

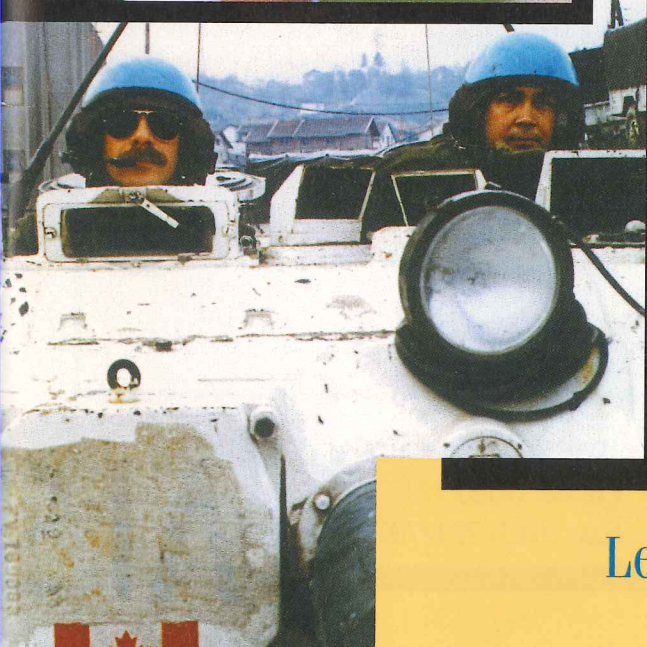
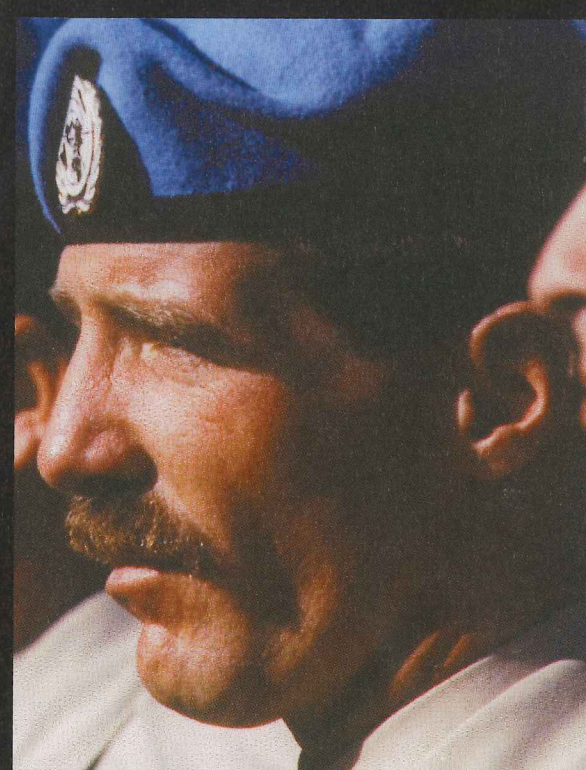
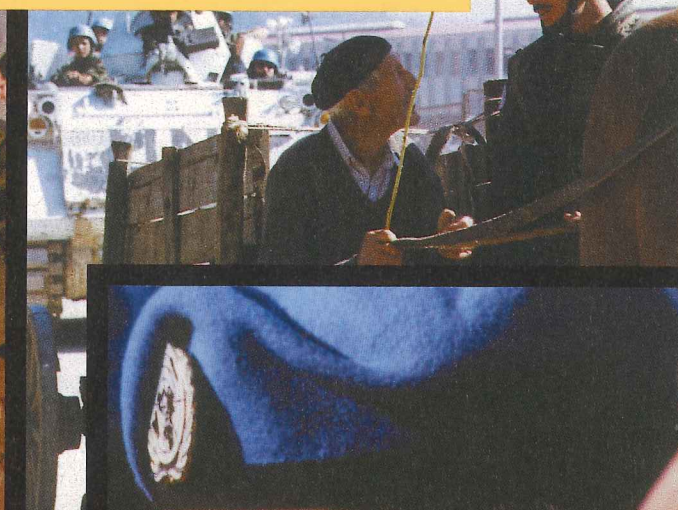
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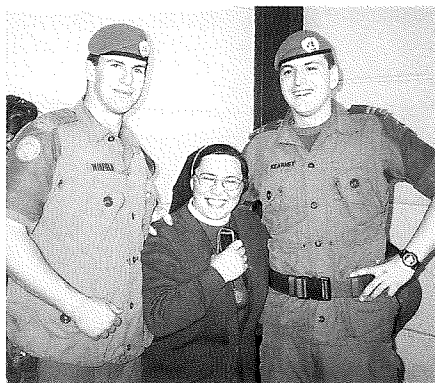
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Our cover photos, from DND, feature Canadian peacekeepers in the former Yugoslavia.



Captain Peter Winfield (left) and friends, Bosnia. *A Soldier's Story*, page 12

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Editor's Notebook / Carnet du rédacteur

"All men dream, but not equally. Those who dream by night in the dusty recesses of their minds wake in the day to find that it was vanity. But the dreamers of the day are dangerous men, for they may act their dreams with open eyes, to make it possible."

T.E. Lawrence. *"The Seven Pillars of Wisdom"*.

Some weeks ago I attended (purely in a stand-in capacity, you understand...) a meeting at which a large number of directors of divisions that deal predominantly with trade relations were present. At one point in the discussions, someone said, as an aside, "Of course we all know that Canadian foreign policy, these days, is just trade policy...". The comment was greeted with amused nods of acknowledgement and the conversation moved on.

I took the comment as a flippant one. Now I'm not so sure it was meant that way. It seems that I've heard twenty variations of the same comment in the last month, from the mouths of supposed "high flyers" throughout the Department.

Now there is no doubt that Canada, more than any other country of the G-7, must export to stay alive. The achieving of favourable conditions for Canada to trade abroad — for example through agreements of the kind discussed by Randolph Gherson in his thought-provoking article in this edition — is an extremely important part of Canadian foreign policy, and should remain so. But events in October 1995 showed that you can't hold a country together just by talking about trade stats and jobs. You can't run a foreign policy that way either.

Just as important to the country as those who negotiate agreements so that we can sell more goods and create more jobs in Canada are those who implement our immigration policies and so mould the face of Canada. Just as important are those who, through our development programmes, seek to bring a modicum of prosperity and stability to benighted parts of the world (incidentally creating more markets for our goods...). Just as important are those who look to Canada's physical security in a time of geopolitical earthquake.

But first among equals are those who live the dream, who act it with open eyes. It is a dream that has for these past fifty years allowed Canada to play a role in world affairs that is out of all proportion to the size of its population or its historical heritage.

The dream is the United Nations. The UN is a bureaucratic Tower of Babel on the banks of New York's East River that consumes millions of dollars a year, provides a stage for the rantings of tyrants, agonizes over commas, periodically (some would say regularly) fails spectacularly to achieve

the high-flown goals of its June 1945 Charter — and yet. And yet it has also brought health to millions and saved millions more from starvation. It has quite likely averted more than one nuclear war, braked a dozen conventional wars, prevented others.

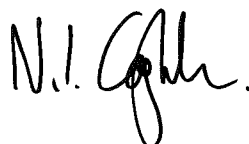
Canadians are intensely proud of our historical role in the UN, our ongoing involvement in peacekeeping missions. In a November visit to Ottawa, Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali noted that "Canadians are foremost in all the world in their support for the UN".

Is it just out of self-interest that we do this? Certainly, the UN is our best available means of assuring the survival of the planet. But somehow, I don't think most Canadians see it that way. They want Canada to be part of making the world a better, not just a safer place. There are worse names to be called than "the Boy Scout of the World".

In this issue, a special tribute to the United Nations, Lieutenant General Maurice Baril wrestles with the dilemmas of peacekeeping vs. peacemaking; Captain Peter Winfield tells us what it's actually like trying to stop people from killing each other in Bosnia; Bill Barton (a UN legend in his own time) assesses the UN at Fifty; Adele Dion marks another milestone in the gradual but still too slow emancipation of the world's women with her description of this year's UN-sponsored Beijing conference.

Lawrence of Arabia would have approved of all of them.

Like the United Nations, **bout** can only do what its members (i.e. the members of PAFSO) want it to do. The articles we publish — and we do print, in one form or another, most of the items we receive — are either commissioned by our volunteer board or are sent in unsolicited. If you don't like the articles, please either write a letter or (better) write an article of the kind you would like to see in **bout**. Coming up in our next issue: Peter Boehm's behind-the-scenes exposé of Halifax, and David Edwards on the Land of King Zog.



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Manuscripts are welcome in double-spaced format, preferably on WP 5.2 3 1/4" 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 at double space, 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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Émile Martel

Le Comité éditorial exprime ses félicitations les plus chaleureuses à Émile Martel qui vient de recevoir le prix du Gouverneur général pour la poésie de langue française pour son recueil «Pour orchestre et poète seul» publié aux Écrits des Forges. Émile Martel, présentement Ministre (affaires culturelles) à l'ambassade du Canada à Paris, s'inscrit ainsi dans la lignée des écrivains, philosophes, poètes et autres créateurs qui ont illustré la Carrière. **bout de papier** publiera une entrevue et un extrait de son oeuvre dans le prochain numéro.

Dear Editor:

Colin Robertson's memorial to Charles Ritchie (Volume 12, number 3) prompted a rush of personal recollections.

I remember Charles's last words to me on the telephone: "When you get back, come in for drinks. We'll have an orgy!". This was an injunction that he issued to many. The Bacchanalian reference simply reflected his feelings about one of the great pleasures of his life — convivial company gathered together over drinks, gossiping, telling stories, and talking about books, films and the issues of the day.

He had the singular knack of drawing all sorts of people to him. They loved to be in his company because around him life quickened. This was certainly true for foreign service officers. They angled for the chance to serve with him. His reputation as a head of mission of wit and distinction went well ahead of him. I was fortunate to serve with him twice, in Bonn on my first posting, and, much later, in London on his last.

Long before he attained celebrity status and literary success with the publication of his diaries, he was a well-known and professionally respected figure in the upper echelons of the public service in Ottawa and in the wider reaches of international diplomacy. It was in this world that he made his first reputation as a diplomat and obtained the materials with which he achieved his second as a diarist.

He was not an originator of foreign policy ideas on the scale of, say, his peer Escott Reid. His talent ran in a different but equally important direction. His forte was the diagnostic and the reportorial. With clarity and precision, he could describe the mood and atmosphere of an international meeting, expose the interplay of personalities, shrewdly estimate their importance in relation to the probable outcome, and sum up and assess the often concealed issues of any diplomatic confrontation. He was an astute observer and judge of people and problems. He also had an acute sense of where the Canadian interest lay in any situation. It was gifts of this order that made him the superb diarist that he was.

He presided over rather than managed a diplomatic mission. He belonged to a foreign service in which the house style and the standards of performance had been set by a small group of elite practitioners who were not by nature didactic. The new entrant was expected to absorb the essentials of his or her craft from the atmosphere and the daily routines of the Department and from the example of his or her betters. The closest that the Department ever came to anything as obvious as training was the informal academy called "The University of the East Block". Given this conditioning, it is not surprising that Charles simply assumed a level of performance from his officers that conformed to Departmental standards without recourse to much explicit direction on his part. Yet one was always conscious of the need to keep up to the mark even though it was set with a seemingly light hand. As for the mechanics of administration, he mercifully left that to others temperamentally better equipped to cope. Certainly, the mantras of the management gurus never entered Charles's professional vocabulary.

Among foreign service officers of my generation, the talk at any gathering would, at some point, turn to the latest of Charles Ritchie's stories. These were hilarious accounts, of which he was often the butt, told by the man himself, of his bizarre collisions with the mundane conditions of every-day living. He was famously non-mechanical and many of his stories attest to that fact. He wisely never learned to drive a car but even this self-denial was not sufficient to shield him from the vituperation that is visited upon the driver who is in the wrong. One day in Paris, the driver of the Embassy car in which Charles was riding was working his way through heavy traffic and in doing so was edging a workman on his bicycle closer and closer to the curb. Finally, the workman was forced over the curb and off his bicycle. At that moment,

Charles, reclining in the back seat, looked out to see the workman shaking his fist at him and shouting "cochon de luxe!"

In London, his range of contacts from Buckingham Palace to Whitehall was formidable. A Foreign Office colleague, seconded to the Cabinet Office, once told me that the staff had standing instructions from Burke Trend, the Secretary to Cabinet, that any call from the Canadian High Commissioner was to be put through to him straight away. His connections with the Palace were close and members of the High Commission were often the beneficiaries. In my own case, my wife and I received privileged seats at Trooping the Colour and had the rare experience of attending an installation ceremony of the Order of the Garter in the royal chapel at Windsor Castle. These contacts, however stellar, were never paraded for the greater glory of their possessor. One learned of them, as I did, as the recipient of a favour or a piece of information from a third party.

He loved big cities, cosmopolitan capitals with their ceaseless buzz of professional and social activity, and their rich and varied cultural scenes. He once told a colleague that he yearned for the concrete of New York, faced as he was at the time with what was, for him, the sylvan scene of Washington. He was especially fond of London and hated the thought of leaving when retirement approached. I can see him now, his spectral figure clad in dark, pin-striped English suiting, sauntering along a London street on his way to a bookshop, a cinema, or a picture gallery or perhaps lunch at The Travellers' with friends.

Although his professional life was centred on distant cities, he never lost touch with his roots in Nova Scotia. He and Sylvia summered in their beloved Chester as often as they could, and in their final days they strove mightily to continue doing so despite the ever-increasing odds of physical frailty. Summers in Chester fortified them against the rigours of winters in Ottawa. The last paragraph of his last book, "My Grandfather's House" reads: "One sunny day last summer I was standing on the wharf in Chester, Nova Scotia, gazing out to sea, thinking about the dead people of whom I had been writing and of the changing scenes of my own life. I was shaken out of these Proustian musings by a hand grabbing my arm. It was an old fisherman whom I had often encountered on the wharf. Today he seemed slightly the worse for drink."

"How are you doing, old stick?" he inquired.

"Fine", I replied.

I went on my way in a more cheerful mood. The encounter had brought me down

to earth, the earth of my native Nova Scotia, where it had all begun."

Charles Stewart Almon Ritchie was an ornament to his profession and a joy to all who knew him.

A. Douglas Small

Editor:

I appreciate that space limitations required editing of my contribution to the "Day in the Life" issue (p. 82). The result did introduce some distortion into my article, but in particular, the title you assigned it "Drafting a NATO Minister Statement" is somewhat misleading. The draft statement that is the main focus of the article was not in fact for the 16 NATO Foreign Ministers but for the 38 North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) Foreign Ministers.

Achieving consensus in the latter group is more complex than among the 16, particularly on controversial issues such as mentioned in the article where some NACC Ministers were in direct dispute. It would be extraordinary for the 16 NATO Foreign Ministers to debate the text of their communiqué at one of their regular meetings for four hours. The four hour debate in Istanbul took place at the NACC over the text of its statement.

Such a marathon debate on the NACC statement was in fact unusual even in the NACC; nonetheless, the Istanbul experience did result in abandoning the negotiation of a lengthy comprehensive consensus statement at the subsequent NACC Ministerial meeting last December in Brussels.

R.P. Kirby
c/o BNATO

Editor:

The fall 1995 issue of *bout de papier* contained a fascinating collection of articles on Canada's immigration policy and on the people who implement it and promote migration to Canada at posts abroad. The references by Raphael Girard and Carol Turner-Trusca to the establishment of a rotational Immigration Foreign Service caught my attention particularly, because of my early involvement in it.

Ms. Turner-Trusca slips over precisely when this branch of the Foreign Service was first set up, but Mr. Girard believes it started in 1963 when twelve university graduates (including himself) were hired. Not quite so — recruitment, as he has described it, began at universities some five years previously. I, for one, was appointed

fresh out of Queen's University in 1960 into the Foreign Service of the old Department of Citizenship and Immigration on the basis of the standard FS selection process, along with half a dozen other young people. Still wet behind the ears, we all thought we knew best what Canada's immigration policy should be and how it should be administered and promoted — or so we were often told somewhat unflatteringly by the old-time Immigration Officers who had graduated from the School of Hard Knocks.

To my knowledge, none of those who entered the Immigration Foreign Service when I did could hack it — for the time being for some of us. I left after a year for graduate school, another saw the light and transferred to TCS, a third resigned and set up his own lucrative immigration consulting business, and a fourth entered the academic world and went on to become an award-winning Canadian novelist.

Let's just say that the Immigration Foreign Service, as it now exists, must have learned from our sobering experiences, as, I think, have we.

David J. McJanet, Deputy Director
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Taking Care of Mom and Dad — *From a Distance*

A primer on caring for your parents when on a posting.

by Louise Bélanger, M. Ed.

During her weekly overseas call, Ann always asks her widowed father how things are going. She asks, and at the same time, she dreads the possibility of something being amiss. Eldercare from afar is difficult and to make matters worse, the feeling of guilt seems to be ever present.

Adult children who care for their parents are called "The Sandwich Generation", caught between the needs of elderly and younger family members. We would venture to describe their "sandwich" as a triple-decker one! Adult children feel torn between the needs of their *parents* (do we give up our holidays to fly home and visit dad?), their *children* (I really need to go and see Chris play baseball) and *themselves* (I'd kill for some quiet time just by myself). How do you juggle these separate and well-founded demands on your time?

For those living afar, the internal tug-of-war is both intensified and tempered by the geographical distance. There are real limits in terms of your availability, access — and budget! Surely you cannot be expected to hop a plane for a six-hour flight all that often. Yet the amount of guilt relating to not being there feels as great as the distance — even more at times! For the adult children living close by, the expectations are different and generally greater.

Some Eldercare Guidelines

Through some ironical twist of life, eldercare guidelines resemble to some extent sound parenting principles. For example, as in the case of children, do only the things your parents cannot do for themselves. Remember how long it took little Bobby to dress in the morning. The same may now be true of your ageing father. Let him do at his own pace. Let your parents do whatever it is they still can do for and by themselves. Elderly parents need to have a sense that they maintain *some* control over their lives. Of course, it is quite natural to want to speed things up a little when most of us are so pressed for time.

There are three different types of ageing parents: those who can do a lot and know it; those who can do a lot but think they can't, and finally those who think they still can but they can't! Mrs. Jones had become

dangerous on the road; she was forgetful and often slow to react. Bill Jones tried to convince his mother to give up driving but to no avail. When the family doctor suggested that it was time to retire from behind the wheel, Mrs. Jones agreed to comply. The advice of a trusted friend, lawyer, accountant, doctor, neighbour may be followed more readily than that of a son or daughter. Pass on the word to whomever you believe might have more credibility.

Consult your parents. Ask, listen and include them in the decision-making or problem-solving. It is important. It communicates respect. They still know best what suits them; give them the opportunity to voice their wants and preferences. It may not be feasible to provide them with the made-to-measure option but at least they will have had a chance to voice their concerns and needs. When time pressures require the need to act rather than debate, ensure that your parents at least understand the process and consequences. Understanding is not synonymous with acceptance — but it helps! When dealing with your parents, do remind yourself that they are adults and that they have the right to make decisions about their lives — as long as they still can.

