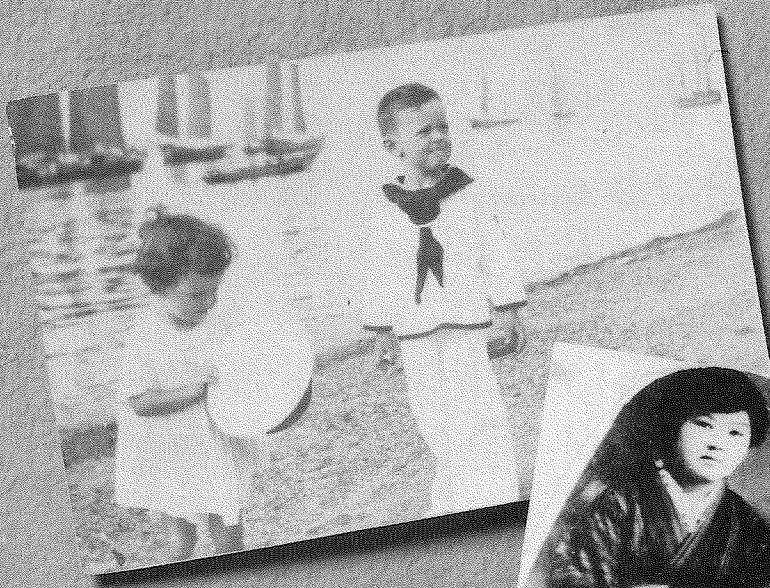
kitchen, saying "I will tell your mother who is still at lunch". She was even more surprised.

I especially remember His Excellency (the Canadian Ambassador Herbert Marler). He was tall and straight and always looked as though he was wearing a uniform. Everybody was a bit scared of him, even Her Excellency (Mrs. Marler), but he was always nice to me. He would pat me on the head and call me the King's Messenger and I got to carry his briefcase from the office to the residence. The office was like a big shoebox with windows, but the new residence was beautiful with a big ballroom and a dining-room with screens behind which the waiters waited. Yanagawa-san was like a silent magician. He watched and made a little sign and the waiters stopped waiting and flowed into the room like water and the plates disappeared and food appeared without anyone noticing. Mamma said that once Her Excellency was pretty peeved with a guest who had bad form and always turned plates over to see where they were made. At dinner one night she glued her picture to the bottom of one of them and he got a terrible shock.

His Excellency liked Dad because he got on well with everybody and was pretty practical. Dad was in charge of getting the new legation built and he also brought in food for the staff: lots of boxes full of tins and, at Christmas, frozen turkeys that were kept in a cold warehouse that glistened with frost. He went with His Excellency to China and Manchuria where they tried to sell things and ate some pretty strange stuff like turtle hearts beating in their blood and thousand-year old eggs that were dug out of the ground.

Lots of people came to our house. We always took our shoes off and walked on the *tatami* with our feet, but foreigners didn't know about this, so Mamma had little canvas bags with elastic tops made and when visitors come they put them over their shoes. Then they could come inside. Also, the bags were good for running and sliding on the wood corridors though you had to watch for splinters and Mamma might say "that's too much *yakamashi*!".

I liked it when they had dinner parties, especially if there was chicken to eat. Lorna and I got out of bed and sat on the stairs by the phone and Dad opened the dining-room



door and gave us each a drum-stick. There was light and noise in the room. I heard someone say that Dad didn't know much about wine and always served sauterne because he liked it sweet but that it was better than some houses where you only got Canada Dry.

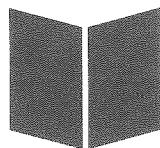
One day we did what they call representing Canada at the YWCA. Though it was quite hot Lorna and I had to wear overcoats, scarves, and mittens; Lorna wore a beret and I had a long stocking hat with a tassel. We had our skates around our necks. Mamma pushed us onto the stage and a lady began to play "O Canada." We were expected to sing but we had only tried once before and couldn't remember the words — so we just looked at the floor. Mamma sang as hard as she could behind the curtain but nobody clapped.

Dad wrote all kinds of reports to tell the government about his trips and what we can sell in different places. He also wrote for a magazine about these things. He brought his reports home and Mamma read them because she was especially good at that sort of thing. She made corrections but he didn't seem to mind. Later he brought the magazine home and we saw his name where his reports were. He also brought home lots of Canadian newspapers with Tarzan and Burgess stories about Brer Fox and others in them.

Dad also had lots of films at the office to show people about Canada. There was wheat growing on the prairies and apples in BC, and rivers with salmon and electric dams, but the best were about the Calgary Stampede with racing wagons and cowboys riding wild horses and bulls.

Mamma was always worried about education. In Kobe I went to Mrs. Black's school where I learnt how to add and subtract numbers. When we came to Tokyo she didn't want to send us to the American school because "there is no discipline" and also, perhaps, because Dad says her family is UEL (United Empire Loyalist), whatever that means. Mamma hired a teacher, Miss Ingram, and ran a little school for us and friends. Then they sent me to the German school in Omori until there was too much "Heil Hitler" and I said my prayers in German. Then it was with the Jesuits to learn French and Latin. It was pretty confusing and I made a bit of a mess of things, but they said "Don't worry, he's a late bloomer."

James Langley lived in Japan with his parents from 1923-1936. He served in the Department from 1950 to 1979 and now works on the Archeology Mesoamerica. He was head of post in OECD, Brussels, the EEC and Mexico. He is currently living in Ottawa and is a Senior Board Member of bout de papier.



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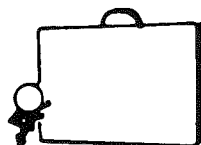
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The Next Generation

Marie Stamp surveys the Class of '94 to give us a glimpse of the profile of the Trade Commissioners of the second century.

by Marie A. Stamp

Since that interminable Saturday in October of 1992, the day we wrote the Foreign Service Exam, twenty-eight new recruits have joined the Trade Commissioner Service. One century since John Larke set sail for Australia, the latest crew to pass muster is an ambitious and worldly group, with a sophisticated perspective on the voyage ahead.

The Class of '94 is a diverse contingent, about as fit for Noah's ark as for the ship that conveyed our eminent predecessor. We've studied subjects as disparate as Aerodynamics and Religion; we speak languages as dissimilar as Hebrew and Japanese; we've travelled the world from Asia to Central America, and call places like St. John's and Saskatoon "home." How did such a group end up together as

Canada's newest Trade Commissioners? What appeals to us about the Service, and how do we perceive our future here? Who are the Trade Commissioners of the second century?

Recruitment for the trade stream of the Foreign Service begins in the same manner as for the immigration and political/economic streams. Recruitment is conducted at the entry level, which dissuades some (but not all) of the more mature, more established members of the work force who might be considering a career change. Entry-level recruitment also opens the doors wide to the fresh-faced university graduate. Since practically anyone can apply, the first level of competition is a fierce numbers game. Well over 6,500 of us sat those same exams on that October afternoon. But in today's job market you need more than raw marks to compete. Those twenty-eight

who made it through to form the TCS Class of '94 are challenging the traditional image of the young and inexperienced male "keener," fresh out of Law or Engineering.

Few of the Class of '94 knew much about the Corps beyond its simple existence, and most of us were simply attracted to the Foreign Service.

We new TCS team members are mostly between 25 and 30 years of age, with up to nine years of previous permanent employment. The traditional areas of study most common in the Foreign Service still form part of our academic background, but our eclectic interests have led us to degrees in Journalism, Computer Science, and Human Ecology. We're a well-travelled group: more of us speak foreign languages and have foreign work experience than recruits in previous years. And many more of us are women than ever before.

Indeed, the most striking trend among today's recruits is the number of women. Over the last ten years, the percentage of women recruits dropped to a level as low as one out of nine in 1985. Fifteen of the latest complement are female. That's fifty-four percent.

Women in the Class of '94 are slightly older than their male counterparts, and there are more of us in the 30-35 range. Women recruits appear to have fewer post-graduate degrees, but twice the number of years of previous permanent employment. Almost all of the members of the new corps have travelled at least to Europe, but whereas men and women have travelled further afield, women have had more experience

Figure 1
Trends in the Recruitment of Women to the Trade Commissioner Service: 1984-1994

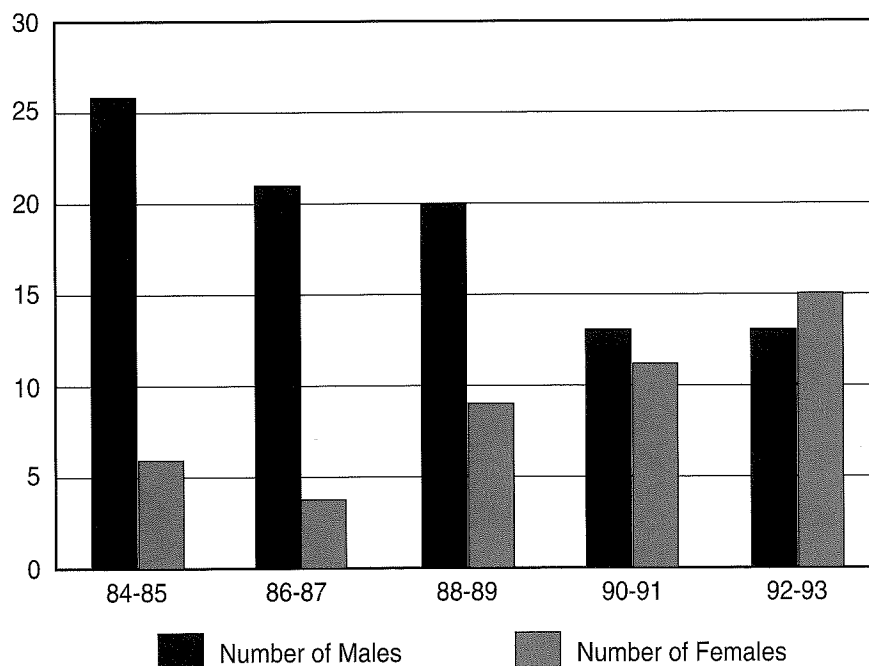
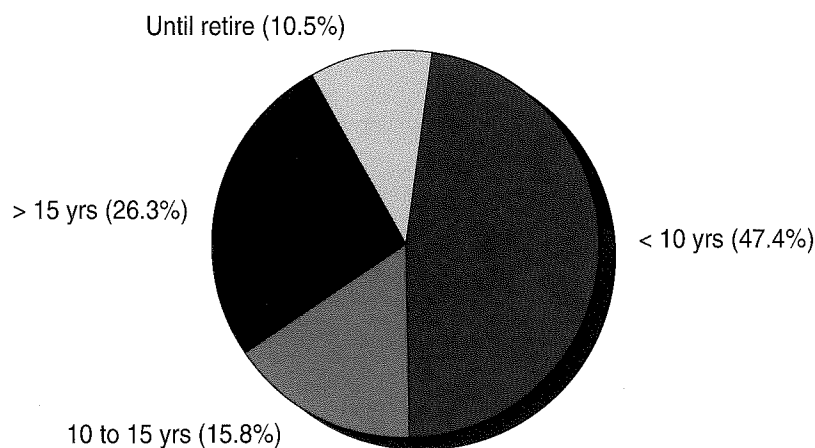


Figure 2
Expected Length of Career



living abroad. The MBA and degrees in Law, Commerce and International Relations are common to males and females alike.

Societal changes in the last quarter century and the removal of restrictions placed on married couples in the diplomatic corps have eliminated the last formal barriers to women's access to jobs in the Trade Commissioner Service. Women have yet to make real gains at the executive level. The ambitious females recruited at the dawn of this second century apparently still have something to prove.

The Class of '94 is, in some ways, the "Generation X" of the Trade Commissioner Service. But we're not daunted.

So what is the appeal of the Trade Commissioner Service to these second century pioneers? The few hundred candidates who pass the initial screening are asked for their preferred stream (trade, immigration or political/economic) at the conclusion of their job interview. For those who chose the TCS, the opportunity to learn about and play a role in international trade was obviously highly appealing.

Surprisingly, awareness of the TCS as a career choice was still very low. Few of the Class of '94 knew much about the Corps

beyond its simple existence, and most of us were simply attracted to the Foreign Service.

