

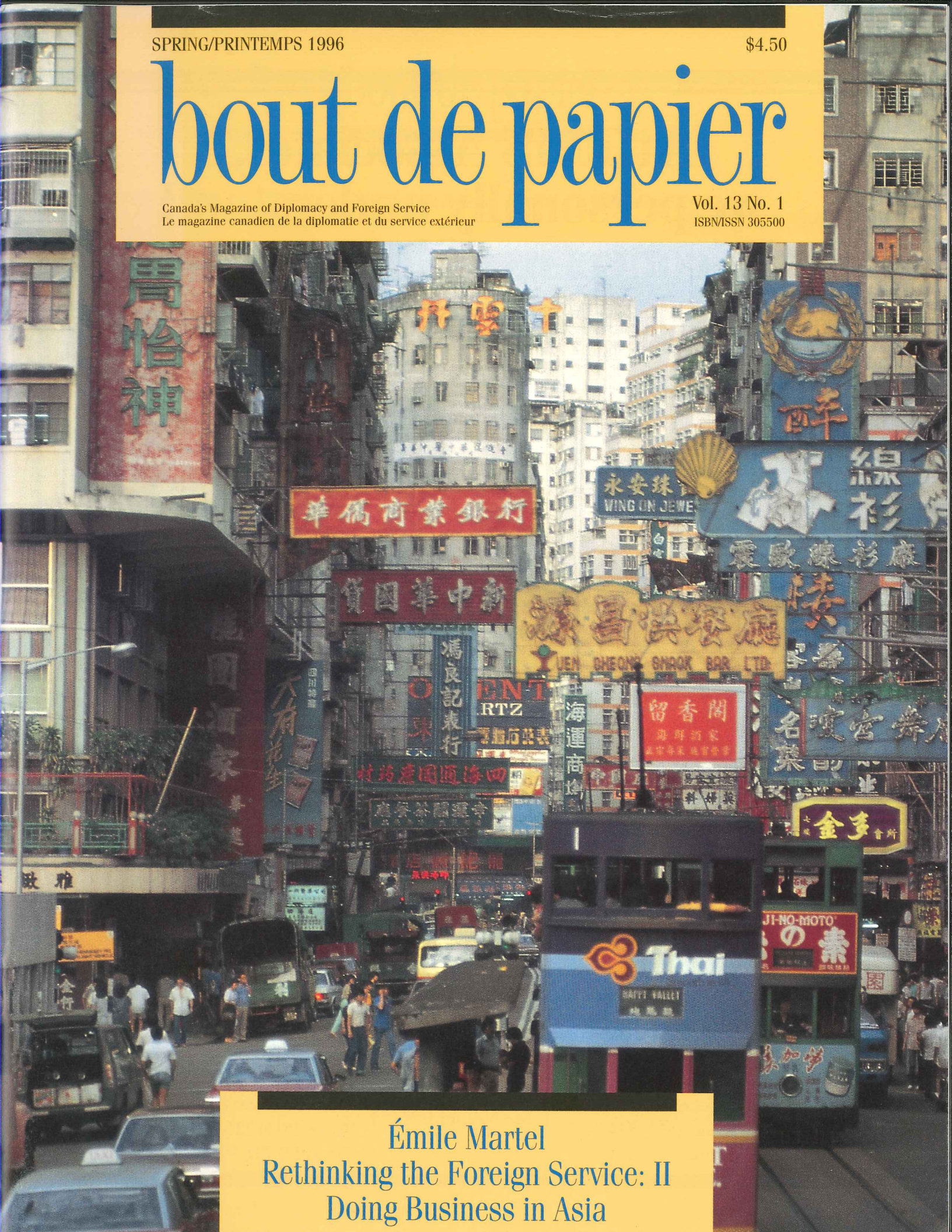
SPRING/PRINTEMPS 1996

\$4.50

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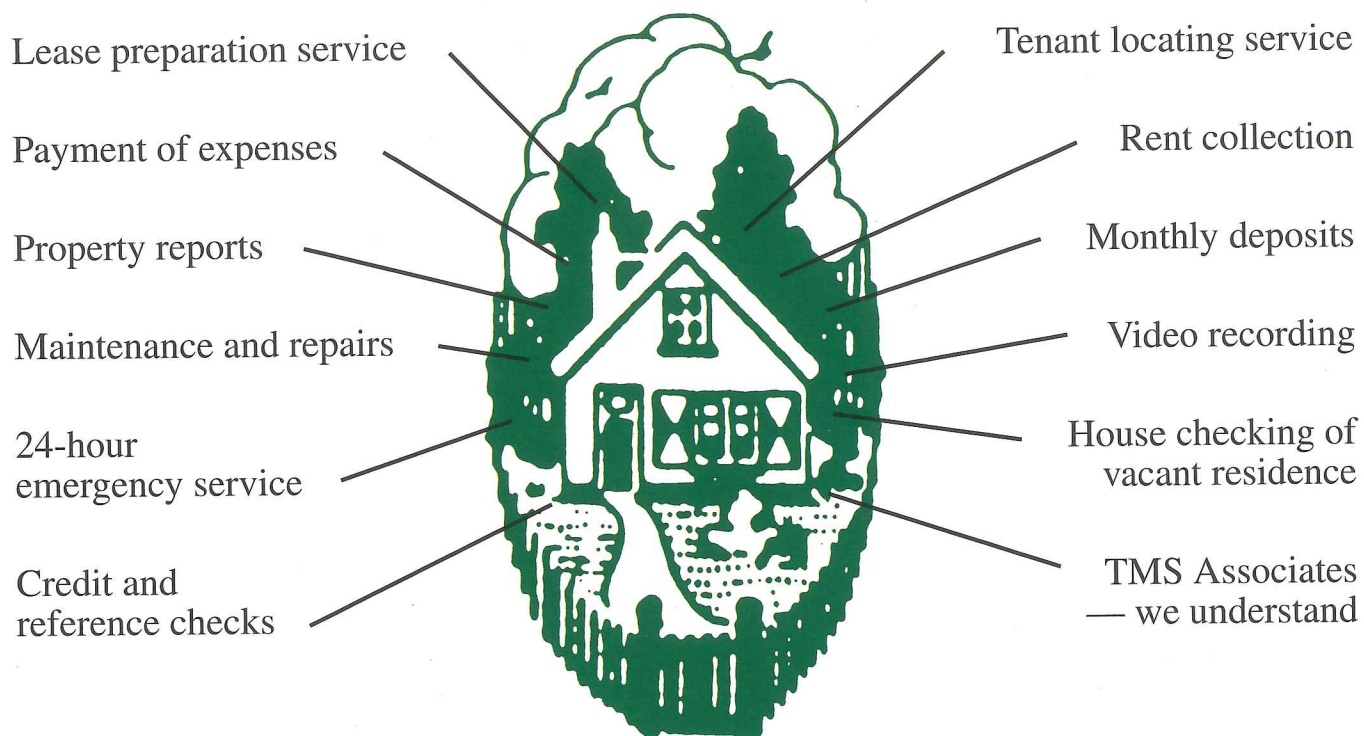
Canada's Magazine of Diplomacy and Foreign Service
Le magazine canadien de la diplomatie et du service extérieur

Vol. 13 No. 1
ISBN/ISSN 305500



Émile Martel
Rethinking the Foreign Service: II
Doing Business in Asia

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Editor's Notebook / Carnet du rédacteur

*D'où venons-nous? Que sommes-nous?
Où allons-nous?*

— Paul Gauguin, 1898.

La tombe de Paul Gauguin donne sur la Baie des Traîtres à Hiva Oa, dans les îles Marquises. Il a passé les dernières années de sa vie dans ces îles lointaines, romantiques et incroyablement belles, rendues célèbres par Herman Melville et Robert Louis Stevenson. Mais c'étaient des années de misère, d'amertume et de paranoïa. Au moment de sa mort en 1908, il était plus loin que jamais des réponses qu'il cherchait, depuis dix ans, aux questions qu'il avait choisies comme titre pour le plus connu de ses chefs d'oeuvre.

On doit présumer que Gauguin faisait allusion à la condition humaine. Je ne voudrais pas trop banaliser ses mots en les appliquant à une situation qui est aussi particulière et — dans un contexte philosophique — aussi éphémère que celle que le Canada affronte en cette fin de siècle. Mais la capacité des Canadiens — ou notre incapacité — à trouver des réponses collectives à ces trois questions, dans l'optique de l'unité nationale, aura néanmoins un effet sur nos vies qu'il est difficile de sous-estimer.

Sans une claire vision de ce que nous sommes, d'où nous venons, où nous voulons aller, et de comment nous voulons y arriver, nous qui croyons dans ce pays perdrons le prochain référendum. Par définition, la plupart d'entre nous qui travaillons au ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Commerce international croyons au Canada tel qu'il est présentement constitué. Alors, que faire?

En premier lieu, il faut reconnaître clairement que la séparation du Québec transformerait d'une façon fondamentale la nature, la variété et l'étendue de ce que nous faisons au service extérieur. Si vous avez des doutes là-dessus, jetez un coup d'oeil sur le contenu de ce numéro — ou d'un numéro récent — de **bout de papier**. Serions-nous toujours membre du G-7? Dans quelles organisations importantes n'aurait-on pas un rôle réduit? Une expérience humaine se terminerait; aux yeux du monde, le Canada — et une grande partie de ce que le Canada représente — aurait échoué.

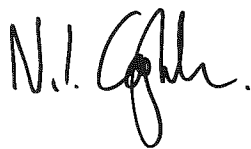
Et en deuxième lieu? Nous pouvons répondre d'une façon plus efficace à ce que tous les Canadiens demandent aujourd'hui de leur gouvernement, pour ainsi devenir

une agence efficace et transparente. Dans ce numéro de **bout de papier**, plusieurs de nos collaborateurs examinent ce que nous faisons, comment nous le faisons, et comment nous pourrions faire mieux.

Mais il y a un thème qui n'est pas soulevé dans ce numéro et qui — à ma connaissance — n'a jamais été traité dans nos pages. C'est la vie des francophones dans notre ministère et comment peuvent-ils se sentir à l'aise en travaillant dans la langue de leur choix.*

Ce ministère est le visage du Canada dans les organisations internationales. Pour beaucoup de nos partenaires, pour nos alliés, c'est très simple : nous sommes le Canada. Mais nous ne sommes pas un modèle vivant de la tolérance linguistique et de l'égalité que nous essayons de projeter. Presque tous mes collègues francophones ont une maîtrise de l'autre langue officielle qui est très supérieure à la mienne. Je sais que beaucoup d'entre eux ont conclu que, pour se faire apprécier et comprendre, ils doivent écrire leur rapports en anglais. Quelle explication peut-il y avoir — si ce n'est pas une désaffection générale — au fait qu'à peine dix pour cent des articles qu'on reçoit à **bout de papier** soient rédigés en français?

Un bilinguisme cent pour cent, c'est peut-être une chimère. En tout cas, un climat de tolérance et d'appui mutuel est sans doute plus important qu'un bilinguisme « technique ». Mais on est supposé être un ministère d'élite, « the best and the brightest ». Dans ces temps troublés, ne devrait-on pas faire un meilleur effort?



** Suite au référendum, l'éditeur a reçu une lettre anonyme qui traitait indirectement du sort des francophones dans le ministère. On encourage des articles sur n'importe quel sujet ayant rapport à la vie professionnelle des membres de l'APASE et de nos lecteurs en général, mais la politique de **bout de papier** a toujours été de ne pas publier les lettres et les articles anonymes sauf dans des circonstances exceptionnelles.*

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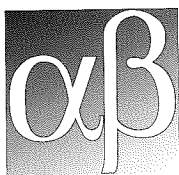
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THERE WAS A SUMMIT IN HALIFAX...

Behind the scenes at the 21st birthday of the G-7

by Peter Boehm

Friedrich Nietzsche had not experienced any G-7 summits in the late nineteenth century but he did more or less get it right when he wrote that "Life always gets harder towards the summit: the cold increases, responsibility increases." Halifax in June 1995 represented the third G-7 Summit hosted by Canada, the previous events being Toronto in 1988 and Montebello in 1981. Both earlier events are seared on the subconscious of numerous members of the service: from those who toiled with the minutiae of logistical arrangements to those who wondered why they were faced with negotiating communiqué language on macroeconomic policies and preparing intervention points for our prime ministers. Halifax launched another generation of officers, logistical experts and observers into the pantheon of summitology to be drawn upon for another G-7 (if we are still seven) event in the future or to participate in what has become a thriving cottage industry: world and regional summits.

To the tired and cynical G-7 observer, Halifax appeared to be the end of a cycle: the twenty-first summit in the third cycle hosted by the last and smallest member to join the group. Hardly stirring, it appeared, as these events in recent years had featured a yawning chasm between the magnificence of the event and the substantive outputs at the end, too often reflected in a final communiqué that contained all the correct aphorisms but the sole certainty that the group would meet again next year, nothing more. The involvement of Russia, at Tokyo in 1993 when the G-7 mustered a \$42 billion assistance package, and President Yeltsin's desire at Naples the following year to become a full member of the organization — despite the fact that Russia does not yet belong or carry weight in the exclusive international financial institutions in which the G-7 does its least visible but most important coordination — provided a new interest to these observers and a signal, *Schadenfreude* at its best, that the G-7 was engaged in a sort of negative metamorphosis.

This was not the case. Halifax emerged as a different sort of summit: smaller, providing more time for leaders together, less formal and it eschewed the ritualistic reading of documents in favour of more spontaneous

summaries of deliberations by the chair. It produced numerous pithy but substantive documents: a statement on Bosnia; a G-7 Communiqué that set out an action plan for a review of international institutions; a detailed background document on how this would be accomplished in the international financial institutions; and a Chairman's Statement reflecting the political discussions that had included Russia. The preparatory phase was different too. Prime Minister Chrétien, fresh from his active participation in the Naples discussions on a review of international institutions, had vowed that Halifax would be a leaner, more focussed affair. His dedication to that focus and the alacrity with which he sought support from other leaders over the course of the following year, did much to set expectations for Halifax. At the bureaucratic level, we sought to have fewer and more pointed Sherpa or Personal Representatives Meetings; the Prime Minister's Sherpa, our Deputy Minister Gordon Smith, took the unusual step of meeting his Sherpa colleagues prior to our assumption of the chair from Italy in January 1995.

In Policy Staff, a few of us had been to Naples with the Prime Minister in July of 1994 and had in fact supported the Sherpa meetings that had led to the Italian summit. The substantive material was therefore not new to us and the Naples outcomes, in addition to the expected review of international institutions, suggested remits in the areas of international trade, environment, and developing country debt for Halifax. Closure of the Chernobyl nuclear facility in Ukraine remained a vexing problem as we knew that Canada would be assuming the chair of the G-7 Nuclear Safety Working Group come January. In process terms, we also were aware of the Prime Minister's wish to host a smaller leaders'-only meeting and of Russian wishes for a more meaningful type of participation at Halifax. On the former point, it soon became evident that coalition politics in several G-7 countries would not permit leaders to participate without their key finance and foreign ministers nearby. Our enthusiasm in preparing the substantive elements for a summit that our country would host was founded on a growing realization that Canada could use this position to influence the setting of a progressive global agenda.

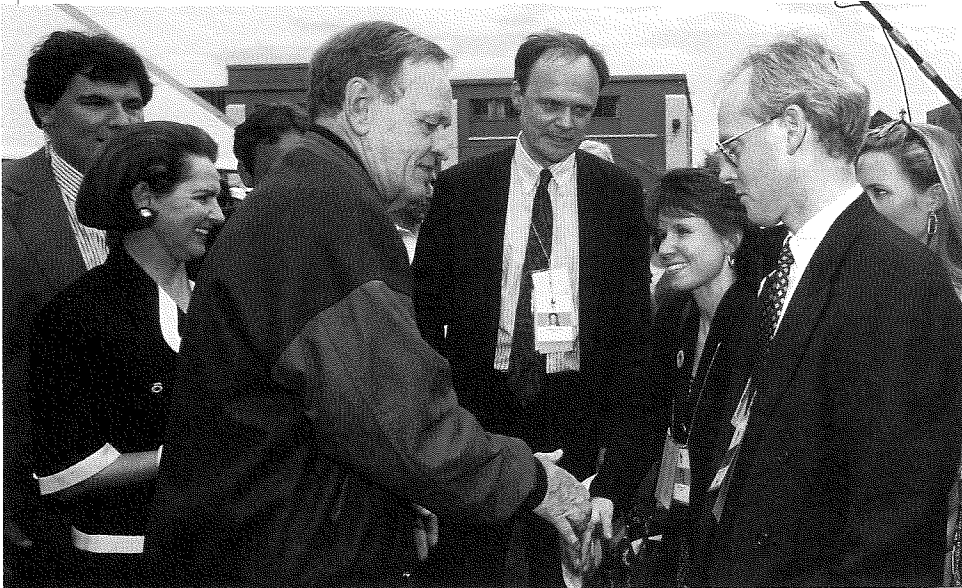
We increased our divisional staff numbers slightly following that Naples summer, assigning key roles to officers in the areas of coordinating developments on the institutional review (meaning a very close cooperation with both our Economic and Trade Policy Branch, CIDA and particularly the Department of Finance), on outreach issues for the summit and on logistics for Halifax — the latter a temporary measure until the Halifax Summit Office under Len Edwards was up and running. We provided the new Sherpa, Mr. Smith, with a sharp analysis of the Naples Communiqué and a compendium of process issues to prepare him to meet his Sherpa colleagues in their capitals. The fact that he undertook these meetings even before we assumed the G-7 chair in January 1995 augured well for the subsequent preparatory process: informal personal links were established at high levels and preliminary concerns on the part of any one country were dealt with on a bilateral basis. The Winnipeg Conference on Partnership for Transformation in Ukraine, a Naples Summit initiative, took place in October 1994 and gave us our first experience on how serious Russian desires for a meaningful role at Halifax were. Plans were also set in train during the autumn for the other two G-7 ministerial meetings that would impact on Halifax: a meeting on the global information society in Brussels in February (a Naples initiative) and a Canadian-chaired meeting of environment ministers held in Hamilton in the spring.