Keeping in Touch

You live in a different town, state, country or continent and yet you want to stay in contact as much as possible. Here are some ways to help you do just that. Establish a *set time* for your long-distance calls; half the pleasure for your parent lies in the anticipation. If both your parents are living together, it helps to have an *extension phone* installed; it avoids repetition, gives equal air time to both parents and cuts down on telephone charges. *Neighbours* or close friends can be of tremendous help; give them a call to find out how things are and also to thank them for their help. Most people still regard an overseas call as a very special one. Brief and newsy *letters* provide a more lasting contact than a call and can be reread. To encourage your parents to write, provide them with prestamped, *preaddressed envelopes*. Of course, *videos* and *cassettes* can bring the whole family to life and give everyone an opportunity to take part in saying something or showing off to grandpa and grandma.

Making the Best of Visits

If at all possible, arrange for a family meeting while you are visiting home; it may be a *tour de force* to get everyone together but well worth the effort. If you have no siblings, convene friends, neighbours and other relatives together. Prepare an agenda; it helps to keep things on track as the exchange can become emotional. Take notes and distribute them so everyone knows — and remembers — what was agreed upon. Whatever the consensus, make it a *temporary* decision and decide on a time for reviewing the matter. If the agreement is that your parents move in with a sibling or stay in their home with outside help, adopt this option on a trial basis only.

It is also helpful to contact ahead of time your parent's caseworker, discharge planner or the local Information and Referral Services or Family Services agency. They are usually very busy and appreciate the advance notice; inform them also of the kind of information you may be seeking so that it could be on hand when you arrive.

Because of your extended separation, you may be surprised, shocked even, at your parents' state and/or situation. Do be careful not to criticize your siblings à la "How could you leave them like this?!" You can well imagine the ensuing defensiveness and argument. Most care arrangements are gradual, a series of ongoing compromises rather than a deliberate choice. Set up a family task force and have your first meeting BEFORE a crisis arises. No one likes to broach the subject of illness, disability, death yet we know the importance of planning ahead. Decisions made in haste or under pressure are seldom the best. Naturally, thinking about our parents' physical and mental deterioration and eventual death is something we all want to avoid dealing with. In part, it also reminds us that we are the next ones in line.... Try distancing yourself emotionally as best you can and start talking about IT.

Money, the Bottom Line

None of your business? Not yet perhaps, but when the time comes life will be a lot simpler if, for example, you know where to find certain documents. Build a personal and financial profile. For starters, make a list of your parents' (and your own!) personal documents and LOCATE them. Here is a sample of the

type of information you may need to access: birth certificate, passport, marriage certificate, cemetery deed, house deeds and titles, power of attorney, private insurance policy, will, accounts, etc. As a "preview of things to come", it is a good idea to start by doing this with your own documents! A number of agencies can provide you with a list of important papers to have on hand.

Here is also a tip regarding the management of your parents' funds. Make sure that the "money manager" shares the financial statement with all family members. Keep an open book policy regarding all financial and legal matters. Make copies and distribute them to your siblings. Ask your parents to prepare a list of their personal friends and resources: doctor, lawyer, banker, clergyman, insurance agent, neighbours, etc. Especially from a distance, you will need all the extra support locally you can get.

The Gift of Care

Living afar sometimes means being able to provide only binge caregiving to your parents. As life would have it, parents' illnesses often occur at demanding times in our lives: teenagers at home, career changes, moving, menopause, etc. You might like to be able to do more for them and, at other times, you might be grateful you cannot! Living afar may mean that you will need to find substitute caregivers. Ask yourself: am I the ONLY person who can do this? You may be the preferred one, yes. You have undoubtedly a number of responsibilities at home, at work and like it or not, you have limits — whether you choose to respect them or not! Devotion has a considerable and *limited* value. No amount of contact from family members can compensate for ageing, illness and loneliness. Determine for yourself how much you are willing and able to do before you make a commitment.

Find out about community resources, national and regional associations who provide various types of care. There are also a number of support groups specializing in particular illnesses, such as the Arthritis Foundation, the Canadian Cancer Society, the Alzheimer's Association, to name a few. There is help, support and information available to those who seek it.

In the words of the French writer, Pierre Corneille: "The manner of giving is worth more than the gift". Remember this when you need to provide eldercare from a distance....

Louise Bélanger, M.Ed., is a native of Ottawa who has worked as an Employee Assistance Counsellor for government and private industry. She is now an accompanying spouse posted in Moscow.

Une longue patience

Twenty years defining Canadian Foreign Policy through the public record.

by Arthur Blanchette

To document the evolution of Canadian foreign policy over a 50-year span is, to paraphrase the great French botanist, Buffon, *une longue patience*. Fortunately, the long process is illuminated by shafts of light and creativity; indeed at times of controversy, which can make things more interesting.

The Carleton University Press documentary series entitled *Canadian Foreign Policy* now comprises four volumes going back to 1945. The series was launched by Dr. R.A. MacKay, a prominent Maritime academic and author on Canadian foreign affairs, who joined the Department of External Affairs during the Second World War and eventually reached its highest ranks. When he retired, he returned to teaching and spent several years at Carleton University lecturing on international affairs. It was then that he produced the first volume in the series. It covered the years between 1945 and 1954 inclusive.

When his eyesight began to fail, he suggested that I take over the series; I was then Director of the Department's Historical Division. Both the Department and Carleton University agreed and, since 1974, I have produced the last three books in the series covering the period between 1955 and 1993. The first one (1955-1965) was started while I was in Ottawa and finished while I was on posting at the OAS in Washington, DC. The second (1966-1976) was begun in Washington and largely finished there, although it was published when I was in Tunis. The third one, dealing with events since 1977, was issued by the Carleton University Press during the fall of 1994.

The initial document selection guidelines were laid down by Dr. MacKay and generally I followed them. All documents should stress policy and be in the public domain. With departmental cooperation, I was able to have a number of important documents declassified and I must say here that the Department was extremely supportive of the project over the years. Dr. MacKay also specified that documents should be from official and not private sources, with preference given to statements and speeches by

ministers rather than officials. Nevertheless, when I found a particularly good statement of government policy by an official I did not hesitate to use it. After all, most ministerial speeches and documents are drafted by officials and the department has produced some outstanding speech-writers over the years, who perforce have had to remain anonymous. Likewise, I did not hesitate to use important or well-crafted press releases. With the advent of formal government foreign and defence policy reviews, white papers, etc., I decided that they too should be included. I considered that statements and speeches delivered in French should so remain, partly to avoid misinterpretations in translations, but also to reflect the linguistic duality of the country. Whenever possible, I tried to show the evolution of a particular policy or problem from its outset to its resolution.

The most challenging aspect of the work is the sheer volume of paper involved and the resulting amount of reading it implies. It entails not only a careful study of the evolution of Canadian foreign policy during the periods under review of course, but especially the examination of thousands, yes! thousands, of *Statements and Speeches, Press Releases, Treaties, Green Papers, White Papers, Defence Reviews, Foreign Policy Reviews*, and related documents, which have accompanied the ebb and flow of our foreign policy over the years.

With so many documents to review, if ever there was an *embarras de richesses*, this is it. Months of reading and culling were required to produce volumes intelligible in content, manageable in size, and economically-viable to produce. Economics and money have their influence not only on the evolution of Canadian foreign policy, but also on books about it as well!

In terms of the final product, the ratio of documents photocopied and studied to those finally selected was roughly 10 to one. On certain complex subjects or those covering a long time frame, the ratio was a good deal higher. Because of space considerations, very few documents could be printed intact; careful pruning was thus required, therefore adding to the laboriousness of the task.

One conclusion that I reached early on in my work is that a careful study of public sources, the public record, can provide a very clear picture of the evolution of Canadian foreign policy. Secrecy concerns the negotiations mainly, the personalities at play, the details, the fine points. Indeed, the public record often gives hints, clues, about the various negotiating positions involved. At times, it even states them. This should not be taken to mean that confidentiality is not necessary in diplomacy. To the contrary, but it can be overblown at times. In a democracy, the end product will invariably become public at some point.

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Another conclusion concerns the growing volume of paper involved, which has become increasingly heavy over the years, especially since 1980. Indeed, today the flow has become a flood and in terms of days gone by — when Canada's influence in world affairs was more pronounced than now — one cannot escape the impression that perhaps noise and busy-ness have on occasion replaced creativity and substance in the foreign policy process.

The most interesting parts of the work were the editorial introductions and comments, the links between chapters and subjects, required to make the documentary flow smoother and, hopefully, more intelligible. These were personal and consequently tend to be etched more sharply in my mind.

Also, while these books do not lend themselves to merriment, I did try to include humorous anecdotes in the text whenever possible, such as Prime Minister Pearson's quip about the offensiveness or defensiveness of weapons depending essentially on whether one was in front of them or behind them; or Secretary of State Acheson's remark that reorganizing the State Department was like performing an appendectomy on a man carrying a piano up a flight of stairs.

It is of course impossible to read so many ministerial speeches without forming some personal impressions, opinions, about the

speakers concerned as seen through their statements.

There is one trait that characterizes all of them. Our prime ministers and ministers, when dealing with international affairs, were all circumfluent, circumlocutory, and circumspect. Some were more so than others, but all were careful. Flaming rhetoric is not a feature of Canadian diplomacy.

The late John Bird, an outstanding Canadian newspaperman, was a bird-watcher. Once a year, he would review the performance of the cabinet ministers as if they were a flock of birds and his annual accounts would appear in the press across Canada. Some of his characterizations were not only colourful and witty, but also very apt, e.g., the purple-prose Martin, the Hellyer shriek, the Trudeau kingbird (*tyrannus tyrannus*)!

The most prolix of our ministers was undeniably Paul Martin; the least were Howard Green and Senator MacEachen. The most didactic were Prime Ministers St. Laurent and Trudeau, also SSEA Barbara McDougall. The most scholarly, particularly on the legal side, was Dr. MacGuigan. Possibly the toughest was C.D. Howe. Perhaps the most emotional was John Diefenbaker, although Howard Green had extremely deep feelings about disarmament. It became a cause and, indeed, in retrospect it is clear that — despite the ridicule he faced at the time — he was a prophet. Some saw the influence of his remarkable wife, a scientist, in his crusade. The ones with the best sense of humour were Prime Ministers Pearson and Clark, also Trade Minister Pépin, who could at times poke fun at themselves: a rare and endearing trait among politicians. The most grave was Donald Fleming and the most dashing, George Hees. The most sincere was Flora MacDonald; and the most approachable, Mitchell Sharp.

On the provincial side, because it is no longer possible to conduct Canadian foreign policy without the provinces since so many subjects under their constitutional jurisdiction are now involved, the provincial input in the books increased over the years. The provinces are not a feature of Dr. MacKay's volume. However, by the time of my first one, Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec had become leading players.

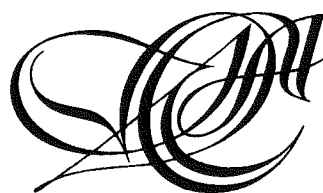
Among the provincial premiers, the shrewdest and possibly toughest was Premier Lougheed of Alberta; the most elegant, Jean Lesage. Possibly the most stubborn was W.A.C. Bennett of British Columbia. Certainly the most passionate was René Levesque and the most sphinx-like, Robert Bourassa. Although not a provincial player as such, the most daring by far was General de Gaulle.

I might conclude by a brief reference to the Department of Foreign Affairs' impressive series: *Documents on Canadian External Relations*. This is a massive, remarkable, work of scholarship designed "to constitute the basic published record of the foreign policy and international relations of the Government of Canada ... and, also, to provide a comprehensive self-contained record of the major foreign policy decisions taken by the Government, and of the reasons for taking them." Its purpose and guidelines are therefore somewhat different from those of the Carleton University Press collection, but both are designed — each in a different way — to make Canadian foreign policy better known.

All in all I worked on and off, on my own time, for nearly 10 years on these books. I can say, without any hesitation whatsoever, that I learned far more about certain aspects of Canadian foreign policy than I really cared to know!

Arthur Blanchette's last two diplomatic postings were as Canadian Ambassador to the Organization of American States (OAS) and Canadian Ambassador to Tunisia and Libya. Since 1986 he has been Chairman, Canadian section, Pan-American Institute of Geography and History.

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The UN at Fifty

by William Barton

More than fifty years have gone by since Lester Pearson, Hume Wrong, Escott Reid, Charles Ritchie and their colleagues in the Department of External Affairs laboured with their opposite numbers, mainly British and American, in drafting the document presented to governments in San Francisco, in June of 1945, as the Charter of the United Nations. Since that time the UN has been a continuous and major preoccupation of the Canadian government, and in particular, of members of the Foreign Service.

As the United Nations celebrates its fiftieth anniversary Canadians remain as firmly attached to the purposes and principles of the Charter as they were in 1945, and we see the Organization as offering the best hope for progress in achieving those goals. Moreover, in a world beset by the pulls of special interests and new global alliances it offers a vitally-important mechanism for offsetting pressures for great-power dominance. The UN therefore remains a key element in the execution of Canadian foreign policy.

At one time or another most members of the Foreign Service have had the experience of working in a UN milieu, whether it be in New York, Geneva, Vienna or any of the missions concerned with UN agencies in different cities of the world. For members of the Foreign Service, working at the UN or one of its agencies has always presented a challenge, and will continue to do so.

But operating in the UN environment is not for everyone. Nothing happens without long and tedious negotiation. Most UN bodies have large memberships straddling all regions of the globe and a wide range of views on what is desirable. Even if only half the membership elects to speak to a single item it means a three-day debate. Coping with this style of diplomacy requires a high patience-factor, a sense of humour, a nose for wheeling and dealing, the ability to tolerate disappointments, and to take satisfaction from small successes.

Article I of the United Nations Charter sums up the purposes of the Organization — to make the world a better place to live in — in three short paragraphs, and concludes with a fourth — “To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.”

Put that way it sounds simple, but as anyone who has tried to make things happen at the UN well knows, the reality is vastly different. The eminent UN scholar, Inis Claude, once compared the organization

Paul Lapointe and William Barton entering the United Nations building in New York

United Nations photo

to a carpenter's plane with each member-government having a hand on it, pushing to attain its goals. To the extent that enough hands push in the same direction there is progress, but all too often the result is stalemate, or even regressive movement.

In a sense, the working life in any UN institution is like a poker game. It is important to play by the rules, but a good player has to use guile and bluff as well as maintaining a reputation for fairness and keeping one's word.

The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations faces the members of the Canadian Foreign Service responsible for UN affairs with highly-important challenges and opportunities. The anniversary is significant not only for the accomplishments of the last half-century. By circumstance it coincides with a sea-change in the world political scene and presents an unprecedented challenge to all member-nations and the peoples they represent to build upon the lessons of the past and to make the occasion an opportunity for renewal and reform.

In fact this process of renewal and reform has been under way for several years. The first step was the commissioning by the Security Council of the Secretary-General's Report, "An Agenda for Peace", published in 1992. It was followed by reports on Development and Human Rights. The appropriate UN Committees have been considering these reports, and such questions as the composition of the Security Council, the role of the economic institutions of the UN, and other major institutional problems. In addition there have been important studies commissioned by individual governments. Canada, for example has launched a study on the rapid deployment of peacekeeping forces. The Ford Foundation, and NGOs, including the Research Committee of the Canadian Committee for the 50th Anniversary of the United Nations, have also carried out a number of important studies.

These matters came to a head at the 50th Session of the General Assembly in the autumn of 1995.

Underlying our aspirations for strengthening and improving the UN's capacity for effective action in these subject areas is recognition of the need to ensure the health and vigour of the UN as a corporate institution. This is the straw that is essential if we are to produce the bricks that build the walls of accomplishment of the goals of the Charter.

The UN is being called upon to respond to unprecedented challenges and responsibilities at a time when governments find it exceedingly difficult to provide the necessary resources.

The sad fact is that in spite of demands for reform and a series of studies extending over several years, in the words of Mohamed Sahnoun, "little progress has been made to improve the efficiency of the organization and prepare it for the challenges it is already facing." A recent article in *Time*, "Running on Empty", repeated the argument that the UN's financial problems are due in no small measure to inefficiency, corruption and mismanagement.

The UN's capacity to fulfil its Charter purposes is dependent on the resources made available to it by member-governments, and their willingness to provide the necessary level of support is bound to be affected by the effectiveness and efficiency of UN operations. This applies with particular force to the UN's largest contributor, the United States. The temper of the current Congress is not receptive to the UN and we can be sure that legislators anxious to discredit it will be on the alert to make the most of every evidence of mismanagement.

It is imperative, therefore, that in addressing the need for reform in substantive areas of UN activity, we do not neglect the more mundane but equally critical need to restore and maintain the health of the UN's body politic. Are the separate organs that make up the totality of the Organization working as effectively as possible? What are their relationships with each other? After fifty years what changes need to be made to the management policies and practices now in effect meet our expectations of future needs?

We must recognize that many governments will view initiatives for more effective management with suspicion. Over the years the developing nations have had three main political objectives: the end of colonialism, the end of apartheid in South Africa, and the liberation of Palestine. Equally important, but often ignored by the developed nations, is their view that the UN has not fulfilled its responsibilities in the economic and social fields.

Thwarted in their efforts to get the UN to force solutions to their taste, the developing nations have used their voting power to set up committees, conferences, secretariats and public relations programs designed to focus world attention on these issues.

These differences, past and continuing, are at the root of the differing views of governments when they talk about efficiency and accountability, and here is perhaps the single most important area for reform through constructive confidence-building. Resistance by the principal contributors to the budgetary consequences of third-world initiatives has encouraged the conviction by the developing nations that calls for efficiency and effectiveness are really motivated by

the desire not to pay for activities that the principal contributors don't like.

To compound the problem is the fact that although the principle of "Capacity to Pay" in determining the "membership fees" of governments sounds equitable, the amount assessed against the vast majority of members is so small that it is derisory and doesn't encourage financial responsibility.

But many of the reasons for old suspicions have gone, and there is evidence of a more widespread recognition that the capacity of the UN to do its job will be improved by management reform.

Responsibility for the UN's financial health and its management and budget process rests with the General Assembly. At the technical level its Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions works reasonably well, but when issues of substance arise their treatment by the General Assembly leaves much to be desired.

Both the Security Council and the General Assembly approve activities without ensuring that the necessary resources will be available. The General Assembly has made no serious effort to control the bureaucracy of the Secretariat. Governments are delinquent in paying assessed contributions. The focus of governments has been on attaining their disparate goals rather than cooperating to achieve organizational efficiency and effectiveness and a sound fiscal position.

Some Elements of Management Reform

Accountability

Fundamental to management reform is the entrenchment of the principle of accountability. Each of the organs as set out in the Charter should be required, on a regular basis, to demonstrate to the member governments, through reports to the General Assembly, that it is fulfilling its purposes and role as defined in the Charter, by responding to the challenges confronting it with economy, efficiency and effectiveness.

The General Assembly has a particular responsibility in this process because it is the approving authority for the Organization's budget. Not only is this the lever to ensure that resources are available for the initiatives and programs proposed for adoption, but also that the Secretariat, in particular, institutes effective internal mechanisms to fulfil its obligation of accountability. As a result of a recent American initiative a new office, that of Inspector-General has been created, but its effectiveness remains to be demonstrated, and in any case it is an intra-secretarial operation responsible to the Secretary-General. The proper monitoring device for

of the staff the working languages of the organization are "second languages", and working cultures vary widely.