"The delineation between the trade and political streams was not an issue for me when I applied for the job, but the trade stream was a natural choice. With my background in Computer Science and my MBA, I knew it was where I'd be most valuable."

— Deirdre Kent

"I still consider that I joined the Foreign Service first, and TCS second ... but I'm happy with my choice. Because of my background in Engineering, I saw more opportunities for my professional growth and development in the international trade stream."

— Jean-Dominique Ieraci

Almost no one among our group had given thought to joining this specific stream while at university. The most appealing aspect of the Foreign Service was the perceived foreign-service lifestyle: the opportunity to travel, to live abroad, to learn another language. Although the Trade Commissioner Service was little known to the new crop of recruits, most are highly satisfied with their choice.

Another sign of changing times with the new Trade Commissioners is the high level of appeal we see in the "foot-in-the-door" aspect of this career. More than half of survey respondents ranked the "opportunities to move on, either through the public service or international corporations" as one of the most appealing elements of the TCS. Nearly half of us expect our careers with the Service to last less than ten years.

The prospect of foreign postings emerges as the greatest attraction keeping our Trade Commissioners hooked in the medium- to long-term. All respondents expect a minimum of two postings, but most (sixty-three percent) expect to be posted abroad three times in the next fifteen years. Is this a realistic expectation, given the ever-shrinking number of FS-1 positions at our posts? Approximately sixty percent of our personnel is now based at headquarters. This is an area of no small concern for new recruits at the entry-level salary, now at about \$32,000 per annum and with annual pay increases and performance pay frozen for two years.

Most of us expect to merit promotion to the FS-2 level within six or seven years. Reform to the classification of our positions is expected to speed that process along, but many will be disappointed.

The challenge to the Trade Commissioner Service in the second century, clearly, is not how to attract bright and ambitious recruits, but how to keep them.

The Class of '94 is, in some ways, the "Generation X" of the Trade Commissioner Service. But we're not daunted. We have faith in our abilities, our intelligence, and in the relevance of the work opportunity offered here. Many of us who have already begun our on-the-job training are so far highly impressed with the quality of our colleagues, of the service we offer, and are convinced of the added value of our service to the Canadian business community. With increasing globalization in the Canadian private sector, we feel the experience we gain here will have relevance beyond the boundaries of this Department. The challenge to the Trade Commissioner Service in the second century, clearly, is not how to attract bright and ambitious recruits, but how to keep them. 

Marie A. Stamp joined the TCS in October, 1993, and is currently assigned to the Asia Pacific South Trade Development Division (PST) as Desk Officer for Indonesia.

Roy William Blake

A graduate in agriculture from the University of Saskatchewan, Roy worked with livestock firms for a number of years before joining the Canadian Army, with which he served in England and Italy where he was wounded at Ortona in 1944. He joined the Department of Trade and Commerce in 1945 as an agricultural specialist, serving in Washington, London, Melbourne, Trinidad and Jamaica. From 1964-67 he was Consul General in Hamburg and from 1967-71 Consul General in Milan. After retiring he spent six months in 1972 assisting the Tanzanian Government to set up its foreign trade service. He retired in Victoria where he died on 11 July 1994, aged 88. 

Arthur Julian Andrew

A graduate of Dalhousie University, Arthur Andrew worked with the Canadian Press in Halifax for two years before serving from 1939-46 as an officer in the Canadian Army in Canada, U.K., Italy and Northwest Europe. He joined External Affairs in 1947, serving overseas in Bonn, Vienna and Prague before becoming from 1962-65 Ambassador to Israel with dual accreditation to Cyprus. Ambassador to Sweden 1965-69 and Ambassador to Greece 1976-80.

In 1964 the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), including a Canadian Brigade, was sent to separate the quarrelling Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Ottawa had previously been dependent on British information about Cyprus. Arthur wrote the first Canadian reports on the Byzantine intrigues of Cyprus politics.

During his tour as Ambassador to Sweden from 1965-69 he began negotiations with Chinese Ambassador Wang Tung on the terms for recognition and establishment of diplomatic relations between Canada and the People's Republic of China. Returning to Canada he had the satisfaction of supervising the completion of the negotiations leading to the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1970 and the PRC taking over China's seat in the United Nations. During this period he rose from Director of the Far Eastern Division to Assistant Under-Secretary. From 1976-80 he was Ambassador to Greece.

After retiring in 1980 he was a visiting professor for five years at the School of Journalism of King's College, Halifax, a stimulating job which helped him to formulate his views on Canadian diplomacy in his era.

During a year as Foreign Service Visitor at the University of Toronto 1969-70 Arthur published a book "Defence by Other Means — Diplomacy for the Underdog." In 1993 he published "The Rise and Fall of a Middle Power" which criticized both Prime Ministers Trudeau and Mulroney for the erosion of Canadian influence as a well-placed middle power. Arthur was a true Maritimer, proud of Nova Scotia's contribution to Confederation. He was a puckish deflator of the pompous and a constructive cynic. He and Joyce, his wife of 54 years, earned a warm place in the hearts of colleagues within and outside the Foreign Service. Arthur died in Halifax May 31, 1994. 

Arthur Menzies

Hedevig (Viggi) Ring 1918-1994

Viggi Ring was a remarkable woman in her time. The daughter of a Danish country parson, she embarked upon a new life in Canada after World War II. The only Immigration Foreign Service officer to have been ordered deported from Canada, she capped her career by being appointed as Canada's Consul-General in Glasgow. Her involvement in international affairs continued after her retirement as she maintained close links with the Canadian Immigration Historical Society, PAFSO and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

Viggi received her MA at the University of Copenhagen in 1946. After a post-graduate fellowship at Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts, she became an assistant editor at the Danish Section of the CBC International Service in Montreal. Her expertise in Danish was evaluated, as she told the story, by one of those "experts" that Canada produces in such circumstances — an Austrian who had spent some years in Sweden and knew a Dane who had become a Prime Minister! After several six-month extensions of her stay, the Department of Mines and Resources (then responsible for Immigration) posed her the question: was she going back to Denmark or did she intend to stay? As Viggi said, this was purely rhetorical at this point because legally there

was no way for her to apply either in Canada or in Denmark. At that time, only domestics and farm workers were acceptable as immigrants and she was neither. But those who interviewed her were so impressed that they found another way — to place her, most legally, under an order of deportation for "not having been in possession of a valid and subsisting immigrant visa upon her arrival". Her appeal to the departmental appeal board was permitted and granted. Thus, her order of deportation was reversed and she became a "Landed Immigrant" in August of 1950.

As Canadian citizenship was years away, she did not consider applying with the federal government. Viggi did believe she could be useful in a job which dealt with immigrants. The CPR Colonization department in Montreal interviewed her for a position travelling on immigrant trains between Halifax and Winnipeg, resolving any disputes arising in between. When Viggi was told they did not hire women, her interviewer received a direct sermon on the equality on the sexes! Viggi did concede that this job might have been more than a formidable challenge.

The CPR official, who had a Danish connection, insisted that she apply at the Montreal Immigration Office. After being told emphatically that there was no job for her, she was then hired as one of a group of multilingual CR3s to assist immigrants who had arrived in large numbers in December 1951 when the displaced persons' camps in Europe were closed down. Although presumed to be interpreters, they were in no time working on their own as Placement Officers. In 1952, she officially joined the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

In October 1956, Viggi became a Canadian citizen and immediately after passed the qualifying exam for entry into the civil service. This was just after the Hungarian revolution with all the challenges of establishing the many distressed refugee clients. In 1960 she entered a competition for the Foreign Service. There were only nine successful candidates and Viggi, the only female, was fifth.

Her first posting in November 1960 was to Denmark where she ran into some resistance from applicants who thought she spoke Danish too well to be a "real" Canadian. A cross posting to Egypt was followed by becoming Officer-in-Charge in Helsinki for two years, and then in Stockholm, responsible for Finland, Norway, Iceland and Sweden.

From 1972 to 1975, Viggi was Program Manager in Belgrade, responsible for Yugoslavia, Romania and Bulgaria. Ian

Thomson, who served with Viggi on his first tour of duty abroad, reminisced about those years at the service held in Viggi's memory in Ottawa on June 30:

"Belgrade in those years had a huge workload and a rambunctious collection of junior officers. Viggi ran this three ring circus with a firm but guiding and caring hand. The Belgrade Visa operations were affectionately referred to as 'Ma Ring and her Ring Ring'. Viggi led by example — she not only worked harder than anyone else but took everything in her stride and set enduring standards in terms of ethical behaviour and dedication to the people of Canada.

"Viggi was miles ahead of her time in terms of what roles and responsibilities a woman could aspire to and fulfil. Through a process of brute competence and unstinting commitment, she forcefully dismissed any nonsense about what was women's work. But most important of all was her compassion for the needs and feelings of those seeking to go to Canada. She drew from her own experience as an emigré from post war Europe. Quite simply she gave me a test or reality check that I continue to use to this day

and which I have in turn passed on to junior foreign service officers. Viggi required me to ask myself regularly: 'How would I feel if someone was dealing with me in the same manner as I was dealing with the person across the desk from me?' But in case all this sounds like Joan of Arc — Viggi was not. She was just plain ordinary fun with a wicked and rebellious sense of humour, a glint in her eye and a little black cigar clamped in her teeth.'

While in Belgrade, Viggi was promoted to an FS3, one of only two women to reach this rank in the Immigration Foreign Service for many years. On return to Ottawa, she was not only head of the Africa and Middle East Immigration Operations Bureau but President of PAFSO from 1976 to 1977 — the first from M&I and — not a surprise to those who knew her capabilities — the first female President.

After serving as Canada's Consul-General in Glasgow from 1980 to 1982, Viggi decided to retire, not in Denmark but in Ottawa where she enjoyed a wide range of friends and contacts. Inactivity was not in Viggi's vocabulary — she launched into volunteer work for the Ski Marathon, Opera Lyra and was a frequent attendee at the NAC concerts. She was a founding member of

the Canadian Immigration Historical Society, established in 1986 to commemorate and record Canada's rich history of immigration. As CIHS President from 1989 to 1990, she presided over a symposium on the Hungarian revolution — an apt connection with her work in 1956.

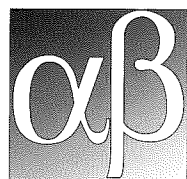
For those who knew her, Viggi was representative of many sterling qualities — integrity, frankness, high standards, loyalty and strong principles, not to mention her ironic sense of humour and lively warmth and interest in all those with whom she came in contact. We will miss her greatly. 

Carla Thorlakson

Editor's Note: Viggi died in Ottawa on June 18, 1994 at the age of 76. Her funeral service was held on June 30 at First Unitarian Congregation, followed by cremation in Ottawa and burial in Copenhagen.

Carla Thorlakson was Immigration Counsellor at the Canadian High Commission in Singapore from 1988-1992. Her most recent assignment was as Secretariat Special Advisor for the Reporting and Liaison Handbook for the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

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Vignettes From the Global Village / Légendes du village global

Moving Day in Bombay by / par Susan Cartwright

Miami Satellite by / par Stewart Beck

Moving Day in Bombay

Story and photo by Susan Cartwright

It was moving day at last. *Sari*, suit and *salwar kameez* were exchanged for jeans and T-shirts. It was difficult to believe that the years of negotiating and planning, setbacks and problems, anticipation and despair, were over. Well, almost over. It was July, the middle of the monsoon a perfect time to move), and seven months since the Chancery leave and license agreement, an anachronism of the Bombay real estate market, had been signed. The fit-up was nearly complete.

The process of negotiation for our new office had been a lengthy one that outlasted two Consuls and pitted the logic of headquarters against the essence of Bombay. Our landlords, an extended Muslim family, became our own family, living with us through weddings and illnesses, new demands accompanied by incredulity at the parsimony in Ottawa. Our real estate agent, an indefatigable Parsi lawyer, negotiated with both sides and was an endless source of confusion. Driving to look at properties with her in a decrepit *Padmini*, waving her hanky at the offending traffic, was guaranteed to hasten one's agreement. Anything to return to the safety of the office.