At Naples, leaders had given a clear signal that they wished to have a more focussed and substantive agenda for Halifax and that this wish should be mirrored in a more streamlined preparatory process. The number of preparatory meetings was therefore reduced to one informal Sherpas only meeting at Rideau Gate in Ottawa in January, and two "full" meetings including Finance and Foreign Affairs Sous-sherpas as well as Political Directors (the latter with the Russians present) in Vancouver in March and at the Millcroft Inn outside Toronto in May. By sticking to this number of meetings, we streamlined the preparatory process by as much as fifty percent, an approach that was also successfully followed in determining delegation size for Halifax.

Full Russian participation on political and security issues in the preparatory process led to the coinage of the term "P-8".

This represented an advance over Naples or what we loosely termed a "Naples Plus" approach, giving Russia full participation in the discussion of issues that touched it directly: nuclear safety, money-laundering and crime. The classic-7 issues of monetary, fiscal and trade policies, the IFI review and debt matter remained outside the purview of discussions with Russian representatives. On the other hand, part of the Naples Plus

the challenges posed by the Mexican peso crisis early in the year. The subsequent Barings Bank imbroglio underscored the extent to which currency trading had gone beyond any conceivable governmental or IFI regulation. Emphasis in the preparatory process turned to how the IMF and World Bank could develop an enhanced early warning and response system to deal with the sort of crises exemplified by Mexico.



Prime Minister and Mrs. Chrétien meet the author and members of the Summit team.

approach was to provide more time for Mr. Yeltsin to consult with his colleagues through a non-ceremonial working dinner. It was a success, with good discussion on a variety of issues, although at Halifax the Russian President commented that he found the juxtaposition of working while eating something of an alien concept. With the addition of another working luncheon the final day, following the issuance of all declaratory documents, all leaders had an opportunity for an in-depth appraisal of UN reform prospects. They also surprised everyone by calling for a summit on nuclear safety and security in Moscow in spring 1996.

Under the clear direction of the Prime Minister, the focus of the preparatory process was on the institutional review called for in the Naples Communiqué. The question of how comprehensive this review should be remained a lively point of departure through the early stages of the process. The Prime Minister had addressed the theme of IFI review in some detail at Naples and his approach centred on an appreciation that profound changes in the global economy, particularly the prevalence of large currency transactions underscored new vulnerabilities. Mr. Chrétien's commitment to this issue, in the face of some early scepticism among some of our G-7 partners, was justified with

Thus, the issue provided much work for the G-7 Finance Deputies which in turn necessitated the closest of cooperation between the Department of Finance and our department in preparing the item for the Halifax agenda. Global interest was high, with public (a Canadian parliamentary committee was struck) and non-governmental groups (the Round Table, Bretton Woods Committee) suggesting innovative ways and means to deal with problems posed by volatility in currency markets. Solutions ranged from the imposition of tax on capital transactions (the "Tobin Tax" — not an initiative of our erstwhile celebrated fisheries minister but of an American Nobel laureate in economics), to fixing currency trading bands — all operationally difficult for the global economic structure to enforce.

With the exception of the financial/economic newspapers and magazines, most media ignored the often arcane economic policy elements, but did devote the occasional article or video-byte to the projected costs of the event, why Halifax was chosen over other Canadian cities as well as to the quintessentially Canadian question: "Why do we deserve to be in this august body of economies larger than ours?" This "we are not worthy" question is, of course, asked only by Canadians in Canada, or by a Canadian

abroad who happens to write for an international economic journal. Other G-7 members have long understood the difference between quantitative and qualitative worth; the question has simply never been put in G-7 councils since Prime Minister Trudeau participated in the Puerto Rico meeting in 1976. This low-level philosophical debate — as Canadians we must be inferior so how could we host — changed however with the leak of an unofficial working draft of the communiqué from the Millcroft Sherpa meeting in May. This document provided fodder for everyone: astounding proof yet again to some of the media that leaders do not write their own communiqués: evidence for the many interest groups that the G-7 was cowardly, as it did not plan to call for the demise of the IMF and the World Bank; and, most significantly, growing evidence to many observers that Halifax had all the makings of a substantive summit. *The Financial Times* noted that if many of the Millcroft proposals did in fact remain in the final document issued by leaders, then the G-7 could move ahead, confident that it still had a relevant global leadership role.

By the end of May, the media had almost exclusively focussed on issues that could "derail" the summit, postpone it or embarrass the host. This frenzy is *de rigueur* before a G-7 Summit, as in the past there have been numerous events that have diverted leaders' attention at the table. In the case of Naples the year before, the death of Kim Il Sung on the eve of the summit resulted in a discussion of nuclear security on the Korean peninsula. An unprecedented run on the American dollar the day before and President Clinton's stated position not to call for its support, set the stage for an unplanned exchange between leaders that led to the call for an institutional review. The summit chair has the responsibility to ensure the maintenance of the summit agenda but also the delicate task of responding to quickly changing circumstances. For Halifax, the Japan-USA automobile dispute was seen by many as being the item that could influence the agenda or the atmosphere among leaders, particularly in the context of any discussion on the newly born World Trade Organization. The just-resolved Canada-EU fisheries dispute, fresh in the minds of the four EU members of the G-7 and particularly the European Commission that also participates, was seen as a potential "atmospheric" problem, given the location of the summit. Neither had any impact. In our planning, we always believed that the situation in the former Yugoslavia could, as a result of current events, become the agenda distraction. In the event, leaders dispensed with the issue at their private

working dinner the first evening, assessing most recent developments (President Chirac was particularly active on this issue given dangers to French peacekeepers at the time) and issuing a short statement read by Prime Minister Chrétien. The summit agenda was adhered to, the result of a combination of a positive dynamic among leaders, solid chairmanship of the meeting, and — yes — a more streamlined and focussed preparatory process.

Any major event of these proportions is not without its stresses and frustrations, particularly when the host country is attempting to make progress on the agenda and is seeking consensus. The most ubiquitous phrase during the preparatory process was "where/when/as appropriate", that convenient diplomatic placebo that abounds in communiqués but signifies very little. In the preparatory phase, the phrase symbolized the difference between providing specificity in the communiqué and other summit documents, thereby lending credibility to the G-7 process and the summit itself, and the very real wish that leaders retain their flexibility and not be trapped into agreeing to detailed commitments that might not be in their countries' interests. A substantive consensus was found, as the summit documents and leaders' statements indicated, but

a desire for many "as appropriates" had to be weakened during the all-night officials' communiqué drafting session at the beginning of the summit. The gentle but persistent persuasion of our Sherpa and Sous-Sherpas as well as generous measures of decaffeinated coffee unwittingly consumed by our jet-lagged guests assisted us in achieving the goal. It was on that evening that we secured agreement on the key measures to recommend to our leaders, initiatives in which Canada played a key role. They included the push on new resources and powers for the IMF, an emphasis on "regulating the financial regulators", linking aid concessionality to military spending of recipient countries, and a comprehensive international trade agenda in preparation for the Singapore ministerial meeting. Our work on nuclear safety was more of a stand-alone issue and work to seek closure of the Chernobyl facility and safeguarding others proceeds. We advocated a fair and balanced role for Russia in the preparations for Halifax and at the summit itself, the result of an open dialogue on the Halifax Summit begun with Moscow during the visit of Minister Ouellet and Mr. Smith in December 1994.

Many of us could not relax after the Halifax Summit, a fact that was not a result

of adrenalin excess but of the requirements for immediate follow-up work. Ministerial meetings on employment, terrorism and crime were all set in train; another Sherpa meeting was called to plan these meetings, to discuss UN reform issues as well as prospects for the summit on nuclear safety and security in Moscow. As a host country that had engaged in pre-summit consultations at the highest of levels around the world, we also considered it proper to provide extensive debriefings through our missions abroad to the many countries whose governments had requested Canada to take their issues to the table. In addition to the results described above, the lasting legacy of the Halifax Summit could very well be the restored faith in summits that it engendered, characterized by an informal, business-like atmosphere, a streamlined preparatory process, flawless logistical execution of the event and the involvement of thousands of vocal and justifiably proud Nova Scotians.

Peter Boehm was Director of Economic Summit Coordination in the Policy Staff for the 1994 Naples and 1995 Halifax G-7 Summits. He is currently Director, South America and Inter-American Relations Division.

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Émile Martel

Poète ou diplomate?

Notre collègue Émile Martel, actuellement Ministre responsable des Affaires culturelles à Paris, est aussi poète et vient de se mériter le Prix du Gouverneur général dans la catégorie poésie de langue française pour Pour orchestre et poète seul, publié aux Écrits des Forges. Pour souligner cet événement bout de papier a recueilli les propos de M. Martel et a décidé de publier son poème Le Séquoia de même que son discours d'acceptation.

bdp : Êtes-vous d'abord poète ou diplomate?

ÉM : Pourquoi choisir entre les deux? Je suis d'abord un impatient. Devant l'injustice, devant la paresse et la bêtise. Tout est urgent. Si je cherche une raison première pour laquelle je suis devenu diplomate, c'est le souhait d'être canadien à plein temps. Mais si je cherche plus loin, c'est l'indignation devant les inégalités et l'urgence d'intervenir, d'y faire une différence. Vous comprendrez qu'un tel angélisme m'a rapidement amené à revoir mes critères d'action; mais pas mes convictions. Le poète est ainsi venu sauver le diplomate.

bdp : L'écriture vous est donc fondamentale.

ÉM : L'écriture, chez moi, a toujours été un réflexe. Je viens d'une famille où la littérature et la musique étaient omniprésentes. Mon père, un homme cultivé, est mort quand j'avais dix ans, en 1952. Je n'ai pas arrêté de crier à l'injustice depuis. De là ma rage de survivre et, partant, d'écrire, de publier, d'être lu. Car enfin, si on insiste pour ne jamais mourir, la diplomatie n'offre pas les meilleures chances de succès. Mais la poésie? La poésie, oui!

Les poètes ne meurent pas. Mon affaire à moi, c'est de ne pas mourir.

bdp : Et la diplomatie...

ÉM : Quant au diplomate, la Carrière harnache et peut élargir la vitalité d'un homme

qui veut s'engager. Homme de famille, très heureux dans ma vie personnelle, timide en société, j'ai longtemps cru qu'il y avait au Ministère une place pour l'imagination, pour des gens peu conformistes. J'ai bien un peu déchanté; mais pas complètement.

bdp : Comment parvenez-vous à concilier vos responsabilités professionnelles avec votre besoin d'écrire?

ÉM : Je n'ai pas de vraie difficulté à concilier les deux rôles car il y a toujours du temps pour l'essentiel. J'ai toute ma vie écrit régulièrement. Depuis 1989, j'écris tous les jours. C'est une soulageante et purgative expérience. Quand on est impatient et habité par l'indignation, il faut trouver des exutoires. La littérature offre toutes les possibilités.

bdp : Pourquoi avez-vous choisi la poésie plutôt qu'un autre genre littéraire?

ÉM : Plutôt que de fignoler une intrigue de trois cent pages comme un romancier, j'éclate en quatre pages. Après, je suis épuisé, libéré, affranchi. *Le Séquoia*, que vous publiez ailleurs dans ce numéro, est l'exemple de ce que je fais de plus long comme texte. Je l'ai écrit, presque tel quel, dans la voiture au kilomètre 72 de la 401 entre Ottawa et Montréal le 16 mars 1991. (Quand on écrit chaque jour, il y a une date sur chaque page...)

bdp : Vous voulez dire que ce texte est sorti d'un seul jet...

ÉM : Je suis un auteur vivipare : mes textes naissent terminés, prêts à marcher par eux-mêmes. Ils sont presque toujours en prose; ils sont souvent poétiques. Il y a des auteurs ovipares, qui produisent une page et la reprennent vingt fois jusqu'à trouver ce qu'ils cherchent. Dans mon cas, c'est bon la première fois ou ça ne sort jamais des milliers de pages de mes *Carnets*.

bdp : À lire vos poèmes on est surpris par leur aspect moderne et innovateur...

ÉM : Il y a moyen d'écrire de la poésie et de parler clairement. Je n'écris que très rarement en vers. La prose est un véhicule

facile d'accès, autant pour celui qui le conduit que pour celui qui se promène.

Au sujet du *Séquoia*, permettez-moi de suggérer que c'est une synthèse. Il y a une philosophie derrière ce texte. Elle tient dans la dernière phrase : «On ne meurt que des rêves qu'on n'a pas réalisés.» Un homme qui a plusieurs milliers d'années rend compte de sa vie et de la raison pour laquelle il n'est pas encore mort. Je ne parle toujours que de ça, d'une manière ou d'une autre. C'est ma façon continue, obsessionnelle de rejeter la mort de mon père, le 22 mai 1952, à 9h45 dans une maison de l'avenue King Edward à Ottawa, quand j'avais 10 ans.

Ça n'est pas la gloire que je poursuis. La notoriété que m'a donnée le prix et que vient confirmer votre entrevue n'est pas ce que je cherche. Non. Ce que je veux, c'est que dans mille ans on dise «on ne meurt que des rêves qu'on n'a pas réalisés» et que cette phrase donne de l'espérance à quelqu'un qui ne saura même pas qui l'a écrite. Le rôle du poète, c'est ça : fixer la race humaine dans un moment évocateur, chargé d'espoir ou de désespérance; accompagner l'autre à travers le labyrinthe de ses propres tristesses, de ses amours et de ses rages. Le lecteur y trouve les éléments de sa propre sérénité.

bdp : Comment la poésie s'est-elle imposée dans votre vie?

ÉM : La poésie, c'est souvent l'émerveillement, l'attendrissement devant l'ordinaire et le familier. Je vous donne un exemple : l'un des plus beaux alexandrins que je connaisse en français, c'est «je vieillis des instants que je passe loin d'elle»; une merveilleuse déclaration d'amour. Chaque fois que nous prenons l'avion, que nous partons en mission, nous les voyageurs de la diplomatie, nous devrions reprendre ce vers; c'est Gilles Vigneault qui l'a écrit.

bdp : La poésie vous a donc permis d'amener partout votre pays avec vous...

ÉM : Quand Vigneault dit «Mon pays, ce n'est pas un pays, c'est l'hiver», comment ne pas s'émouvoir? Parce que c'est exactement ça, notre pays. Entendre ces mots quand on est dans le Sahara ou en Auvergne, ça amène une émotion intime parce que la vérité de ce que nous sommes dort en nous et il faut des poètes pour nous la révéler.

L'autre soir, à la fête de Noël à la Résidence, l'Ambassadeur au piano chantait avec les employés : «Mets du feu dans la cheminée, je reviens chez-nous...». Il a le cœur bien dur, le Québécois qui n'a pas un peu frémi en reprenant ces paroles à l'unisson... La poésie, c'est ça aussi. Le fait que les non-Québécois n'aient pas ressenti ce

même pincement est aussi une sorte d'explication de notre pays : nous ne nous émouvons pas tous pour les mêmes raisons puisque nous ne partageons pas tous les mêmes rêves. C'est pour ça que j'ai décidé de «faire de la politique» dans le discours d'acceptation du prix du Gouverneur-général.

bdp : Votre discours a été amplement repris par la presse, notamment parce que vous avez fait référence à la situation politique actuelle du Canada. Pourquoi avez-vous abordé ce sujet controversé?

ÉM : Contrairement à mes textes littéraires, j'ai beaucoup travaillé le texte de ce discours. Fallait-il parler de démagogie? Fallait-il lancer également des reproches aux fédéralistes et aux séparatistes? Puis je me suis dit qu'un homme a rarement l'occasion dans sa vie de parler à son pays. Même si son pays, ce sont six cent personnes, l'immense majorité de langue anglaise, dans un théâtre de Toronto un mardi après-midi en novembre, et on leur parle en français.

Vous savez comme moi qu'il faut beaucoup croire en ce pays pour lui parler en français. Si j'avais cherché l'approbation sur place, poursuivi un effet immédiat, j'aurais parlé en anglais; j'y aurais doublement gagné puisqu'on m'aurait immédiatement compris chez ceux qui sont d'accord avec moi et certains n'auraient pas moins souri quand je suis rentré au Québec parmi mes amis de la communauté littéraire devant mon souci de «sauver le pays».

bdp : «Sauver le pays», n'est-ce pas une expression quand même excessive?

ÉM : Je vous ai dit que ne je ne suis pas patient. J'ai le sentiment que la colère est au milieu de ma lecture du Canada. Colère devant un rêve en train de mal tourner, colère devant l'égoïsme de tout un chacun, impatience devant la lenteur à mettre en place une société harmonieuse et surtout rage devant mon impuissance à convaincre de l'urgence de l'affaire.