But that is not to say that there can be no room for reform. The Secretariat suffers from elephantiasis. Vested interests, both external and internal, operate with impunity, frustrating the efforts of those dedicated international public servants who are doing their best to fulfil their important responsibilities. Both in organization and numbers the Secretariat Augean stable needs a thorough cleaning.

After fifty years during which the personnel policies and practices of the UN have become increasingly complex, with a history of legislative, judicial and administrative decisions, surely the time has arrived for a review of the system. Do the basic assumptions on which it is based reflect the current views of the member governments? Why not commission a study on these matters by management consultants and have it reviewed by a special committee of the General Assembly set up for this purpose?

Inter-Agency Relations

By design, the Specialized Agencies operate as independent entities, but the "shareholders" (member governments) are the same as for the United Nations itself, and there should be effective cooperation to achieve common goals. In fact, the Heads of Agencies have all too often run them like satrapies, pursuing their own aims, and the mechanism for cooperation, the Administrative Committee on Coordination is notorious for its ineffectiveness.

The Secretary-General has commissioned a special study about what should be done to improve the situation, but reform will require firm pressure from governments. For that matter, governments should also examine their own internal coordinating mechanisms. Perhaps it should be a subject for consideration at the annual meeting of Major Contributor Governments. For many years we in Canada have relied on the Interdepartmental Committee on the Specialized Agencies, but could it be made more effective?

on Israel to withdraw its forces "forthwith" from Lebanon. The motion passes by 12 votes to 0,

United Nations photo



Summation

The reform process which got under way at the 50th session of the General Assembly will be of critical importance to the future of the UN.

Resolution of the issues to be dealt with will not come quickly or easily, but it should be a principal objective of the Fiftieth Anniversary program to tackle them vigorously. The mere fact that they are being addressed coherently may make it easier to identify and take steps to implement supporting reforms.

Problem areas of the past have been or are about to be overtaken by events, so that resources allocated to those activities can be reduced or eliminated, certainly refocused; Southern African issues are on the way to being settled; some progress has been made in the troubled Middle East; controversial construction projects to provide conference facilities in the developing world are nearing completion, providing alternatives to New York, Geneva, Vienna and Rome. The opportunity has never been greater to convince the membership as a whole that effective resource management is in the common interest of all. Thus, it should be possible even now, for member governments to come to some sort of consensus on the urgent importance of accompanying reform in

program areas with a management reform program, and what is to be encompassed within it.

To this end, a concerted effort should be made to enlist influential delegations in all regional groups to support a planned series of initiatives aimed at making each component of the Organization more efficient and productive, and accountable for its operations.

Canada should set management reform as a principal goal of its contribution to the Anniversary reform package. It is essentially an exercise in bridge-building between the have and have-not nations. We have credibility with other delegations, particularly the developing nations, and are in a good position to provide leadership. For the Foreign Service the 50th anniversary of the UN presents a challenge which is exceeded only by that facing the Canadian founding fathers of the UN. But challenges synonymous with opportunities, and the Foreign Service as always, can be counted on to seize them.

Now retired, William Barton was Canadian Ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva from 1972 to 1976, and in New York from 1976 to 1980. He represented Canada on the UN Security Council 1977-78.

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A Soldier's Story

A Canadian peacekeeper recounts his seven months in the firing line near Sarajevo.

story and photo below by Capt. Peter Winfield

The news that our Regiment, the Royal Canadian Dragoons, was off to the former Yugoslavia for six months was welcome and exciting. The trip would be long: 36 hours from Petawawa to Split, Croatia, then an 8-10 hour trip inland by bus and truck over the rugged terrain of the Dalmatian Mountains to Camp Visoko on the edge of the 20 km exclusion zone around Sarajevo.

Arriving after nightfall, we were tired and disoriented. After a short welcoming speech and a briefing on the rules of the camp, we shouldered our rucksacks and

duffle bags and moved off to find our tents. These we found in a huge old concrete warehouse known as the "Big Four". The bare concrete building housed row upon row of long, canvas modular tents, home to up to 500 soldiers.

Once settled, we made a quick tour of our temporary home. We were amazed at the size of the camp and its tight security. It was encircled by a 10 foot wall topped with many rows of concertina razor wire laced with trip flares. The wall was punctuated with elevated observation posts, armed and protected by sandbags, looking very much like prison guard towers. After the tour, we

were issued our weapons and 150 rounds of ammunition and sent off to bed.

I was assigned to B Squadron. We assumed control of an area some 40-50 km² around the camp and the town of Visoko. The town was in Muslim (BIH) held territory and was about 1 km from the confrontation line with the Bosnian Serbs (BAA). Our tasks included security of the camp, monitoring the confrontation line between the BIH and BAA forces, escorting UN and UNHCR convoys of food and other supplies, and liaising with local military and civilian authorities.

Within two weeks we had completed the handover with the outgoing unit and had





DND photo

established a regular routine. At first the local soldiers took every opportunity to test us, usually by firing their weapons close enough so that we would react like "newbies". Even though we quickly became accustomed to these games, they were always a cause for concern since the local soldiers were often drunk.

Our days soon revolved around routine tasks, interrupted periodically with sudden excitement. To avoid boredom, tasks were rotated weekly. For me and my squadron, this meant camp security for the first week, monitoring the confrontation line in the second and, in the third, a series of "UN presence" tasks, such as vehicle patrols or placing our soldiers in civilian buildings such as schools or hospitals to prevent shelling. The daily grind easily became tedious, but there was little to do in our spare time, since we were confined to camp. There was a gym, TVs, VCRs, and a library stocked with donations from home, but after awhile these simply became part of the routine.

For the individual soldier, camp security was the toughest duty. Shifts were 12 hours on and 12 hours off with some 24 hour periods off once in awhile. Most of the shift was spent sitting in a well-protected observation post on the camp perimeter with a partner. Anytime there was shooting or shelling the incident had to be reported by

radio to the command post. Events of this sort were so frequent that we sent in compiled reports every hour, rather than calling in every time they happened.

Our preferred task was monitoring the confrontation line. At these observation posts (OP), if and when soldiers had spare time, it was away from the watchful eyes of the HQ element. Normally, a sergeant would command an OP and he would have six to nine soldiers with him for a 24 hour period. The main task was to watch both sides, so we could identify who fired and where the round landed. While it might sound simple, it was often difficult to see through the fog and smoke, and the terrain naturally lent itself to easy concealment. We sometimes found it hard to call ourselves peacekeepers while counting the large numbers of rounds fired back and forth (even during the Jimmy Carter Cease Fire



DND photo

Left: Canadian M113 armoured personnel carrier (APC) on patrol

Agreement, there was rarely a day without shots).

In addition to these standard tasks, our liaison officers often found projects for which we could volunteer. For example, when the war passed through the area of Drin and Bakovici, much of the staff at the local hospitals fled. On arriving, the first Canadian units found dead and dying patients everywhere and many more living in abominable hygiene conditions with urine and feces everywhere. While not in our mandate, Canadian soldiers cleaned up the hospitals and helped care for mentally handicapped patients and others in desperate need until our liaison officers could get the nurses to return. By the time our unit arrived, the hospitals were in comparatively good shape but still needed a great deal of assistance. We cleared the area of mines, chopped firewood, and brought extra food and first aid supplies. Some soldiers even called home to get their families to arrange clothing drives for much needed items like footwear and jackets.

We also helped the schools. One of the tactics used by local soldiers to avoid being shelled was to locate their headquarters in schools. Normally the schools were shelled anyway. We would negotiate with both sides to remove the soldiers from the school and

remove the school from the target list. To reinforce the agreement, we would then place our soldiers in the school in a visible location. Kulin Ban School in Visoko was the first school that our unit assisted. We found it in bad shape: it had been shelled and was in no condition for children to attend. Our soldiers helped repair the building as much as possible using the few materials available, using plastic to seal windows and sandbags to rebuild and fortify walls. We arranged for coal to heat the building and our engineers did their best to fix the electricity and plumbing.

Organized around our regular tasks, our work in schools and hospitals kept us busy but was much more rewarding than watching the two sides shoot at one another when we thought they were supposed to be attempting peace.

Christmas was a difficult time for many of our soldiers, especially those with families. The Regiment tried to send home as many married soldiers with children as possible without affecting our operational capabilities. Still, there were about 700 of us in Bosnia for Christmas 1994. We celebrated over three days so that we could rotate all our soldiers off the front line for Christmas dinner: several funny skits and of course a visit from Santa Claus. Many

Canadian children sent us postcards and Christmas cards through programmes run by their schools. We replied to as many as we could to show our appreciation for their support, sparking more than a few pen pal relationships.

After seven months, just as things were starting to heat up again, it was time to go home. We left in May 1995, leaving behind many friends, some in the unit that replaced us, some from other peacekeeping contingents from countries like Britain and New Zealand.

I look back now, not even six months later, and I am glad we left when we did. At the same time, I think about the soldiers there now and what they are going through. I see the reports on the news and reports sent back through Army Headquarters. There are times when I wish we were there to help out, and times when I wish we could just bring our soldiers home until there is a peace to keep. But I know that we are excellent soldiers, and we make outstanding peacekeepers. We will stay there as long as there is a need for us. 

Peter Winfield is a Captain in the Royal Canadian Dragoons, currently stationed at St-Hubert, Quebec. He is the son of longtime Foreign Service officer David Winfield.

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Le Canada, les Casques bleus et le maintien de la paix

Le Lieutenant-Général Maurice Baril répond aux questions de François Taschereau.

Le Lieutenant-général Maurice Baril est né en septembre 1943 à Saint-Albert de Warwick (Québec). Au cours d'une carrière distinguée au sein des forces armées canadiennes, il a servi trois fois à Chypre et a été affecté à Lahr en Allemagne. De juin 1992 au 23 juin 1995 (jour de cette entrevue), il a été Conseiller militaire du Secrétaire général au sein du Département des opérations de maintien de la paix de l'ONU.

bdp: Parlez-nous de votre expérience comme Casque bleu ainsi que de votre nomination en tant que Conseiller militaire par le Secrétaire général Boutros-Ghali il y a trois ans.

MB: La réputation du Canada et des gardiens de la paix canadiens n'est pas étrangère au choix d'un Canadien par le Secrétaire général. Le Canada est un pays qui ne menace personne et qui participe à des opérations de maintien de la paix depuis le tout début. Fort de cette réputation en tant que Canadien, je n'ai pas eu à prouver ce que je valais. En fait, c'est probablement cela qui est le plus difficile pour un Canadien qui arrive dans un tel poste: maintenir cette réputation. Comme tous les jeunes officiers canadiens, j'ai servi dans les opérations de maintien de la paix que nous considérons comme un entraînement. Nous estimions que ce genre de mission et la défense de notre pays sont les tâches les plus nobles que nous pouvions accomplir. Je n'ai jamais changé d'idée. Ma dernière expérience a été celle de commandant de bataillon de 600 à 700 hommes dans le secteur de Nicosie. Cela a enrichi mon expérience avant que j'aille à New York.

bdp: Selon vous, y avait-il, à ce moment là des différences de perceptions importantes entre les missions sur le terrain et le Secrétariat à New York?

MB: Quand j'ai rencontré le Secrétaire général pour la première fois, il m'a demandé si je connaissais le Secrétariat. J'ai répondu par la négative. Par la suite,

l'occasion m'a été donnée de prendre contact avec la mécanique de cette grande organisation.

À Chypre, nous nous sentions protégés. Je m'y sentais à l'aise de donner ma loyauté et celles de tous les soldats canadiens qui étaient sous mon commandement, au commandement de la Force des Nations Unies. De plus, le gouvernement canadien ne m'a jamais donné d'instructions à Chypre. Ainsi, durant mes derniers six mois en poste à Chypre, les autorités canadiennes ne m'ont jamais contacté sauf pour nous souhaiter bon anniversaire lors de la fête du régiment. Chypre est un endroit où on avait besoin et où on a encore besoin d'une police internationale. Les conséquences d'un conflit sont trop élevées dans une région instable.

bdp: On s'interroge parfois sur l'urgence d'agir du Conseil de sécurité qui, après six mois, un an, tient à modifier les conditions de déploiement s'il ne se passe rien. Peut-être y a-t-il une perception du temps à New York différente des réalités sur le terrain.

MB: Quelqu'un m'a déjà fait remarquer avec sagesse que nos démocraties établies depuis des centaines d'années, dont nous avons raison d'être fiers, sont très stables; mais qu'en Afrique, les États ne commentent à vivre seuls que depuis le début des années '60. Alors, «ne nous demandez pas de bâtir un pays en deux ans», disent-ils. «Donnez-nous du temps, soyez patients». Je n'ai jamais oublié cela, puisqu'en Somalie, nous disions aux Somaliens qu'ils avaient six mois pour se bâtir un pays, sinon nous les abandonnerions.

bdp: Vous êtes arrivé à New York en 1992 alors que le Conseil était très actif. Quelles ont été vos premières impressions?

MB: Le premier jour de mon arrivée, l'Agenda pour la paix était rendu public. Il m'a semblé alors que l'Agenda correspondait à ma façon de voir les choses. Moi aussi, je pensais que l'on pouvait mettre un peu d'ordre dans le monde, qu'on ne laisserait plus d'Idi Amin Dada ou d'autres tuer à volonté, au Cambodge ou ailleurs, et que, finalement, la communauté internationale allait agir et revenir aux grands

objectifs de 1945 à San Francisco. Nous nous sommes tous laissés séduire par l'Agenda et je ne m'en

sens pas coupable. Les dirigeants des États membres du Conseil de sécurité s'étaient réunis, et je me trouvais avec ceux qui avaient préparé l'Agenda avec le Secrétaire général, tels Messieurs Gouling, Annan, Petrovsky. Ces derniers m'impressionnaient et leur enthousiasme était contagieux. J'étais d'accord avec le Premier ministre Mulroney qui disait que les grandes catastrophes internationales ne devaient plus être considérées comme des affaires de familles où les parents avaient autrefois presque le droit de vie et de mort sur leurs enfants et où on ne pouvait intervenir parce que la famille était sacrée. L'indépendance des pays avait des limites, disait-on alors. Un être humain est un être humain, peu importe d'où il vienne. J'étais en Somalie au mois d'octobre 92, dans la ville de Baidoa, et je n'avais jamais vu des choses aussi horribles. On ramassait des centaines de cadavres. Pourtant, il n'aurait suffi que de 25 soldats et quelques canons pour régler le problème. Or, on ne nous permettait pas de secourir les gens. Je suis sorti de là fatigué, enragé, déçu et bouleversé de voir ce qui se passait. Et je pensais à l'Agenda pour la paix. Je pensais à ce que M. Mulroney avait dit et je me disais: c'est maintenant qu'il faut agir. On ne peut pas tolérer cette situation. Il faut y aller. Cependant, nous étions démunis pour agir sur le champ. Or, il fallait intervenir rapidement. Heureusement, CNN a forcé la main de la communauté internationale.

bdp: Ce qui a été bon?

MB: Oui, et c'est cela qui a enclenché le processus qui a conduit à une intervention basée sur l'Agenda pour la paix. Et en novembre, les Américains qui se cherchaient un rôle de grand policier international, sont intervenus pour la première fois. La Somalie représentait un champ idéal. C'était après les élections aux USA. La nouvelle administration voulait faire une action d'éclat, puis



quitter le pays rapidement. Cela semblait presque sans risque. Cependant, il s'agissait d'y aller, de s'imposer, et de dire aux autorités somaliennes que, dans six mois, un système démocratique serait en place et que l'opération des NU serait terminée. En fait, la situation était encore plus absurde. Les Américains voulaient s'en aller chez eux dès janvier. Ils avaient surestimé l'efficacité des Nations Unies. L'opération est maintenant terminée et je me sens l'âme en paix pour la Somalie. Nous avons tout essayé. Nous leur avons tout donné, dont 139 vies. Ce fut une leçon pour la communauté internationale. Je suis d'avis qu'il faut réfléchir avant d'entreprendre une opération de la sorte, puis, une fois entreprise, remplir les objectifs fixés.

J'estime que l'opération n'a pas constitué un échec pour l'ONU. Au départ, j'avais une vision manichéenne du problème. Ou bien, ne pas intervenir. Que valent 100, 1000 ou 5000 vies? Que d'énergie à y mettre. Ou bien, au contraire, intervenir car il s'agit d'une question humanitaire, de conscience. Cependant, l'euphorie de CNN s'est buté aux réalités. D'une part, il n'y avait pas les structures appropriées pour se lancer dans une telle opération. Aussi, les membres permanents du Conseil de sécurité nous ont abandonnés à nous-mêmes dès le début de l'opération en Somalie. D'autre part, on ne peut intervenir adéquatement quand les intéressés ne le veulent pas. Il ne faut pas oublier que les treize premiers Pakistanais, tués le 6 juin, l'ont été dans une cuisine temporaire où ils étaient en train de nourrir des Somaliens. Ce sont ces Somaliens qui les ont tués au couteau, à la roche et au bâton. Il ne faut pas oublier cela. C'était des hommes, des femmes et des enfants qui ont tué des Casques bleus.

bdp: Est-ce que le meurtre des Pakistanais en Somalie a constitué un tournant?

MB: Oui. La communauté internationale a décidé qu'elle ne pouvait accepter que des Casques bleus se fassent tuer. Cependant, lorsque l'on fait du maintien de la paix, on ne se venge pas; sinon, c'est l'escalade qui n'en finit pas. Et c'est ce qui est arrivé en Somalie. Des décisions ont été prises, fondées sur l'honneur, sur le fait qu'un gardien de la paix ne doit pas être humilié. La vengeance apporte réconfort pendant un certain temps, mais, est impropre aux objectifs de maintien de la paix.

bdp: Concernant la Bosnie, vous avez dit au Conseil de sécurité qu'il demandait au Secrétaire général d'agir sans lui donner les ressources nécessaires.

MB: En effet, c'est moi qui ai briefé les membres permanents du Conseil de sécurité de la question des «zones de sécurité». Le Conseil ne voulait pas avoir un énoncé de moyens qui soit réaliste. Il y avait une option dite lourde et une option dite légère. Le Conseil opte pour l'option légère, basée sur la dissuasion. Cette politique, qu'on appelle «bare chest deterrent», est inefficace. Mais cela satisfaisait les besoins du Conseil de sécurité.

bdp: Au Rwanda, si l'on avait pu envoyer rapidement 5000 soldats bien équipés sur le terrain, aurait-il été possible d'empêcher le génocide?