The rains swept in across Back Bay as we enjoyed our last day of the magnificent views from the Oberoi Hotel, home to the Consulate since it was re-opened in 1986. From the twenty-fourth floor, the coastline stretched in a sinuous curve to Malabar Hill and the green of the gardens surrounding the Governor's Residence, Raj Bhavan. Our new home was an office block about six hundred metres away, a journey that would take us more than twenty-four hours! We reminisced about those who had come and gone, about the adventures, and about the successes and failures. We mused about storage space and the luxury of separate offices.

Through those months, we delivered all the programmes for which we were



What cramped office conditions?

responsible, primarily trade and consular, as well as devoting time to the construction project. We all worked long hours; my knowledge of construction practices grew and I learnt the value of careful supervision. I often wondered whether this was what Trade Commissioners elsewhere in the world were doing as I set off for the site late at night to check on the last shift.

Once the leave and licence agreement was signed and the contractor and architect selected, the gang of workers moved in to the bare shell on the fourth floor of our new building. I now had to deliberate on whether the wiring should be ceiling or floor ducted, and on how the window hinges should be designed to withstand the force of the monsoon storms. The traditional skill set of a Trade Commissioner was not up to the job and I found myself wishing I had paid more attention to my father renovating our home. I did manage to notice that the door handles were all at the wrong height, that the door frames were not perpendicular and that the floor was not level. The contractor's respect for women in the foreign service grew day

by day. So did his fervent hope that I would suddenly be called away on business, or better still, that I would take my holidays during the monsoon after all.

Fit-up was punctuated by a series of events that caused me to ponder whether we would ever make it to moving day. The carpet which had arrived in India on schedule but, because construction was not similarly well-timed, was stored by Air India in their warehouse. When it was delivered a month later, muddy water cascaded from it as the rolls were unloaded from the truck. A monsoon flood in the warehouse had submerged our carpet and we had to try and find someone to dry three thousand square feet of it for us within a week. A day of frantic phone calls as the rolls lay steaming in the reception area. I had visions of an army equipped with hair dryers and, to this day, I have no idea how the dry cleaners managed to do it.

As the deadline for moving drew near, construction moved to three shifts and a check on the night shift, in person or through binoculars from our apartment across the bay, proved very useful. When the workers discovered that the latter was possible, it was amazing how quickly those interior walls went up.

One evening, on my way to bed, the binoculars revealed flames dancing cheerfully in the office. We threw on our clothes and drove over to find *chapatis* being cooked on the fire and *lungis* hung out to dry on string clotheslines, while soot darked the newly plastered ceilings. I did not have the heart to throw them out into the rainsoaked night, and set off home, resigned to watching the replastering the next day.

The call about the murder came while I was in bed with dysentery. Convinced the police would lock up the premises until their investigation was complete, they pleaded with me in sombre tones to come and negotiate. A carpenter, armed with a wood plane had decided to use it to settle an argument over a match. It had grown into a Hindu-Muslim dispute and closing the site seemed the surest way to diffuse the tension. Fortunately, the victim survived, the police were persuaded to allow work to continue, and I returned to bed.

Moving day was almost upon us and the office was still only half complete. We held a council of war and decided that the only way to hasten the process was to move anyway and supervise at close quarters. And so it was that we were all waiting for the movers that monsoon morning in July. And wait we did, until late in the afternoon when they arrived, a little sheepish at having forgotten the boxes and having had to return to the warehouse. As the dusk settled over the city and the lights of the Queen's Necklace around Back Bay were beginning to be illuminated, the packing was almost complete. We had sent the day's faxes before the machine was disconnected and an eerie silence descended over the mountain of boxes. The movers had disappeared, for dinner I was cheerfully informed by one of the drivers, left behind to guard the trucks. My enquiries about the tardiness of their start and the impending nightfall brought only a puzzled response. Dinner was clearly more important; for the move there was always tomorrow.

The contractor's respect for women in the foreign service grew day by day. So did his fervent hope that I would suddenly be called away on business.

Close to midnight we began our six hundred metre journey, four brightly decorated trucks bearing the rather ambiguous instruction for passing traffic to "horn OK please." There was chaos at both the loading and unloading points. Lengthy negotiations were required at our new building to use the elevators long after our reservation had expired. Beer and pizza sent from home were consumed with alacrity at three in the morning. As other office workers began to arrive, our trucks were just departing, bearing valuable cargoes of discarded plywood and cardboard, and incredulous labourers who shook their heads at the demented *memsahib* who had shouted and carried boxes and made them work all night long.

We sat, exhausted, and contemplated our new home. Partly finished and piled high

with boxes and equipment carefully wrapped in bed quilts. Unassembled furniture with instructions nowhere to be found. Contractors equipment and sheets of plastic, rolls of unlaidd carpet and the smell of paint. I am sure we all longed for the cramped but familiar Oberoi, with files stored in the showers and baths, visitors waiting in the hallway and unreliable communications links.

Eventually, it was finished and in October, fourteen months after my arrival in Bombay, the High Commissioner formally opened the Consulate's new premises. Architects and interior designers were still bringing clients in to admire them eighteen months later. The new space and equipment enabled us to deliver a greater range, and better quality, of services to our clients.

In retrospect, it was an achievement (on budget and on Indian Standard Time), but at the time, I must confess to wondering if this was what a Trade Commissioner did in this new age of information, technology and market intelligence! The answer, of course, is that in a small post you do all this and much more. It is an enriching and demanding experience, frustrating and deeply satisfying at the same time. I would not venture to say that I would do it all again, but I am proud of what we achieved together. ✍

Susan Cartwright is the Senior Departmental Assistant to the Minister for International Trade. She has had postings in Nairobi, Melbourne, Lagos and Bombay.

Miami Satellite

Story and photo by Stewart Beck

Oye Gladys, pass the sunscreen

What eats 300 pounds of bacon, 175 pounds of steak, 300 pounds of chicken, 300 pounds of pasta, 300 pounds of cheese and drinks 20 cases of white wine and 20 cases of red in three days? If you guessed an 800-passenger ship on a three-day cruise, then you win a funky pink drink in a tall glass with a little red umbrella.

From the first step off the jetway at Miami International, you are met by a set of interesting sensations — nothing like the smell of burning cow dung as you step from the plane at three in the morning in Delhi or the sight of barbed wire and gun emplacements as you taxi up to the gate at Kimpo. No, what you hear is a mixture of Spanish, the Bronx and the deep South. What you see are logoed signs from the various cruise-lines waving in the air seeking out silver-haired, white-belted, bermuda-shortened

adventurers looking for three to seven days of fun in the sun.

As the new Canadian Trade Commissioner in town with a mandate to help Canadian companies do business in South Florida, the largest market opportunity was right in front of me as I stepped off the plane in August 1989. The Miami cruise sector generates approximately five billion dollars a year in revenue; food procurement represents about 20 percent of the total. Since Canada has a large and growing processed food sector, one of my first thoughts was to organize an event to bring the two together. However, it was three years before all the pieces of the puzzle fit, and we were able to stage a solo food show to promote Canadian products and suppliers to the South Florida hospitality market.

The time it took to properly organize this event and, more importantly, make the right contacts to ensure the event's success, underlines the challenges facing a sole Trade Commissioner opening a new satellite office. You might think that since Canada is the U.S.'s largest trading partner and there are so many Canadians living and vacationing in South Florida (10% of the Canadian population visits Florida over the course of a year and spend over three billion U.S. dollars), that local companies would not find dealing with Canada so novel. (I later found out that the vast majority of Canadian exports and exporters never make it south of Cincinnati.)

Setting up a satellite office of a Canadian consulate is a lonely business and certainly not for everyone. I had opened the Santa Clara high-tech satellite office in 1985 and, therefore, had an idea of what was involved. However, Santa Clara was only 50 miles from the then-San Francisco consulate and making regular visits was easy. Miami is 700 miles away from Atlanta and visits there were infrequent. So many details are involved initially — office site location, office banking arrangements, personal banking arrangements, personal car insurance (a major issue, since our car was stolen within the first month), housing selection, and moving with the resultant family concerns — that when these endless details were more-or-less worked out, the real job of figuring out where to begin seemed monumental. With no previous experience in the consumer goods sector and no real understanding of how to get started, I decided that the cruise sector would have to wait.

Talk's Cheap, it takes Money to Buy Whiskey

My first task was to get a grip on the South Florida market and begin the process of making contacts. The then Minister of



Hurricane Andrew — was this really part of the International Trade Business Plan for the USA?

International Trade, John Crosbie, officially opened the new office in Miami. The office had only been open for five months, but 150 people turned out to the ribbon cutting.

When I say starting a satellite office is a lonely business, I mean you have no one to kibitz with over the course of the day. In a big office when you are looking for additional input on some pressing issue or looking for someone to talk about the Canadian political scene (read Expos), it is not too hard to find a person to share your distractions. Not so when you are on your own. You have no choice but to get out of the office, make calls and determine how best to represent Canadian commercial and economic interests.

I did find counsel in Bob Brown, the Trade Commissioner in Orlando. Bob passed away unexpectedly last year and is sorely missed by me and many others in the Trade Commissioner Service. Bob's one-liners, cheeriness and general perspective on life were uplifting. His contacts in and knowledge of the Orlando region were unmatched. His oft-used phrase "talk's cheap, takes money to buy whiskey" comes to my mind on numerous occasions, especially when dealing with Canadian companies who believe they have the best

quality product and the most competitive pricing.

Bob and I, and those of other satellite offices, have commiserated on the necessary evils of reporting requirements. With so little administrative support at your disposal, the time spent on reports directly affects your ability to work on behalf of Canadian companies. It is hoped that the new electronic systems will free up time now spent on justification of resources and planning for direct trade development activity.

I Can't Seem to Find a T-Shirt to Go with My Armani Suit

If someone had asked you in 1989 to go to Miami, what would be the first thoughts to cross your mind? For most Canadians, it would probably be a consideration of what size of hand gun to carry for protection. Guns and Miami's reputation for crime didn't really enter my mind when I was asked about taking the job. My first thought was whether we received the cable channel which had the reruns of Miami Vice. What better way to get an idea of the lay of the land? Here was the Post Report in technicolour and stereo-surround sound.

Miami Vice placed the city on the map for the Europeans. Certainly Miami Beach has

received a huge influx of foreign capital (not necessarily drug related), and the show's style may have initiated the interest. When we arrived in the fall of '89, the "Beach" was just beginning to reap the benefits of the Art Deco resurgence. We could even find a parking spot within a two-minute walk to the one or two good restaurants on Ocean Drive. Out of the 30 Art Deco-style hotels within the fifteen blocks of Ocean Drive, maybe 8 had been renovated.

On the terrace of a beautifully redone '50s-style hotel, you could overlook the beach and a palm tree-lined boulevard full of Porsche Carreras, Ferraris, various models of BMWs (pedestrian vehicles for Miami), Rolls Royces and Lamborghinis. (It was later in our tenure that the Harley became the vehicle of choice for the Beach.)

However, if you were to gaze to the right or the left, you saw a totally different sight — crumbling historic buildings with rows of lawn chairs on the front porch. Day or night, the lawn chairs were full of generationally-challenged individuals watching the world go by. No one read, no one slept, and, come to think of it, although they sat in full sun, no one had a tan. Over the four years we spent in Miami all the hotels on Ocean Drive were renovated. In fact, several prominent people became neighbours on Ocean Drive such as the hotelier, Gloria Estefan and Versace, the renowned designer who converted a 50 room hotel to a private residence. No longer could you find a parking spot and, quite frankly, it wasn't as much fun.

This aside, we arrived in Miami at the right time. We missed the fall-out from the Mariel Boatlift, and we enjoyed the benefits of seeing and being part of a city becoming revitalized. Silicon Valley, my previous post, was technology driven. Miami was just driven. But I still want to know where all the old people on Ocean Drive went.

One Man's Disaster is Another Man's Goldmine

Hurricane Andrew blasted in our last year in Miami. On Friday, August 21, 1992, my family and I were in Sacramento California planning to return to Miami after two weeks of vacation in the Sierra Nevadas. We hadn't been paying any attention to the outside world, but I had heard that there was a severe weather system building in the Atlantic. During the season (May to November), hurricanes are a constant threat to South Florida, but Miami had gone twenty-five years without being hit by one. On Saturday I got up early to discover that "Andrew" was on course to hit South Florida. We decided to return to ready our home and

save our dog and two cats. In retrospect, I am sure the animals would have survived and possessions could have been replaced. Living through a hurricane with sustained winds of over 165 miles per hour is not an experience worth repeating.