La culture est la seule, la plus grande chose qui puisse nous unir; elle est notre lieu et notre magie puisque le discours politique, les intérêts commerciaux ou un sens de l'histoire ne semblent pas capables de nous ouvrir de nouveaux horizons. Nous n'aimons pas les héros. Nous connaissons mal nos penseurs. Nous ne prenons pas assez au sérieux nos créateurs.

bdp : Pouvez-vous fournir des conseils pour nos lecteurs qui vous découvriront pour la première fois? Comment doit-on aborder *Pour orchestre et poète seul*?

ÉM : On ouvre le livre à la page qui commence l'un des cinq textes. Il n'y a que quelques lignes par page. On lit la page lentement, avec attention. Ça peut aider de lire à voix haute. Une fois rendu au bout de la page, on ferme les yeux. Si on voit quelque chose dans sa tête, si on entend quelque chose ou s'il y a une odeur qui attire l'attention du lecteur et le fait rêver ou lui rappelle un souvenir ou répond à sa curiosité, ça veut dire que la page a bien fonctionné, que la poésie a frappé. Si ça ne marche pas, il faut lire la page suivante. Et ainsi de suite. À la fin de la lecture de toutes les pages du livre, si ça n'a pas marché une seule fois, ça n'est pas un bon livre.

bdp : Avez-vous un «style», une «signature littéraire»?

ÉM : En cas de doute, la musique est mon critère de ce qui mérite d'être soumis aux yeux des autres. Un de mes livres avait pour sous-titre *prose à lire à voix-haute*; dans le temps, on a plutôt critiqué cette approche en laissant entendre que je mélangeais les genres. Je comprends cette réaction; j'ai eu la même quand j'ai assisté à des spectacles de danse moderne où les danseurs faisaient du bruit, criaient ou parlaient. Puis j'ai compris qu'on en disait plus en faisant intervenir plusieurs sens.

bdp : Le mélange des genres...

ÉM : C'est bien vrai que je mélange tout. Mes textes racontent souvent que les couleurs ont une odeur, que les sons ont un goût et j'ai plusieurs fois décrit la texture de la musique. La métaphore, c'est ça, c'est le déplacement des qualités d'une chose ou d'un sentiment vers une autre chose ou un autre sentiment. C'est Rimbaud qui donne des couleurs aux voyelles, ou c'est Verlaine qui prête des sanglots aux violons.

Mais je mélange tout avec une certaine rigueur : j'adore les listes. Je trouve que dans l'accumulation des objets les uns à côté des autres, il y a des merveilles d'ensemble insoupçonnables dans chacune des parties. Prenez l'armée de terra-cotta enfouie près de Xi'an en Chine; plus de six mille soldats sculptés, un peu plus grands que nature, enterrés avec leurs chevaux et leurs officiers généraux pour accompagner l'Empereur qui est mort et qu'on enterre, je suppose, à la tête de ses troupes. Il y a là pour moi une époustouflante poésie dans le nombre. Je voudrais faire la liste des noms et du rang et du rôle de chacun de ces personnages. Il me semble que si j'arrivais à faire cette liste, cette armée d'argile, immobile depuis plus de deux mille ans, se remettrait en marche;

c'est l'ordre qu'elle attend, de toute évidence. Est-ce que ça ne serait pas le rôle d'un poète lointain, venu d'Amérique et d'Occident, de donner cet ordre?

Je passe mes pages à recréer le monde, d'ailleurs. Prenez *L'Ombre et le Silence*, que j'ai publié il y a vingt ans : le personnage se réveille un matin et il constate que pendant la nuit toute la maison a brûlé sauf sa chambre; il ne peut plus sortir; par la fenêtre, il ne voit aucun signe de vie humaine; après un temps, il se dit qu'il est le dernier survivant de toute la planète et que c'est donc le moment de tout recommencer : il change le poids des choses, il réinvente les oiseaux et à la fin il fait se rencontrer la mer et le continent, qui n'avaient pas encore de frontière commune, et ça crée les pages.

bdp : Le prix du GG est une consécration, comment entendez-vous maintenant relever le défi de la création?

ÉM : Je suis hispaniste de formation. Depuis quelques années déjà, je traduis de la poésie de l'espagnol au français. J'ai déjà publié la traduction d'un recueil de poèmes d'un poète espagnol mort en 1941, Miguel Hernández (*L'éclair sans cesse*, aux Écrits des Forges); je pense publier l'an prochain chez le même éditeur des poèmes d'une religieuse mexicaine du XVII^e siècle, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz.

J'ai plusieurs projets, dont un livre qui réunirait quelques uns des classiques de la poésie hispanique sur la mort du père; il y a eu des poèmes remarquables sur ce sujet et je voudrais publier Manrique (XV^e siècle), Sabines (XX^e siècle) et certaines de mes pages qui témoignent de l'horreur personnelle, intime de cette disparition. Il me semble que si j'entre dans une chaîne de fraternité face à ce drame, une détente serait possible, un soulagement.

bdp : Quelques parutions en 1996?

ÉM : Il y aura d'abord la traduction à l'anglais du livre qui a gagné le Prix; *Pour orchestre et poète seul* devient ainsi *For Orchestra and Solo Poet*, superbement traduit par D.G. Jones et qui doit sortir en mai chez the Muse's Co. De mes propres textes en français et dans les mois qui viennent, deux ou trois livres vont sortir, dont un *Dictionnaire des hommes illustres* à l'Hexagone et un *Cahier venu d'Inde* aux Éditions du Silence. *Le faiseur d'îles* sortira l'an prochain; puis *Le chambreur de l'auberge ou les 73 jours du voyageur*. Il reste bien des listes à faire, bien des pays de l'âme à visiter....

Paroles prononcées par Émile Martel lors de l'acceptation du Prix littéraire du Gouverneur général du Canada pour la poésie pour 1995 au Winter Garden Theatre de Toronto le 14 novembre 1995

Cent fois depuis que je sais que je vais vous parler, je me suis dit que mes mots doivent compter auprès de vous plus que celui qui les prononce.

Les mots de la poésie sont bien plus importants que le poète puisque la poésie lui survivra.

La grande peur que nous venons d'avoir en tant que société, les tentations démagogiques qui nous ont effleurés et les difficultés du dialogue dans notre pays, tout cela, un poète doit en rendre compte à sa façon.

C'est aussi à un poète qu'il revient de décrire le drame que nous sommes en train de vivre, la menace qui pèse sur nos rêves, l'immensité des tâches qui attendent nos élites. Il faut donc que la parole prenne ses distances et fasse voir du point de vue du poète les vrais enjeux.

Est-ce que nous voulons que dans mille ans ceux qui liront l'histoire de notre continent et de notre siècle pleurent sur le sort du Canada, sur les chances que nous avons ratées, sur les richesses que nous avons gaspillées, sur les espoirs que nous avons assassinés, sur les poèmes que nous n'avons pas lus, sur les dangers que nous n'avons pas vu venir?

Je viens de bien loin en vous parlant ici aujourd'hui. Quand mes ancêtres sont arrivés en Amérique pour s'y installer il y a 378 ans, en 1617, ils voulaient croire que leur projet prendrait racine et que ces racines

proliféreraient. Pendant près de quatre siècles, ils ont pu croire avoir eu raison et l'Amérique a vibré en français, elle a écrit en français et elle continue d'écrire et de lire et de publier en français.

Ces prix prestigieux qu'on nous remet aujourd'hui soulignent l'effervescence de nos littératures en français autant qu'en anglais.

Mais pourtant tout ne va pas si bien dans notre culture et l'usure du temps semble avoir fait son regrettable travail; la langue que nous parlons dans la rue donne souvent l'impression d'être lasse et affaiblie; bien trop de nos enfants ne restent plus à l'école parce qu'ils n'y sont plus retenus par la passion de la connaissance, nos résistances sont tombées face aux pires envahisseurs que sont le nivellement par le bas de la culture et l'absence de la curiosité.

Il faut que nous nous mobilisions. Faisons en sorte que les gens lisent plus. Faisons en sorte que les gens écrivent plus. Faisons que les éditeurs élargissent leurs collections et multiplient les traductions. Faisons que les auteurs voyagent dans les autres pays et rencontrent d'autres lecteurs, d'autres auteurs; faisons que le public canadien entende la voix de ces auteurs et accueille des écrivains étrangers.

Comment ne pas remarquer ici, dans ce contexte, l'extraordinaire prestige qui retombe sur le Canada grâce au Festival of Authors de Toronto et au Festival international de poésie de Trois-Rivières, pour ne nommer que deux des plus prestigieux?

Vous vous doutez bien que je vais me joindre à ceux qui insistent pour que ces festivals se poursuivent et qu'ils reçoivent l'assistance qui en assurera la survie et l'expansion.

L'espoir du poète que je suis est qu'avec moi et en même temps que moi tous les autres créateurs, puis les maîtres d'écoles et les professeurs d'universités, les gens d'affaires et les hommes et les femmes politiques nous nous élèverons contre une destinée qui paraît inéluctable et empêcherons cet inéluctable d'arriver; nous écouterons enfin parler les poètes et les poétesses et

nous ferons qu'ils soient lus et entendus, nous ouvrirons notre soif de connaître à toutes les littératures, nous redonnerons au mot juste et à la phrase bien écrite leur prestige et la joie de la surprise.

Je remercie ceux qui appuient les prix du Gouverneur général, je remercie les éditeurs qui ont la bravoure de publier de la poésie, comme les Écrits des Forges, je remercie le Conseil des arts qui, contre vents



et marées, contre l'austérité et la dictature des chiffres résiste fermement et aide aujourd'hui à planter les arbres de la littérature qui donneront une ombre généreuse et qui parleront de nous aux générations à venir.

J'espère avec vous que ces générations voudront lire en français et qu'elles auront des livres dans lesquels le faire.

So, your Excellency and dear friends, still much has to be done to ensure that the written word is read, that the spoken word is heard, that the poet is listened to, that the page can help us to dream on.

I thank the Canada Council and the sponsors of the Governor General awards for their dedication and perseverance. I thank you, your Excellency, for your presence and I wish to tell all my colleagues that I am honoured to share these awards with them.

Je vous remercie.

Les enfances brisées, Montréal,
Éditions du Jour, 1969

L'ombre et le silence, Montréal,
Éditions du Jour, 1974

Les gants jetés, Montréal,
Les Quinze, éditeur, 1977

La théorie des trois ponts, Montréal,
l'Hexagone, 1990

Ils, Amay, Belgique,
L'arbre à paroles, 1990

Vingt fois le corps des femmes,
Montréal, Éditions du silence, 1990

Le dictionnaire de cristal, Montréal,
l'Hexagone, 1993

Le Séquoia

Où il est démontré que le personnage central de ce dictionnaire a vécu des centaines d'années et n'est pas prêt de mourir

Pendant de nombreuses années, je me suis appliqué à chercher de par le monde la graine de l'arbre autour duquel allait se construire l'univers.

Ces études ne se font pas dans les livres et j'ai dû beaucoup voyager, autant dans les îles que sur les continents, autant sous les tropiques que dans les climats où des essences plus solides pouvaient offrir des qualités que je n'avais pas trouvées ailleurs.

Trouver la semence, une seule graine, peut paraître une bien simple poursuite, une question vite résolue chez le pépiniériste du coin. Conifère ou feuillu, fruitier ou résineux, me dira-t-on. Mais non, mais non. Il y avait plus à trouver et la découverte ne pouvait pas être précoce, puisque le temps passé à chercher comptait autant que l'objet de recherche.

Pendant plusieurs années, donc, on m'a vu arriver dans des pays que peu d'étrangers visitaient et on m'a accueilli avec l'affabilité qu'ont les muets pour ceux qui viennent vers eux sans arme. J'ai touché de mes doigts des milliers de graines et quand je sentais qu'elles avaient un cœur, quand il me paraissait que l'une ou l'autre d'entre elles semblait offrir une fécondité particulière, la patience que j'attendais d'elle, je demandais à mes hôtes qu'on me suggère un lieu fertile où je puisse la planter, elle et certaines de ses soeurs. Le temps que je passais en palabres et aux hésitations propres à des choix aussi importants me paraît maintenant avoir été court, quoique j'étais déjà un adulte quand j'ai abandonné pins et baobabs pour jeter mon dévolu sur le séquoia.

Avec quelques graines de cet arbre dans ma poche, j'ai tourné ma recherche vers les terres où il était plus plausible que je puisse arriver à mes fins : entre la générosité du sol et le bienfait des vents, la modération des pluies et l'entourage naturel qu'il fallait choisir pour mon arbre, les choix étaient infinis et la moindre erreur pouvait faire échouer l'ensemble du projet.

À cela, j'ai passé quelques années, mais je ne les ai pas senties passer, tant ma conviction était grande que progressaient en moi la résolution et l'obstination de l'utilité de mon projet.

Je grisonnais déjà aux tempes quand je suis arrivé ici où vous me voyez. Après une

aussi longue recherche, il n'a pas fallu grand cérémonie pour, un beau matin, ouvrir de mes doigts un humble pli dans la terre meuble de cette colline et y déposer une graine dont je me suis assuré qu'elle était bien à plat et la pointe la plus charnue tournée vers le nord. Le geste de mes mains qui refermaient cette minuscule cicatrice sur la face de la terre reste dans ma mémoire comme un des moments les plus riches de ma vie : les étapes que j'avais franchies m'avaient apporté une certaine sérénité parce que j'étais l'acteur de mon théâtre et parce que j'étais l'auteur de mes choix. Mais maintenant, je devenais spectateur et témoin; j'étais le serviteur d'une poursuite plus élevée, d'un propos mille fois plus large que mes petites enquêtes sur les saisons, les pluies, les engrais et l'ombre des branches.

Une bien grande leçon d'humilité me serait imposée et si j'ai pu cheminer véritablement vers la sagesse, c'est ce matin-là que j'ai fait les premiers pas. La route a été longue, silencieuse et remplie de sollicitude.

La première nuit a été la plus difficile. Je savais que je ne devais pas m'éloigner, mais je ne savais pas comment rester près. Allais-je empêcher la pluie d'atteindre le très humble lieu où je voyais encore, au couchant, les sillons de mes doigts et l'imperceptible mamelon? Devais-je couper le vent ou au contraire le canaliser? Quel choix faire pour la rosée, pour des brins de paille ou pour une fourmi qui, peut-être annonciatrice d'offensives destructrices, croiserait ce milieu de l'univers?

Cette nuit-là, j'ai mal et peu dormi.

Des semaines plus tard, un mince brin de verdure a percé la terre. J'avais cinquante ans et toute la raison de mon existence avait trouvé son sens. Il ne m'a pas paru miraculeux que mon éternité soit si tôt assurée. Si le doute m'avait souvent frappé jusque-là, cela avait surtout été quant à mon mérite et non face à l'inéluctable aboutissement de ma poursuite. En d'autres mots, je n'étais peut-être pas digne d'apporter de mes mains la vie, mais la vie allait sûrement faire son chemin.

Vous connaissez le reste de l'histoire : j'ai été, pendant le temps qu'il a fallu, le jardinier solitaire de cet arbre unique. Il a grandi au rythme généreux et lent de cette

planète. Quand il est arrivé à maturité, quand son ombre s'est portée sur tout le pays, les gens d'ici ont averti ceux d'ailleurs que quelque chose allait leur être dit et des routes ont été tracées, comme si elles attendaient depuis longtemps juste sous la surface de la terre. Le long de ces routes, des auberges ont été construites et parfois des villages entiers. Quand il y avait des rivières ou de grandes montagnes, on inventait des ponts et on creusait des tunnels. Aussi loin que vont les routes, des sentiers allaient encore plus loin, puis des offres de quelques pas encore dans l'herbe ou des gués à travers des rivières, sans oublier les courants marins appropriés.

Le temps que se fassent ces choses, l'arbre grandissait encore et je répétais sereinement les gestes qui m'avaient mené jusque-là.

Je ne me souviens plus quand j'ai arrêté de vieillir, mais depuis très longtemps mes bras ne pouvaient plus faire le tour du séquoia.

Le moment est arrivé où le réseau de toutes les routes a paru complété, où tous les habitants de la planète ont semblé informés de l'existence de l'arbre et de la longue patience de son jardinier.

C'est alors que j'ai entrepris, avec un ciseau et un maillet de sculpteur, de tailler dans le tronc de l'arbre ce fauteuil d'où je vous parle et d'où je vous dis qu'on ne meurt que des rêves qu'on n'a pas réalisés. ✍

Ce texte est tirée de Le dictionnaire de cristal, romans, publié par les Éditions de l'Hexagone, Montréal, 1993.