MB: J'aimerais répondre par l'affirmative. Est-ce qu'une force imposante aurait permis de prendre le contrôle? Les Français étaient intervenus au Rwanda en 1992 avec un régiment de parachutistes et avaient arrêté l'avance du FPR. Mais ce n'était pas la même chose en 1994. Aurait-on dû prévoir le génocide? Il est facile de dire oui maintenant puisque l'on sait qu'il y a eu un génocide. Mais pourquoi n'a-t-on réalisé qu'il y avait un génocide en Allemagne qu'en 1943-44? Pourquoi ne l'a-t-on pas prévu ou su en 1936, 37 ou 38, pour alors agir à temps? Nous savons maintenant que le génocide était planifié. Mais il était difficile de le croire. Du côté politique, il aurait sûrement été difficile, au mois de janvier 94, de dire au Conseil de sécurité qu'un génocide était planifié au Rwanda et de lui demander d'agir. J'estimais à ce moment-là que les autorités rwandaises ne voulaient pas partager le pouvoir. Mais je n'aurais jamais cru que le Président allait être éliminé. Le Président voulait se servir des Nations Unies pour retarder le partage du pouvoir. Nous savions que des armes étaient distribuées et qu'il y avait des possibilités de tueries dans le cas d'un coup d'État. Mais pas des massacres de l'ordre de 500 000 personnes. Il ne faut pas oublier d'autre part que nous avions demandé plus de troupes et des équipements adéquats. Le Major-général Dallaire n'avait même pas alors de camions pour le transport. Nous savions dès le début qu'il nous fallait deux brigades mécanisées. Que voulez-vous, nous demandions le minimum puisqu'il s'agissait d'opérations de maintien de la paix basées sur la bonne volonté et qu'il fallait vendre l'idée au Conseil de sécurité et aux États qui paient la facture.

bdp: Après le lancement de l'Agenda pour la paix dans un grand enthousiasme, puis les difficultés que vous venez d'évoquer, se retrouve-t-on aujourd'hui dans une situation désespérée?

MB: Non, non. Si les Nations Unies n'existaient pas, il faudrait les inventer. C'est un instrument à la disposition de tous les États membres. Cet instrument peut être amélioré, raffiné et rendu plus efficace. Mais il faut la volonté de le faire. Il faut mettre en place des mécanismes appropriés pour le rendre plus efficace. Le Supplément du Secrétaire général publié après l'Agenda pour la paix, m'apparaît plus réaliste. Au début, dans l'euphorie générale, tous pensaient que les États membres étaient disposés à faire beaucoup pour la paix. L'expérience nous a démontré qu'il n'en était pas ainsi. Dorénavant, preuve a été faite qu'il faut un instrument capable de réagir rapidement pour assurer la sécurité collective internationale et pour aider les pays qui sollicitent de l'aide. Il s'agit de mettre en place des cadres administratifs de prise de décisions et de commandement et de contrôle acceptables.

bdp: Et des conditions sur le terrain qui permettent le maintien de la paix?

MB: Évidemment, les conditions sur le terrain peuvent varier et notre capacité d'y répondre doit être souple. Pour le moment, parlons de troupes en alerte. L'idée d'une armée permanente des Nations Unies est pour plus tard, si jamais la communauté internationale en décide ainsi. Pour le moment, nous avons des assurances que certains États membres vont participer au système de troupes en alerte. L'idéal est que plusieurs États y souscrivent de sorte qu'on ait un choix de pays intéressés à y participer. Certains pays nous ont garanti qu'ils nous donneraient des troupes et du matériel dans certaines circonstances. Selon notre base de données actuelles, j'espère que nous pourrions disposer automatiquement de ressources lorsque les besoins sont connus. Ainsi, par exemple, quand douze pays m'auront indiqué leur intérêt de participer à une mission, nous pourrions alors en informer le Conseil de sécurité et lui dire que des troupes peuvent être déployées dans un laps de temps de 14 ou 28 jours selon tel coût et grâce à la contribution de tel ou tel pays. Je pense que l'on se dirige dans cette direction à condition que les États le veuillent. Les États membres peuvent faire des études, mais on ne peut pas déployer d'études. Il faut une entente entre les pays. Il faut améliorer la planification, la logistique, la formation et l'équipement. Tout est possible, à condition que la volonté politique existe.

bdp: Est-ce que vous pensez qu'éventuellement le Conseil de sécurité pourrait disposer d'un système efficace pour des

opérations qui nécessitent l'usage de la force?

MB: On ne traverse pas l'océan en chaloupe. Si l'on veut traverser l'océan, il faut construire un bateau à la mesure de ses moyens financiers et de son équipage, ce qui va en limiter la taille. Si l'on veut avoir recours à la force internationale pour régler des contentieux internationaux comme ce fut le cas dans la guerre du Golfe, il vaudrait mieux commencer à y penser tout de suite et essayer de déterminer en quelle année nous serons prêts. Avec la volonté politique des États nous pouvons continuer à jouer un rôle positif. Je suis probablement optimiste de nature. Je crois que l'ONU peut répondre à nos attentes à condition de lui donner les moyens nécessaires et de l'appuyer dans ses efforts.

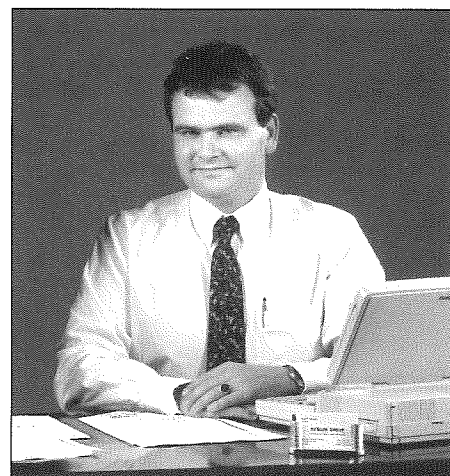
bdp: Merci beaucoup. Bonne chance dans vos nouvelles fonctions au Canada.

François Taschereau est conseiller (affaires politiques) à la Mission du Canada auprès des Nations Unies à New York. Il a déjà été en poste à Bogota et Madrid. À Ottawa, François Taschereau a été chef de cabinet du sous-ministre et a travaillé au bureau juridique (droit de l'environnement).

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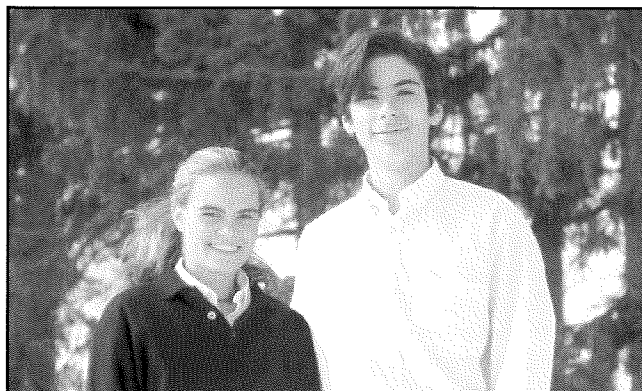
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International Territory/ Territoire international

story and photos by Liza Linklater

Situated on 18 acres along the East River between 42nd and 48th Streets, the UN headquarters is quite literally a trip outside the United States. It is designated as international territory. In fact, you cannot use an American stamp on a letter mailed from within the UN building. But you can buy UN stamps at the post office in the basement and mail your postcards from there to anywhere in the world.

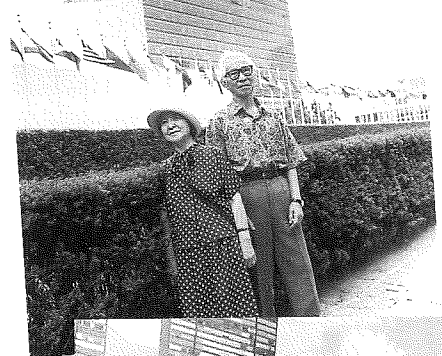
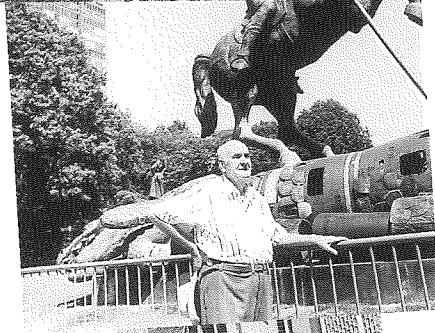
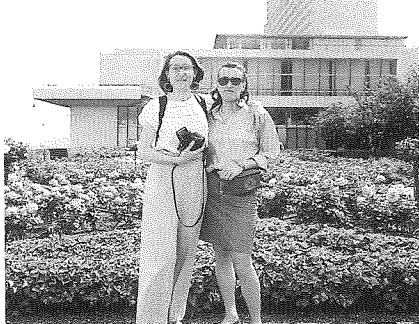
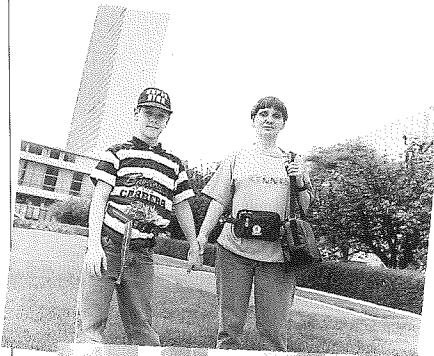
Most visitors to the UN take the guided tour, visit the shops and then stroll through the gardens beside the East River. More than 35 million people have toured the UN headquarters since the tour began. The numbers increase annually.

A couple of years ago, New York City was alarmed by news that some of the UN agencies might move to suburbs outside of Manhattan or even to Europe because of high rents and space needs. This has been settled for now and New York will continue to be the world's preeminent international city. It has the largest diplomatic community in the world. The city certainly benefits from the UN presence as the annual spending in New York by the United Nations, its agencies, missions, consulates, international business and allied diplomatic activities was \$3.3 billion US in 1994.

Along with the revenues, come the demonstrations. Two or three days every week the world's citizens — whether they be Kurds, Haitians, Burmese, Tibetans, Cubans, Sikhs, Greeks or Turks, Croatians or Serbs — come to two plazas across from the United Nations to protest, to shout and to chant. And protests occur at all hours much to the chagrin of the 4,000 residents of Tudor City, the apartments across from the UN. Each year the city's Department of Parks and Recreation issues approximately 250 permits for marches and rallies at these two parks straddling the UN grounds. And this number doesn't include all of those demonstrators who never ask for an official permit.

The accompanying (surrounding) photos were taken of a few of the hundreds of tourists who enter this international territory on a daily basis.

Liza Linklater is an Ottawa-based writer and photographer. She has been on postings to Bangkok and New York City.



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A GIANT GAME OF SCRABBLE

The Fourth UN World Conference on Women: Beijing, 1995



"It's almost like a giant Scrabble game ... It's arcane. We dance around commas, we argue over 'ands' and 'ors'. But in the end, we come up with an agreement that reflects the substance, the positive message that we wanted to put through in the Platform."

(K. Buck to CNN reporter May Lee)

by Adele Dion

The Fourth UN World Conference on Women took place in Beijing from September 4 to 15, 1995. UN Conference planners saw it as the finale of a series of four such gatherings, spanning 30 years from 1965 in Mexico City, Copenhagen in 1975 and Nairobi in 1985.

Also, Beijing would be the fourth in a series of recent United Nations meetings aimed at addressing key economic and social issues: the World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, 1993; the International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo, 1994 and the World Summit on Social Development, Copenhagen, 1995.

Each conference resulted in consensus final documents containing strong reaffirmation of the equal status and rights of women, and in some instances, such as Cairo, made significant progress in the definition of women's sexual and reproductive health rights.

The Setting: Why Beijing?

The question was asked many times. The UN answer is straightforward. The Asian region had not yet hosted a women's conference and therefore had first right of offer. China, as the sole volunteer, was awarded the honour. What China had perhaps not counted on was the obligation to host a parallel non-governmental forum.

Although China had initially sought to host the conference in order to enhance its international status, the Chinese Delegation did not play an active role in the negotiations surrounding either the Beijing Declaration or the Platform for Action. After repeated international assurances that "China will be a good host" to the conference, the Chinese appeared to assume an anxious "father of the bride" role, primarily

concerned that the main event conclude without major incident.

In the final planning stages, the main preoccupation of the Chinese hosts seemed to become the control and management of non-governmental organizations. Much time, energy and international good will was lost as a result of host country attempts to reverse the trend towards full NGO participation.

As *Globe & Mail* China Bureau reporter Rod Mickleburgh summed it up: "Neither the Chinese nor the thousands of independent-thinking women were used to one another. By Chinese standards, police action was remarkably restrained.... This allowed two undoubted firsts for China: a boisterous demonstration by a large group of lesbians and a moving protest against Chinese rule of Tibet."

The Conference

The 42 members of the official Canadian Delegation were led by The Hon. Sheila Finestone, Secretary of State (Status of Women).

As usual, the delegation had its own unique dynamic. Sharon Hayes, MP (Reform) left early because she was "Gagged in Beijing", (the title of her op-ed piece in the September 15th *Globe & Mail*). At an informal press briefing, she stated that, once in Beijing, she learned 'only six negotiators' actually had the opportunity to present the positions of the Canadian delegation.



The Hon. Sheila Finestone (left), leader of the Canadian delegation at Beijing.

Hedi Fry, MP (Liberal) also created a stir when she attacked actress and fitness guru Jane Fonda during a discussion of the media's role in educating women about health issues: "I asked her if she also believed the media should be accountable for perpetuating stereotypes that affect women. I said when women see only thin, beautiful women in the media, it leads to more cases of anorexia nervosa and bulimia." Ms. Fry enjoyed a standing ovation.

Beyond trying to hold the line on previous agreements, did Beijing result in any meaningful advances for women? Yes. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action was agreed to by consensus by the more than 180 participating governments.

The Platform makes clear in every chapter that women have a right to equality, that sustainable development demands equality and that no women should have to live her life in fear of violence, coercion or discrimination. Bella Abzug, well-known American feminist: "The Beijing Platform for Action is the strongest statement of consensus on women's quality, empowerment and justice ever produced by governments."

Some major achievements include:

- Affirmation that all governments have an obligation to promote and protect the human rights of women and girls regardless of cultural or religious traditions.
- Reaffirmation that violence against women is not a private issue and that states cannot invoke customs, traditions or religion to avoid their obligation to eliminate violence against women.
- Reaffirmation that rape in armed conflict constitutes a war crime, a crime against humanity, and introducing a new concept of rape as genocide under certain circumstances.
- First-time recognition in a UN document of sexual violence and gender-related persecution as grounds for refugee status.
- Recognition of the right, not just ability, of all women to control all aspects of their health, in particular their own fertility, as basic to their own empowerment. This builds on consensus language, strongly supported by Canada, achieved at the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo.
- Affirmation that the human rights of women include the right to have control over their own sexuality, free of coercion, discrimination and violence.

One of the most important themes running through the Platform concerns the role of women in economic and social development. Canada introduced language to address the feminization of poverty, the

need to assist women and men to balance paid and unpaid work and family responsibilities, and to protect workers' rights.

Beijing was also the first UN Conference openly to address the issue of sexual orientation. While in the end the term was not retained in the Platform for Action, more than 30 countries spoke up in support of its inclusion. Many countries, including Canada, stated that they interpreted the principle of non-discrimination to include sexual orientation.

The NGO Forum

The Forum took place in Huairou from August 30 to September 8, 1995. The Forum, involving approximately 30,000 non-governmental women, was a massive undertaking. Forum organizers and facilitators were challenged by structural, logistics and weather problems in scheduling plenary and working sessions.

The organizers' attempts to accommodate more than 800 workshops and events, ranging from "International Goodwill Sunflower Cultural Exchange", "Women Healing Oceans", "Natural Family Planning

and the Reluctant Husband" to "Senior Judges and their Instruments" quickly became an organizational nightmare. In spite of all obstacles, the NGO Forum produced some thoughtful, innovative proposals concerning issues of importance to women, as well as a Declaration which was presented to the final session of the government conference on September 15.

What does it all add up to?

After ten years of work, (1985-95), UN member countries now have an increasingly well-defined, progressive (and, perhaps, intrusive) framework governing the rights of women — a framework which allows women everywhere to measure their quality of life against internationally-agreed standards.

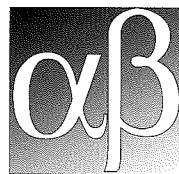
Beijing was a fitting birthday present to the UN on its fiftieth anniversary.

Adele Dion is currently Deputy Director, Human Rights and International Women's Equality at DFAIT. She was one of the six negotiators on the Canadian delegation in Beijing.

"Words, and the meaning of words, and the translation of words, become very important. Because all of these people have to go back to their own countries and try to implement this platform. So it's got to be as acceptable to as wide a range of people as possible."

(R. Archibald to CNN reporter May Lee)

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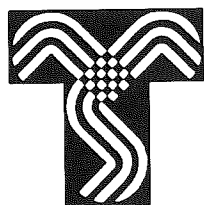
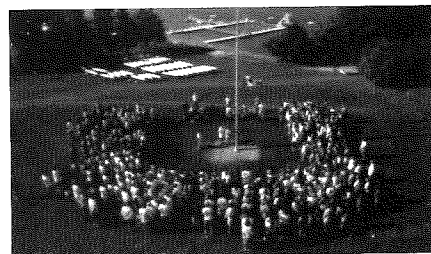
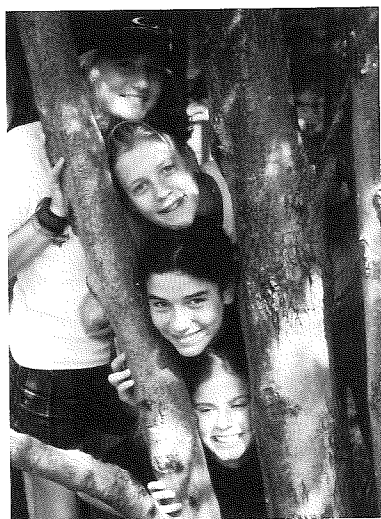
Camp (kamp), n. 1. a place where a body of persons is lodged in tents or other temporary shelter 2. such tents or shelters collectively 3. the persons so sheltered 4. a group of persons favouring the same ideals



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Envoys Extraordinary — Women of the Canadian Foreign Service

The following two excerpts are taken from Margaret Weiers' Envoys Extraordinary: Women of the Canadian Foreign Service, Dundurn Press, 1995, \$29.99.

DOROTHY ARMSTRONG *Heritage Houses and Hockey*

From the earliest days of Sir Joseph Pope and O.D. Skelton, the External Affairs department has cultivated an officer corps of generalists. Even specialists were expected to be generalists. The reason behind this policy went like this: a Canadian diplomat, whether he had a degree in law or economics or was an expert in a particular region of the world, should have an education, interests, and knowledge broad enough to handle any assignment or solve any problem that came along.

An incident in the career of Dorothy Armstrong is a perfect illustration of this time honoured principle. A "thirty something" foreign service officer in External's European division in the 1960s, Armstrong was called from her desk one day and given a curious assignment. She recalls:

There was some distress in the European bureau in the mid-'60s because the Canadian national amateur hockey team was behaving badly abroad as well as losing games; we got letters from five or six ambassadors in Europe all saying, in essence, "Please don't send the national team any more. When they come they undo at least five years of diplomatic work."

I was asked to take a few weeks off and do a study on why the team was making such a mess of things and what we could do about it. It didn't take me long to discover why.

This team was essentially a pick-up selection of part-time college students coached by a very well-meaning priest, Father David Bauer. Now they were true amateurs but they were the only true amateurs on the world circuit. Like the Soviet hockey team made up of Red Army professionals, the other European teams were in similar situations, at least semi-pro.