The house and the animals made it through unscathed. However, it took us three days to get out of our street because nobody had thought to buy a chain saw. Come to think of it, a huge generator would have been useful too. We went a month without electricity — there's a reason that Miami was not populated in the summer before air conditioning. Our friends managed to hard-wire an industrial-size diesel generator with enough capacity to run their house's air conditioning system to their circuit board.

The horrible devastation caused by the storm brought the immediate interest of Canadian business. Our side of the office building did not suffer any damage and the electricity and air conditioning was running immediately after the storm. From the first minute I walked in the door, I was dealing with contractors, modular and mobile home builders, water purveyors, good samaritans, charlatans, you name it. Senior officials at the US Army Corps of Engineers became good contacts, and we managed to set up a system where we were faxed all upcoming bids open to competition from Canadian firms. I can't remember how many enquiries the office handled over the next six months, and I wouldn't be surprised if the office isn't still working on the odd contract.

Even this Must Pass

The basic premise behind opening a satellite office is to capitalize on opportunities for Canadian business. Over the years many in the Department thought Miami should be a Consulate because of the number of Canadians who visit the area and the importance of Miami as the "entrepot" for Latin America. This notion had always been resisted until in my last year when three Canadians were killed in South Florida. This may have been a motivating force to increase the size of our presence. Now there are twelve people in the office handling trade, consular, police liaison and immigration issues.

Opening an office in a new market is, in my view, the essence of being a trade commissioner. To me, Miami in 1989 is what Sydney was to John Larke in 1894. You are a lot of things to a lot of people, and it is easy to see the fruits of your labour. 

Stewart Beck works in the East Asia Trade Division. He has opened up satellite Trade Offices in Miami and Santa Clara.

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The Ascent of Mount Imjatse

Story and photos by Vaughn Lantz

It is one o'clock in the morning when my alarm clock sounds. Bipin, my guide, begins to stir, and I slowly begin to awake from a short night's sleep. Outside the tent, the temperature is cold (minus 15°C), but the sky is clear. At 17,000 feet, the moon and the stars are incredibly bright, and we can barely make out the shapes of the high mountains that surround us. A bowl of Rara soup and a large mug of tea help to take some of the chill out of the night and the sleep out of my eyes. As I pack up the stove, Bipin is double-checking our ice tools, ropes, and harnesses. Ever cheerful and smiling, he gives me the thumbs-up sign to indicate that we're ready to begin the ascent. Somewhere in the darkness above is the summit of a 20,000 foot Himalayan mountain that we hope to reach by mid-day.

A mountainside in Nepal seems worlds away from an office in Ottawa. However, finding myself with some spare time last November and December, I decided to fulfill a long-time dream of visiting this

country. Nepal is a small land-locked Kingdom nestled between the northern border of India and the southern edge of Tibet. Although geographically small in comparison to its neighbours, the country is famous for the many high Himalayan peaks located within its borders. Eight of the ten highest mountains in the world are found here, including Mount Everest which rises to a height of over 29,000 feet. In addition to spectacular mountain scenery, the country offers a remarkable diversity of flora and fauna as well as a rich variety of cultural and religious backgrounds.

Flying into Kathmandu, one cannot help being impressed by the awesome beauty of the high mountains and the lush valleys that surround the capital. Foreign travel within Nepal is still strictly controlled. As a result, all tourists require trekking permits to visit outlying regions of the country. Mountain climbing requires an additional permit as well as the services of a guide. A large number of trekking agencies have sprung up in the city and can assist in these arrangements. I hired a guide and organized a five week

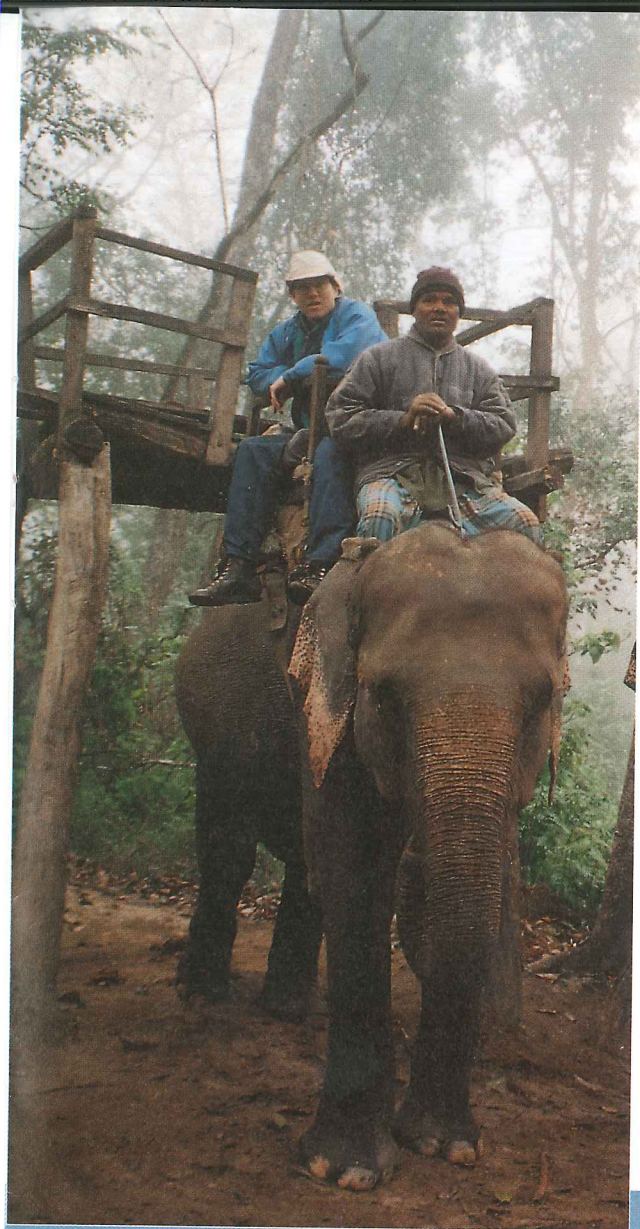
trek and climb in the Khumbu region of Nepal through one of these agencies.

A few days spent in Kathmandu can also allow one to experience the many sights and sounds of this fascinating city. An incredible assortment of crafts, food, and spices can be bought from vendors on every street. Thousand year-old Hindu and Buddhist temples of all shapes and sizes are found throughout the city. Religious pilgrims, porters, and local merchants crowd the busy streets and markets. The sounds of the market, together with the ringing of temple bells and the blaring of horns, constantly fill the air. At night, these sounds are replaced by the incessant barking of the wild dogs that roam the city.

Leaving Kathmandu, one is immediately struck by the relative absence of noise, the freshness of the air, and the slower pace of life found in the villages outside the city. Riding on the roof of the bus to avoid the congestion inside, I was able to get a clear view of the surrounding countryside with its terraced farms, broad valleys, and large rivers coming down from the higher

Below: From the top of the Pearson Building to the top of the world in 80 days. Right: Chitwan National Park: "Excuse me, do you take Blue Line chits?"





mountains. As the road began to snake its way through some of the middle mountains, I was also able to get a sense of how steep some of these valleys are as I struggled to maintain my balance and keep from being thrown off the top of the bus.

Owing to the difficulty of the terrain and the relative poverty of the country, Nepal does not have an extensive system of roads. Approximately two hundred kilometres outside Kathmandu, the road to the Khumbu region suddenly ends at the village of Jiri. From there, all travel is by foot. As Bipin and I set off up the trail, I quickly got a sense of what the next five weeks were going to be like. Trails in the Himalayas are anything but flat, and within a few hours I could feel the strain on my back and legs. The first ten days of the trek were to involve a net altitude gain of only 5,000 feet. However, because the path to Khumbu crosses several mountain passes and river valleys, this part of the hike actually involved a total ascent of over 30,000 feet and descents of some 25,000 feet.

Our first major destination (150 kilometres away) was the village of Namche Bazaar which marks the beginning of the Khumbu region. As its name suggests, this village is an important trading centre. Every

Saturday, people gather from all over eastern Nepal and from as far away as Tibet to attend the weekly market. Employing only a large wicker basket and a tumpline, porters carry enormous loads over the trails for sale at this market. Loads can reach up to 150 pounds and include everything from fuel oil to construction material to live chickens. It is not unusual to see children under ten years of age or men and women in their seventies employed in this trade.

Following the trail to Khumbu, Bipin and I traversed a number of steep-walled canyons, crossed several suspension bridges, and traveled through acres of thick rhododendron and oak forests. We also passed numerous stone main walls engraved with Buddhist religious writings. Small villages are located throughout the middle mountains, and many residents offer food and lodging for both trekkers and porters. However, not all guests are welcome as evidenced by the Nepali women I witnessed furiously chasing a water buffalo out of her kitchen. Most of our meals consisted of hot tea and *daal bhaat*, a nourishing combination of rice and lentils. A single stone fireplace provided the only source of heat for cooking and warmth in these basic dwellings.

As we approached Namche Bazaar (11,300 feet), more and more snow-topped mountains began to appear on the horizon. Just outside the village, I caught my first distant view of Mount Everest with its distinctive black peak too steep and



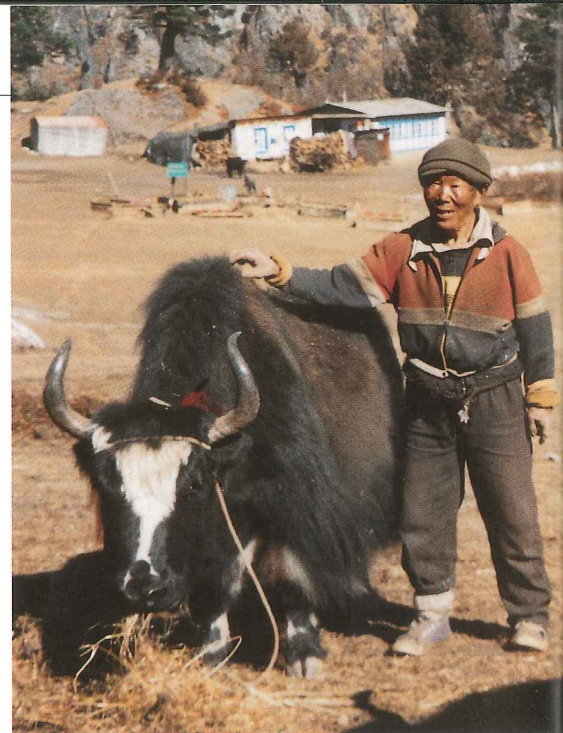
wind-blown to hold snow. It was about this time that I also came across my first yak, the large woolly beasts that are used to transport supplies at higher altitudes in the Himalayas. Around Namche Bazaar, the terrain changes dramatically from forested hills to alpine meadows and tundra. Snow covered peaks rise majestically overhead. Having picked up our climbing gear and hired a porter in the village, we soon set off to explore the mountains of this region.

Our first significant sojourn in the mountains was the tiny village of Gokyo (15,720 feet), a three day hike from Namche Bazaar. This picturesque village is situated on the shore of a small lake beside the massive Ngozumba Glacier that stretches some thirty kilometres to the north. At the head of this glacier is Cho Oyu (26,750 feet), the sixth highest mountain in the world. From a small peak above Gokyo, we were able to watch the sunset on many of the high mountains of the region including Cho Oyu, Everest, and Lhotse (27,892 feet). In addition to this spectacular view, the area is well known as the abode of the yeti, more commonly known to North Americans as

abominable snowmen. Although we did not see any signs of such creatures, local legends are replete with stories of past sightings.