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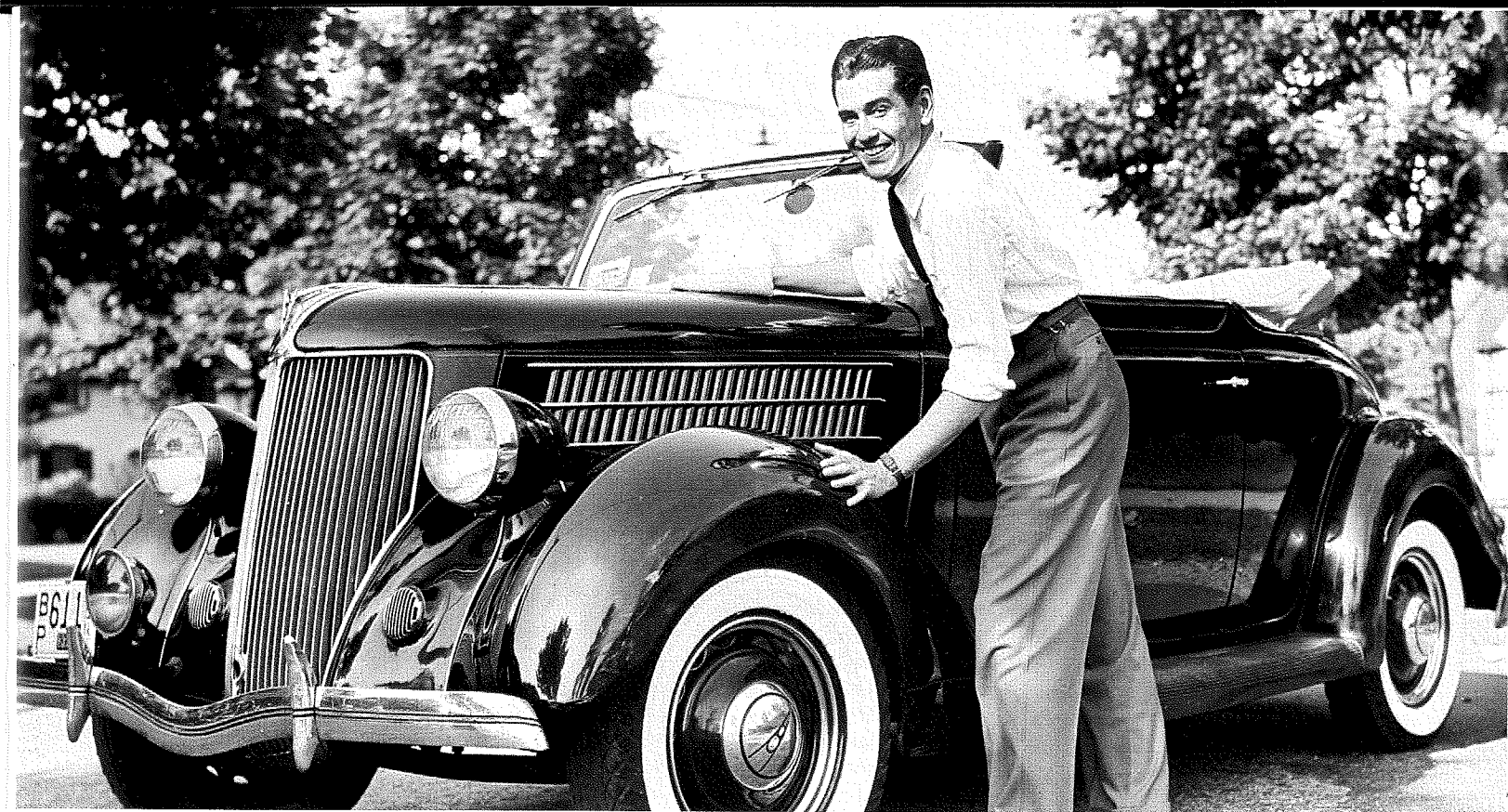
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Widening the Foreign Policy Circle: Democratization or Co-optation?

by Evan H. Potter

Introduction

The old ways of Canadian statecraft, those of "quiet diplomacy" and the measured approaches of a small, Oxonian elite charting Canada's international course are only today slowly giving way to a more consultative approach to foreign-policy making. What may have worked during the Golden Age of Pearsonian diplomacy, is anachronistic during the "information revolution," in an increasingly multicultural, export-dependent country in which the national consensus on foreign policy priorities has disappeared along with the cold war. Under these circumstances, both practitioners and observers agree that there is merit in "opening" or "democratizing" Canada's foreign policy. However, there does not appear to be a consensus on whether democratization is a means or an end.

Will democratization lead to more effective diplomacy, or is it a pressure-release valve designed primarily to placate a citizenry disillusioned with unaccountable bureaucrats and unresponsive politicians? Can we say that we have achieved democratization with one, two or 100 consultations? Are parliamentary votes on major foreign policy decisions synonymous with democratization? Indeed, does anyone seriously believe that a majority government committed to, for example, increasing business opportunities with China will be dissuaded from doing so by dissenting views from the Bloc Québécois and the Reform Party?

For some, democratization is inherently a positive term. It permits the collective voice of so-called "average" Canadians to be heard in Ottawa's policy-making circles, leading perhaps to an impact on policy outcomes such as the linking of Canada's aid expenditures to the military expenditures of developing countries. Others, however, are less optimistic about the value of democratization, especially if it is promoted and financed in large part by the very institutions it is trying to open.

Defining Democratization

Democratization of foreign policy has three broad components: consultation, outreach, and research. Consultation, is a long-practiced method of building consensus in, and gaining advice from, elite communities such as those in law, academia, the media, and business. Specific policy problems are

presented to expert communities outside government in order that cabinet ministers can obtain a panoply of policy options that are unfiltered by their political or departmental staff. There is a great tradition in Canada in this regard with royal commissions and government advisory councils often stimulating major research programs and informing the public policy debate.

Outreach, on the other hand, is the broadest form of democratization. It is two-pronged, with the first, "track-one" outreach, referring to top-down management of Canadian foreign policy. From an institutional perspective this refers to the brochures, country studies, press releases and other communications "products" of the federal government and especially the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. Canadians, through editorial boards, town-hall meetings, open-line radio shows, and the like, are invited to express their views (or more likely, to vent their frustrations) on Canada's international role to the Prime Minister, and his foreign, defence, trade and international development ministers. The second prong, "track-two" (hereafter "outreach track-two"), is reaching out to include a broader citizenry in the foreign policy-decision-making process. It is this form of outreach that is most underdeveloped in Canada. It permits the "bottom-up" input of a cross-section of Canadians on the less technical and usually more visceral foreign policy issues such as sending peacekeepers abroad, protecting Canada's natural resources (e.g., fish stocks, oil & gas), and the pursuit of commerce with countries having poor human rights records.

Finally, the building of policy-capacity outside of government, that is, the creation of centres of research across Canada with a capacity to, in a sustained fashion, produce analysis that is relevant to policy makers, is often overlooked in the democratization process. Independent research may be one of the most important instruments for democratization. By providing citizens with background information on Canada's current foreign-policy challenges, it is a natural complement to the track-two outreach.

The last two years have witnessed the greatest bout of introspection, analysis and public debate on how Canada conducts its international relations since the Trudeau government's *Foreign Policy for Canadians*. The overlapping reviews in 1994-95, following the Liberal Party's own highly detailed May 1993 *Foreign Policy Handbook*

(prepared by the Hon. Lloyd Axworthy and the Hon. Christine Stewart), include:

- the Canada 21 Report, a privately-supported research program on Canada's foreign and defence policy priorities for the next century (March 1994);
- the first National Forum on Canada's International Relations (March 1994);
- a full re-assessment of Canada's foreign and defence policies by two parliamentary Special Joint Committees (April-November 1994), prompting a *Defence White Paper* (December 1994) and the Government's foreign policy Statement along with a detailed response to the parliamentary report (February 1995);
- a private-sector review of Canada's international business programs;
- a review by Serge Joyal of the federal government's role and operations in the field of international cultural and academic relations;
- a parliamentary review of international financial institutions (May 1995) that preceded the Halifax G-7 Summit with the same agenda; and
- a public review of Canada's commitment to international organizations at the second annual National Forum on Canada's International Relations (September 1995).

The two common threads running through the reviews were the need to make "hard choices" about Canada's foreign policy priorities and the axiom that Canada's success internationally would reinforce Canadian identity and unity at home.

The question is whether this intensive process constituted democratization or whether it was an exercise in elite accommodation, and at the extreme, co-optation. Certainly, the majority of reviews were much better at laying out the criteria for making choices than in actually making them. The notable exceptions were the Canada 21 Report, which bluntly stated that the Canadian Forces should be shorn of some of their traditional military capabilities; the Reform Party's dissenting opinion on the Special Joint Committee's report reviewing Canadian foreign policy, which castigated the other political parties for making recommendations that would in Reform's eyes increase rather than decrease foreign policy spending; and the report reviewing Canada's international business programs, which called for over \$100 million in cuts to government

spending. And an even more radical perspective, such as the University of Toronto's Franklyn Griffiths's assertion that Canada's best security policy is a strong cultural policy, that did not find its way into the parliamentary documents, was nevertheless "heard" through its publication in a non-official publication — the *Canadian Foreign Policy* journal.

What can be concluded from this process? The parliamentary review — a product of 561 briefs from more than 550 organizations or individuals in some 80 meetings — hedged its recommendations; the Government's response to those recommendations tended towards the non-committal, resulting in an expensive series of consultations that, while arguably having "democratized" the policy-making process, to date have not produced any wide ranging changes in the conduct of Canadian foreign policy. Nevertheless, had the process really been one of co-optation, as some critics suggested, then the parliamentary committee would surely not have published the dissenting views of the Reform and Bloc members. In fact, the process may have been too democratic. Canada's international partners marvelled at the level of introspection and dissection of Canada's foreign policy that took place — a level of debate that would be tolerated in few other democratic countries.

Many groups outside government seem to be under the misapprehension that there is a direct causal relationship between consultation and influence on policy outcomes. When a policy emerges that does not conform with their recommendations, letters of regret are swiftly remitted to ministers' offices; NGO press releases inform that Ottawa is not meeting its foreign policy targets, a favourite complaint being that Canada's total Official Development Assistance is not anywhere near 0.7 per cent of its GNP. With the frontlines thus drawn, contacts between non-governmental organizations and policy makers have in the past resembled dialogues of the deaf and paralyzed constructive consultations between officials and citizens, which in turn has militated against giving Canadians a larger stake in the decision-making process. This lack of mutual trust ensures that societal pressures make little headway in changing the conduct and directions of Canadian foreign policy.

In fact, it has been the government-wide Program Review (spear-headed by Treasury Board and Finance), whose mandate it is to reduce the federal deficit by making government more efficient, and **not** the democratization process as expressed through overlapping foreign policy reviews, that has and will likely continue to force Ottawa's foreign policy planners to make hard choices with regard to their policies and programs. Indeed, this raises the question of whether democratization *can* result in

significant shifts in public policy. It can if the public is far ahead of government and demands change as was the case when pressure from emigré communities and the private sector forced the Mulroney government to take a less sceptical approach to the democratization sweeping across Eastern Europe in the waning days of the cold war. However, the more broadly government engages in outreach, the more difficult it will be to reconcile dissenting views, and thus the less likely that Ottawa will achieve a broad consensus on actions to resolve specific foreign-policy problems. This is the "catch-22" of the democratization, and specifically of the "outreach track-two," process. For instance, although most Canadians now support a public policy emphasizing greater trade liberalization and less protectionism, there is considerable *disconsensus* with regard to the trade-off between human rights and trade. And finally, no other public policy area presents as many barriers to democratization and the sharp change in policy direction as does foreign-policy making, given that diplomacy still deals primarily with inter-state relations (much of which is confidential) and that the conduct of statecraft is by its very nature disjointed and incremental.

"Democratizing" DFAIT

With regard to how the department engages in democratization, the term "corporate outreach" refers in the most general manner to all of DFAIT's activities that heighten the public profile of its policies, programs and operations — both in Canada and abroad. It is the way in which DFAIT engages and increases the understanding of Canadian foreign policy among such diverse extra-Departmental constituencies as the media, labour, academia, business and Parliament. To suggest that "outreach" is a polite way of describing a public relations strategy in which the Department makes grants to "stakeholder" organizations such as the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, the Atlantic Council of Canada, Canadian universities, and individual scholars, is to appreciate only half of the picture. Corporate outreach not only enables DFAIT to gauge and increase the level of awareness in Canada of Canadian foreign policy and the level of interest in Canadian affairs abroad, it also contributes to the renewal of the Department itself. This is done by drawing in new people from other parts of the federal and provincial bureaucracies and the private sector through executive interchange programs and through academic fellowships. In this way, unorthodox ideas are permitted greater ventilation in the foreign policy-making process. In short, corporate outreach is the Department's attempt to "bridge the gap" between itself and *all* its extra-Departmental constituencies.

The Department's geographic bureaux and functional bureaux engage in a wide variety of outreach and consultation activity with different foreign policy constituencies as part of their day-to-day operations. This process is perhaps most institutionalized on the academic side through DFAIT's management of Canadian studies programs abroad (through the Cultural Relations bureau); its "diplomats in residence" program at Canadian universities (through the Canadian Foreign Service Institute); the procedures it has in place to give scholars access to Departmental files (through the Communications bureau); and the scholars on contract to advise on specific issues (in the International Security and Global Issues bureaux). However, the motherhouse within the Department for outreach to the academic community is the Policy Branch. The policy planners, by remaining largely outside day-to-day operations and acting as a reservoir of potentially contrarian views on foreign policy directions, have a functional mandate to tap into and incorporate the views and research of scholars and other non-governmental experts.

But despite all these points of contact, historically, DFAIT has not displayed an intrinsic sense of the importance of engaging the Canadian public. Foreign service officers do not get promoted for doing this in Canada, where a misquote in *The Globe and Mail* can be hazardous to one's career prospects. It is indeed ironic that although they are schooled in the intricacies of state-to-state negotiations where the stakes are high and engage in complex advocacy campaigns abroad, many officials are uncomfortable in explaining Canada's national interests to 'ordinary' Canadians. This should not be surprising, however. Few joined the Department so that they could tour Canada and explain to "concerned Canadians" why it serves the national interest to continue to trade with governments engaged in gross human rights violations, why for years Canada turned a blind eye to foreign overfishing, and why Canadian governments permitted the clear-cutting of virgin forests in British Columbia.

The reasons for this antipathy towards public consultation and "outreach track two" are structural, as well. In Canada, under a Westminster system, national foreign policy interests and priorities have more often than *not* been defined in the corridors of Parliament by elected representatives, but rather through the complex process of 'pulling and hauling' among the Prime Minister's Office (especially during the Trudeau and Mulroney governments and less so under the Chrétien Government), the Privy Council Office, the International Trade and Foreign ministers' offices and their departmental officials. As a result of this situation, memoranda go to ministers with detailed observations on what key

In this post-cold war, post-industrial age where free trade zones and ethnic cleansing zones exist side-by-side, where advances

The professional foreign policy practitioners — usually generalists in a rotational foreign service such as Canada's — are stretched ever more thinly as a result of budget cuts across a wider variety of specialist areas. This situation raises the option for Ottawa of getting out of certain foreign policy areas — for example, elections monitoring in South Africa and Central America — and leaving the implementation entirely in the hands of the non-governmental sector, with government retaining the right to set policy direction. In fact, this has already started in an ad hoc way by virtue of the fact that Canada's official delegations to some international forums such as the negotiations for an Arctic Council have a significant number of non-governmental delegates.

Dr. Evan H. Potter is the founding editor of *Canadian Foreign Policy/La Politique étrangère du Canada*, a policy journal of Canada's international relations published by the The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, in association with PAFSO. He was the Norman Robertson Research Fellow in economic and trade policy on the Policy Staff in 1991-92.

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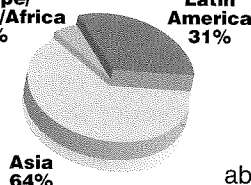


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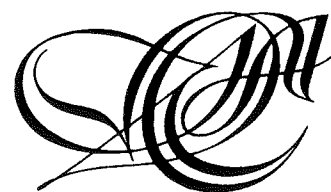
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Looking Forward, Looking Back:

Reflections along the Short Road from Heresy to Received Wisdom

by Daryl Copeland

Incapable of change. Unable to adapt, unwilling to reform.

Sound like anywhere you work? Despite radical changes in context and content, amplified by the introduction of powerful new technologies, neither the structure of the Canadian foreign service nor the way we work have changed much. New tools, old hands.

The decisions taken following the first round of Program Review and the February 1995 budget provide little indication that DFAIT has progressed beyond the costly incrementalism of past reductions. The collapse of the one significant Departmentally-inspired initiative, FS Restructuring, served mainly to ratchet morale down one more notch by confirming the worst of what many had already suspected.

Perhaps the outcome of Program Review II will produce signs of financial and personnel *management*. While that would be welcome, in the era of diminishing resources the Department is well past the point where strategic paring alone will suffice. Immense challenges loom. Now is the time to embrace transformation and chart the way forward.

Couriers, Going. Communicators, Clerks ... Gone

Over the past few years the surface of diplomacy, and many of the standard operating procedures have been altered, in some cases beyond recognition. The telex culture is, if not quite buried, certifiably dead. The seamless electronic universe which stands in its place is by nature subversive to hierarchy and control. This welcome revolution in communication will change everything. Eventually. But in the meantime, the quality of life in the trenches is worsening.

The withdrawal of support staff, and the downloading of many clerical and secretarial functions onto those at the professional working level has certainly flattened the lower reaches of the organizational structure, but it has also intensified the sense of toiling beneath an inverted pyramid. Although vertical reporting

relationships — characterized still by inordinate layering — remain very much in place, horizontal linkages are proliferating. But fasten your swivel chairs: even as we charge into the uncharted reaches of cyberspace, the luxury of time has run out.

In future, the route to official calls is more likely to be potholed, if not mined.

Paradigm Shift, Full Bore...

In addition to the impact of technology and the relentless downward pressure on costs, we have been witness to radical shifts in the international operating environment. Economics and business values have displaced ideological affiliation, political orientation and geostrategic appeal as the animating forces in world affairs. Fragmentation, marginalization, and disintegration have emerged as major historical themes; tribes are rising as states splinter. The blood of ethnic politics is coursing through the gutters of a thousand former neighbourhoods, while a narrow and exclusionary nationalism is ascendant at many of the world's key crossroads. All of which is to say ... delivering that demarche is becoming more difficult.