So I recommended that until we could field a hockey team that would reflect our true abilities as seen in the National Hockey League's professional standards we should get out of international hockey altogether, which was a pretty drastic recommendation. Specifically, I recommended that we withdraw from international hockey competition until we could field a team that would include at least some professionals so that we'd be on a more equal footing with the other teams. Otherwise, we were wasting our time, spoiling our reputation — not only our hockey reputation but somehow our political reputation as well because our image was so connected with hockey.

The report was so well-received that Dorothy Armstrong became an informal adviser to the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association. Moreover, Canada did withdraw from international competition until new rules permitted NHL professional players — at least those who were not needed for the Stanley Cup playoffs — to join their national teams. The exercise also "deeply impressed upon me the importance of sport in international diplomacy," Armstrong added.

Her most vivid memory of the assignment concerns the reaction of then prime minister Lester B. Pearson:

I got a message that the prime minister wanted to talk to me about it, he wanted to talk to the person who had done the report. He was a great hockey fan, of course. So I duly went over to his office and was standing outside when I heard him say to his aide, "I'm really looking forward to meeting the young man who wrote that report." The aide came out and saw me and said, "Here he is, sir." I walked into the room, Mr. Pearson looked at me and threw back his head and laughed. This was the best moment of all, particularly in view of his known scepticism about women in External.

Pearson was not the only sceptic on that subject. The dean of arts and sciences at the University of Toronto, where Armstrong studied for a master's degree in political economy, did his best to discourage her from pursuing a diplomatic career. In 1955, Vincent Bladon told her that it was almost

impossible for women to get into External and that she should not break her heart over it. Instead of dampening her enthusiasm, however, the dean's advice made her more determined. After all, she had been thinking of the foreign service as a career since she was eighteen years old.

Born in Elva, Manitoba, in 1931, Dorothy Armstrong devoured historical novels as a teenager, was absorbed in history as a high school student, and took an honours BA in the subject at Mount Allison University in New Brunswick. Along the way, she concluded that international affairs were "history in the making," and that a career in diplomacy would not only maintain her interest but also satisfy her growing curiosity about other countries, cultures and societies.

Even before she had received Bladon's cautionary counsel, Armstrong knew that she would have to be better qualified than the young men if she wanted to be on an equal footing with them in the foreign service examinations. After completing her MA at Toronto, she went to Paris to do doctoral work at the Institute of Political Studies. It was there that she wrote the examinations in 1956, shortly after the beginning of the Suez crisis. The memory of those days gives Armstrong the shivers:

Oil supplies were cut off to France for some time from the Middle East and, on the basis of very restricted supplies from other sources, only certain public buildings in Paris were heated. This did not include the residences at the Cité Universitaire where I was living and I can remember preparing for the exam — as much as you can prepare — bundled up, gloves and so on. In fact, we almost had to sleep that way, it was so cold. We were allowed one hot shower a week, I recall.

Then when I wrote the exam — it was at the Canadian embassy, the old Avenue Foch address — I actually wrote in gloves because of the lack of heat. There were five or six of us writing at the time and I expect none of us will forget the extreme discomfort of that exercise.

It was a long exam ... a lot of essays, précis and so on, and it went on for hours. The exam today is, it seems to me, a much lighter affair compared to

that. I can remember one major question: we had to choose one out of four topics on which to write for three hours. They were really trying to see if we could do analysis, one of the most basic skills required in the foreign service. This was presumably supposed to weed out people who couldn't. Nowadays, the exam may not be tough enough in that department.

Having succeeded in the written examinations, Armstrong was summoned to appear for a rigorous interview conducted at the Paris embassy by a panel of ambassadors chaired by Norman Robertson, the high commissioner in London. (Armstrong called him "one of the department's legendary 'greats.'") She tried to prepare herself for the grilling by memorizing the United Nations Charter and studying other important international documents. She failed to read the morning papers, however, and muffed the panel's first question about an overnight crisis in the Algerian war that was all over that day's front pages. She was also disconcerted when Robertson asked her for her view of marriage.

I knew this was a heavy question meant not only to find out what I thought but to put me off stride a little. That is one of the purposes of the oral interview, to see how unflappable you might be in a tight spot. I thought about it for a few seconds and told the truth: "Marriage is fine for those who are interested in it." At that time, I certainly wasn't. So many years of my life had been invested in preparing for the foreign service that was the big thing. I think I was also dimly aware of the strictures against marriage for women officers then in the department. Thus the commitment had to be strong.

When Armstrong joined External in 1957, she found considerable ambivalence about women officers and their determination to stay the course. A number of women had married and left the department after five or six years because their husbands were unwilling or unable to give up their professions to follow their wives around the world. "There was that kind of reluctance about us and a certain sense that we were not serious," Armstrong remembered. "We truly had to prove ourselves, over and over, as professionals in those early years of the '50s and '60s."

John W. Holmes, who had had a distinguished career in External from 1943 to 1960 before joining the Canadian Institute of International Affairs in Toronto, unwittingly revealed the kind of doubt and condescension encountered by Armstrong and her female colleagues. Speaking at Ladies'

Night at the Toronto Board of Trade in February 1965, Holmes said:

Although there are few women in the service, that is because fewer apply. The competition is open to them on equal terms in spite of the fact that they are a risk no insurance company would take. I needn't tell you on Ladies' Night that they are all attractive and marvelous diplomats to boot, but they have a habit of getting themselves attached by marriage to someone else's diplomatic service. It is a particularly lamentable form of dame-drain.

PAMELA McDUGALL FROM CLERK TO ROYAL COMMISSIONER

Most of the women who began their diplomatic careers as clerks did so because government policy until 1947 barred women from joining External as officers. But Pamela McDougall, the second Canadian woman to become an ambassador, rose through the ranks because, as she said in an interview, "It had never occurred to me that I might be a foreign service officer."

She could have had a career as a research scientist. Born in Ottawa in 1925, McDougall attended Glebe Collegiate before studying chemistry at Mount Allison University in New Brunswick. She had summer jobs at the National Research Council in Ottawa, and, after completing graduate studies at the University of Toronto in 1946, she worked at the council for a year as a researcher in organic chemistry. However, following a year's study at the Sorbonne on a French government bursary, McDougall abandoned science. "I really didn't want to continue in a laboratory," she recalls, "and when I came back from France I just simply went out and looked for a job."

Having relatives in the civil service and being an Ottawa resident, she naturally took her search to the federal government. Because she spoke French and had travelled, somebody suggested External Affairs and somebody else told her to learn stenography.

Fortunately for the future diplomat, she then met a wise woman in External's personnel division who said, "Learn stenography? You'd be crazy. We'll see if we can get you appointed as a clerk and then you can go on from there, you can write exams."

Starting as a grade 3 clerk, McDougall was assigned to the consular division. She said, "I was handling correspondence, I was doing jobs a lot of junior foreign service officers were required to do — they hated them probably — I found it quite interesting so the time wasn't wasted." Indeed, as a

clerk she was offered her first posting abroad, to a new consulate the department was opening in Germany. Again, she was advised, "No, don't do that, don't disappear into the boondocks while you're still thinking about trying to qualify as a foreign service officer."

She stayed in Ottawa and wrote examinations, becoming first a junior administrative assistant and finally, in 1952, a foreign service officer grade one. She spent about eighteen months in the department's United Nations division before her first diplomatic posting abroad.

Getting that assignment gave McDougall an insight into how External officials sometimes treated women. The department initially wanted to send her to Berne. Then it occurred to someone in personnel that the man being considered as the new head of post in Switzerland was not likely to accept a female officer on his staff. His attitude reminded McDougall of an earlier incident of discrimination against women by Canadian diplomats. McDougall was studying at the Sorbonne when the Canadian embassy gave a reception to honor Canadian novelist Gabrielle Roy, who had come to Paris to accept the Prix Femina for *The Tin Flute*. Of the Canadian students living at the Cité Universitaire, McDougall recalled, "All the men got invited to the reception for Gabrielle Roy and none of the women, which I thought was just horrendous." McDougall wasted no time letting her friends at the embassy know what she thought of such a slight to the female students.

Instead of Berne, McDougall went to Bonn as third secretary. In her own view, she came out the winner because she found Bonn "a far more interesting and more important posting than Berne." She had her reasons for feeling this way.

From 1953 to 1957, Germany was an exciting place to live and work. The German people, having recovered from the post-war occupation, were full of energy and had embarked on what was to become an economic miracle. They were rebuilding their war-torn cities and eagerly implementing a new, democratic constitution. Germany was taking steps toward a rapprochement with the rest of Europe that would ultimately lead to European Union. The country joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1955. Subsequently, a NATO contingent of Canadian troops was stationed on German soil. It was also a time of heavy German immigration to Canada. All these events engaged McDougall's interest and intellect during her four years in Bonn. By comparison, Berne looked like a dull political backwater, notwithstanding the proximity of the Alpine ski slopes.

Posted back to Ottawa, McDougall dealt with human rights in the U.N. division, worked on the French desk in the European division, and then spent a year as the senior political advisor to the Canadian delegation on the International Supervisory Commission for Vietnam.

An international conference in Geneva in 1954 had produced accords to end hostilities between France and the Vietminh in Indochina. It established a commission composed of representatives from Canada, India, and Poland, to supervise the ceasefire zone on the 17th parallel between North and South Vietnam; to ensure the free movement of people; to facilitate the release of prisoners; and to stop any illegal movement of troops and arms. Every young, single foreign service officer in External in the mid-1950s could expect a tour of duty in Indochina; men were the first to go, but women eventually had to take their turn.

McDougall remembers the assignment as both horrible and fascinating. There were many small irritants such as the Army officer in charge of the commission who barely tolerated the diplomats from External, and the administrator who appropriated McDougall's staff car and took over the cockroach-ridden but spacious and attractive room in the Continental hotel in Saigon that she had left for her successor, Vivienne Allen. Regular trips to Hanoi were a nightmare; on one of them McDougall contracted amoebic dysentery. A bout of hepatitis confined her to her hotel room for six long, wretched weeks.

"But it was a fascinating experience. I travelled in Vietnam, travelled in North Vietnam to some extent, went to Cambodia and was able to see Angkor Wat, met some interesting people, worked with some very worthwhile people, enjoyed the Indians," McDougall recalled. "I think I'm probably one of the few Canadian foreign service officers that wasn't entirely put off the Indians during their time in Indochina."

There was considerable tension among the Indians, Poles, and Canadians on the commission. Some of it arose when the Indians chaired commission meetings and field trips; they sought unanimous agreement on every issue. The Poles, meanwhile, insisted on reporting what they saw as violations of the Geneva agreements by the anti-communist parties but ignored breaches by the communists. The Indians usually backed the Poles. Canadians, more critical of the communists, also disagreed with the Indians about the fate of South Vietnamese anti-communists should the communist north win free elections in a unified Vietnam.

In 1958-1959, when McDougall was in Indochina, the commission was in a holding

pattern, little was being accomplished, and the Indian representatives wanted to do nothing that would upset India's friendly relationship with the Soviet Union, one of the countries to which the commission reported.

Most Canadians were frustrated by the lack of progress and by the Indians' attitude, but McDougall, perhaps because of her innate warmth and empathy, adopted a philosophical and detached viewpoint as she observed the games that were being played. She later remarked, "I found my Indian colleagues interesting and comparatively easy to get along with and I didn't get too worked up about their machinations, which were probably no worse or more surprising than those of all the other players in this tedious interval between two wars."

It was the first time that McDougall had worked in such an international setting, participating in multilateral discussions and negotiations. She called it "an excellent experience ... well worthwhile." She did not know it then, but the assignment in Indochina, working with Indians and Poles, was also good preparation for future postings to New Delhi and Warsaw.

Based in Ottawa for almost two years after returning from Saigon, McDougall spent some time in the Far Eastern division and then was sent on an inspection tour

of Canadian posts abroad. "I think in 14 months," she said, "I was out of the country something like four months just travelling from one post to another. I was in South America, in the Caribbean, I was in Europe, Eastern Europe. It was a great opportunity to see what made a post tick and what bothered people."

Her inspection tour finished, McDougall was posted to the Canadian High Commission in New Delhi from 1961 to 1963, as first secretary and later counsellor. She handled internal and external political reporting and supervised the office's information section. On her return to Ottawa, she was made deputy head of External's Far Eastern division and head of its China section.

Having established herself as something of a specialist in Far Eastern matters, it was no surprise that McDougall's first (and only) ambassadorial posting was to Warsaw. The assignment simply reinforced a cynical and common quip in diplomatic circles everywhere. It goes something like this: if you want a posting to Brasilia, become fluent in Arabic. 

Envoys Extraordinary: Women of the Canadian Foreign Service is available from better bookstores or Dundurn Press, 2181 Queen St. E., Suite 301, Toronto, Canada, M4E 1E5.



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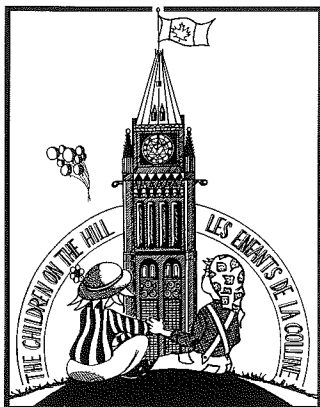
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A New Political Impulse to Economic and Trade Cooperation

Towards an OECD Free Trade Area and Optional Free Trade Areas for the Newly Industrialized and Lesser Developed Countries

by Randolph Gherson

The development of post-World War II institutions for Western economic, political and defence/security cooperation was based on a trans-Atlantic compact and an acceptance of the division of Europe as agreed at Yalta in 1945. The bloodless revolution against Communist rule in the old Soviet Union and Eastern Europe symbolized by the demolition of the Berlin Wall mark the end of this post-war era.

Half a century has elapsed since Yalta, and the problems raised by the changes in the old Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, as well as in the rest of the world, now need to be addressed in the context of key developments in multilateral trade and economic relations and present realities.

Free Trade

A Quick Guide to the Acronyms

EEC	European Economic Community (now EU)
EFTA	European Free Trade Area
EU	European Union
G-7	Group of seven major industrialized countries
GATT	General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (now WTO)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSP	Generalized System of Preferences
LAFTA	Latin American Free Trade Area
LDC	Lesser Developed Countries
MNE	Multinational Enterprises
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NIC	Newly Industrialized Countries
OEEC	Organization for European Economic Cooperation
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
RFTA	Regional Free Trade Area
WEU	Western European Union
WTO	World Trade Organization

In terms of **multilateral trade relations**, several key developments stand out, including:

- the creation of what is now the EU, its gradual enlargement and progressive integration;
- the creation of other continental-size regional free trade areas and arrangements, e.g. NAFTA, LAFTA;
- the emergence of Japan, the NICs and China, both as industrial powers and large markets;
- the proliferation of independent LDCs, which represent potentially large markets but depend on economic aid from, and preferential trade access to developed countries to sustain their development;
- the revamping of the OEEC into the OECD, broadening economic cooperation beyond Europe to include Canada and the USA and subsequently Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Turkey and Mexico and adding Development aid to LDCs;
- the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) to succeed the GATT. It includes in its eighty-eight country membership several multilateral and bilateral regional or non-regional free trade areas and arrangements and over 50 LDCs. Its provisions also now cover services, intellectual property, and trade-related investment issues.

Present realities include:

- the European Union, its free trade arrangements (e.g. Norway, Switzerland, Israel), its association agreements (e.g. Turkey), its preferential arrangements with LDCs under the Lomé Convention and its potential arrangements with Eastern European countries;
- the Canada-USA-Mexico Free Trade Area, the emerging arrangements in the Pacific involving Australia, New Zealand, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines and China's affirmation as a major industrial power;
- the perception of the USA, EU and Japan as a dominant economic triumvirate of the industrialized democracies;
- the emergence of about 100 LDCs and 18 newly industrialized countries (NICs) in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and South America;
- the rapid development of innovative and sophisticated technologies in

aerospace, satellite communications, information technology and robotics, with widespread automation of production of goods and services and the electronic transmission of information (e.g. Internet) and of massive movements of capital (US \$1 trillion/day);

- Globalization: the expansion of world-wide operations of multi-national corporations;
- structural or systemic unemployment resulting from the phasing out of the blue-collar labour force following the automation of production in major OECD countries;
- problems of structural adjustment and the need for convergent policies of sustainable non-inflationary growth following the deep recession of 1990-93 and slow growth recovery in 1994-95 in OECD countries;
- the burdensome level of foreign indebtedness and of budget deficits in the G-7 countries (USA, Canada and several EU member states);
- the volatility of exchange rates of major currencies;
- the continuing development and reconciliation of domestic policies to provide for an acceptable balance between social welfare and the free play of internal and international market forces;
- LDC indebtedness and its implications for the economic development and social and political stability in these countries;
- and not least, the continuing degradation of the environment in the absence of stringent regulations and laws covering fossil fuel emissions and the disposal of industrial waste; and deforestation and the depletion of fish stocks by irresponsible exploitation.

The new WTO is now in place to address the trade and trade-related issues of today looking to the twenty-first century. But a GATT-type organization with ground rules for a non-discriminatory multilateral trading system works effectively when the membership can fully undertake and implement all its obligations. The waivers, exceptions and agreements that are not of general and uniform application (e.g. anti-dumping and countervailing codes) and the differential treatment in favour of LDCs reflect widespread disparities among the membership.

The present WTO membership represents countries whose economic, political and social structures place them in different centuries in time, but paradoxically translated into a contemporaneous existence exposed to intrusive interaction by electronic communications, television and air travel.

Hence, the WTO multilateral trading system might best be underpinned by separate but parallel processes of multilateral trade liberalization tailored to suit groups of like countries:

- the industrialized countries of the OECD with possible association arrangements with Eastern European countries;
- the NICs; and
- the LDCs.

The WTO would establish the ground rules under GATT applicable to all and be responsible for monitoring the progress and coordinating the liberalization process of each group of countries. If, however, it were not found possible at this stage to proceed beyond an OECD FTA, appropriate institutional arrangements would need to be made under OECD.

The trend towards regional free trade areas (RFTAs), which may be regarded as the current alternative, gives rise to two main problems. RFTAs are apt to divide world trade into preferential geographical regions which is in turn conducive to region-centricity (e.g. the EU, NAFTA, LAFTA); and where RFTAs include countries with widely disparate levels of social and political development and of economic strength, they create unequal partnerships with attendant political tensions, particularly where there is no shared historical and/or cultural experience. Such disparities make difficult, if not impossible, the effective implementation of common obligations. And a differentiated scale of undertakings, while operational under a multilateral trading system (e.g. GSP), would not facilitate the removal of trade barriers at the frontier within the RFTA. It should be recalled that the original EEC and EFTA, albeit regional, involved common undertakings among equal or near-equal industrially advanced democracies with a shared historical experience and culture. The EU's enlargement process has included other European industrialized democracies with relatively comparable levels of political, economic and social development. East Germany is a special case: it became part of the EU as a result of German reunification in which West Germany absorbed the burden of adjustment. But if the EU is relatively homogeneous, its regional character has tended to Euro-centricity.

Nor would the merging or fusion of two existing RFTAs, such as NAFTA with the EU or LAFTA, provide another practicable option. NAFTA and the EU would lead to an invidious division within OECD and the G-7 by isolating the Pacific members (Australia, New Zealand and Japan in the one case and Japan in the other). NAFTA with LAFTA would accentuate the tendency towards region-centricity. If the WTO is to be effective as an institution governing a multilateral non-discriminatory trading system, it is best supported by multilateral rather than regional (and, therefore, region-centric) preferential free trade areas.