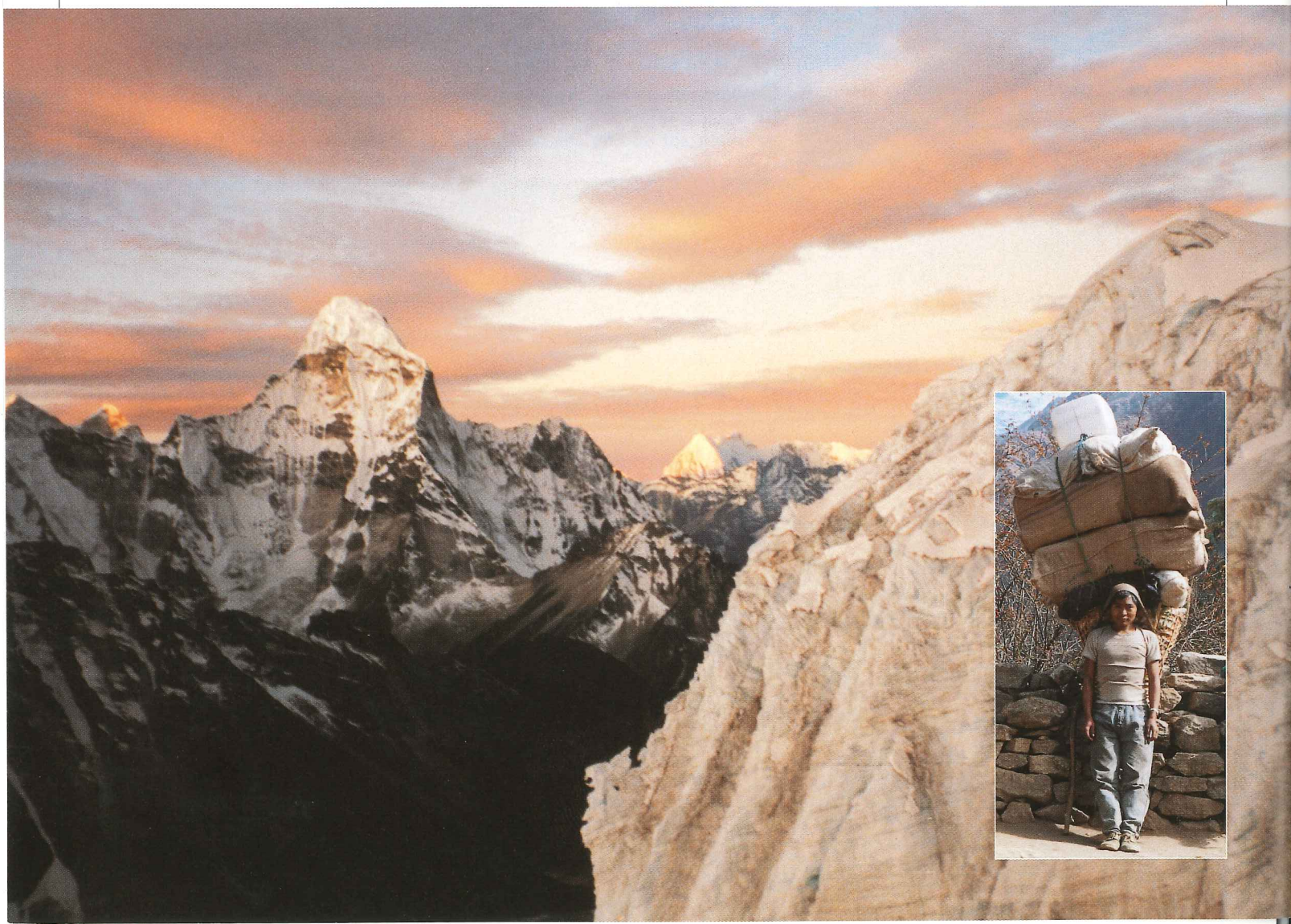
From Gokyo, we began our first serious climb of the trip over the Chola Pass (17,783 feet). Although not technically difficult, the steep and icy trail does require considerable effort. The combination of the high altitude and the steep climb was more than enough to take my breath away. Nevertheless, from the top of the snow-covered pass, we were rewarded with a striking view of the sharp summit of Ama Dablam (22,494 feet) in the next valley. After a steep descent of the other side of the pass, we continued to the tiny village of Gorak Shep (17,000 feet) which lies near the base of Everest. After another steep climb to the windswept top of Kalapather (18,450 feet), a minor peak above Gorak Shep, we were able to get an incredible view of Everest and its neighbouring peaks. It is not surprising that this viewpoint is known as one of the most spectacular in the world.

From Gorak Shep, it was also possible to travel along the Khumbu Glacier to Everest Base Camp. It is from this camp



that most climbing expeditions begin their attempt on the world's highest mountain. Travel on the loose rock of the glacial moraine was tricky and required frequent detours to avoid deep crevasses along the route. In one area, pressure from below had

The incredible seeing of lightness — sunrise from Imjatse. Inset: Backpacking in Nepal?





forced thin pinnacles of ice up through the rock, and I had the distinct impression of walking through a forest of ice trees. In startling contrast to the beauty of this scene, there were a number of large rocks nearby with the engraved names of individuals who had died attempting to climb the mountains above. For someone who was about to climb his first Himalayan mountain, this was a sobering sight.

Four more days of hiking including a climb over the Kongma Pass (18,099 feet) brought us to within view of the mountain I was planning to climb. Imjatse is a 20,305 foot mountain rising to the south of Mount Everest. Although not in the same league as Everest or Cho Oyu, its steep summit ridge still presents a significant challenge to the potential climber. Bipin had previously climbed the mountain, and after over three weeks in the mountains, I hoped that I was sufficiently acclimatized to handle the altitude. From our camp on the mountainside, our plan was to get to the snowline at dawn and hopefully reach the summit by 10:00 am. This strategy would allow us to avoid being on the snow and ice in late afternoon when the risk of avalanche is greatest.

Climbing an unknown mountain in pitch darkness has never been my idea of a good time. Loose rocks, uncertain handholds and footholds, as well as difficulties in route finding are all potentially serious problems that are not helped by the lack of light. Nevertheless, with Bipin's knowledge of the mountain, the proper equipment, and a slow but steady pace, we were able to reach the glacier at the appointed hour. I have never been much of a morning person and cannot claim to be a qualified expert on sunrises. However, I find it hard to believe that there could be many sunrises to rival the

one that I saw that morning from approximately 19,000 feet. As the sky brightened, mountains emerged from the darkness all around us and then slowly turned from an ominous black to a brilliant orange. During this time, the air was still as if in anticipation of the new day.

Having donned our ice climbing boots, attached our crampons, and fixed our harnesses and ropes, we were ready to begin the next stage of the climb. After several hours of traversing ice and snow and avoiding crevasses, we approached the summit ridge. At this point, the route to the top took a difficult turn, straight up! With Bipin in the lead, we slowly scaled the five hundred foot wall of ice and snow above us. With this challenge behind us, we now had the equally difficult task of negotiating the top of the narrow ridge to the summit. Only a foot wide and with near vertical drops on either side, this final stage of the climb required careful concentration to avoid the tragic results that a misplaced step or momentary loss of balance would bring.

We reached the summit slightly before 11:00 am. Bright sunlight had forced the temperature up to a comfortable 5°C, and an incredible panorama of snow-capped mountains filled the horizon in all directions. It was hard to believe that we were

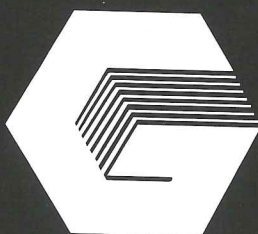
now standing on the summit of the mountain which days before had seemed so distant. After taking some time to enjoy our accomplishment and getting the obligatory photos to mark the occasion, it was soon time to begin retracing our steps. We descended the mountain without incident and spent the next several days hiking back to Namche Bazaar and subsequently down to Lukla where I had arranged for a flight back to Kathmandu.

With plenty of time to spare before my return to Canada, I spent the next few days exploring Kathmandu and picking up souvenirs and Christmas presents. I also arranged for a three day trip down to Chitwan National Park on the border with India where I rode into the jungle on the back of an elephant to see rhinos, barking deer, crocodiles, and other wildlife native to the area. Finally, December 23 rolled around, and it was time to return home. After saying good-bye to Bipin, I boarded the flight. A final view of the Himalayas greeted me outside the window as the plane winged its way back to a more familiar part of the world.

Vaughn Lantz works in the Former Soviet Union Division of the Bureau of Assistance for Central and Eastern Europe. He is a former Policy Advisor to the SSEA.

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1994 Canadian Foreign Service Officer Awards



Ian Burchett, Carolyn McMaster, Denis Grégoire de Blois, Claudette Deschênes

The 1994 Foreign Service Officer Awards were presented on June 15 to four officers: **Ian Burchett**, Canada's Vice-Consul and Assistant Trade Commissioner in Monterrey, Mexico, **Claudette Deschênes**, Deputy Director with Personnel for the International Service Group of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, **Denis Grégoire de Blois**, Middle East Relations Division at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and **Carolyn McMaster**, Deputy Director, Eastern and Southern Africa Relations Division at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

Ian Burchett won the Award for his outstanding performance in making Canadian business and industry a significant force in the economically important region of Monterrey, in northeastern Mexico. His efforts came at a critical time, with Canadian business interest in Mexico soaring as a result of economic changes in Mexico and the negotiation and passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

Claudette Deschênes received an Award for the exceptional support she provided to immigration managers abroad working

under difficult, stressful conditions. The past two years have been a period of tremendous change for immigration officers. As Deputy Director, Personnel, Ms. Deschênes had an important role in managing the transition of the International Service Group to Citizenship and Immigration and in handling many sensitive personnel issues. In accepting her Award, Ms. Deschênes gave tribute to her family and to the many people she has worked with over her thirteen year career. She made a plea to senior management to recognize how stretched are human resources in both departments. She asked her foreign service colleagues to concentrate on working together to serve Canadian interests better, and reminded her International Service colleagues that "We are an integral part of the Foreign Service and we must stop worrying about the future and move forward to shape it. It is in our hands".

Denis Grégoire de Blois won his Award for his extraordinary work over four years in promoting human rights in Syria, in relation to members of the Syrian Jewish community. His familiarity with Middle East culture and knowledge of Arabic gave him

unique access to the leadership of that community and allowed him to make approaches at all levels of the Syrian government. In accepting the Award, Mr. Grégoire de Blois recalled the 1990 Security Council debate on Soviet Jewish emigration. At that time, Canada reiterated its support for the right to leave any country, including one's own. Mr. Grégoire de Blois hoped that this recognition of the freedom of movement might be a harbinger of a just peace for the region as a whole.

Carolyn McMaster received an Award for her outstanding role in helping to develop and implement Canadian foreign policy during a time of unprecedented change in South Africa. Her initiative and leadership have been recognized by the Canadian NGO community, the democratic movement in South Africa, within the Commonwealth Secretariat and among decision-makers in Canada as having played a substantial role in winning for Canada its well-deserved reputation for constructive and effective support of peaceful negotiation and fundamental change. In accepting her Award, Ms. McMaster praised the work of her colleagues in this and other government departments for their contributions in what she deemed to be a truly team effort.