Simultaneously, a new constellation of issues, ranging from the environment to trade policy, human rights to global finance, has moved into centre stage, and a new set of actors has been cast in lead roles. This suggests that the Department's statutory mandate to serve as the nation's main instrument in state-to-state relations has been largely overtaken by events. DFAIT may be the only department empowered to deal with other foreign ministries, but that is a dubious honour in a situation where line departments routinely do business directly with their counterparts abroad, and the big

players in the private sector neither want nor need much of what DFAIT has to offer.

To Survive...

Relevance is the key. The stuff of formal diplomatic discourse has been reduced largely to the programming of official visits and mustering support for candidates seeking office in international organizations — activities which, however important, fall well short of capabilities. Rather than wasting time fighting a rearguard action over dubious turf, an entirely different approach is needed. This will involve cutting losses, refocussing efforts to reinforce strengths rather than emphasizing weaknesses, and redeploying resources according to future, rather than past priorities.

... or Prevail

Three attributes set DFAIT apart from other government departments: a unique network of contacts and overseas representation which makes possible the immediate provision of critical information and integrated analysis; a cadre of employees equipped with the experience and the linguistic, cultural and professional skills required; and the ability to deliver, in policy and programme terms, an excellent product. This combination is the source of the Department's most powerful comparative advantage. Judiciously managed, these qualities can contribute materially to Canada's well-being and, not least, to its survival as a successful federation committed to the values of tolerance, compassion and democracy.

The same paradigm shift that has left the erstwhile global village looking more like the South Bronx has opened up vast opportunities and heightened the need for quality advocacy and advice. In this crowded and dangerous world, decision-makers require nuanced assessment, accurate intelligence and timely guidance. In short, it is not in spite of, but because of changes in the international political economy that diplomacy should flourish.

As a dependent trading nation, Canada is vulnerable and exposed to even the slightest changes in the world economy. This country's need for foreign and trade policy expertise,

especially as addressed to the imperative of finding a place for Canada in the upper reaches of the international division of labour, has never been more acute. No matter how well-connected the journalist, how experienced the executive, or how sharp the risk analyst, they lack the perspective necessary to produce considered judgements in support of the national interest.

Maintenance of a flexible, well-tuned diplomatic network deployed in accordance with both current objectives and emerging potential is the *sine qua non* for informed decision-making. The Foreign Service is out there for the express purpose of engaging the world through the distinctive prism of Canadian policies and interests. That's the bottom line. And therein lies our collective future.

Pack up the Pin Stripes...

DFAIT must protect, and if possible enlarge the extent of its presence abroad, even as net resources shrink. The move to more portable forms of representation, utilizing appropriate technology and incorporating, wherever possible, regional economies of scale, should be accelerated.

*This country's need
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more acute.*

Primary Canadian interests will remain engaged in OECD countries. In future, however, fewer and fewer Foreign Service Officers will be spending time plying the fashionable boulevards of tree-lined capitals. The route to official calls is more likely to be potholed, if not mined. More people will have the opportunity to become fleetingly familiar with the likes of Kigali, Dushanbe and Sarajevo. Protective rather than formal attire may become a new standard in diplomatic attire: kevlar vests, not tails.

The pattern of new representation in Eastern Europe and Central Asia may afford a preview of the shape of things to come. With satellite communications stowed in attaché cases and brass plaques hung temporarily on hotel room doors, a diplomatic mission can be installed and removed on a few hours notice. No administrative overheads, no lingering exposure, no sustained liabilities. Needed now is a cadre of specially trained officers developed to service the new network — a diplomatic rapid response corps.

... and Showcase the People

The Department's employees, its most valuable and durable asset, have not always received the attention they deserve. The creation of the Canadian Foreign Service Institute was certainly a step in the right direction. It is not, however, enough. In the cut-throat competition which reigns in the global marketplace, every Foreign Service Officer must have a keen appreciation of the economic content of political relations, and vice versa. The development of a much higher level of geographic, sectoral and linguistic specialization is required, and fast. All new Australian FS recruits must complete a diploma in international affairs, at government expense, as part of their training prior to a first posting. USA officers get six months to two years full time language instruction in advance of assignments.

The truth is this: on a good day in the Pearson Building, the importance of training and professional development is paid lip service. Regular skills upgrading, keyed to coherent career development, is just not a feature of Canadian foreign service life. There is scant evidence of any concerted effort to ensure that the Department's capabilities mix is kept in tune with present and, especially, future requirements. Moving to a much higher standard of personnel planning is urgent.

The enrichment of Canada-based staff should be complemented by "indigenizing" labour wherever practicable. Though the demise of bloc politics has left the world more volatile, the risks of infiltration and compromise, and most other information and personnel security concerns have been reduced. Large-scale substitution, especially, but by no means exclusively in Europe and the USA, will yield both savings and new representational possibilities by permitting the deployment of Canadians to destinations where they are genuinely needed.

Get the Message...

The Department cannot prosper in isolation. Although most Canadians share a strong sense of their country's place in the world, polling confirms that public esteem for and identity with DFAIT's work remains feeble. A profound disconnect between reputation and reality has been exacerbated by the splattering of the Department's alleged shortcomings all over the national media, usually without comment, let alone defence.

Though the unending vilification and gratuitous attacks have taken a toll, withdrawal is not the answer. The public can be brought on side, and the habitual detractors derailed, but not without the Department and the staff associations working as one to carry the connection between foreign service and

national well-being to a higher level of public awareness. Domestic constituency building has become imperative.

Diplomacy is a profession, not a vocation, and clinging to dated notions of exclusivity and splendid isolation serves only to reinforce negative stereotypes of Foreign Service Officers as effete ditherers and pompous snobs. DFAIT has nothing to fear from greater external scrutiny and ventilation; in terms of the calibre of our employees and value for money, we compare favourably against any reasonable standard. Cross-fertilization, a higher public profile, and greater exposure to the domestic scheme of things should be welcomed.

... Out

Implementation of a comprehensive political and communications strategy would see the Department forging a system of strategic alliances with business, the universities, interest groups, other government departments and the unions. The advocacy and negotiating abilities so much in evidence abroad can be put to constructive use at home. Much has already been achieved in terms of establishing consultative linkages with NGOs, and this can be augmented by initiating more and better secondments and exchanges to place DFAIT staff into key positions elsewhere.

*Canadians need to
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Building affects their
lives directly.*

Canadians need to know that what goes on in the Pearson Building affects their lives directly. The popular image of dinosaurs tipping cocktails in a Jurassic palace needs to be corrected. It is time for a major reality check, which should take the form of a concerted communications counterattack structured around a few tangible themes. For example: foreign and domestic policy are not solitudes, but two sides of the same coin. Success in exports translates directly into jobs and growth at home. Travel abroad by political leaders builds durable relationships which buttress the expansion of trade and investment. Consular and immigration services are offered with professionalism and integrity for the benefit of all. And the capability to produce independent political and economic analysis is a precondition to national sovereignty.

... and Up

The elements of a foreign policy community are out there, but are diffuse, unformed, and mute. A coherent, activist community can be sustained only by tapping into the instincts and aspirations of Canadians. Survey data and recent experience have shown convincingly that Canadians are internationally minded, and are quite prepared to engage, but not if relegated to the role of cheerleader in someone else's game. Peace, development and prosperity are abiding predispositions.

To begin restoring its tattered image, the Department must better mirror and give voice to the country's ethnic and cultural diversity. Recruiting practices require further reshaping, but they are only the most obvious point of departure. DFAIT must be seen to be sensitive and responsive in everything it does. Openness, innovation and a willingness to embrace issues that resonate publicly must inform action, suffuse thinking, and become the new institutional hallmarks. The inherently conservative bureaucratic culture will have to be stood on its head and shaken — not stirred — which will in turn require vigorous leadership at the highest levels.

Broadening the composition of promotion boards (by bringing in the private sector, NGOs and academics) would help bring a semblance of equity to what many view as a bankrupt proceeding, as would a complete overhaul of the appeal process which is at present so deficient as to be unusable. Vastly enlarging the outreach programme, and building bridges to opinion leaders — journalists, CEOs, MPs, provincial and municipal politicians — are similarly crucial.

The Department's not inconsiderable cadre of lawyers might consider taking on the project of researching and drafting a Foreign Service Act consistent with the government's stated objectives for refashioning and simplifying the administration of the public service. The Treasury Board's agenda is clear, and this may be the only option if there is to be any hope of retaining those elements of our professional lives which are distinctive and worthwhile. In this regard, why not, as a natural follow-on to the Foreign Policy Review, strike a blue ribbon panel to make recommendations on future directions for the Foreign Service? Over a decade has passed since the last major review; it's time to look again.

More generally, the vast reserves of creative dissent could be harnessed productively through the establishment of formal channels for alternative thinking. We will never be the shiniest but we should strive to be seen as the sharpest tool in the shed.

Beyond Bureaucratosis...

To wind up — most of the change that has come to the foreign service in recent years has been imposed in response to technological, budgetary and environmental pressures exerted from outside. We have been trapped in reactive mode, and are still reeling from the consequences. To cite just one measure, the rate of attrition among younger employees is now at an historic high: the Foreign Service has lost, and is continuing to lose some of its best people precisely when it needs them most. Given that it takes even the fastest risers over a decade to reach the bottom rung of the executive ladder, this haemorrhaging is set to continue, especially as (and if) the economy improves.

While there are no quick fixes, departmental management could start by addressing the roots of the pervasive disillusion by tabling for discussion a comprehensive remedial package which would include investing in human resources, reprofiling the overseas network, reducing the administrative burden and developing a constituency by bringing the outside in and turning the inside out.

There can be no substitute for the remaking of the Department's entire professional establishment. With two levels for Foreign Service Officers and eight for management, it has long been painfully clear that a full blown internal restructuring — not merely a subdivision of existing bands — is necessary to address the vulnerabilities created by the disastrous EX conversion exercise of the early 1980s. This is both desirable and inevitable, and will involve reducing drastically the number of (nominal) managers while simultaneously creating a cadre of specialized experts and according them the recognition and compensation they warrant — a Senior Foreign Service. This can, and must be achieved within existing resource reference levels. Equally critical, to restore some vestige of career mobility, will be the initiation of an aggressive outplacement programme *at all levels* to remove chronic underperformers, kickstart the promotion process and bring in new blood. The adoption of an upward feedback mechanism — the PAFSO Evaluation Guide (PEG)? — into the management appraisal process could figure centrally in this respect.

... to Better Days

If nothing else, diplomats know how to be helpful. But we can also be useful. The essential political preoccupation in the land, and the only real threat to Canadian security, is the national unity question. Here, too, the Department has a contribution to make — partly by example, as an effective and fully bilingual federal institution, and

partly as a source of creative thinking. Defining and developing the Department's role in the unity file should be an immediate priority. But it is only a beginning. The Foreign Service is brimming with unexplored potential. With minimal effort, for instance, much of the Department's reporting and analysis could be adapted, repackaged, and pitched aggressively to the marketplace.

In the medium term, more imaginative ways can be found to generate revenue and assist in ameliorating the government's financial position. It is probably time to start billing at least the larger private sector clients for commercial and export promotion assistance. If these services aren't worth buying, they may not be worth providing. Above all, no effort can be spared to ensure that everything we do contributes *demonstrably* to the advance of Canadian interests by producing measurable economic dividends at home.

The future is bearing down on the foreign service like a locomotive. The only alternative to being on the train ... is being on the tracks. ✍

Daryl Copeland has had postings in Thailand, Ethiopia, New Zealand and Malaysia and is currently National Programme Director at the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and a member of the PAFSO Executive Committee.

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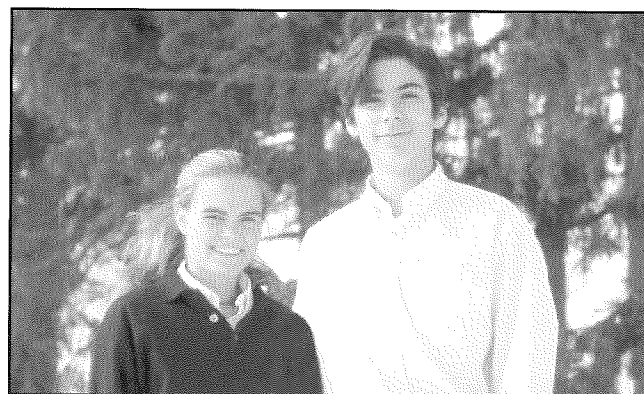
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Gone with the Web

by Richard Kohler

It's all a matter of perspective: where is this information thing taking us? We discovered fire; Gutenberg turned his publishing perniciousness loose; the Industrial Revolution, the Cotton Gin, electricity, the light bulb, Coca-Cola, television, nuclear fusion, Three-D, the Selectric, the PC and now the Net: soothsayers all said that the "new" technology would change the world; some said "for the better"; as many said "for the worse". Tea, with its first explosion of market penetration was variously treated as dangerous, addictive, aphrodisiacal and positively heavenly.

A letter I once read lamented:
*I cannot understand the youth of today;
they drink too much; they stay up too
late; they do not respect their elders;
they are not interested in their studies;
they do not share our values. What will
happen to tomorrow?*

I was bemused to learn that it was written around 350 BC. It has become an underpinning of my *Weltanschauung*: so it goes; nothing new under the sun; technology changes, people don't. Technology may bring "marginal" changes that affect us peripherally but not fundamentally. Some may argue that the periphery can become fundamental but that is when the *species* evolves (Tennyson's *Divine event to which all creation moves*) into another iteration: the planet, however, most likely stays.

We're operating today in the midst of an ironic profundity, an unpredictable certainty: *no one knows what's going to happen — all they know is that it's going to happen*. At Foreign Affairs, we look at the changes that have been wrought since we closed down the "communicator" function (CM) and started facing the down-sizing music that has been (and will stay) with us for years, with mixed emotions — somewhere between bewilderment and perplexity. There are fewer of us in the Department including fewer and fewer secretaries and clerks; officers are being awkwardly charged with duties support staff used to do when there was support staff.

Has the introduction of technology been all that helpful we ask in the midst of adjusting to the frustrations of sometimes fickle machines and networks, and meagre preparation for the future? As with all major jump-shifts in culture, the continuum from beginning to completion can be painfully

sluggish. In the case of information technology, we are in the middle of a lengthy and slow swing of the pendulum (despite all the *bezazz* about hyper speed) that is moving us *from* (as a British FSO has said) *the quill to the satellite*. At the "quill" end, we had telexes, memoranda, *Bouts de Papier*, *Aides Mémoire*, letters, diplomatic bags, pouches, couriers, and cypher. Today, probably about half-way to the "satellite", we have sporadic instability at the network, scattered freezing at the work-station, less than loving secure communications, no-one at missions who can "take care of" communications "matters" writ large, and an uneven appreciation around the organization for the magic that has been fashioned for us. There is a collective cry for the good old days, or at least for a "working" present. The chronologically challenged at DFAIT (commonly known as the "new digital homeless") yearn for simplification, for dictation, filing cabinets and telex packs; the recent recruits can't believe how backward their office tools are (their home-kits generally being far superior) — couple that with starting salaries and we're stretching a new definition of "competitive".

We are not there yet but hang on to your hat — far fewer organizations *are* there than one would imagine. At DFAIT, the technologists have linked us together with a network of telephone and computing connection — riding atop dedicated digital links — that is the dream of other foreign services. None of our G-7 nor OECD partners has DFAIT's comprehensive connectivity; they verily drool at the power of Consular's COSMOS application or at the homogeneity (read "interoperability") of our intranetwork. It is true that the Internet is cheap (not "free" however: there are entry-point subscriptions) but is it reliable? Is it secure? Calculations show handily that the Department sends its data virtually free on leased MITNET digital lines — if we were to go to a non-leased environment it would cost exponentially more to process the voice and data traffic DFAIT currently handles (about twice as much for voice; *data* would be out of sight).

If it is true that changes are only at the periphery, what are those changes and are they worth it? How are we managing change and are we going about it the right way? Andy MacDonald, the Treasury Board's former Chief Information Officer has said: "the impact of informatics consists of

five percent technology and 95 percent change in culture". And that is what we face at Foreign Affairs. E-mail is with us; it is informal; it is addictive; and it is spreading with prolific fecundity. The ease with which e-mail can be dashed off the key-board and sent to a recipient immediately generates personalized networking; almost gone are the days of "organizational" mail — although it is fading, we will be wrestling with the transition for some time yet at DFAIT. With personalization comes the levelling of organizations — the downward push. This was an objective when Public Service 2000 had the PCO favouring concepts that allow managers to manage; at the time it was intellectually right but emotionally, the environment was not conducive. E-mail is such an engine of mutation (*sic*, in lieu of *change agent*): we are now attaining real flattening. With this comes real de-layering — notice the reduction in numbers of Directors General (DGs); notice the move to "staff" as opposed to "line" DGs. Horrible as the word "empowerment" is — you choose an alternative (enablement, delegation...) — its concept is truly coming as surely as the Country Desk. And both are developments for the better. As people communicate easily with other people personally, they tend to accomplish *business* and they accomplish it more directly and effectively than they used to when this *business* had to go up the line and back down. Now, one *copies* the line thus comforting superiors that they are in the communications loop but not necessarily blocking it.

And the price that we pay is that we become *accountable*. That too is good: it fosters management. Because everyone is on-line and all can see what the other does with the data they manipulate, there is no hiding: accountable, gotcha!