The OECD countries, and particularly the major ones, have important world leadership roles and responsibilities. These rest on the premise that their economic viability and growth are central to the well-being of the world economy. Their challenge is the construction of a post cold-war Europe with viable economic and political ties to the industrialized democracies in North America and the Pacific. In this way the industrialized democracies will be better able to discharge their moral obligations (and pursue their enlightened self-interest) in assisting the transition of the NICs and LDCs to the twenty-first century. More importantly, there is a need for a new political impulse to impart a fresh sense of purpose and direction to trade and economic cooperation to ensure the long-term viability and political stability of the industrialized democracies as a necessary underpinning to their and world security. An OECD free trade area (FTA) could provide such an impulse.

The OECD countries represent a relatively homogeneous group with comparable levels of political, economic and social development spanning Western Europe, North America and the Pacific. Given the time required for the necessary groundwork preparatory to negotiations, it may not be too early for OECD countries to begin to engage in such a process of trade liberalization. The aim would be to agree to a phased progress towards a free trade area by, say, 2015. In a sense, this would be integrating separate processes that are already well under way. Of the twenty-five members of the OECD, fifteen are members of the EU, Turkey is an "associate member" of the EU and Norway and Switzerland have individual free trade area arrangements with the EU. That leaves Canada, Mexico and the USA, and Australia and New Zealand (also joined by separate free trade areas) and Japan. An OECD FTA would draw this process to its (logical) conclusion.

Additionally, the broad economic, trade, social development, aid and environment objectives and mandate of the OECD would

allow the OECD FTA to proceed in tandem with policies and approaches dealing with the other non-trade issues. The liberalization of trade within OECD would be based on a balance of reciprocity and would cover not only tariffs, but also non-tariff barriers, agriculture, subsidies, services, intellectual property, rules of origin and other trade-related issues such as investment government procurement, national standards and competition policy. Efforts should also be made towards the liberalization of commercial air services. It would also need to include anti-dumping and countervail and to provide for binding dispute settlement. To register progress there would be a calendar. Each country would, in its own way, at its own speed and in the light of its own situation and priorities, deal with the adjustment process, but would undertake to complete each phase of liberalization by agreed dates. The calendar, as a common frame of reference, would also help bring about a greater convergence of trade and trade-related policies, impelled by a sense of common purpose and direction. The calendar is a neutral instrument: it establishes the phases achievement of common undertakings over time. It is technical: it provides an agreed measurement of progress and discipline. It is also irreversible: it only moves forward.

The proposed OECD FTA would be open to all other countries able and willing to undertake all the obligations of the OECD. If desired and appropriate, it could eventually be open to Eastern European countries and to the NICs; those NICs which were not yet in a position to join the OECD FTA may wish to opt for separate FTA, allowing for trade liberalization among themselves or with others under their own negotiated calendar, preparatory to their being able to assume the obligations of full membership in the OECD FTA, or to continue as they do. Like the NICs, the LDCs would be free to stay as they are or to conclude a trade liberalization calendar by the end of a twenty-year period.

In sum, therefore, if the NICs and the LDCs are also prepared to enter in separate FTAs there would be three parallel twenty-year calendars. Under the first, the OECD countries would attain free trade and allow progressive access to duty-free trade to the NICs and the LDCs. Under the second calendar, the NICs would also aim towards free trade among themselves and reduce their trade barriers by 75% to the LDCs and by 50% to the OECD countries. At the end of that period, or earlier if circumstances permit, the NICs might wish to negotiate entry into the OECD FTA. Under the third calendar, the LDCs would attain a free trade area by the end of the period and allow for

a 50% cut in their trade barriers to the NICs and the OECD countries; at the end of the period, or earlier, it would be open for these LDCs to join the NIC free trade area, or to re-negotiate their calendar in terms of improved access leading to free trade with the NICs.

What would such a free trade area do for the OECD countries?

- It would contribute to the continued economic viability and growth of the industrialized democracies, thus underpinning their political stability and security. It would also enable them to discharge effectively their responsibilities towards the economic development of the Third World.
- Politically, it could also contribute to a greater degree of coherence and solidarity and security among OECD countries, and provide a stronger economic base to their security.
- The process of trade liberalization, on the basis of an agreed calendar, common rules, standards and codes of discipline and conduct and binding dispute settlement should facilitate greater trade and economic policy coordination. Such a framework should also help constrain and contain confrontational trade situations.
- Resource rich countries would complement those less endowed.
- If the EU experience is a valid guide, a market of twenty-five industrialized countries with an educated and skilled population of over 800 million and relatively high incomes should offer the business community and multinational corporations an expanded zone of stability for twenty years, allowing for long-term planning, structural adjustment, investment and rationalization of operations. This would allow also for the generation of investment and jobs. It should be noted that US MNE investment did not await the completion of the European common market; it moved in immediately after the signing of the Rome treaty in 1957, acting as an important catalyst to the process.
- It would extend the EU, NAFTA and Australia-New Zealand FTAs to each other and Japan. This may pose a fundamental difficulty for the EU countries which tend to regard the Community as their own captive market and the common external tariff and Community common policies as its bonding element. If so, the following considerations might be brought to bear:
 - the EU and its institutions have been established for thirty-seven years and its customs union has been in operation

for twenty-three years. 1993 marked the completion of a single market with the free movement of goods, services, capital investment and labour. The expansion of trade within the EU has been more than twenty-fold. It is also the world's richest market. In an institutional sense the EU is now well rooted, and need no longer rely on the crutch of Euro-centricity.

- In political terms, the EU was in large part inspired by the need to provide a framework for co-operation between France and Germany to assure peace in Europe. This has also now been achieved. The OECD FTA would provide a stronger and broader framework for the integration of a re-united Germany and eventually for a close association with Eastern Europe.
- This proposal will also need to find acceptance in the NAFTA countries, Australia, New Zealand and Japan which have their separate free trade calendars and/or related arrangements. This will require statesmanship to broaden their vision to an OECD context. Enlightened self-interest may persuade them that participation in, may be preferable to excluding oneself from the OECD FTA club.
- For the EU, NAFTA, Australia and New Zealand, today's challenge is Japan and how it can best be engaged in close and meaningful cooperation such as to encourage it to open further its domestic market to goods and services and foreign investment. A broad political commitment to join together in an OECD FTA, where each party can strike an acceptable balance of reciprocity between sacrifice and compensation, may facilitate the integration of a liberalized Japanese market with the rest of the OECD countries under common ground-rules.
- The association arrangements with individual Eastern European countries and the NICs could contribute also to their gradual integration into an open, non-discriminatory trading system by means of negotiated reciprocity over time. These arrangements might also provide a framework for the coherent development of aid policies. Such ground rules could also generate a climate of confidence for industrial/agriculture/services/energy/investment/development programmes.
- The parallel calendars for the NICs and the LDCs would establish a predictable, transparent framework for trade liberalization and an environment for trade expansion within each

FTA and among the three FTAs. In addition, there would be increased opportunities for the transfer of technology and the development of modern, trained and skilled labour forces.

What would the proposed OECD FTA do for Canada?

It would afford duty-free and liberalized access to a vast market beyond NAFTA to Europe and the Pacific. Essentially, the loss of our preferences under NAFTA should be more than offset by the gains in the EU plus Norway, Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand and Japan. We should also benefit by the rationalization of MNE operations. Our resource and agricultural base as well as our technological and innovative capacity should attract an improved quality (R&D, high tech) and pattern of MNE investment as part of a rationalization over a large market.

There is no doubt that such an OECD FTA, let alone the NIC and LDC FTAs, will give rise to massive problems. Questions will be raised that the approach is too long-term to deal with immediate issues such as unemployment or structural adjustment or how to deal with Eastern Europe and Russia; that differences in economic approaches may make its negotiation impossible; that asymmetrical complementarity between economies would sharpen competition with attendant unemployment; that it is too ambitious and that its complexity may defeat the exercise, and so on. But the present watershed calls for a new bold move.

To sum up, in 1947 the Havana Charter established trade liberalization on a multi-lateral non-discriminatory basis. In 1957, the EEC initiated a molecular approach to free(r) trade, where the nucleus of six relatively homogeneous economies could move to free trade over fourteen years (in the result, twelve years). This was enlarged in 1972 to nine, in 1981 to ten, in 1986 to twelve and in 1995 to fifteen. This represents sixty per cent of the OECD membership (and 40% to OECD GDP). If one adds NAFTA and the Australia/New Zealand FTA as well as Norway and Switzerland's FTAs with the EU, it is clear that most of OECD trade is already moving under preferential albeit separate regimes or arrangements. The time has now come for political vision and statesmanship to take the next step to integrate and complete the process. Given its mandate and expertise, the OECD would be the appropriate forum to set this initiative in motion. 

Randolph Gherson was Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Canada to the OECD (1980-1983).

John Lawrence Paynter, 1941-1995

The following was prepared for the Memorial Service held for John Paynter at the Asia Centre (University of British Columbia) in November 1995.

John Paynter would have hated this event. But he would have been here, because he had an extraordinary sense of duty, and knew he would be expected. Even though he was better when he was extemporaneous, he would have had a speech ready, carefully transferred onto little cards, highlighted in various colours to remind him just where to pause, where to give emphasis. He would have stayed up all night writing it, and would have telephoned at least a half dozen of us for comments on the text, or sent us scurrying to some dusty archive to find a particular statistic or historical allusion. He would separately have asked at least three of us to give him a first draft, each unbeknownst to the others. He would have driven us mad, but we would have done our very best for him because, in the end, he always got it right, and because we loved him.

John was an old newsman, and East Asia was his beat. Early in his career, he studied Chinese, and was one of the intrepid

crew who opened our Embassy in China after normalization in 1970. He was my posting officer later, when we were in Korea, and peppered me with monstrous puns about "Seoul-searching". He came back to Asia in the mid-80s as Ambassador in Thailand, where he and I, although we had known one another all our professional lives, first worked together. And, when John went out to India as High Commissioner a few years later, I was honoured and delighted when he asked me to come as his Deputy.

Because working with John Paynter was a lesson in modern diplomacy. In the most natural possible way, John made his way through the intricacies of India's class structure, its economy and politics, and emerged a respected friend of India, and an effective advocate for Canadian interests, no easy feat in that hermetic society. His final assignment, as Ambassador in China, was such an obvious culmination to his career that one could not imagine there might be anyone else even remotely qualified.

But it was on the personal level that one saw the real John Paynter: he was, no contest, the kindest and most thoughtful man I ever knew in this business; a warm, humorous, compassionate friend, who overlooked or forgave our many shortcomings, but effusively praised our most prosaic accomplishments. With all his achievements,

moreover, the most important part of his life was his family. Old fashioned? Sure. But the values John and Inge espoused influenced all of us for the better.

John contrived, all his life, to find practical, humane solutions to some incredibly convoluted issues; most of the time, he succeeded brilliantly. We remember the sharp, intuitive analyst, always questioning, never seeking the easy or obvious answer, but always the right answer. Except *this* time. With all that well-honed intellect, with all his networks, all those loving friends, going flat out to help him find a solution, maybe something no one had thought of trying before, he didn't quite manage *it this* time. What a brutal, implacable enemy he must finally have encountered. And how bereft it has left us today.

We pay tribute, Kazuko and I, with all of you, to John Lawrence Paynter's memory, and pray that we will not forget the lessons he taught us; the example he set for us — in our careers, and, most of all, our lives. Inge and Kate and Jonathon and Sarah, who loved him best, will miss him most. The rest of us, his friends and colleagues; well, we loved him too, and we cherish the time we had with him on this Earth. We are most certainly the better for having known him.

Gordon Longmuir

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Reflections on China's Wall

story and inset photo by Terry Greenberg

Everyone has heard of the Great Wall of China; a massive structure, five metres high and almost as wide, originally built over 2,000 years ago, stretching in a continuous, unbroken line across the north of China for thousands of miles, protecting her from nomadic invaders, and serving as both a

symbol and a central feature of the Chinese landscape and world view throughout history. This is just common knowledge, isn't it? Every child in Canada can hardly get out of elementary school without getting a general impression of the Great Wall along these lines, so it would not be surprising if you also share this view. Unfortunately, most of my opening sentence is entirely

erroneous. At the risk of destroying a cherished illusion, let's examine each of the several misconceptions.

First of all, most people believe there is just one Great Wall, which has been continually restored over the centuries. Actually the Chinese have been building defensive walls for millennia, but they have not always been in the same place, and they often bore



no relation to one another. The earliest recorded long border walls were built about 6-700 BC, long before China was unified as a single state, and were primarily constructed to separate the several Chinese states from each other. Some were built to keep out non-Chinese from the north, but most of them ran in a north-south direction, not the east-west configuration that we know today. In 220 BC Qin Shi Huang Di united all the Chinese states and demolished most of these walls. He built the first "Great Wall" to separate China from the northern barbarians. The Qin wall was quite far north, close to the modern state of

Mongolia. Subsequent Chinese dynasties did not all build walls, but several of them did, particularly the Han, Jin, Sui, and Ming. However, each dynasty built its wall in different areas. While the Jin wall was further north than the Qin, reaching in places into modern Russian Siberia, the Ming wall lay far to the south of it. So we are left with the question, when we talk of the historical Great Wall of China, "Which one?"

The most photographed site on the Great Wall is at Badaling, just an hour's drive northwest of Beijing. It is here that all visiting dignitaries, including Canada's

Prime Minister recently, are taken for their obligatory photo. This spot is daily mobbed by tourists, both foreign and Chinese. There is a panel saying that the wall was originally built 2,000 years ago on this site, and has been continually rebuilt and restored down through the ages. This makes the tourist experience all that more impressive, but it is simply not true. The wall at Badaling is the Ming Wall, built about 400 years ago. Almost all the photographs or drawings one sees of the Great Wall of China are, in fact, of the rather recent Ming wall. Most of the earlier walls have disappeared, primarily through erosion, or have left only rather unphotogenic mounds of clay across the landscape. So how old is the Great Wall of China? One usually has the Ming wall in mind when the question is asked. The Ming dynasty only began in the 14th century, and did not become really diligent at wall-building until the 16th century, so the answer is about 400 years old.

Our mental image of the Great Wall of China is usually based on photographs or paintings of the most dramatic sections of the Ming Wall, such as Badaling. In fact that infamous panel at Badaling also states that the wall was built wide enough to allow several mounted horsemen to ride abreast across its top, and implies this was the case throughout its length. Badaling was probably the most militarily vulnerable section in the entire Ming Wall, as it is in a low mountain pass only a day's march from the Ming capital city, so obviously it was particularly well-built. In the area of Badaling, there used to be several parallel walls across the pass, although only one of them has been restored for the tourists. However the Ming Wall was not nearly this massive throughout its length. In fact, there are large areas where there was no wall at all, and many where it is built only a few feet wide, more like a fence than a wall. These places are barely wide enough for one man to walk comfortably, and totally impassable for a horse. Also the materials used in the construction of the Ming Wall varied considerably according to the region, and although at Badaling massive carved blocks of stone are used for the foundation, in other areas the material was sometimes just tamped clay, or piled up, unfinished stones. The pre-Ming walls were almost exclusively made of these simple materials, and this explains their virtual disappearance over the years. Nevertheless a myth has developed about the massive proportions of the Great Wall throughout its length. The frequently-made claim that the Great Wall is the only man-made structure visible from outer space is entirely false. Try to spot it from your airplane window as you are landing at Beijing's

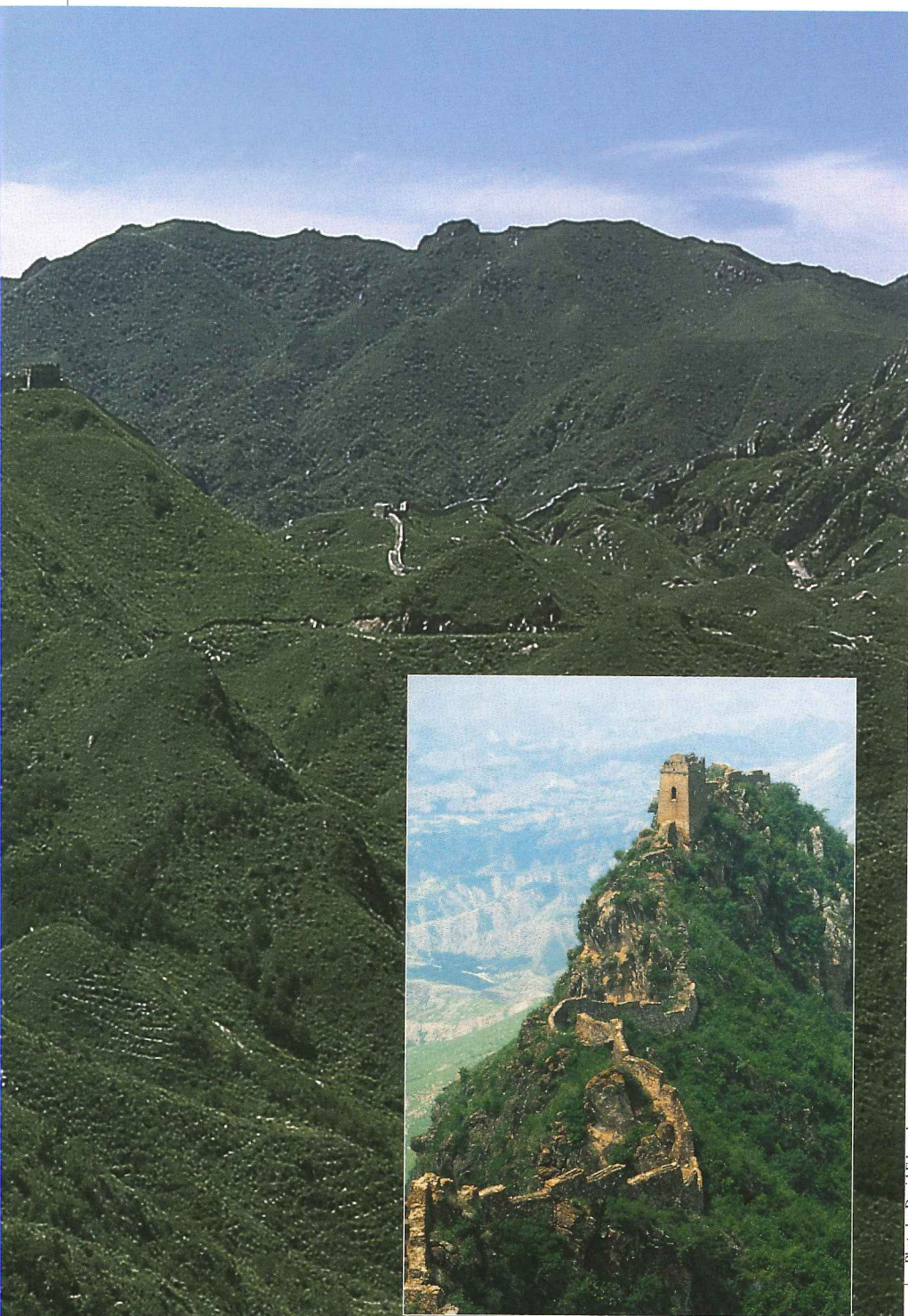


Photo by David Edwards

Shoudu Airport. It's not easy, and you will only be a few thousand feet above the wall.