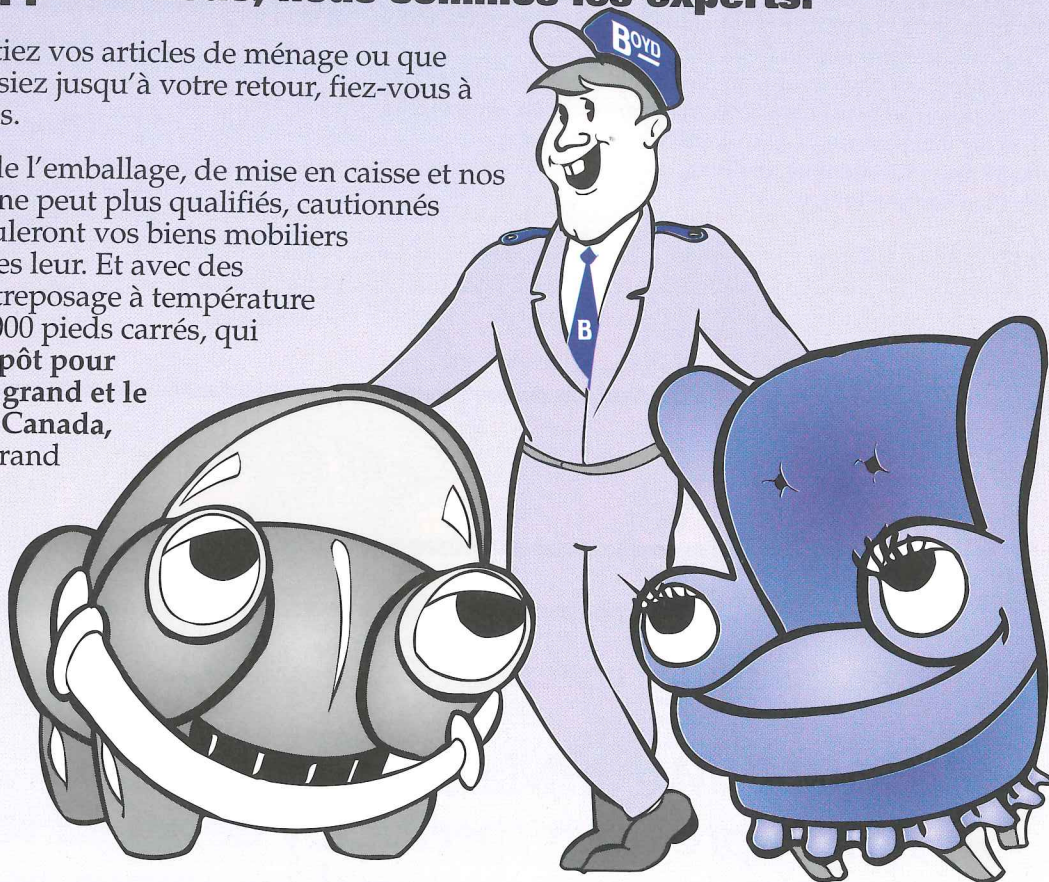
The Awards dinner was held this year at the National Arts Centre in Ottawa, and the Awards were presented by the Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Peter Harder, and by Jake Warren, retired Ambassador and former Deputy Minister of the Department of Trade and Commerce, Michael Shensstone, retired Ambassador, and Daniel Jean, Director of Immigration Control, International Service Group and former Award winner. Judges for this year's Awards were Meriel V.M. Bradford, Assistant Vice-President, Corporate Affairs, Teleglobe Canada Inc., Marie-Claude Lortie, President of the Parliamentary Press Gallery, Timothy Reid, President of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Terry Sheehan, formerly Assistant Deputy Minister, Immigration Operations and High Commissioner to Jamaica and Ambassador to Turkey, James H. (Si) Taylor, former USSEA and Ambassador to NATO and Japan and currently Chancellor of McMaster University.

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Creation

by Benoît Plamondon

In the beginning was the plan,
And then came the assumptions,
And the assumptions were without form,
And the plan was completely without substance,
And the darkness was on the face of the workers,
And they spoke to their Deputy-Directors saying:
 "It's a crock, and it stinketh."
And the Deputy-Directors went unto their Director, and sayeth:
 "It's a pail of dung, and none may abide the odour thereof."
And the Directors went unto their Directors-General and sayeth unto them:
 *"It's a container of excrement, and it is very strong such that none may
 abide by it."*
And the Directors-General went unto their Assistant Deputy Minister, and sayeth
to him:
 "It's a vessel of fertilizer, and none may abide by its strength."
And the Assistant Deputy Ministers went to the Executive Committee and sayeth:
 "It contains that which makes plants grow, and it is very strong."
And the Executive Committee went unto the Under Secretary and sayeth unto him:
 "It promoteth growth, and it is very powerful."
And the Under Secretary went unto the Minister, and sayeth unto him:
 *"This powerful new plan will actively promote the growth and efficiency
 of the department, and this area in particular."*
And the Minister looked upon the Plan, and saw that it was good.
And the Plan became Policy.

*Benoît Plamondon works in Human Rights, Women's Equality and Social Affairs Division.
He has served in Kingston and at the Fall Session of the United Nations General Assembly.*

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Books in Review / Critiques de livres

Grand Amour reviewed by Gabriel-M. Lessard

The Development of Postwar Canadian Trade Policy
reviewed by Hector Mackenzie

Shifting Gears: Thriving in the New Economy;
No Small Change: Success in Canada's New Economy;
A Matter of Survival: Canada in the 21st Century;
False God: How the Globalization Myth has Impoverished Canada;
Dismantling a Nation: Canada and the New World Order
reviewed by Michael Hart

GRAND AMOUR par Erik Orsenna, Éditions du Seuil, 27, rue Jacob, Paris VII^{ème}, 1993

par Gabriel-M. Lessard

Gabriel-M. Lessard est Directeur, Direction des relations avec l'Afrique occidentale, centrale et avec le Maghreb. Il a eu des affectations à Berne, à Adidjan, à Dakar et à Saigon.

À vrai dire, rien ne me prédestinait à la lecture du dernier roman d'Érik Orsenna, *Grand Amour*. Je n'avais même pas terminé la lecture de *L'Exposition coloniale* dont la critique avait fait si grand bruit (1988) et qui avait remporté le prix Goncourt. Cela était bien écrit, très bien il est vrai, et d'une grande érudition; mais l'oeuvre méritait-elle le substantif de roman comme le catégorise les «Éditions du Seuil»? Je n'en suis toujours pas convaincu. Pas davantage je ne suis convaincu que *Grand Amour* le mérite comme le prétend le même éditeur bien qu'il s'agisse, à n'en pas douter, d'une oeuvre romancée.

Le chapitre qui raconte le Sommet de Versailles retiendra certes davantage l'attention des praticiens de la politique étrangère.

Voilà des distinctions bien tenues pour un amateur de littérature plus attiré par les débats d'idées que les oeuvres romancées. Néanmoins, l'oeuvre, dont je savais qu'elle racontait l'histoire d'un homme de l'ombre

qui opérait dans les dédales de l'Élysée, m'attirait. J'avais en plus ouï-dire qu'elle relatait le Sommet de Versailles et quelques avatars arrivés à notre grand homme, Pierre Trudeau.

Orsenna raconte une tranche de vie, la sienne, d'un garçon timide, un peu effrayé par les femmes (le roman n'a rien, mais rien d'érotique, en dépit du titre) qui devient biographe chez un grand éditeur parisien. C'est le début de son métier de «nègre», c'est à dire celui qui met sa plume au service d'autrui. C'est l'occasion pour Orsenna de nous rappeler que le mot a son origine dans le travail du mulâtre Auguste Maquet, crédité en partie de l'oeuvre *Monte-Cristo* (officiellement Alexandre Dumas). Certains nègres ont d'ailleurs assez bien fini: de Gaulle n'a-t-il pas été le nègre de Pétain? Est-ce là une consolation pour tous les «nègres» que nous sommes?

L'histoire commence réellement, tout au moins en ce qui concerne le lecteur, au moment où Orsenna est appelé à devenir «nègre» chez le Président de la République française. Le voilà entré en religion, dans un monde particulier qui opère suivant ses propres règles. Ce sera l'occasion de nous faire rencontrer toutes sortes de personnages dont une horlogère (il y a quatre cents pendules au palais de l'Élysée) qui sera l'un de ses amours. Toutefois la clef du titre ne réside pas là mais dans le fait que la racine latine de discourir (discursus) signifie courir çà et là et que l'amoureux de l'écriture court çà et là dans sa tête. Encore davantage, le titre tire son origine du séjour de l'auteur chez le séducteur par excellence, le grand Séducteur, Mitterrand dont le nom ne sera pas prononcé une seule fois; par contre, la majuscule sera de rigueur chaque fois qu'il s'agit de Lui. Les femmes ne sont, bien sûr, pas absentes. Orsenna explique l'admiration de Mitterrand pour Milan Kundera parce qu'il serait selon celui-là l'homme qui sait tout des femmes.

Le chapitre qui raconte le Sommet de Versailles retiendra certes davantage

l'attention des praticiens de la politique étrangère. L'un des principaux personnages en est notre ancien Premier Ministre Trudeau, ou plutôt son fils qui vient prendre une «leçon de français en France». Orsenna apprivoisera l'enfant au «walk-man» (le mot baladeur n'était pas encore utilisé), cette coiffure favorite des enfants du divorce pendant que les Chefs d'État et «leurs parasites» discuteront sur l'activité internationale. Le communiqué final causera des problèmes particuliers lorsqu'il sera avalé par l'ordinateur! La panique qui s'en suivit sera maîtrisée lorsque notre héros retournera à la poubelle pour reconstituer le communiqué. «Tel le communiqué de la corbeille entra dans l'Histoire».

Le chapitre sur la rédaction des télégrammes et condoléances qui concerne les célébrités est pénétrant d'ironie.

L'auteur aborde le Canada sous un autre angle ironique lorsqu'il raconte qu'un mécène a l'heureuse idée de réunir dans une luxueuse demeure en Suisse (probablement à Gstaad) les «nègres» du monde. Il y rencontre le «Canadien bilingue, qui écrivait avec un centimètre» pour être certain de l'égale longueur des éléments français et anglais de ses discours. Orsenna y raconte également le phantasme du nègre de Reagan qui rêve de jouer un malin tour à son patron en laissant une page blanche après le mot solution. Reagan qui, d'après

Orsenna, lisait verbatim en aurait perdu son latin.

Le chapitre sur la rédaction des télégrammes et condoléances qui concerne les célébrités est pénétrant d'ironie. Faute de parenté, ces communications sont adressées aux journaux. «Les condoléances flottent dans l'air, sans personne sur qui se poser. C'est un peu triste. Mais, finalement, la presse n'est-elle pas la vraie famille des célébrités». Voilà certes une leçon d'humilité.

Le 14 juillet donne lieu au ballet des «pimpantes». Orsenna profite en effet de sa situation privilégiée au palais pour faire pénétrer ses conquêtes d'une fête nationale dans le «sanctuaire». Certaines repartent avec des souvenirs impérissables. Il va sans dire que le pouvoir et tout ce qui gravite autour agit comme un puissant aphrodisiaque.

L'arrivée des mesureurs d'amour marque en un certain sens le déclin du Président (même s'il est toujours au pouvoir). Les faiseurs d'image tentent de redorer son blason. Ils organisent des «campagnes d'amour» (qu'en termes élégants, ces choses là sont bien dites). Ce sont d'ailleurs des messieurs tout en daim; ils ont «la belle voiture, les beaux costumes qui disent la gloire en silence». Ces mesureurs d'amour tiennent aussi la présidence de Mitterrand

entre leurs mains. Une erreur de jugement de ces messieurs est toujours très coûteuse; à preuve l'expérience de Jimmy Carter : «Les États-Unis souhaitaient de la virilité, on leur a fourni de la tendresse». Vous connaissez la suite: elle s'appelle Reagan.

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La rédaction d'un ouvrage ayant pour personnage central l'un des grands de ce monde était l'occasion rêvée de nous en raconter quelques travers. Ainsi, la meilleure façon, semble-t-il, de toucher le Président était de contribuer aux bonnes oeuvres de sa (bonne) femme. Son conseiller Attali aurait dit de lui : «Quelle haine de l'économie». Mais il est néanmoins entouré de flatteurs, et comme l'écrit Orsenna

«l'activité du flatteur tient au plus noble de l'érotisme millénaire: le flatteur, le vrai flatteur n'a de cesse qu'il ne découvre les cli-toris biographiques.» Le Président demeure tout de même un personnage secret qui a en horreur que l'on puisse le résumer en une formule: «Comment réduire ma vie en quelques entretiens.»

En conclusion, je recommande la lecture de *Grand Amour*. La virtuosité linguistique et stylistique de l'auteur justifie amplement l'intérêt que cette oeuvre a suscité. De plus, il est très intéressant pour les praticiens que nous sommes de la politique étrangère d'avoir une vue de l'intérieur des dédales élyséens



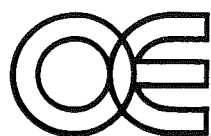
THE DEVELOPMENT OF POSTWAR CANADIAN TRADE POLICY by Bruce Muirhead, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montréal, 1992, 230 pages. \$39.95.