The circles that surround us go round and they come round. An astrophysicist I once met in a pub in the Brompton Road, answered the question "where does a rocket that is shot into space eventually end-up" by saying that it probably comes back in a circle. We have been told that we are moving from Push to Pull architectures — FSOs used to "push" shot-gun limned information to users at headquarters whether these clients needed it or not; now, we are told that clients only need to "pull" the specific information that is needed at a given moment from that great ether-net foreign service out there:

this is supposed to radically change the virtual way we work: added specificity; cinema or TV programming on-demand will work this way from our digital satellite provider. Wait a minute; before we get too comfortable with that, hang on, we're back to "Push" again: corporations are becoming "work-flowed" or "mail-enabled" which means we can fill out a travel removal form, press SEND and it goes on its merry way from desktop (notice we don't say "desk" anymore, we knowledge-workers) to desktop, garnering authorities and tombstone data in the process: this is the new "push". I suppose it means we will bark at the TV some sub-conscious inner-liking and we will be "pushed" into watching a never-ending menu of Roentgen bombardments.

SIGNET was an architectural breakthrough when we decided to leave COSICS behind in 1991: we moved from the "mainframe" world to the "client-server" world. Well, are JAVA and its down-loadable "applets" leading us back into an enhanced "mainframe" world? Will PCs get smaller and less expensive again? Who knows, nobody knows. A famous French philosopher said: *c'est difficile de prévoir, surtout, l'avenir*. There were many who predicted that the media of telephone, TV and computer were converging, but they don't know anymore than they knew what the fate of 8-tracks and cassettes or Betamax and VHS was prior to the determination of the technological market place.

What we are pretty sure of is that there is no winning technology yet — what counts

is speed/high bandwidth. In a way, the World Wide Web (WWW) is the premature arrival of the future. We're not ready — until fibre is laid, we may have years of slower loading. Nicholas Negroponte at the MIT MediaLab has predicted his famous "switch": what used to go through the air (TV signals) will go underground in the future (unlimited bandwidth for video in fibre-optic technology) and what used to go through wires (telephones) will go through the air (cellular, digital technology). In fact the ability to break virtually everything into digits makes everything virtual. Computing and telecommunications are becoming inseparable; customers are no longer bound by a geographic "footprint" but are demanding instant global access. *Local versus long distance* and geography are no longer relevant: the fact of convergence (continental drift metaphor) is in the lead. The web is the Information Highway and the Internet is organic — they are defining the fundamental frequencies of change.

There are puzzles that we haven't thought through yet. The picture of financial data flowing around the globe 24/7 begs the question of "waiting for the *Hang Seng* to open" — the financial marketplace is open *all the time* now. In this context, where is the headquarters of a multi-national if all its staff is linked virtually through some biotic internet; does the headquarters move with the sun? Where, then, will the corporate entity pay taxes? And to which government? If the corporation's borders become seamless, what impact does this have on

the nation-electronic-state? Will the UN become UN Inc.?

How will corporations deal with their new web-enemy: *disintermediation*? This disembowelment of the middleman-by-Internet removes revenue: banks get about one third the profit from processing an electronic transaction over the handling-fees of a paper cheque. The US Post Office is re-engineering its electronic self by offering to sell post-mark validations and by introducing one-stop, electronic window-on-government service to clients.

A major multi-national of Swedish origin that has over 200,000 employees globally is a big user of groupware software — over 25 % of its staff are "leveraging their productivity" through the conferencing facilities of an internal web. Things are moving so fast, they say, that employees are asked how many web-months they have been with the organization. Another large US corporation has 400 web-servers; of these: five are connected to the Internet; 395 are for internal web use.

At the Swedish facility, video conferencing is popular through hyper-stream frame relay; it also reduces travel costs. They have bandwidth on-demand which promotes plenty of telecommuting: working from home through computer on-line connection. If we don't have fibre yet, the evolution of fast bandwidth is making work at home the same, if not better than working *at the office*. (There are around 10 million telecommuters in the US today). The Swedes say there is less congestion; less office space and parking needed (reduction of corporate overhead); more job satisfaction; employee retention; staffing flexibility; less absenteeism; the development of more effective managers; the development of more trust-based communications; and a move in loyalties from "the project" to "me". The "hoteling-moteling" that they call using the office for regular meetings sees workers joyous at the prospect of weekly reunions "at the drinking fountain".

The "me" generation was supposed to have been behind us but maybe it's ahead of us too. Telecommuting will foster a new breed of self-reliant free-agent-for-hire; *Have Laptop, Will Transmit*. In 10 years, someone says they are from "Company X" and one's reaction is likely to be "I guess that person couldn't cut it as an independent...". The implication is that there will be much more security in contract work than indeterminate work; the latter will fear down-sizing and will languish. The former of the *virtual* world will have high morale; control of their agenda; more time at home. They will be less stressed and more focused on their jobs. Their discipline will

"... Too bad there aren't more content-providers tonight..."



be blending work with personal pursuit. The dissenting view, however, is that in a world where the competitive arsenal is "knowledge", cutting it as an independent may grow less plausible and less idyllic. This one will have to *soak* for a while.

Through all this there is a move to focus on the substance, not the technology. Visualize the party with two cheery cynics exchanging over the chink of ice-cubes: "too bad there aren't more content-providers tonight..."

And we have those who lament the impact of technology on our society: new jobs (the information *sherpa* culture) are being created at the front of the food-chain as old jobs (less skilled, routine jobs) are being eliminated at the back end but, like the frog jumping up the well (one jump up/two sliding back), there are more being eliminated than being created. Drucker and Rifkin are saying this will result in the shorter work week (AT LAST!) in order to attempt to spread employment a little better and it will give rise to the social market of pervasive "volunteerism" — community service with salaries paid to the unemployed by tax deductible contributions of philanthropic motive from the few knowledge-based, remaining and successful corporations. I go back to that missive from 350 BC; I don't agree with this; new work will replace old work. Pop-economist Nuala Beck tells us that there are more people working in Alberta today in the Financial Services sector than in the Oil and Gas sector, and more in British Columbia in the Telecommunications sector than in Forest Industries. Yes, we must continue to clean-up the messy rooms of our ecological house, but let technology flourish.

At Foreign Affairs, we will attain technological stability first; and we will keep stability (and effectiveness) in view at ALL times. We will benefit from the spirit of being a learning organization — an approach to managing that puts people and money on an even playing field. Technology that is client driven will enable employees to feel valued and in control. Their raw materials are their intellect; their assets, their innovation. Their ability to teach themselves makes their organization richer. Training as we know it, will change if we manage the change. Web-months breed career up-skilling or a continuing validation of an employee's professional relevance. We will become more comfortable with the concept of Personal Development (the PD "me") which is a dark horse that is growing quickly; recruitment will be driven by what *training* is being offered in an organization and it will have to be just-in-time. PD coaches will emerge to help one develop his/her personal strategic

plan; training needs will become mentor sessions, and this could be anywhere in the world, on the web.

And the Desktop of the Future? Four concepts: unlimited bandwidth (read the day of ubiquitous fibre-optic connectivity); consequent unlimited video-conferencing (although other elements under the rubric *dissemination of ideas* include multimedia, animation and hypermedia); a universal data-base available on-line, all the time; and intelligent agents (or artificial intelligence AI). And this will have brought us full circle: that CM we used to rely on at missions as a kind of technological and communications assistant will take shape again, many years later, in the form of our own intelligent agent (or automated *sherpa* who will be out "crawling" the web for our own customized information needs). The precursor already exists in software like Windows 95 with the "wizard", a little character that shows, in a very friendly manner, novice users how to do complex things, easily. Fighter Pilots in the cockpit today have pop-up displays that allow them to "see" almost holographic images before their eyes. These voice-activated "angels" (or *avatars*) will become our assistants as they respond to oral requests to turn on the lights, list our phone messages, answer the easy ones, find out what Bloggins wants to discuss at

tomorrow's meeting (by consulting Bloggins' intelligent agent) and telling us how to do what we're not sure how to do.

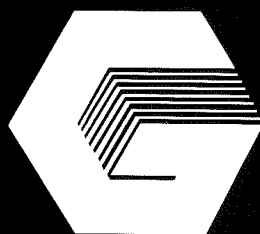
But, as Kathryn McCallion (ADM, Latin America and the Caribbean) says, "one man and one machine does not equal 10 men". Our kids will still drink too much, not study enough nor show us the respect we deserve; and we will still be carping about how many more web-months before we can get off the merry-go-round. And by then I'll be retired and I'll probably say, "Frankly, my dear, I just don't give a *digit*".

Richard Kohler, currently Director-General of DFAIT's Information Systems Bureau, has served in Sydney, Los Angeles, Paris, Sao Paulo, Bucharest and Bangkok.

Editor's note: the cartoon that illustrates this article arrived at the editor's desk via SIGNET. It took two FSOs, assisted by one secretary and one Co-op student approximately forty minutes to download and print. When the editor tried to save the cartoon on a new diskette, to be passed on to the printers, his desktop of the future informed him — after ten minutes of grinding its teeth — that the diskette was full. Clearly **bout** is already suffering from insufficient bandwidth.

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A Foreign Service Severed — What Are the Costs?

A New Zealand Perspective on "Trimming" DFAIT

by Linda Te Puni

The New Zealand Experience: An Economic Miracle — Or Is It?

Much has been said about the restructuring experience in New Zealand. It has been hailed as a success and the strategies employed in New Zealand's economic rebirth have been widely emulated. Spending a year on exchange at the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAIT) as the government here works through many of the same issues, gives me an acute sense of *déjà-vu*. Media headlines on cuts to government spending, closing of hospitals and pruning of the welfare state have a familiar resonance. I see the same strategies, the same debate, the same outraged responses, and the same defensive argument from reform enthusiasts.

No doubt there will be similar benefits. Economic indicators in New Zealand over the last few years point to resounding success — a steadily improving economic growth rate; inflation contained at less than 2% (depending on how you measure it of course, an all important consideration for the governor of the Reserve Bank whose contract specifies that he must keep inflation below that ceiling); good progress made in paying off the national debt; increasing budget surpluses forecast and tax cuts promised as of the next financial year, and a buoyant market, with increasing foreign investment. No wonder Canada and others want a piece of the action. But there will also be similar costs.

The Losers

The human side of the new economic miracle is often kept in the background. It doesn't fit well with economic theory and detracts from the image of economic success. There is a new class of "unemployables" in New Zealand, among them the Pacific Island immigrants who were brought in as cheap unskilled labour in previous decades and now find themselves redundant. A large number of indigenous Maori fare no better. They and their Pacific cousins rate highly in the statistics, but for all the wrong reasons: high rates of unemployment and of poverty, and a disproportionate number are in jail. Maori lost their economic base through European colonization, and for most, the new mantras of privatization and sale of assets to foreign interests echo a hollow economic victory.

A bitter irony for the thousands of workers laid off in some industries was the concurrent award of hefty bonuses and pay rises to their senior company executives, in recognition of a job well done to restructure and downsize their operations and maintain or boost profit levels. The reality for New Zealand is an increasing gap between the haves and the have nots, right across the political and social spectrum.

Restructuring and Efficiency

Positive results from the changed economic reality in New Zealand include much improved efficiency in delivery of services to the public. From my own experience, it seems the Canadian banking system, as one example, could learn from the competitive environment that now prevails in the New Zealand banking sector. There, it is a tough commercial world and service industries compete to meet the customers' needs or risk losing market share.

The Foreign Affairs Model

The New Zealand public service has been through a dramatic metamorphosis. Perceptions of government have changed as well as operations. The public service is no longer considered a career for life, with automatic progression through the ranks and pay scales — no bad thing. Remuneration and advancement are very much performance based, demanding a more focused and accountable public service. Every aspect of the operation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT) has been reviewed, with the focus on honing it to a lean and highly efficient organization. That has meant increased pressure to do more with less, to continue to take cuts and achieve the same or greater returns. But, just as on a national scale restructuring has not been without its costs, so too, the reinvention of the Ministry has had its price — low morale, dissatisfaction with remuneration and career opportunities, fewer support staff, having to produce more with fewer resources, high rates of attrition. Sound familiar?

DFAIT — The Parallels

It is interesting to see the current "soul searching" in DFAIT, the looking at ways to improve the operation of the department in the face of fewer resources and a changing environment. MFAT employees, across all occupational streams, have been through

the same experience; felt the uncertainty about their future; gone through a period of frozen pay; felt that there has been no incentive for them in the job, yet at the same time faced increasing demands to cope with changes in technology, and an expectation to maintain business as usual in the face of these difficulties and fewer available resources. New Zealand overseas representation was cut back, with closure of some posts and loss of positions, particularly at the junior level, limiting even further posting opportunities for junior officers. The carrot that had always been proffered to these officers to compensate for their low salaries vis-à-vis their private sector counterparts and the work required of them, seemed even further beyond reach. For many, it just did not seem worth their while to stay.

However, the New Zealand government also has opened some new posts, most recently in Hanoi. Limited resources have been carefully distributed to better reflect where we see ourselves in the world and where our interests lie (particularly in Asia), and to maximize the return accordingly. But the "average" New Zealander on the street does not always share Prime Minister Bolger's vision. Not all are convinced by the massive marketing exercise in which the New Zealand government has invested heavily: the "Asia 2000" programme, which aims to raise the profile of Asia as an important economic partner for New Zealand and to promote business and other links with the go-ahead Asian economies. "Asia 2000" demonstrates the government's long term strategic thinking to reposition New Zealand in the world economy, to continue to move away from traditional partners such as the UK and position ourselves in the more relevant APEC region. Growing enthusiasm for a republic is another dimension of this, shared, perhaps more vocally, by our friends across the Tasman.

In the DFAIT review exercise, beginning with the Latin America Branch and recently taken up by the United States branch, one of the recommendations made was to set priorities based on real options. MFAT very specifically defines its priorities. This is part of the corporate mentality that prevails across the New Zealand public sector. The process starts with an overall corporate plan defining "output classes", against which outputs are purchased by government from

the Ministry and for the delivery of which the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the Ministry is accountable, as per the terms of his contract with the Public Service Commission. The process includes divisional and post operational plans, to which all officers contribute: these define operational objectives, activities to achieve those objectives and set performance measures to assess the extent to which the objectives have been achieved. Resources are allocated to each output class, the human resource component of which is checked against frequent time surveys. The process is taken to its logical extreme, by which individual performance evaluations are based on a set of objectives linked to the post or divisional operational plan. An individual officer is able, therefore, always to relate what she or he is doing and why to specifically defined objectives as part of a strategic plan.

While this planning mechanism is indeed an effective management tool, given the very precise allocation of limited resources carefully costed against specific outputs, MFAT risks limiting itself to being predominantly reactive rather than pro-active in its work focus. Fewer resources mean less time available to spend on in-depth analysis and "think" pieces. In an officer's day to day work in Wellington, that is, during office hours, to do so would be a luxury.

Another of the suggested priorities to emerge from DFAIT in-house reviews is to improve information and communication flow/feedback. Problems identified in Ottawa are found in Wellington also, but perhaps because our operation is smaller, are easier to rectify. Duplication of effort is easier to avoid or contain and the consultative process is perhaps more straightforward. The corporate mentality encourages teamwork and networking, rather than turf battles and individual grandstanding. On the down side, feedback on post reporting is often less than optimal in Wellington, where one officer covers a number of posts and some of those posts can be quite prolific. It is frustrating and discouraging to be at post and feel that your work goes into a black hole at head office, but the reality is that desk officers can be so swamped, they scarcely have time to read what someone at post has put a lot of effort into, let alone respond in a meaningful way. At the officer level, feedback from supervisors could certainly be improved, and not just at the six-monthly performance assessment. Assuming that silence means you must be doing OK does not reflect a good management style.

Technology has created greater expectations of officer output while supposedly easing the burden. It is a useful tool, but

only as good as the training you have. Training must be timely, well-targeted and well-defined. There is no doubt that technology is changing the way business is done, be it in government or the private sector, and New Zealanders, who on a per capita basis reportedly have the highest rate of ownership of personal computers in the world, recognize the need to position themselves to ride this technological wave. Government is catching up and needs to allocate resources in a meaningful way to take advantage of what technology has to offer.

Cuts to support staff have been cited as another problem in DFAIT. My own experience is that MFAT has been much more ruthless in trimming human resources and redefining divisions of responsibility. For example, MFAT staff, including divisional directors, do their own photocopying (large print jobs excepted) and send their own faxes and messages to posts. However, MFAT divisions do retain their own files and a multi-tasked divisional officer to maintain them. My impression is that DFAIT has a lot more extra bodies than MFAT. This includes additional layers of hierarchy, perhaps an inevitable function of a much larger bureaucracy. Having too many levels in the pyramid is another concern raised by DFAIT staff. The New Zealand Ministry did, in fact, flatten its management structure and cut out the equivalent of Director-General level and now has a structure which flows from the CEO to four Deputy Secretaries (ADM level) to divisional directors. This is not necessarily an option for DFAIT across the board, but may warrant consideration in some form.