It is generally and correctly understood that the Great Walls of China were built as military, defensive structures to protect China from non-Chinese nomadic people from the north. But did they really provide protection? Probably some, but on a limited scale. In some cases, history shows that wall-building may have been counter-productive. The best example of this was the fall of the Ming Dynasty. Building and garrisoning the Ming Wall required the equivalent of billions of dollars of wealth, manpower, and resources, and inevitably this had to be financed by taxing the population. Near its end, the Ming Dynasty was being harassed by numerous peasant uprisings, probably the result of excessive taxation and misguided government policies. The Manchus, a non-Chinese people from the north whom the wall was built to keep out, offered to assist in putting down the rebellions. The gates of the wall at Shanhaiguan (near where the wall meets the Pacific Ocean) were swung open; the Manchus marched in unhindered, and took over the whole country, replacing the Ming with China's last dynasty, the Qing.

Throughout her history, China has always vastly outnumbered the northern nomads in population, and was superior technically. When China was united under effective leadership, with a strong economy and contented population, the nomads could not hope to do more than harass the fringes of Chinese territory. China was only vulnerable when she was fragmented and weak, and then "all the walls in China" could not have guaranteed her security against determined northerners. Walls without guards, gates without watchmen, fortifications without troops, are virtually useless. Even when they are staffed, but if the people are demoralized, or easily bribed because of breakdowns in the social order, the walls could be easily breached. So did the Great Wall protect China from the northern barbarians down through history? Probably only marginally, on a small scale, in some local areas. In fact, it was rather a white elephant, never coming near to justifying the suffering and expense involved in its construction.

How could China allow such a fiasco to dominate and become the central feature of her military and foreign policy over the millennia? Well, she didn't. Walls, even great long ones, have been around in China for a long time, but they only occupied a paramount place for very brief portions of Chinese history. Many of the most famous and powerful Chinese dynasties, including

the Tang, Song, Yuan, Qing did not build any walls at all. Their strategy to deal with the northern barbarians was, at times one of aggressive military action, and at other times, one of co-existence and negotiated peace treaties. Their defence was their strengths, and walls would have simply been limiting and superfluous. In the 13th century, Marco Polo visited the fabulous court of the Yuan Dynasty at Kambalik (modern Beijing). He wrote of the many wonders of China, but never mentioned any walls, because there were not any to be seen. The Yuan, and the other dynasties that preceded it for almost a thousand years, did not build any significant walls. The orgy of wall-building during the Ming was an aberration in Chinese history rather than a typical feature of it.

The glorification of the Great Wall of China is a modern import from the West.

But has not the Great Wall played a large role in traditional Chinese art and literature for millennia? Again, no. Although today it is difficult to find any book, or cultural display on China, which does not include a picture of the Great Wall, this is a recent phenomenon. Ancient Chinese literature does contain occasional and relatively rare references to walls, but these are usually cast in a negative light, focusing on the suffering of the people involved in building and garrisoning them. There is not even any Chinese term equivalent to "Great Wall". In Chinese it is either "chang cheng" (long wall) or "wan li chang cheng" (ten thousand li long wall). Ancient Chinese art, both in painting and porcelain, has virtually no depictions of walls until nearly modern times.

In fact, the glorification of the Great Wall of China is a modern import from the West. In the 18th and 19th century, the first European visitors returned from China marvelling at and exaggerating the Ming Wall they had seen near Beijing, probably at Badaling. The wall developed mythic proportions in the minds of Europeans, and eventually the Chinese, hearing of this appreciation and respect, identified the Great Wall themselves as a symbol of their own

past national greatness. While their ancestors had little to say about the Great Wall, except perhaps to vilify its builders and mourn its toll of suffering, the modern Chinese, including the Communists, have adopted it as a national symbol. In our modern age of international tourism and nation-building, pictures of and references to the Great Wall are found everywhere. However, it would be quite wrong to draw conclusions about Chinese history and world view from this rather superficial and recent phenomenon.

The Great Wall of China may not be what it is generally thought to be, but it has captured the imagination of millions of people, and, in spite of my iconoclasm, I must confess to being one of them. When I was posted in Beijing, I never missed a chance on weekends to explore the unrestored sections of the Great Wall near Beijing, and whenever possible made trips further afield to Shanxi, and Inner Mongolia.

However mythical, the Wall is also very real, and away from the tourist hordes, in its natural hill top and ridgeline setting, it can sometimes be extraordinarily beautiful. The ruined towers, sometimes perched on summits, remind one of abandoned castles, complete with parapets and crenellations, almost floating in the sky. The wall itself twists and turns relentlessly up and down the mountains, sometimes standing proud above the landscape, and at others, almost hidden by trees growing right out of its body, like the ancient temples of Cambodia. In places there are giant staircases up hill sides like the steps of a Mayan altar. And the wall has ghosts, millions of them, their bones mixed with the mortar and in the foundations. One can still find partially intact towers and look out their windows to share the view of the lonely border guards who lived for years on these exposed hill tops. These views include the wall itself like a giant snake, winding its way across the landscape as far as the eye can see in both directions.

It is impressive, it is picturesque, but is it great? I would answer, yes. It is a wall like no other on earth, climbing mountains, bridging streams, crossing valleys, marching across the landscape for thousands of miles. The Great Wall of China as I know it, is only 400 years old, in places is little larger than a fence, is not continuous, did not perform its intended function very well, and is not a dominant symbol and feature of traditional China, but I love it anyway.

Terry Greenberg currently works in Shanghai. He has had previous assignments in Bangkok, Beijing, Yokohama and Osaka.

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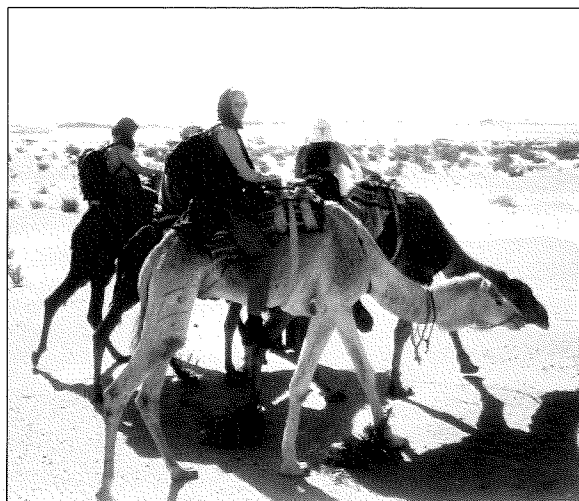
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The Voyage and "Foreign Affairs"

by Kevin O'Shea

This is it!!! Have we died and gone to heaven?

Now coming to a bookstore near us is a MAJOR NOVEL, written by a MAJOR BROADCAST JOURNALIST FAMOUS IN THE USA, about, now get this, A CANADIAN FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER, NOW THE CANADIAN CONSUL GENERAL IN NEW YORK, WHOSE TORRID LOVE AFFAIR WITH A BEAUTIFUL MODEL THREATENS HIS CAREER AND FAMILY. And you thought Princess Di's BBC interview was hot stuff!!

The Voyage and the Foreign Service

Robert MacNeil, the famous Canadian journalist based in New York, who until his retirement in October 1995 had been the co-anchor of PBS's *The MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour*, has written a second novel, *The Voyage*. This one has for its backdrop the Canadian foreign service. That's right. This book takes place not in the usual Hollywood setting of Joan Collins, the racing world of Dick Francis, the filthy rich world of Sidney Sheldon, or the down and out world of Mickey Spillane, but in our ever so familiar world of the Canadian foreign service.

MacNeil has done his homework. The paraphernalia, shop talk and work environment of the foreign service are all here — SIGNET, MITNET, COSICS, FS, EX. This is the stuff every foreign service employee knows and breathes. The hero "recently receives his 'EX-5'; 'he us(es) COSICs, thus alerting everyone on the secure computer link'; 'a feeling of caution made him avoid the MITNET line that connected Canadian government offices worldwide'; 'there were no messages at the Beekman Towers, where officials from Ottawa stayed' (during the UN General Assembly). All that's missing in the book are reminders from the Deputy Minister that late appraisals are a sign of poor management and a system message that SIGNET is down for the weekend.

The Voyage's plot is realistic. David Lyon is a fifty-two year old career foreign service officer who is on his last posting as the Consul General in New York. His career path typifies the high-flying FS career of

his generation: junior posting in Washington, desk job in Latin America division, special assignment in PMO, First Secretary and acting High Commissioner to Zambia, Canadian Ambassador to Finland, Deputy High Commissioner to UK, and Canadian Consul General in New York. His career is as real as those in the old foreign service "stud" book, except perhaps for his kidnapping by guerillas in Rhodesia which receives worldwide press coverage. If only our Ambassadors or High Commissioners were so lucky. But hey, we gotta keep the plot moving; it's better than following our hero to head up the Corporate Management and Personnel Branch.

Canadian foreign policy weaves its way through the plot and all the golden oldies take a bow on stage — PMO/External rivalry in the Trudeau years, the Third Option, the opening of relations with China, Commonwealth Head of Government meetings, Nixon's unilateral import surcharge, and the FTA. Prime Ministers Trudeau and Mulroney make special guest appearances.

MacNeil obviously knows Ottawa; no Rocky Mountains in Saskatchewan in this book. Here's a scene that presages shovelling out the driveway and makes my wife seriously contemplate leaving me: "Emerging from Sandy Hill, he walked up the Rideau Canal embankment towards the impertinent Gothic profile of the Chateau Laurier and the Parliament Buildings, a fragile rampart at the margin of civilization, defining the world's coldest capital after Ulan Bator. Between the gaps of the building, beyond the Gatineau hills, the horizon was weighed down by pale green-gray clouds heavy with menace, where the spirit of the North assembled its implacable forces...." All that's missing is a description of the Loeb store on Beechwood.

If MacNeil has the work, the career, and Ottawa spot on, his portrayal of the Consulate General in New York is downright spooky. MacNeil must have had a spare key to the official residence and our office, or he was invited to too many events. John, the driver of the Consul General in the book, is our driver; our library on the sixteenth floor of the Exxon Building is correctly described, as is the official residence on 550 Park Avenue.

David Lyon's day is a page taken from the present Consul General's Lotus Planner: "Breakfast discussion at the America's Society on easing US-Canadian trade frictions, meeting with a trade minister from Saskatchewan, remarks at the opening of a publishers' exhibition of Canadian books, the reception at the residence, Carnegie Hall for a performance by a Montreal violinist, dinner afterwards..." We're thinking about photocopying portions of the novel for the Mission Operational Plan, Rating Reports and Hospitality Diaries.

This is a novel that foreign service personnel can relate to.

The Babe

Then there's Francesca D'Anielli, Lyon's passionate love interest for twenty years. Unbeknownst to his wife and children, and to the rest of the diplomatic corps, David has led a double life that is now about to explode just as he is making up his mind to take Mulroney's offer to become the Foreign Minister.

Ahh, Francesca. Camilla Parker Bowles, she is not. THIS IS A BABE.

She is everything: a great bod: "She returned in a bikini revealing a body so exquisite it took his breath away"; a great lover: "David's spirit transported to a sublime plane, as though thousands of years had fallen away and they were alone in Arcadia, the new children of Eros"; a great conversationalist: "It sounded like Francesca talking — uninhibited, daring, funny, with an occasional simple phrase so intense in feeling as to make him swallow and breathe more rapidly"; a great dancer: "That night they went out dancing. She moved as though she were making the music, the reggae band playing to her lead"; a great career: stewardess to famous supermodel to successful fashion boutique owner in Finland. What more could a red-blooded guy ask for?

Oh yeah, I forgot that other major Canadian prerequisite for the perfect mate: "She wore languages like clothes, lightly, casually, without studied effort. Her French was fluid compared to the stiff accuracy David had acquired when bilingualism become essential. She'd probably never studied a verb". Now, this is some BABE.

And that's not all. Apparently after each tryst with Francesca, Lyon's drafting and

analytical skills are liberated, so that his memos and policy papers soar like Martin Luther King speeches, moving beyond the stale, mundane prose of External. Obviously more than his sinuses are cleared. Maybe CFSI should rethink its writing modules.

So the plot thickens. This is a novel that all Eighth Floor, FS and other foreign service guys can relate to.

The Great Canadian Foreign Service Novel?

Does this book, so accurate in its description of our foreign service world and so torrid with its love affair between a career foreign service officer and the dream BABE (and oddly so topical what with Lady Di, Prince Charles and their dueling adulteries on the front pages), make it as the great CANADIAN FOREIGN SERVICE NOVEL?

Regrettably, no. This is not to be our workforce's *Grapes of Wrath*, or our *War and Peace* or our *Catch 22*.

True, the novel has an intriguing opening when Francesca is missing and presumed dead and David worries about how this will blow apart his career and family life. The novel then alternates between chapters on David's and Francesca's careers over the course of twenty years, interspersed with their various shenanigans together in bed or in the ditches of Guyana. Not bad stuff. Guyana may yet lose its hardship status. However, there is one major problem. David Lyon is one boring guy. I can't see this guy getting return invitations to any party, let alone shining in the foreign service or attracting the BABE.

External Affairs in this book is still populated by an abnormally high number of diplomats of the old fart school. They are constantly disapproving of Lyon and of the Prime Minister of the day. Ferguson, the Assistant Under Secretary of Hemisphere Affairs, grumbles at Lyon, "*Toadying to the PMO ... The worst crime in a foreign service officer ... is to tailor your reporting to please the political bosses ... We have to honour the traditions of this department for straight, unbiased analysis*". Yeah, gimme a break. Get real.

Then listen to Wallace Farquhar, father-in-law of Lyon and former Assistant Under-Secretary, "*Trudeau's a popinjay*"; "*she's a flibbertigibbet*". No-one speaks like this outside of *Masterpiece Theatre* or *My Fair Lady*. Most of our senior management prefer to outswear political masters than speak like British toffs.

As for Francesca, she certainly has more fun and hangs around a better party crowd. She is someone you would want featured in the *Sports Illustrated* bathing suit issue.

However, MacNeil spends an inordinate amount of time drooling over her physical and emotional attributes and Lyon's infatuation with these considerable strategic assets. She even eats mangos more sensuously than anyone on this planet. Some of this is inspirational literature, especially to those of us who seize on any excuse to procrastinate writing briefing notes. But 288 pages of it??!! Really, it gets to be embarrassing, almost as embarrassing as listening to raunchy phone conversations between Prince Charles and Camilla.

On top of this, for every sentence in which Francesca is described as the mother of all BABES, David's faithful wife, Marilyn, is portrayed as a bag of potatoes. One has the impression that MacNeil went out of his way to deal a bad hand (as well as other body parts) to Marilyn and load Francesca with top of the line features. This is very unfair, especially since Lyon is nothing to write home about, let alone base a novel on.

Finally, in switching between David's and Francesca's stories, MacNeil goes on about Canadian foreign policy and sailing. Unfortunately, the excruciating details of both may bore outsiders who do not do these things. I can take the foreign policy stuff; after all, it's a job. I found the sailing

chapters with Francesca on how to hoist a mast and clean the poop deck pretty deadening. I was left longing for the mango scenes again, and for the innumerable scenes in which everyone seemed to smile knowingly and strangely approvingly when David and Francesca left a hotel room, broom closet or roadside ditch.

The Voyage, in the end, is not the Great Canadian Foreign Service Novel. It often reads, in all its earnestness, much like how our Policy Group might put together a novel if they were not doing another review of Canadian foreign policy. That being said, I think foreign service employees will enjoy the book. It is our world. We will see ourselves in it. And what's more fun, we can all speculate in the cafeteria on "*Who Really Is David Lyon and Why Is Robert MacNeil Saying All Those Wonderful Things About Him and the Babe?*"

Kevin O'Shea is currently Head of Political/Economic and Public Affairs at the Canadian Consulate General in New York. He has had postings at POECD, Accra, and in Ottawa in the Economic Policy Bureau and the Bureau of Assistance to Central and Eastern Europe. Robert MacNeil's The Voyage is published by Doubleday Publishers, New York, 1995, \$32.95.

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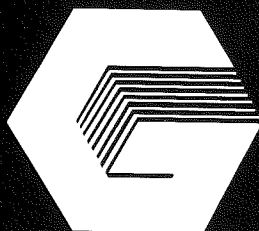


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Books in Review / Critiques de livres

The Perfect English Spy (Sir Dick White and the Secret War 1935-90)
reviewed by John Starnes

Malaysian Development: A Retrospective
reviewed by John Hadwen

Which Reminds Me ... A Memoir
reviewed by Michael Hart

THE PERFECT ENGLISH SPY (SIR DICK WHITE AND THE SECRET WAR 1935-90) by Tom Boyd. William Heinemann Ltd, London. 426 pp., \$45.99.

Reviewed by John Starnes

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

Chock full of information about security and intelligence operations, mostly British and American, this book provides extraordinary insights into Dick White's unique stewardship of MI5 and MI6 over many years. It does not capture, however, White's complex personality nor does it provide a good understanding of the unusual framework within which he had to work. One has the impression that the author suffered from an embarrassment of data and too many contradictory opinions from the large number of persons he managed to interview.

I came to know Dick White while head of the security and intelligence organization in External Affairs and while Director of Communications Security, Communications Branch, National Research Council in the late 1950s and early 1960s and subsequently as the Director-General of the RCMP Security Service.

My contacts with White were infrequent and Canada was but a bit player in some of the bizarre events described by Boyd. However, I had sufficient dealings with him over many years, to form a clear, favourable opinion of him and of his worth. I had a soft spot for White since he went out of his way to be kind and helpful at a time when I had assumed new and to some extent unknown responsibilities for security and intelligence activities in External Affairs at the height of the Cold War.

White is portrayed as very influential, charismatic with a lively sense of humour but he also comes across as weak, indecisive, devious and self-serving. I believe these are unfair criticisms. Whatever shortcomings

existed were due to the flawed nature of the British system for handling security and intelligence matters.

The flaws are painfully evident from the litany of ill-conceived operations which often failed because of bureaucratic squabbling and sometimes inexcusable political interference with the manner in which the security and intelligence agencies were used. Significantly, many of the failures were also due to the successful, longtime penetration of MI5 and MI6 by the Russians. Yuri Modin's recent book *Philby, Burgess, Maclean, Blunt, Cairncross: My Five Cambridge Friends* brilliantly makes the point. The British achieved some remarkable intelligence successes most of which eventually were nullified by the treachery of Philby, Burgess et al.

In the 1980s, White initiated a series of conversations with journalists he respected and trusted. From there he chose Andrew Boyle, author of *"The Climate of Treason"*, as his biographer. Following Boyle's death, a colleague, Tom Boyd, inherited his research material and notes of his interviews with White. Boyd makes clear that latterly White had begun to doubt the wisdom of some of the basic assumptions underlying the British system.

Dick White and I had not been in contact for several years but in 1992, when I learned he was dying of cancer, I wrote to him. His handwritten reply, dated 13 November 1992, alluded to his doubts about the British system. On this score he wrote, *"I remember you and Norman Robertson very well. From what I knew of the further developments of your former interests I realize that you have been ahead of the rest of us in limiting secrecy and becoming accountable. So with my greetings and thanks I send you also my warmest congratulations"*.