Reviewed by Hector Mackenzie

Hector Mackenzie is the Senior Departmental Historian of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and a member of the Editorial Board of bout de papier.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, Canada became ever more dependent on international trade for prosperity, with more and more of that commerce conducted with the United States. Though Canadian policy-makers wholeheartedly supported efforts to reconstruct international economic relations on a multilateral basis, through instruments such as the International Monetary Fund and the ill-fated International Trade Organization, they were also mindful of the need to deal with Canada's bilateral difficulties, most conspicuously our exchange problems with the United States and the lingering impact of the war on the United Kingdom. Considerable attention, significant diplomatic resources and vast sums were devoted to the restoration of Canadian trade with Britain and, to a lesser extent, Western Europe, to maximize our exports and to limit our dependence on the American market. For several years after the war, a series of extraordinary financial measures (Canada's reconstruction loan to Britain and other credits, the Anglo-American loan and the Marshall Plan) underwrote trade between sterling and dollar countries. Even with this exceptional assistance, the prognosis for Canada's trade with Britain and Europe was not favourable.

As Bruce Muirhead documents in this important study of Canada's post-war trade,



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Canada pursued a policy of enlightened self-interest which it hoped would permit a resumption of the commercial relationship with Britain and Western Europe which had been so vital before the war. In effect, post-war policy represented a continuation of the measures adopted during the war to facilitate British purchases from Canada. Circumstances, not policy directives, led to a less satisfactory outcome. Muirhead ably refutes any suggestion that the Liberal governments of King and St. Laurent "sold out" national interests to continental concerns.

Where he is less sure is in his discussion of the tensions or contradictions between multilateralism and bilateralism in Canada's external economic policy. To Muirhead, one must subscribe to one or the other of these creeds. This distinction seems artificial or exaggerated. Certainly, some policy-makers were more inclined to see the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade as the principal salvation for Canada, while others looked towards an accommodation with the United States or bilateral deals with Britain. Most, however, responded to the challenges of opportunities presented in either context. Their approach was more pragmatic than academic or theological. It would be more accurate, but less colourful, to note that policy-makers favoured the maximization of Canada's exports by whatever means were available, including the overlooked domain of trade promotion. Still, it is hard to quarrel with Muirhead's fundamental conclusion, that the multilateral alternative failed in this period, leaving acceptance of a continental relationship as the "only real option" (p. 75).

But what about the problems, and solutions, confronted by British policy-makers? In his introduction and elsewhere, Muirhead tends to explain and to excuse Canadian choices or policies by reference to the circumstances, but the same allowance is not made for British options. British policy in relation to Canada is depicted as "almost-punitive" (p. 5), a sentiment Muirhead imputes to British reaction to Canada's refusal to join to sterling area. Yet a more reasonable explanation would be that each country went its own way, neither prepared to subordinate its overall interests to the bilateral relationship. In contrast to the sympathetic evaluation of Canadian policy, British external economic policy is depicted as monolithic and hostile to dollar countries, with no attention paid to multilateralist sentiments in Britain during or after the war. There is little comparison with other relationships which might help to explain respective policies. For example, though much larger than the rest, the British loan

was not the only credit extended by Canada to encourage post-war trade. Was the assistance to France, so large in relation to normal trade with that country, justified? Was it any more productive? Both measures were part of an approach sketched out in the *White Paper on Employment and Income* published in April 1945, which is treated incidentally and incompletely in this account. American aid to Britain also merits more direct comparison with Canadian assistance.

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Some of the questions about British external economic policy in the aftermath of the war could have been answered by referring to the fine studies by Sayers (whose phrase 'bilateral imbalance within a balanced North Atlantic triangle' is mistakenly attributed to Cuff and Granatstein), Pressnell and Cairncross. For his account of British discriminatory policy in the 1950s, Muirhead relies too heavily on *The Economist*. That contrasts to the earlier part of the story, which is carefully documented from an impressive array of published and unpublished books and papers.

As for the historical literature on Canada's international economic relations, that is also treated idiosyncratically. Readers of Muirhead's earlier articles will need no introduction to that familiar straw man, Donald Creighton, in his traditional villainous guise. Surely the time has come to confront the prevailing consensus on this subject, which is represented by scholars such as Granatstein, Cuff, Bothwell and English. Admittedly it is less fun to take issue with them on points of interpretation,

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but does that justify skipping a generation of scholarship to attack someone who wrote only one significant survey of this era, a book distinguished more by its polemical tone than by its research? The fact that Creighton has been embraced by a few fringe players of more recent vintage does not justify treating him as a predominant scholar in this field.

It is hard to quarrel with Muirhead's fundamental conclusion, that the multilateral alternative failed in this period, leaving acceptance of a continental relationship as the "only real option."

There are also some problems with evaluation of statistics. What constitutes a "trend?" Twice an increase in British exports to the sterling area from 45% in 1946 to 48% in 1950 is depicted as dramatic. But the rise in merchandise exports from Canada to Western Europe from 4% in 1950 to 6% in 1955 does not receive equivalent treatment or explanation. The tables appended to the book deal with 1937, 1949 and every year to 1957, but not 1945 to 1948. In the text and a table, Muirhead compares the first half of 1949 and first half of 1950 to assess the impact of Geneva and Annecy on European imports from Canada. Muirhead himself concedes that other factors such as devaluations undoubtedly played their part, so how valid is the comparison? Similarly, there are frequent references to the proliferation of non-tariff barriers to trade but no specific or effective discussion of these instruments and their impact.

Still, scholars and practitioners are indebted to Muirhead for this fine account of the interplay of Canadian and British policy. Especially for a country as dependent on international trade as Canada, it is important to understand the problems, the questions and the choices which confronted

policy-makers and traders in the postwar years. This book makes a vital contribution to that understanding.



SHIFTING GEARS: THRIVING IN THE NEW ECONOMY by Nuala Beck, Toronto, Harper Collins, 1992, 190 pages, \$14.95; NO SMALL CHANGE: SUCCESS IN CANADA'S NEW ECONOMY by Dian Cohen and Guy Stanley, Toronto, Macmillan, 1993, 216 pages, \$24.95; A MATTER OF SURVIVAL: CANADA IN THE 21ST CENTURY by Diane Francis, Toronto, Key Porter, 1993, 216 pages, \$19.95; FALSE GOD: HOW THE GLOBALIZATION MYTH HAS IMPOVERISHED CANADA by James Laxer, Toronto, Lester Publishing, 1993, \$14.95; and DISMANTLING A NATION: CANADA AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER by Stephen McBride and John Shields, Halifax, Fernwood Publishing, 1993, 208 pages, \$19.95.

Reviewed by Michael Hart

Michael Hart is Senior Advisor, Trade Policy Studies, in the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and adjunct professor of international affairs in the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University. He has recently written What's Next: Canada, the Global Economy and the New Trade Policy, published by the Centre for Trade Policy and Law at Carleton University.

Over the past three years, I have been reading extensively about globalization. I am trying to understand its impact on the Canadian economy and its implications for the future evolution of Canadian trade and other economic policies. Most of what I am reading is American in origin or drawn from highly specialized academic literature that touches on individual aspects of what is taking place around us, but provides little in the way of synthesis or policy advice. The amount of material that treats this issue seriously and usefully from a Canadian perspective is disappointingly small. This is surprising, given the stake Canadians have in the global economy, and in the further development of a global trade regime.

There is, of course, some Canadian literature, some of it very good. Scholars like Dick Lispey, Richard Harris and Sylvia Ostry are all contributing to a better understanding of these issues. Generally, however, Canadian treatments of international economic issues are disappointingly uneven, parochial and often off the mark. To illustrate my point, let me review five recent

popular books that provide a Canadian perspective on globalization.

For the last five years we have been going through a period of alternating recession and slow growth, accompanied by persistent high unemployment and major structural adjustments. The media keeps reporting this as a recession, i.e., as a slowdown in the business cycle. We are not going through a recession. We are experiencing something much more fundamental. We are undergoing the fallout from what Richard Lipsey has called a techno-economic paradigm shift, i.e., a transformation in the technological basis of our economic life. Changes in the technology and organization of production flowing from developments in communications, transportation and information-processing are fundamentally altering the way the economy works.

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They are doing so at two levels. The new information economy is spawning new products and industries at an unprecedented rate and creating pressures for new approaches to industrial organization, management and production techniques. Second, advances in information-processing technologies have led to a quantum leap in the internationalization of the economy. Business used to think largely in local and national terms. Today, in order to survive, they must think in global terms. These two developments taken together underpin what has been called the globalization of the economy.

There is, of course, much more to it than just the economy; we are also seeing a convergence in political and other values. Much of the anger we hear from nationalists, in

Canada and elsewhere, for example, reflects a reaction to the erosion of local values and modes of expression and their replacement by more universal ones. Nationalists believe that local values are by definition of higher order than those espoused on a much broader basis. The most immediate issues raised by globalization, however, are economic and it is economic analysts who have been most active in trying to understand what is going on. Economists, however, are not of one mind on these matters.

Mainstream economists divide themselves into a number of groups including neo-classicists, structuralists, business-school historians, supply-side monetarists and Keynesian aggregate demand managers. The result is often a cacophony of professional debate about very fine nuances which gives the false impression that there is very little that economists agree about. That is not true; most mainstream economists agree, for example, on the importance of the market and the positive signals provided by the price system. These economists can properly be called mainstream because their analysis proceeds on the basis of values shared by most Canadians; they also represent the preponderance of the profession.

Laxer starts with the assumption that the Canadian economy is in deep trouble, but not for the conventional reasons of debt, international competitiveness, lack of native entrepreneurship and so on. It is rooted in the election of the Conservatives.

Radical economists, such as Marxists and socialists, on the other hand, believe the market to be a force of evil; they consider the price system to be a tyranny that perpetuates injustice and which must be controlled by political forces. This judgement is often shared by their political science brethren. In Canada, radical economists and

political scientists sometimes give the impression that they represent the mainstream because they tend to be noisier and more articulate than their more orthodox rivals. That image is reinforced by the media who find commentary from the more radical elements in the social sciences more congenial; it accords more closely to be supposedly progressive views held by many in the media, i.e., it shows more overt concern for the marginal groups in society and an appropriate disdain for the views and interests of the corporate sector. Their work, however, is even more value-driven than that of mainstream economists; their values, however, are not those with which most Canadians are comfortable.

The distinction between these two schools of thought is important. It reflects two competing visions of how the world does and should function. One vision is grounded in concepts of individual responsibility and is philosophically committed to the ideal of equality of opportunity; the other is grounded in ideas of collective responsibility and is committed to the ideal of equality of results. Understanding these two competing visions helps to provide an analytical framework within which to examine conflicting approaches to the challenges raised by globalization.

When it comes to the role of government, for example, the equality-of-opportunity perspective sees a relatively small role for government involving largely negative prescriptions. Government's principal function is to guarantee and protect the right of individuals to pursue their interests. The equality-of-results perspective envisions a much larger and more activist role for government, dedicated to the promotion of equal results and the removal of obstacles to their achievement. Equal-opportunity government is small and unobtrusive; equal-results government is large and expensive. For the former, government can be a source of interference and an obstacle to the achievement of individual goals; for the latter, government is the source of solutions and the basis for achieving societal goals.

Equality-of-opportunity government is rooted in community values such as the family, and in individual responsibility; equality-of-results government is collectivist and rooted in statist values. On the economic front, equality-of-opportunity government is based on market principles; it believes that the market is the most efficient allocator of resources; government's role is limited to ensuring that markets are not abused and that individuals unable to compete within the market are protected.

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Equality-of-results government, on the other hand, is dedicated to the proposition that the market allocates resources unfairly; instead, governments are best able to balance competing political, social and economic values and objectives and ensure that all members of society gain their fair share of society's economic fruits.

Of course, no government or society is organized on a basis wholly consistent with one vision or another. These visions compete with one another for attention and power in democratic societies and each has left its imprint on the way governments function.

Of the five books under review, three stand in the mainstream of Canadian economic values while two partake of the radical tradition. All seek to provide a guide to the forces of change and adjustment sweeping across Canada and the rest of the world.