The MFAT Response

Just as DFAIT is looking at where operations can be improved in the face of resource cuts, MFAT recently has been through an exercise of serious self-examination. 1995 was designated the "Year of the Ministry", a home-based theme as opposed to the usual outward looking annual focus. Staff were encouraged to pull no punches in submitting their comments in a Ministry-wide climate survey; working groups focused on particular areas over the course of the year, coming up with specific recommendations. The exercise was seen as an opportunity to take stock of what the Ministry stands for, how it operates and how to sustain or improve its performance. Areas of concern highlighted included pay, the performance appraisal system, defining career paths, retention, selection process for postings, language training for staff and partners, health issues such as Occupational Overuse Syndrome and stress management, and the working environment in Wellington,

to name a few. Many of these are areas of concern for DFAIT staff also.

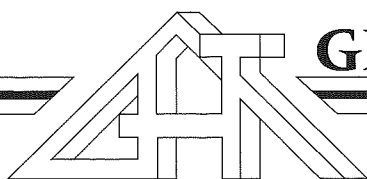
MFAT senior management are committed to responding to the outcome of this exercise. Some action has already been taken. There has been an improvement in total remuneration for staff, as a result of a job evaluation exercise, including the gathering of comprehensive market information on salaries, and the allocation of funds for the Annual Performance Review round. But the cynics amongst us may say that it is too little and rather late. However, it is a show of good faith and a start. DFAIT might consider one example, to improve the physical working environment which, for those of us in small, windowless offices, leaves a lot to be desired.

So Why Do We Stay?

For many, a stint in Foreign Affairs is a useful stepping stone. For others, it fulfils a lifetime ambition and they see it as a long term career. Many are somewhere in between, comfortable with the relative security offered and level of job satisfaction and not sure what other opportunities are out there. In Canada's current economic climate, pickings may be slim. In New Zealand, opportunities are presenting themselves to those who are prepared to look as the economy continues to strengthen. MFAT will have to position itself to retain staff, as neither the remuneration nor any perceived prestige of being part of the "Foreign Affairs establishment" alone will suffice.

For me, there are always new challenges, such as operating in another foreign service bureaucracy and being taken seriously as a proponent of Canadian foreign policy articulated in a Kiwi accent! I have other personal challenges and goals, associated with being part of a minority representation of Maori in the New Zealand foreign service. The Ministry is making efforts to encourage more Maori and Pacific Islanders into this career path, to present a face on the international stage that is more representative of our increasingly multi cultural society. But for the time being, these groups are under-represented. That will only change, and not just as far as these groups are concerned, but in order to attract and retain staff across the board, if the Ministry is able to meet the challenges presented by the outcome of the recent self-examination exercise. It risks losing more than credibility if it does not come up with the goods. DFAIT must also bite the bullet and address the concerns of its employees.

Linda Te Puni is an exchange officer from the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, currently on secondment to DFAIT.



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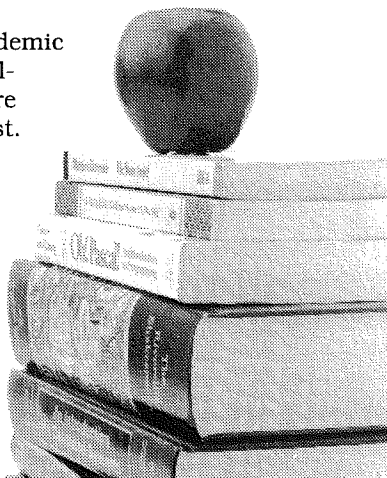
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Election Monitoring

A retired Foreign Service Officer finds a new vocation.

by Dwight Fulford

Shortly after I retired from External Affairs in the autumn of 1989, Elections Canada asked the Department to recommend a retired Spanish-speaking Foreign Service Officer who would be willing to accompany Mr. Ron Gould, Deputy Chief Electoral Officer, as a Canadian observer for the Honduran Presidential elections. Since the corporate memory of External Affairs lasts about twenty seconds, it was my good luck that the request came in only fifteen seconds after I had left. Thus was launched my career as an elections observer. Once I had had experience with one election, I was a logical person to send on future missions. In total I have been an observer to fifteen elections: three for the Canadian Government (Honduras, Cameroon and Nigeria); three for the United Nations (Angola, Eritrea and South Africa); and ten for the Organization of American States (the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru (four times) and Venezuela).

Who Observes?

Elections Canada normally proposes a list of possible observers to Foreign Affairs and the Minister makes the final choice. Persons with domestic political experience are often added by the Minister, particularly to Canadian national delegations. They, of course, have relevant expertise in elections, as do Deputy Returning Officers and Provincial election officials who have also been chosen. At the request of the UN former RCMP officers were selected for service in South Africa, because of the importance of police liaison in the elections there. Retired foreign service officers have probably been considered as part of a team where there are sensitive political issues or knowledge of a foreign culture or language would be useful. Elections Canada maintains a list of persons interested in serving as election observers.

Election observers are generally paid a per diem to cover expenses, so the work is intellectually rather than financially rewarding. It is a signal privilege to witness and on occasion make a small contribution to the democratic process in the countries concerned. It is fun as well to indulge one's

taste for foreign travel in such a constructive manner. It provides an entrée into a foreign society that one could not have as a simple tourist and without the foreign service obligation to remain for several years in the same place. One should, however, be prepared to travel wherever assigned in the country concerned, which can entail exposure to tropical diseases and doubtful accommodation. In my hotel in Cueto, Angola, I did not have to worry about removing too many squashed cockroaches since their brethren (or else the rats) had usually disposed of the corpses during the night. The symphony of odours proved too much for a veteran of the French colonial service who left the hotel in the middle of his first night to seek refuge in a UN tent. In Eritrea, I faced nothing worse than a hotel with no running water and a squat toilet. A Canadian colleague was assigned to a nomad area in the North where he had to sleep on cots in the open air and face day time temperatures over 40 celsius. The most embarrassing aspect was that a group of nomads watched him perform his morning necessities and then came over to examine the toilet paper which was a substance that they had not previously encountered.

Why Observe Elections?

In election monitoring I have been a foot soldier, not a policy maker and, hence,

have not been involved in the decisions to send observers. The reasons for inviting or sending observers, however, are usually fairly straightforward. In the case of Peru, for example, President Fujimori needed international recognition for the legitimacy of his Government in order to ensure continued access to international credit after his 'auto-golpe' (self administered coup) in which he closed down the Congress and dismissed Peruvian judges. The OAS sent observer teams for the Constituent Assembly elections, the municipal elections, the referendum on the new constitution and finally the Presidential and Congressional elections. Some would question whether the OAS should have spent scarce funds to observe municipal elections, but the other observation missions were justified in terms of encouraging Peru to return to a functioning democratic system and observe electoral proprieties.

The aim of election observation is to discourage fraud. It is like the role of visible traffic police patrolling a busy highway. Drivers who see them slow down. The deterrent will only work, however, if it is known that observers will report serious irregularities observed or brought to their attention and subsequently verified. For that reason there should be some follow-up



Mr. William L. McDiarmid of Hamilton, Ontario and myself speaking with a camp leader in a refugee camp near Asmara at the time of the Eritrean referendum. We were there as members of the United Nations Observer Mission.

of serious complaints even when the overall results are not in serious dispute.

When is an Election Valid?

No election is perfect, even those held in Canada. Elections are complicated to organize, and imperfections are to be expected. The key issue is not whether there have been some irregularities, but whether they have been on a scale which could affect the outcome. In the Presidential elections in Peru, President Fujimori received 62% of the vote against 22% for Pérez de Cuéllar. The margin was too great to call in question the outcome despite the somewhat excessive advantages enjoyed by the incumbent.

The situation was quite different in the Dominican Republic where President Balaguer won by less than one per cent of the vote. The chief opposition party led by Dr. Peña Gómez claimed that last-minute deletions had been made in the electoral lists in certain parts of the country to eliminate their voters. It seemed probable that this was indeed the case and that the number of voters disenfranchised was greater than the winning margin of President Balaguer. Passions were running high, as one might expect, given the huge meetings with hundreds of thousands of voters held during the campaign and the 87% voter participation. Moreover, the nasty racist campaign which had been mounted against Dr. Peña Gómez, who is black rather than mulatto, was deeply resented. Rumours were spread that his parents were Haitian and that he would open the border to immigrants from Haiti.

John Graham led the OAS mission. He is a former Canadian Ambassador who headed the democratic promotion unit of the OAS. He concluded that it would be better for the Dominican Republic to help broker a settlement rather than simply denounce the results. In the end President Balaguer agreed to step down after two years, then new elections would be held in which he would not be a candidate. No future President would be allowed to run for a consecutive term. In this instance the most important contribution was made after the elections were over.

The elections in Guatemala were well organized and the losing party, as a result, accepted defeat in the run-off Presidential race even though their candidate only lost by 2% of the vote. The system itself, however, is flawed in that registration and voting is difficult for voters in outlying areas. Moreover, the election campaign did not seem directly relevant to some of the major problems facing Guatemala, for example, the stalled peace process, militarization, the corruption at all levels, the unequal distribution of land, and the

inadequate representation and marginalization of the indigenous peoples, who constitute half the population. This sense of irrelevance was reflected in the low level of citizen participation, particularly rural women, in the elections themselves.

I have sometimes been asked why an observation mission is required on other than election day. Being present on the day may be enough if the only purpose is to demonstrate moral support for a friendly country or to discourage repudiation of the results by the losing party. A fair election, however, demands more than unimpeded access to the polls. An electoral observations mission by the OAS or the United Nations should ideally involve sending a small group of observers in advance to monitor voter and political party registration, the appointment and training of poll officials, arrangements for the accreditation of scrutineers, the fairness of media coverage and the ability of political parties to hold meetings without harassment. The visible presence of observers can be helpful in this regard. Conversations with political parties at the local level can also serve to remind them of the importance of such matters as appointing scrutineers to polls and gathering and tabulating their own figures on election results. Additional observers can be brought in for the actual elections and a small number retained until the official tabulation of votes is completed unless the victory of one side is so clear that the other parties accept that they lost. It is also helpful if someone remains behind to follow up on complaints received on election day.

Observers do not supervise elections; that is the job of the local electoral authorities. They can act, however, as a conduit for complaints and their mere presence discourages excessive and visible partisanship by the local authorities. It follows that observers are more useful to the opposition parties than to the government. What the latter gains is international recognition for the legitimacy of the results. The authorities would not normally invite international observers unless they intended to hold fair and open elections.

The Job of an Observer

The work of election observers on election day tends to be the same in any election. In advance, of course, they should master the local electoral law and procedures and pick up what information they can on local political mores so that as to know what to look for. They are usually instructed to watch the opening of a specific poll. They are expected to arrive before the poll officials so that they can view the whole process. They then visit other polls in the area assigned to them. If the number is too great,

they should choose a representative selection to visit during the day. The OAS and the UN provide caps, arm bands and T-shirts to publicize the presence of the observers. This was helpful for me in South Africa, for example, where I discovered to my dismay that being fair skinned, over-weight and bald, I looked rather Afrikaans. Without my UN insignia this could have created some suspicion in the poor township areas where I had been assigned.

On the first two observations missions in Peru observers were not visibly identified because of the possible risk of attack from the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path). Fortunately the terrorists did not target OAS observers, since I could not have passed unnoticed in Huánuco, being several inches taller than anybody else in this Andean city. They did, however, assassinate one municipal candidate who had been out shopping with his four year old son. I was taken to see the body still sprawled on the sidewalk twenty minutes after he had been killed.

Visits to polls should be long enough to observe the operation of each poll visited and allow electors or party representatives to register complaints. In Latin America voter lists are often drawn up by municipality so that fifty or more polls may be located in the same locale. In such a case, one often checks on a few polls only so that more territory can be covered during the day. The local co-ordinators of the political parties at locales can report any special problems. Usually forms are provided on which one records relevant information such as the number of poll officials, adequacy of supplies, party scrutineers present and, most important, irregularities observed or complaints received. The work must be carried out with discretion to avoid disrupting the polling process and irritating local authorities by appearing in some way to be usurping their authority. In general foreign observers are dependent on local sources to indicate where fraud may occur. The usual paranoia of election time, however, means that complaints must be assessed carefully and not taken at face value.

At the close of the day the observer either chooses a poll at random or goes to a designated poll to watch the counting of the ballots. Polls are sometimes assigned with a view to making a quick count. A representative selection of polls is chosen and each observer reports back as quickly as possible the results of the poll which he has been assigned. This enables the headquarters of the observation team to have an accurate idea of what the final result should be. This can discourage subsequent tampering with the returns and also is a persuasive indication of fraud if the final official results

differ significantly from the quick count. The OAS and the UN informed Daniel Ortega the night of the election in Nicaragua that he had lost his bid to be re-elected as President. He accepted the verdict and, thus, avoided any overnight pressure he might have otherwise faced from fellow Sandinistas to ignore the results.

Quick counts can only be carried out if there are sufficient observers to cover a reasonable cross section of polls. This is one of the advantages of having a UN or OAS team rather than simply an assortment of national delegations. I could note no appreciable difference in efficiency between the UN and OAS operations. Much depends on the mission leader. A certain degree of administrative inefficiency is to be expected since elections observation teams are set up anew for each election. In my experience the quality of the observers has generally been high. In the first OAS mission to Peru, those few observers who were more interested in having a good time than doing their job were sent home at once. The OAS has preferred to develop its own lists so that it can renominate observers who have performed well on other missions. This runs against a Canadian desire to choose the Canadians who are sent on teams.

The Role of NGOs

Private organizations also observe elections. The Carter Centre and IFES (International Foundation for Electoral Systems) are notable examples. Private organizations can attempt to secure access to a country when no official invitation has been issued, thus, generating some international pressure for free and fair elections.

In addition, some non-partisan national NGOs have been created to observe elections. This is important in countries which lack confidence in the impartiality of the electoral authorities. Indeed, this can help the electoral authorities to resist government pressure to falsify the results. A national NGO can provide fuller coverage than is usually financially possible for an international team. Initially, however, an international electoral presence can be useful in protecting an NGO from harassment by their own government. For example, President Carter was able to make a strong public protest when the phones of the NGO in Paraguay were cut off by the state owned phone company on election day.

Separate national delegations are likely to be less efficient than a single international presence, but some co-ordination is possible as was done in Nigeria under the leadership of the British High Commissioner.



The 1994 referendum in Eritrea on independence. Mrs. Ute Pennekamp, a United Nations observer from Germany, is seated; our Eritrean interpreter is standing behind her; our chauffeur is standing in the middle; and I am on the right.

Sufficiently national coverage was achieved to show that the elections had been held fairly within the unfair guidelines established by the military government which had not only decreed that there would be only two parties, but had chosen their names and their platforms. There was no legitimate justification for suspending the elections when the results of all but one state had been tabulated. It irritates me when the press refers to Chief Abiola as 'widely thought to have won the elections': there is no doubt that he won them.

In Cameroon, on the other hand, the reluctance of the French Ambassador to work with other diplomatic missions made co-operation more difficult. The Ambassador seemed anxious to whitewash a flawed process, while the French Consul-General in Douala, which I covered on election day, was equally anxious to discredit it. Cameroon was moving from a single to a multi-party system largely under the pressure of donor nations. Holding of Congressional elections was the first step.

In one-party elections voter turnout is encouraged and credentials of voters need not be scrutinized closely. One man complained bitterly to me on election day in that unlike the case in previous elections he had not been allowed to cast votes for his two wives, whom he had left at home but whose documents he had brought with him. When I suggested that this was a reasonable restriction and said that in Canada my wife did not always vote for the same party as myself, his contempt for such a wimp of a husband was palpable.

Speaking the Language

It is difficult for an observer to work effectively if he or she cannot communicate directly with the electorate. Wherever feasible, this should guide the selection of Canadian observers. It has certainly made an enormous difference to my effectiveness in Spanish speaking countries to be able to speak directly with officials, politicians,

media representatives and electors. Conversely, I found myself seriously hampered in Eritrea working through an interpreter during the referendum on independence. He gave me the answers which he considered would reflect official policy. He grew annoyed when I attempted to repeat questions from one poll to the next on the grounds that he had already given me the answer, whereas my interest was in comparing the information given by different polling officials.

I was chosen for Angola on the apparent grounds that Spanish was better than nothing. And indeed it was.

I could read and understand the electoral material. I could not, however, understand enough of the local Portuguese to communicate with the people as could, for example, Guy Choquette who was also nominated as a UN observer. He was able to ask an illiterate lady the meaning of the Presidential election. She said that it was like choosing a husband; you examined the field and picked the best one available.

Fortunately, for the two election days I had with me a Sergeant Major from the Brazilian Military Police. He could understand my Spanish and I could understand his Portuguese when he spoke slowly. He would repeat for me in Brazilian Portuguese what the Angolans said to him in their Portuguese. Because of its colonial past the Angolans would have resented Portuguese observers and it would have been unwise of the UN to have sent any sizeable contingent of observers from Portugal. I could note a sea change in attitude by Angolan officials when they found that my Brazilian colleague was not Portuguese. Canada should have made more of an effort to find Portuguese speakers for both Angola and Mozambique.

The Count

When interest in elections is high voters often line up early and wait for hours, though if they were to vote in the afternoon or the second day in two day elections, they could do so in minutes. I asked one man in his seventies in South Africa whether he did not find it a burden to wait standing in the sun for so long. He replied that he had waited sixty years for this moment so that a few hours made no difference to him. I was naturally deeply moved by his answer. Perhaps, the delay added to his sense of fulfillment, even though he would have faced no line-up if he had voted the second day.

In South Africa the political scaffolding was in place. The pact between the ANC and the National Party and the willingness to make a place on the ballot at the last

minute for the Inkhata Freedom party meant that it was not a winner take all situation. Despite major technical problems, the elections in South Africa were a success because the political groundwork had been laid.