Perhaps due to insufficient research and sloppy editing there are factual errors. Not serious mistakes, but so unnecessary as to cause one to wonder if there are not other, more important errors of fact. For example, on page 79 it states ... *"the research development team developing the atomic bomb in Chalk River, near Montreal"*. Chalk

River is nowhere near Montreal being about 400 kilometres northwest of it.

On page 360 Boyd states that on a world-wide farewell tour in the late 1960s, "after a dinner [in Ottawa] given by Norman Robertson, Canada's permanent secretary for External Affairs, White flew to Washington...". My appointments book for the period indicates I attended the dinner which apparently took place on 15 January 1968 (during a raging snowstorm). Marcel Cadieux, as the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs was the host, having succeeded Robertson in the job on 7 May 1964 almost four years earlier! My notes indicate that the next day I also attended a lunch in White's honour given by the Commissioner of the RCMP. I no longer have a recollection of the event. It is quite likely, however, that White flew to Washington in an RCMP aircraft since in those days commercial flights to the US capital were infrequent.

My dealings with White were infrequent. At the "working level", however, Canada's relationships with British intelligence agencies were constant and sometimes close. I believe we got more out of the relationship than did the British except perhaps in the field of Signals Intelligence where our unique geography facilitated the collection of useful electronic emissions and radio signals (mainly Russian). Certainly, on numerous occasions the British provided us with valuable information concerning penetration of our diplomatic service by unfriendly intelligence services (usually KGB and GRU) and the unacceptable activities in Canada of "illegal" foreign intelligence agents.

On one of White's rare visits to North America, probably in the early 1960s, it was thought a meeting between White and Howard Green, then minister in charge of External Affairs, might be beneficial. Norman Robertson was unenthusiastic, in part because, while Green was familiar with the relationship and occasionally benefited from it, e.g. British intelligence material concerning nuclear proliferation, he was generally naive and quite unsophisticated about this aspect of his department's responsibilities.

Robertson's misgivings were well founded. In professional terms the meeting was a disaster. Green did not have any notion about much that White talked about and this became painfully apparent as the meeting progressed.

I thought the meeting successful since eventually it had the effect of discouraging MI6 from suggesting ways we might assist their efforts which obviously would have required Green's approval and support, for example, the creation of a Canadian secret intelligence service modeled on MI6.



MALAYSIAN DEVELOPMENT: A RETROSPECTIVE by Martin Rudner. Ottawa, Carleton University Press, 1994. 406 pp., \$19.95 paperback.

Reviewed by John Hadwen

*John Hadwen was a Foreign Service Officer from 1950 to 1987. He was High Commissioner to Malaysia from 1967 to 1971. Mr. Hadwen is a member of the Senior Editorial Board of **bout de papier**.*

This volume is a unique and valuable contribution to understanding the pattern of economic development of Malaysia. It consists of fourteen articles written between 1970 and 1987 by an established Canadian academic who has specialized in the study of South East Asia. Of equal importance is the fact that it has been published by Carleton University Press and will soon be available in Malay. Thus, both in Malaysia and in Canada there will be an opportunity to appreciate how and perhaps why Malaysian economic progress has occurred. These articles, with a most useful introduction and conclusion, should enable Malaysians and Canadians to prepare for what it is hoped will be a close and long-term economic relationship between their two countries of substantial benefit to both.

The book is based on a wide-ranging analytical perspective which will have to be accepted as objective by any reasonable reader. Although there is little purely political assessment, the fact is that social and institutional elements are thoroughly integrated in the analysis. It might be useful to note some of the significant reasons for which Malaysia is now one of the most secure and prosperous countries of its region.

Whether this is a result of a colonial heritage or not, the fact is that a crucial characteristic of Malaysian economic history since independence has been reliance on the economic planning function. The Economic

Planning Unit of the Malaysian government has been a central influence on Malaysian policies over the years. This is in sometimes sharp contrast to other countries in South and South East Asia where elaborate five-year or other plans have been developed and then more or less ignored as circumstances changed. In the Malaysian case, there has been a deliberate and continuing effort to depend on long-term planning. It could be argued that Malaysia is a fortunate country with a number of established extractive industries and the capability of developing a manufacturing and industrial base with a highly trained workforce. However, these natural advantages have been carefully exploited. Perhaps the best essay in the book deals with educational development and change, and which reveals the importance the Malaysians attached to developing their educational system so as to respond to their changing economic needs. There are excellent essays on the management of rice and rubber in post-independence Malaysia which indicate how effectively Malaysia was able to respond even when international economic circumstances produced fluctuations in the world markets for their raw materials.

A second element which has been notable in the Malaysian economic history in the period covered by Professor Rudner's essays has been the reliance in Malaysia on a combination of state intervention and private enterprise. It has been argued that the secret of the economic development which has characterized many of the countries in South East Asia has been this kind of pragmatic approach to management of the economy. The private sector was always considered to be a full partner in the planning and execution of policies to promote Malaysian economic development. At the same time there appears to have been very little difficulty in gaining acceptance for significant governmental controls and management of the central levers of power.

It is not as if Malaysia has had a clear road to its present prosperity. The World Bank in the late 1940s rated Ceylon, now Sri Lanka, as the best prospect for prosperity, and gave Malaysia only a comparatively pessimistic assessment. Malaysia was obliged to overcome one of the most extensive Communist insurgencies of the post-War period, and succeeded in a way which has been often compared to the history of Vietnam in the same period. The two circumstances are very different and precise comparisons are not useful, but there can be no doubt of the success in Malaysia of British and Malaysian efforts to combat insurgency and develop a broadly supported economy.

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Malaysia also faced serious internal stresses which resulted as recently as 1969 in the need to proclaim a state of emergency and then to start off on a comparatively fresh set of governmental policies. Malaysia continues to experience major social tensions, but the prospects at the moment are for a significant period in which the country can take advantage of stable conditions to make further economic progress. The requirement has been to develop what many consider to be indigenous forms of democracy designed for Malaysian conditions.

Malaysia has also been helped towards prosperity by a reliance on basic research especially for rubber, rice, palm oil, and tin. There have been well-funded and firmly supported research programs both of strategic and of short-term value. It would be instructive for many countries (including Canada) to review the way in which Malaysia has been willing to invest in scientific research in order to ensure that its products and their marketing are internationally competitive.

No doubt the book has benefited from Professor Rudner's contacts with institutions in Malaysia, Singapore, Britain, Israel, Australia, the United States, and Canada. The founders of Carleton University would be pleased to see this successful product of broadly-based research published in the Canadian capital. The author concludes with the assertion that "policy analysis can contribute positively to development efforts by deriving lessons learned from experience and utilizing these to monitor and evaluate current objectives and performance." It is to be expected that both in Canada and Malaysia this text will contribute to the economic advantage of both countries.



WHICH REMINDS ME ... A MEMOIR by Mitchell Sharp. University of Toronto Press, 1993. \$35.00.

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.

In Canada, there are three basic types of political/bureaucratic memoirs. The first is a pastiche of self-serving vignettes dictated into a tape recorder and carefully stitched together into a readable but not very informative whole by a professional writer. Most

have a short shelf life before passing quickly into well-deserved obscurity.

The second is the work of individuals who themselves have strong analytical and writing skills and who manage to put together a story that not only affords a look at the inside machinations of government and politics but also a credible, even compelling analysis of why and to what purpose. There are fewer of these. The first volume of *Mike*, Lester Pearson's memoirs, springs to mind as does *Radical Mandarin* by Escott Reid. Both were a pleasure to read, satisfied both the historian and public policy analyst in me, and left a lasting impression.

The third kind falls somewhere in between. They are the efforts of politicians or senior officials with a clear gift for writing and analysis but a reluctance to make full use of their critical faculties and power to observe. Dana Wilgress's *Memoirs* and Arnold Heeney's *The things that are Caesar's: Memoirs of a Canadian public servant* fall into this category. In both cases, it seemed that the authors never forgot their mothers' dictum that if they could not say anything nice about someone, it was better not to say anything at all. While an admirable piece of advice for growing up with the right social graces, it is hardly an appropriate point of departure for the memoirist.

Mitchell Sharp's *Which Reminds Me ...* reminded me as much of Heeney's as of Pearson's memoirs. Like Pearson, Sharp writes well and has thought things through to the point that he has developed an intellectually satisfying account of events. Unlike Pearson and more like Heeney, however, he is reluctant to follow through and explore some of the less obvious aspects of the story and thus add to our understanding of the complexity of public policy. As the book makes clear, Sharp's career provides a wonderful backdrop for a penetrating account of the many changes and challenges Canada faced during the last fifty years. It is not everyone who had the opportunity to participate in the establishment of so many critical national and international institutions and policies, from trade policy through tax and social welfare reforms. Sharp was unique in being able to bring the insight and experience of both a senior mandarin and a successful businessman to the task of governing Canada. The opportunity to contribute to our understanding of this era, however, is not as fully realized as it might have been. As a result, I learned less than I had hoped. Historians will mine it for corroborating footnotes but few will change their interpretations or accounts of Canada's post-war political or economic history.

In his Foreword, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien suggests that "upon finishing

the book, the reader will understand that Mitchell Sharp, uniquely among politicians, possessed remarkable integrity, competence, sincerity, and modesty." No doubt, but that is not the reason most people read memoirs. Instead they are looking for insight as to why things happened, how the memoirist made a difference in how they happened, and how the past has influenced the world in which we find ourselves today. That kind of insight is in disappointingly short supply in *Which Reminds Me ...*

The short essay on the role of senior mandarins which brings his account of his first Ottawa career to a close provides a good example. It is an excellent essay as far as it goes, but it doesn't go far enough. Sharp suggests that the relationship between ministers and senior officials was more congenial and productive in the 1950s and 1960s than today, but stops there. I would like him to have gone on a little further and explored why. After all, there is a whole historiography of Canada based on the theory that relations between mandarins and ministers during that period were altogether too cozy while another school of thought laments the politicization of the public service in the 1980s. Sharp could have contributed to that debate but chose not to.

Another instance where sincerity and modesty get in the way of candour and setting the record straight is the reasons for his abrupt departure from the public service in 1958. John Diefenbaker, in his own memoirs, asserts that Sharp resigned after being confronted over an indiscretion related to Diefenbaker's curious effort to introduce the third option fifteen years before it became Sharp's own rallying cry. Diefenbaker's memoirs are notorious for their self-serving inaccuracies and Sharp's own account — a combination of disagreement in principle with some of the policies of the new government, personality clashes and the offer of a good prospect in the private sector — rings much more truthfully. Missing, however, is any reference to Diefenbaker's accusation.

Which Reminds Me ... will not suffer the fate of most political memoirs. It will be read and it will stay on the shelves of many libraries, private and public. It deserves to be. It is well written and provides some useful background and information on public policy in Canada. But it will always be read with a certain sense of disappointment. It could have been so much more. A life as full and usefully lived as that of Mitchell Sharp cannot be fairly summarized in 270 pages. I'm glad he tried, but I wish he would try some more.





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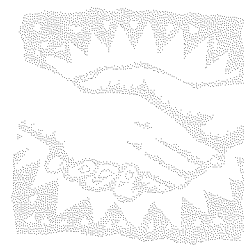
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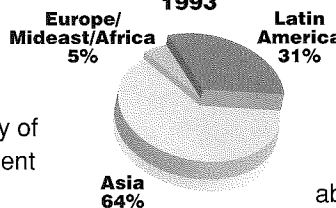


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Sails of the South Pacific

A knottical puzzle by A Aalto

"I say! I say! Aren't you Liebnitz, the puzzle wizard?" The vacationing logician found himself face to face with a tall bluff man sporting a white walrus moustache, his red face beaming and his three-piece tweed suit totally unsuitable for the tropical climate (although not for the neo-colonial ambiance) of the Gilbert and Sullivan Islands. "Major-General Stanley. Delighted. I do believe we met at some conference in Cheltenham, years ago."

"Quite possibly," said a frankly baffled Liebnitz. "Well, this is a piece of good luck," the General went on, rubbing his hands. "We have had a spot of bother with the results of the Scilly Regatta, and you are just the man to help. Would you mind awfully if I asked you to dinner tonight — just myself and my daughter Mabel, you understand — and explained the situation?"

Fathoms of flannel later, Liebnitz agreed to the invitation. Some hours afterward, a lavish meal under his belt, he sat in the General's oak-panelled study with a cigar in one hand and a cognac in the other, as his host expounded. "Every three years, we stage the Regatta, a race for ships famous in the arts — you know, like the *Flying Dutchman* that boulder Wagner was so keen on. Well, we did have her in the race one year, but she never finished. Still trying, I believe. Skipper's probably drunk, don't you know?"

"And this year, father?" his daughter asked innocently.

"Well, this year we had a field of seven ships," he replied. "No, the *Dutchman* was not one of them. It looked like a good race, though. Then, just before it was to begin, I was approached by my intelligence officer, Richard, with a telegram from Interpol. One of the contesting captains, it seemed, was a fraud! He was really an assassin-for-hire named Last — Thomas Henry Ewan Last. But Interpol didn't know which captain it was. I set Richard on his tail at once of course. But everything went to pieces."

"First, all the contestants got positively squiffed the night before the race. Come the dawn, most of them got on the wrong ships. We started anyway, but the race was a shambles. People colliding, getting lost among the islands, falling overboard — you name it. And Richard's radio totally gave out. He tried to report the results at each stage of the race — the quarter, the half, the home turn and the finish line. And he tried to sort out who was in what boat. But all I got here was fragments through the static. Then at the end of the race, he must have discovered something, as he was apparently shanghaied by a boatload of orphans. Completely disappeared. So we know neither the results of the Regatta nor the name of the captain that this assassin person was impersonating."

"Do you have anything to go on?" asked Liebnitz.

The General started rummaging in the many pockets of his suit, looking

increasingly befuddled. Mabel swayed dreamily over to the desk, picked up a sheet of paper and handed it to Liebnitz. "These are the notes I took from poor dear Richard's truly fragmentary reports," she explained breathlessly, a hand pressed against her bosom. Liebnitz looked them over.

- (1) Each ship has a single captain and one crew member aboard.
- (2) Crewman Silver's ship and Captain Bligh's were tied for sixth (last) place at the quarter. The *African Queen* and Captain Smollett's ship were tied for sixth (last) at the half. These were the only ties.
- (3) The local entry, the *Pinafore*, was first at the home turn but was attacked by buccaneers and crossed the finish line seventh.
- (4) Crewman Rackstraw's ship was first at the quarter and finished one place after Captain Hook's ship.
- (5) Captain Troop's ship, the *Jolly Roger*, was second at the half, just ahead of Crewman Manuel's.
- (6) Captain Allnut's ship, crewed by Miss Sayer, was third at the home turn, just ahead of the *Pequod*.
- (7) Crewman Ishmael's ship finished third, a better result than the ship of Crewman Smee (from whom he thereby won a piece of eight).
- (8) Captain Corcoran's ship was first at the half but he was beguiled by mermaids and dropped to fourth at the home turn.
- (9) The *Bounty* was second at the home turn but finished fifth due to a brief mutiny — still a better result than Captain Ahab's ship, which was attacked by a whale.
- (10) *We're Here*, crewed by Mr Christian, was second at the quarter but seventh (after being chased off course by a ticking crocodile) at the home turn.
- (11) Scenting treasure, the *Hispaniola* finished second, having passed four ships since the home turn and being passed by one.
- (12) Looking at the results for the quarter, half, home and final stages, no ship had the same numerical placing twice. No ship had a numerical placing that was adjacent to the placing it held

finish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
home							
half							
quarter							
ship							
captain							
crew							

at the end of the previous stage. And each ship had two even and two odd numbered placings.

"Well," said the ace logician, "there's probably enough here to work out the results, but as to the assassin... Isn't there anything else from Richard?"

"Well, there might be," began the General, "but we're not sure. Where is that bottle, my child?" Mabel pointed to the weather-beaten container in his hand and said "You've been trying to pour another drink from it for the last five minutes, dearest papa."

"Quite so, quite so," chuckled her doting father. "Knew it all the time. Well, Liebnitz, this Madeira bottle — quite a decent year, really — floated into the harbour a few days after the race. There was a note inside, of course, unsigned but in Richard's hand. He must have needed to hide what he was doing. Brave lad." He pulled a crumpled note from the bottle and handed it to Liebnitz. On it was written NATIS WHATMET 19:30 GINNED.

"Hmmm," hummed the ace logician. "Clearly anagrams, but what can it mean?" Said Mabel, reading over his shoulder with wide eyes, "Truly an enigma of biblical proportions!" Liebnitz appeared not to have heard her, but moments later murmured

"Eureka!" and presented the General with the desired results. The General beamed, blustered his thanks and toasted him in bubbly. Mabel, who had advanced degrees in mathematics and engineering from Stanford, but who knew how far you could go in Victorian operetta, smiled demurely and resumed her consideration of whether to accept the offer from Los Alamos or the one from that grunge rock band...

Can you duplicate this feat by filling in the appended table with the name of each ship, the captain and crew that sailed her in the race, and where the ship placed in each of the four stages? Can you also give the meaning of the anagram and name the false captain? Finally (*not* necessary to solve the puzzle), can you match up each ship with the captain and crew member with which she is normally associated, then give the author and name of the work from which each comes?

Free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto continues his working holiday in the South Pacific, but has already found his Bali Ha'i. There was room in this puzzle for a highly contrived pun about the prices charged by a famous Quaker's parents' sisters for their pastries (the pie rates of Penn's aunts), but he resisted nobly.



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Animal Crackers: Answers

The seven names: Kurt Canary, Charles Fox, Joseph Lamb, Richard Owl, Wolfgang Ox, Isaac Tiger, Bruno Whale.

The ringer: Charles Fox.

The keywords:
PRINCIPIA MATHEMATICA.

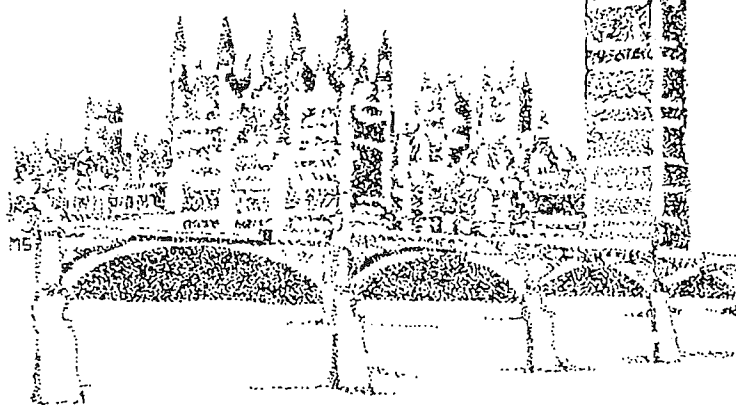
The final report: FIRST TWO LETTERS OF AUTHORS NAMES MAKE A TEN LETTER ANAGRAM OF VILLAINS ALIAS.

The double agent: Bruno Whale.

A little explanation: Charles Fox was Britain's first Foreign Secretary. The two authors of the PRINCIPIA MATHEMATICA, one of the most influential works of science in this century, were Bertrand Russell and Alfred North Whitehead. The first two letters of each of their names make up an anagram for BRUNO WHALE.

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