For James Laxer, the threat of globalization can be found in the fact that it is the product of business needs and greed. Consequently, any accommodation to its requirements holds dangerous potential to aggravate social divisions. Laxer's *False God: How the Globalization Myth has Impoverished Canada* starts with the assumption that the Canadian economy is in deep trouble, but not for the conventional reasons of debt,

international competitiveness, lack of native entrepreneurship and so on. Laxer has a simpler explanation and it is rooted in the election of the Conservatives. Prior to 1984, Canadians were nation builders, developing a model based on sharing and community values. Then the Conservatives came along and destroyed this by bringing in an alien US model and mount a willful attack on native Canadian institutions. The FTA was both the centrepiece and the symbol of this transformation. It locked Canada into a US-dominated North American economy based on alien values. In his view, the FTA established a trading bloc within which the US corporate order could successfully dismantle national sovereignty and impose a fourth level of government that would take precedence over the will of the people. As a result, he sees the central challenge faced by Canadians as one of coming to grips with the new age without being sucked further into the nightmare of the US socio-economic agenda.

Integral to the US agenda is the achievement of a global economy. He thus characterizes globalization as the work of analysts in the English-speaking world trying to explain what must be done to arrest the decline of Anglo-American political and economic hegemony. Ironically, he adopts the analytical model of US commentators like Lester Thurow to substantiate his claims. They believe that there are three sub-systems of global capitalism: the discredited, competitive Anglo-American model; the more robust, corporatist German or continental model; and the cooperative, communitarian Japanese or Asian model. To drive home his point that Canada has hitched its wagon to the wrong star, Laxer paints a caricature of the US economy reminiscent of Dickens' portrayal of Victorian urban slums. This US nightmare is then juxtaposed against the success of Germany and Japan — something which quickly dates the book, given the economic woes now being experienced in Germany and the economic and political instability that have buffeted Japan over the last two years.

To bolster his social criticism, Dickens needed to paint the idyllic but fictional picture of happy rural peasants transformed by industrialization into the mean urban poor of his day; today's caricaturist uses the equally idyllic picture of the happy industrial worker of the 1950s reduced to penury by globalization, hastened along by the greed of the Reagan-Mulroney corporate agenda. This caricature bears little resemblance to the richly varied American and Canadian experiences, but Laxer gives it an air of credibility with the occasional useful insights, such as his compelling description

of the isolationism of the American mind. Even this image, however, is devalued with that snide moral superiority that is the special preserve of the Canadian left.

For those who may think that Laxer represents an isolated rant from the NDP Waffle past, a quick perusal of McBride and Shields, *Dismantling a Nation: Canada and the New World Order*, and its extensive notes and bibliography — should dispel this notion. It offers a more subtle version of the same thesis. Globalization marks a threat. Brian Mulroney and the FTA brought it to Canada. Only a socialist revolution can undo it. While this too may read like a Marxist tract, it is in fact a popular text used on campuses around the country to introduce students to Canadian political economy. I read Vincent Bladen; today's students read McBride and Shields and similar tomes. It is well written, carefully footnoted and seriously misleading.

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urban slums.*

Like all too many books written by the current breed of progressive Canadian political economists, it is a triumph of ideology over analysis. Facts are carefully poured into a class-based analysis of Canadian and global economic circumstances. Governments are portrayed as consciously and systematically pursuing ideologically-based strategies — i.e., neo-conservative in the case of Canada over the past few decades — rather than the more haphazard reaction to circumstances within the constraints of global and national political and economic realities with which most of us are familiar. McBride and Shields may not represent mainstream economics, but their analysis sure is mainstream political economy. It is also very disheartening. The image that emerges is that of a country being sucked into the maelstrom of globalization, hurried along by the evil intentions of international capitalism (e.g., the debt crisis is a business myth). A central tenet is that over the past two decades, Canada has become a meaner place as governments retrenched

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and responded to the demands of the business class. The truth, of course, is that social spending has risen steadily in Canada over the past twenty years for a wide variety of reasons, while revenue at the provincial and federal has not kept pace, creating an increasingly unsustainable fiscal situation.

The FTA is again given pride of place in the pantheon of neo-conservative devils and its rules are characterized as a major departure from the past, never mind the fact that many of the rules that most trouble left-wing analysts are straight incorporations of GATT rules and procedures. As a result, the FTA can be described as imposing significant restraints on progressive public policy. This oft-repeated but rarely explained charge rests on the FTA's national treatment obligation, one of the oldest principles underpinning international agreements and one that has served Canada well.

Suffice it to say that both students and general readers deserve better. The world is more complex than this. Unfortunately, we are not served much better by business-oriented, non-academic authors. Nuala Beck's book *Shifting Gears: Thriving in the New Economy* affords a good example. Here we have a book that contains a critically important message for all Canadians but is written in such an annoying way that most people will not get through it. It is not that Beck does not know how to write; she writes extremely well in a breezy, very readable style. But she undercuts her message by insisting she is the first and only person to have discovered the thesis she propounds. She isn't and if she were to have acknowledged at the beginning that she is a pygmy standing on the shoulder of giants, more people would be prepared to accept her message. She is a popularizer of the impenetrable prose that deeper thinkers use; this is an honourable and important profession and works best if the sources of the ideas and analysis are acknowledged.

Beck's basic thesis builds on the insights of such giants of economic thought as Joseph Schumpeter and Nikolai Kondratieff about long waves and discontinuities in economic growth and the important role of technology in defining its parameters. A lot of very useful work is being done on these ideas at, for example, the Science Policy Research Unit at the University of Sussex by researchers like Chris Freeman and Giovanni Dosi. In Canada, Dick Lipsey's work under the auspices of the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research is similarly exploring the role of technology in stimulating economic growth and development. In essence, Lipsey is working on a much more sophisticated version of the thesis that Beck explores, one that has been very

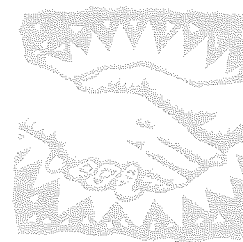
well received in government, business and academic circles.

The thesis is relatively straightforward. We are going through a transformation from the old, mass-production, resource-intensive old economy to a new, information-based, flexible-production, new economy. This transformation is not only creating adjustment problems for labour and business, but has profound implications for a much wider range of societal institutions, policies, practices and values. Resistance to these changes is not surprising, but they are adding to the stresses and strains we are experiencing. Beck is right to say we need to recognize the deep-seated nature of this transformation and to counsel that we get on with making the necessary adjustments. But I wish she would get a little less shrill and a little more humble about it.

*Three of the books
are excited about the
prospects presented
by a much more open
global economy; two
are frightened by it.
The latter are the
product of Canadian
university political
scientists with huge
anti-American,
anti-business chips
on their shoulders;
the former are
largely the product
of economists
earning their living
as consultants
or journalists.*

Diane Francis's *A Matter of Survival: Canada in the 21st Century* similarly means well but her analysis is also disappointing. She has the journalistic talent for writing clearly but she lacks the essential knowledge to make a credible case. She plays fast and loose with the details that add authenticity and credibility to any book on

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a complex and sophisticated issue. While daily journalism may manage to get away with this kind of sloppy work because of its ephemeral nature, a book cannot or should not. There is time to check and verify and get it right. Much of her information seems to come from the daily media, thus compounding her own sloppy research. For example: she states that the GATT was established at Bretton Woods in 1944 (that was the IMF; the GATT was originally negotiated in Geneva in 1947); Europe formed a customs union in 1993 (the EC-92 program that went into effect on January 1, 1993 in fact deepened a customs union that dates back to 1958 for the original six members). She also throws in a lot of simplistic and unnecessary generalizations and annoying judgements, e.g., the growth of a Fortress Europe, the preference of Australia and New Zealand for a free-trade agreement with North America rather than Asia.

Despite these weaknesses, Francis demonstrates a good awareness of the close interaction between political and economic factors, e.g., the refugee problem flowing from the collapse of communism and the end of the cold war is being compounded by the economic dislocation flowing from globalization. She thus provides a good appreciation of the geopolitical dimensions of globalization but an insufficient one of the social and political aspects.

Writing about complex issues for a general audience is a tough task. It requires an ability to take complex ideas and phenomena and reduce them to their essentials, without distorting the facts. It helps if the author can find metaphors that illustrate rather than confuse. Francis does not meet this challenge. The partnership of Dian Cohen and Guy Stanley, however, does. This collaborative effort between a business journalist and an academic business economist is the most satisfying of the five books.

What distinguishes Cohen and Stanley's *No Small Change: Success in Canada's New Economy* from Beck and Francis is that they offer not only a straightforward and credible explanation of the wrenching transformation taking place in the world around us, but they also provide a wealth of sensible advice about how we can adjust to and gain from this transformation. Their work is based on a careful appreciation of a wide range of business and economic analysts. It provides a convincing mix of searing criticism of our complacency and traditionalism and cautiously optimistic conclusions about our ability to meet the challenges of the future. Cohen and Stanley are convinced that with the right attitudes and actions — individual, corporate and

governmental — Canadians can be among the big winners in the global economy. They correctly point to the FTA as an important if only partial step in the right direction. Their analysis indicates that the United States is not an economy in decline, but one that is adjusting rapidly to the demands of the new economy. They thus see Canadian integration into the US economy as a positive rather than retrograde development.

The picture that emerges after reading all five books is of a world in a state of considerable flux, with Canadians right in the middle, whether we like it or not. What separates these books from each other is their attitudes towards the possibilities offered by these changes. Three of the books are excited about the prospects presented by a much more open global economy; two are

frightened by it. The latter are the product of Canadian university political scientists with huge anti-American, anti-business chips on their shoulders; the former are largely the product of economists earning their living as consultants or journalists. As these books show, Canadians don't lack good ideas. The problem is rather that some of us have trouble escaping from old ideas that are no longer applicable or that were never very good to begin with. The world is changing; the safe assumptions of the past will not help Canada face its current economic problems. We need to think boldly and creatively. For my money, Cohen and Stanley provide the best point of departure for that kind of thinking.



Murders with Character: ANSWERS

Office #1: Sam Spade (real name), Marlowe (cover name), private investigator (profession), gangster (victim's profession), falcon statuette (evidence), Joel Cairo (waiting room contact).

#2: Ebenezer Scrooge, Roger de Coverly, capitalist, financier, ledger, nephew Fred.

#3: Friar Laurence, Tuck, monk, debutante, wedding ring, Count de Paris.

#4: Sam McGee, Director.

#5: John Watson, (Captain) Hastings, doctor, detective, calabash, Mrs Hudson.

#6: "Lou", Terpsichore, dancer, gambler, gold dust, Ragtime Kid.

#7: "Doc", Toulouse-Lautrec, miner, princess, apple, Grumpy

ANAGRAMS: KLONDIKE and SERVICE

MURDERERS: Lou and the Ragtime Kid

EXPLANATION: see "The Shooting of Dan McGrew" and "The Cremation of Sam McGee" by Robert Service. Contrary to what was initially believed, "the lady that's known as Lou" and the Ragtime Kid shot Dangerous Dan McGrew in the dark, and threw the blame on a half-crazed miner, stealing money and gold from both men. The authorities got suspicious when the bullets found in Dan were the wrong size for the miner's gun, and Lou wound up in the WELCH program to protect her (as it ironically turned out) from herself. When the Director began to find evidence of her more intimate involvement, she and the Kid shot him in his office, and as a piece of bravado (given his name) burned his body near "Lac LeFarge" (a pond by a cement plant) in a boat labelled the "Alice May" (where Sam McGee's body was burned in the poem).

The other WELCH victims were Floyd Thursby (*The Maltese Falcon* — I think Joel Cairo framed Wilmer); Jacob Marley (*A Christmas Carol* — I never believed it was natural causes and Scrooge did inherit his half of the business); Juliet Capulet (*Romeo and Juliet* — I figure the County Paris bribed Friar Laurence to set the whole thing up for revenge); Sherlock Holmes (*The Final Problem* — he turned up again, of course, but Mrs. Hudson certainly had enough reason to bump him off, not least his habit of firing bullets into her wallpaper); and Snow White (*Snow White and the Seven Dwarves* — after all, she knew the location of their mines).

A. Aalto Puzzle Winner,
Vol. 11, No. 2
Gina Smith

A. Aalto has gone missing in
this edition. The challenge
is to find him/her.

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