Vote tabulation took longer than expected in South Africa, as it has in a number of other countries where I have been an observer. This caused public concern. It always does and, unlike South Africa, sometimes with reason. The presence of some observers until the end of the process helps reassure public opinion and discourages fraud. Some electoral missions on which I have served have neglected this aspect and have provided inadequate coverage of voter tabulation or have attempted to improvise at the last minute in the face of a mission budget already spent.

Computer tabulation presents a new challenge, since figures can be falsified. An observation mission should have at least one computer expert and opposition parties should know how the system works. Opposition parties, for example, should have access through the computer program to individual poll results and have the means of checking these against district results. In Cameroon one example of fraud came to light when there were two returns for the same poll. On investigation, it turned out

that the poll had not functioned. Probably, different government officials had independently decided to take advantage of this opportunity. Opposition parties had the theoretical right to be represented at the polls and were represented at the district and national tabulation centers, but the government controlled the transmission of the information from the polls to the district levels. Moreover scrutineers were absent from many polls both because of poor organization by the opposition parties and government obstruction. Information on the location of the more than six hundred polls in the Yaoundé area was released at 6:00 p.m. on the evening before the election and some addresses were impossible to find.

A special twist in Peru is the fact that ballots are burnt at each poll after being counted. Nothing is available other than the document filled out at the end of the day by the poll officials. This represents a temptation for fraud, particularly in the preferential votes for members of Congress. Major fraud can be recognized since there is normal distribution of votes within polls in a given municipality, but local electoral commissions are reluctant to disallow a poll document in the absence of some other proof of wrong doing. A small international team can take an accurate reading as to whether

Presidential elections were open and fair. It is more difficult to do so in the case of individual Congressional results. Any statement on open and fair elections should focus on overall national results and not attempt a seal of approval for individual results where the international presence was insufficient to provide reliable information.

My service as a electoral observer has reinforced my faith in the democratic process, even though elections are only one part, although an indispensable part, of what is required to build a state which respects the rights and promotes the interests of its citizens. International electoral observation plays a distinctly subsidiary role in this process but can, nonetheless, be of help to countries trying to consolidate a democratic structure. 

Dwight Fulford was in the Foreign Service from 1955 to 1989, serving in Cuba, Mexico, Argentina (twice, first as Third Secretary and eighteen years later as Ambassador) and Saudi Arabia (Ambassador). Amongst Ottawa positions which he held were Director General of the Economic Bureau, of the Bureau of Public Affairs and Culture of the Caribbean and Central America Bureau and Vice-President of Petro-Canada International Assistance Corporation.

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Albania: Wandering in the



photos and story by David M. Edwards

For almost fifty years Albania was one of the most insular and harshly administered societies on earth. Aligned first with the USSR, then with China and finally isolated from the rest of the world, Albania toed the hardest line among orthodox communist states. Only

North Korea has paralleled Albania in the extent of the total control exerted over people's lives. The Albanian government banned religion in 1967, making it the world's first atheist state. Individual visits by foreigners were forbidden and contact with the outside world strictly limited. This fiercely isolationist policy continued even after communism had ended in the rest of

Eastern Europe. Finally, in late 1990 and early 1991, Albania became the last of the Eastern European communist states to collapse. One aspect of the shattering of the old order was the lifting of the previously onerous restrictions on travel. Visas are now easily obtainable at the airport and land frontiers, and one can travel freely throughout the country.

Land of the Eagle



Albania now presents a fascinating view of a society in the aftermath of a radical transformation. The wrenching changes of the early 1990s took place at a high cost. There was an enormous amount of pent-up rage and fury released against the old order. Almost everything related to "the state" was a target. Windows of public buildings were smashed, museums looted, public

parks trashed, benches torn up and garbage strewn everywhere. Factories lie in ruins. Little has since been repaired. This is particularly unfortunate as the country is physically attractive, with soaring mountain ranges in the centre and north of the country and beautiful coastal areas along the Adriatic.

The destruction of the old order has not been succeeded by a functioning market

system. Infrastructure is decrepit and unemployment is massive (I heard figures up to 60 percent). Ten percent of the population has emigrated in the past five years. Almost all the young or middle-aged Albanian men I met wanted to leave the country. Salaries for those with jobs average \$50 to \$75 per month. People constantly made disparaging references to their country ("Albania=Rwanda") and were surprised that I would choose to visit the country on holiday. But most agreed that Albanians had "good hearts."

Albanians are eager to meet foreigners. They talk about the earlier communist period in very negative terms, often resorting to obscenities. A few less colourful examples include: "...they were the darkest days in Albanian history," "...our entire country was a prison," "...we were afraid to talk even within our families." Albanians justify the trashing of the country as a justifiable catharsis against the previous evil. One said to me apologetically but also with a tinge of pride "People smashed things. They did not kill other people."

*Albania presents
a fascinating view
of a society in
the aftermath
of a radical
transformation.*

Gradually the country is pulling itself together. This makes solo low-budget travel feasible for the adventurous traveller. More private rooms are available as an alternative to the remaining overpriced and crumbling state hotels. Bar/cafés and restaurants are opening throughout the country and private minibuses and vehicles now ply the roads. Costs are very low by European standards and the country is far off the tourist circuit. I only met one Western traveller during my stay in the country. While Albanians are fond of highlighting the security risks, most people are friendly and helpful. I was more often overwhelmed by generosity and support. Travel in the Republika e Shqipëria, ("the Land of the Eagle") is a challenge, but the rewards are more than worth the effort.

I flew into Albania via Alitalia from Rome. Following a short hop across the Adriatic, the plane began its descent into the small Rinas airport, circling in front of a long

mountain range. The terrain was rugged and dry. The vast majority of other passengers were expatriate Albanians returning home, with a sprinkling of Italian missionaries.

On my way into Tirana I was stuck in a traffic jam for over two hours. A mere five years ago Albania was a carless society! I saw women cutting hay with scythes, horses pulling ploughs and hundreds of derelict bunkers built along the side of the road. Over half a million bunkers were built in the late 1970s and early 1980s at the height of Albania's isolation. They were constructed under the orders of strongman Enver Hoxha to stave off a capitalist invasion. Virtually all of them lie broken down and abandoned.

Tirana, the capital, is a bustling city of 300,000 people that gives little evidence of its isolated past. It is here where the effects of the changes are most obvious. Consumer goods are widely available and there are many good restaurants and cafes. People dress stylishly and the streets are full of vehicles, many stolen from elsewhere in Europe. There are also bizarre juxtapositions of the old and new orders. In the centre of the city are the imposing buildings of Skanderberg Square overlooked by a gigantic socialist mural. In the square are dozens of money changers with calculators, assorted hustlers and a bumper car game playing loud tinny technotronic music.

Tirana is a good base for exploring the centre of the country. I spent time along the coast around the port city of Durrës, and on another occasion went up to the mountain citadel village of Kruja, set at 600 metres with a sweeping panoramic view over the Adriatic. The citadel at Kruja is stunning, dating from the 1400s. Sadly, parts of the famous monument are now being disassembled and used as stones for new houses.

I was particularly interested in venturing up to Albania's "Wild North," the most backward, but arguably most beautiful region of the country next to the border of former Yugoslavia. My guidebook noted some special conditions. "It has been reported from the north of the country, that a number of Albanian nationals are caught up in blood feuds."

I took a local bus from Tirana to Shkodra, the largest town in the north of the country. The distance is about 110 kilometres but it took over three hours because of road conditions. The derelict state run hotel had broken windows, so I walked around the town until I found a small Albanian-style lodge that charged only \$2 per night. Shkodra's main drawing card is the charming street of Bulevardi 13 Dhjetori. This was one location in Albania that felt like other parts of Europe — a pleasant pedestrian

mall with restaurants, small pubs and cafes. On the outskirts of town are the brooding ruins of Shkodra's fortress.

Early the next morning I awoke before dawn to catch the minibus that was heading to Komani, where I was to catch the ferry up to Fierza. Albania's northernmost district of Tropoja in the Albanian Alps is now cut off from direct land access. Two huge dams, built at Komani and Fierza on the Drini river, supply most of Albania with power. The route for vehicles and passengers going to Tropoja district is via a ferry that operates along the waterway created by the building of the dams.

The passengers inside the minibus were a rough and sometimes unruly group. There was a lot of yelling and arguments even before the bus began its journey. It did not seem an auspicious start. The bus journey took us through the town and then along a flat stretch for about half an hour before we began ascending in elevation. We then continued on through increasingly wild and barren hills and mountains. The bus was full of chain smokers, and the driver was perhaps the most aggressive smoker of all. There was considerable interest in my nationality, with the name "Canadese" bandied about with considerable laughter. The driver tried to communicate with me in sign language. He made a few jokes about driving the bus off the edge of the cliffs and a series of dismissive hand gestures that I assumed were critical of Albania.

I heard a loud crack that sounded like gunfire.

Two hours later we approached the Komani dam. Access was controlled by a roadblock. After a few minutes we were allowed to pass. The bus climbed up the edge of a mountain and then passed through a long dark tunnel that was in rough shape with deep puddles and smelled of stale exhaust fumes. We emerged on the other side to find nothing but a small concrete slab between the mountain and the river, which served as a parking area, and a very basic restaurant. The dam was a couple of hundred metres back and hills on either side provided a canyon effect along the lake.

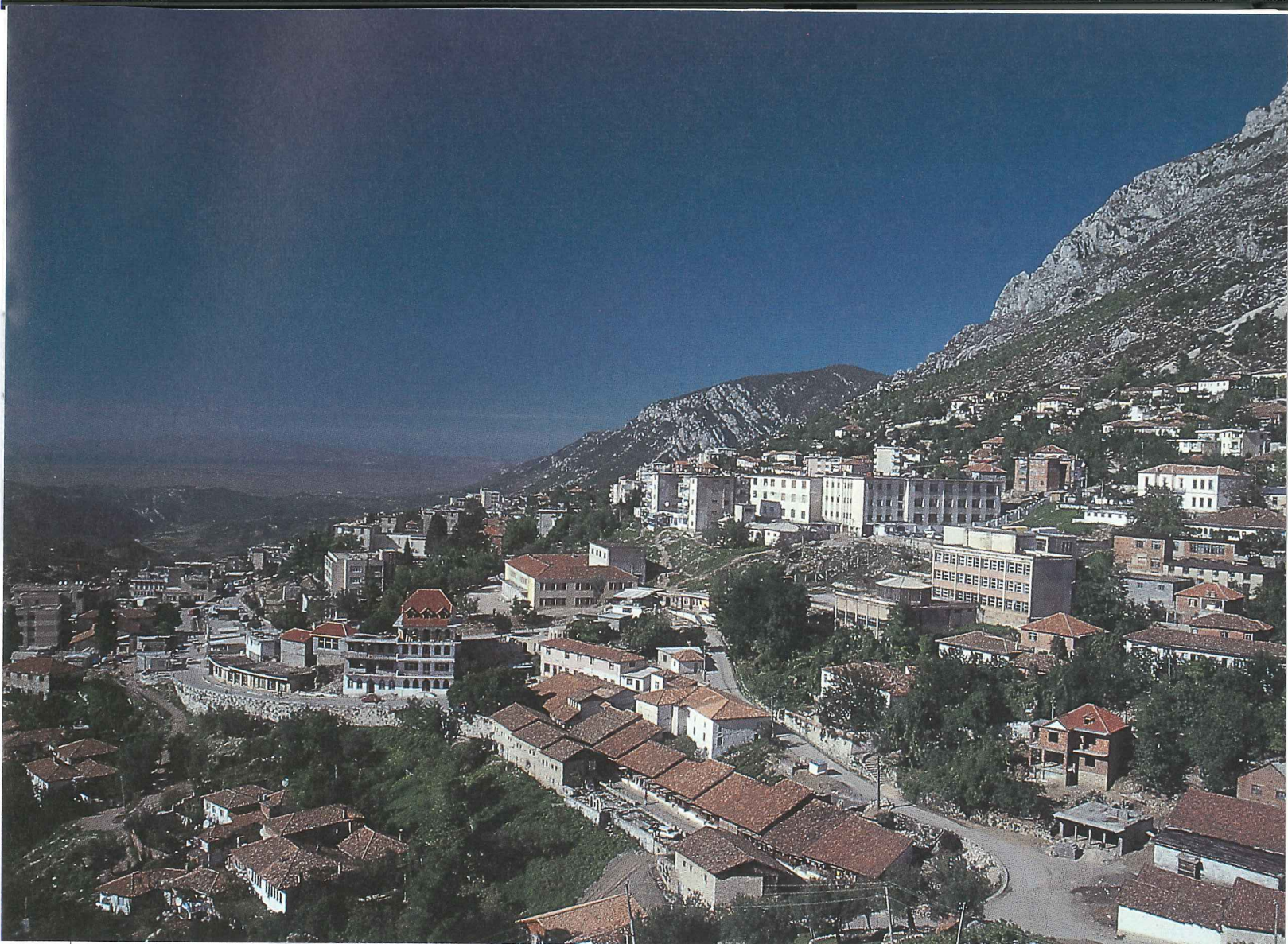
Why the bus had arrived at this tiny location almost three hours before the boat was scheduled to arrive left me puzzled. I went

into the hut and sat on one of the wooden benches. It was still quite chilly and I ordered a Turkish coffee. Several Albanians were starting their day with boisterous arguments and glasses of local brandy. As I was adjusting my backpack, I heard a loud crack that sounded like gunfire. About thirty seconds later I heard another shot. I went out to see a group of about forty Albanian men huddled together next to the waters edge. Suddenly one of them pulled a handgun out of his pocket, aimed it in the air at a 45 degree angle and pulled the trigger. Then another pulled a gun out of his belt and did the same thing. Within a couple of minutes yet another pulled out his gun and fired three shots in the air, then emptied the shells out of the gun chamber. This seemed to end the display of *macho bravado* and the handguns were put back into their appropriate holsters and pockets.

Finally, the "Traket," a passenger and car ferry boat, came into view. By this time the small parking area was jammed with vehicles. Perhaps 100 men were on the front of the embarkation platform of the boat as it approached the landing pier. Just before landing, they started leaping off the boat and ran frantically for the buses. This initial burst of urgency seemed misplaced. None of the vehicles on the boat were able to unload as the parking area was full. Things soon settled into chaos with the vehicles on the boat honking their horns, vehicles in the jammed parking area honking their horns, and yelling and arguments from a fair percentage of the drivers and passengers. At last the boat captain joined the cacophony by blasting his foghorn in the narrow canyon. This continued for the better part of an hour. Eventually vehicles started leaving, the passengers got on and, after loading on the last of the vehicles heading north, we were on our way.

But what a trip! For more than two hours the boat went along the narrow river course of the flooded Drini, at times through narrow gorges with limestone outcrops hundreds of meters high, or slightly wider areas reminiscent of a Norwegian fjord. At other points were wide and expansive views of the Albanian Alps to the north, and small farms clinging precariously on hill slopes. The river was a rich azure colour. We landed at the town of Fierza, within sight of the other large dam on the Drini. The landing site was larger and the disembarkation process considerably less chaotic than at Komani. There was a group of minibuses waiting to take us to the main town of Bajram Curri and capital of the northern Tropoja district, under an hour away.

Tropoja is noticeably poorer than other parts of Albania. I wrote down my



impression of Bajram Curri on the evening I arrived. "Sunset shadows grow longer over 2500 metre rocky peaks. Below are crumbling apartment blocks sporting threadbare laundry and satellite dishes. In the foreground are piles of garbage and idle Albanian men chatting around an aging, probably stolen Mercedes Benz. In the slight distance, sheep wander around the ubiquitous derelict concrete bunkers."

The border of Yugoslavia, both Kosovo and Montenegro provinces, lies just a few kilometres away. Its proximity has led to smuggling and some incidents of violence. There were some soldiers in the town, a rare sight in the rest of the country. I met some individuals on a project funded by the European Union to monitor incidents along the border and to determine the effectiveness of the enforcement of the UN embargo against former Yugoslavia.

The following day I continued up a gravel side road for 35 kilometres up into the mountains, past a small settlement called Dragobi and finally reached the small, idyllic village of Valbona. All the houses were constructed of stone. The village was

surrounded by towering rocky peaks reminiscent of the Dolomites in northern Italy. I hiked with a young Albanian for a few kilometres along a dry riverbed in the direction of the small settlement of Thethi. Away from population centres, there was almost no litter or other pollution. The pristine Albania that must have existed earlier could at last be savoured. In its current state, the valley is an isolated paradise.

Later I went from Tirana to Lake Ohrid, shared by Albania and Macedonia. Ohrid is the deepest lake in Europe. It is famous for its delicious trout called "koran" in Albanian. Pogradec is the main settlement on the Albanian side of the lake. It has a stunning setting, but the beach is polluted, the park benches torn up and garbage strewn about. If one looked beyond the immediate environs of the town one could see the beauty of Lake Ohrid itself.

Walking across the border into Macedonia was like stepping into another world. I was back in Europe. Ohrid town is a well organized and comfortable tourist destination. There are many monasteries and churches to explore. There are also many hotels,

campsites, boutiques and restaurants. Although it remains completely safe to visit, the cataclysm taking place a couple of hundred kilometres to the north has scared off most foreign visitors.

But the appeal of the creature comforts did not make up for the loss of the personal contact that had made Albania so special. So I walked back into the charming, if decrepit, chaos of the Land of the Eagle, savouring my last couple of days staying with private families in Pogradec and Tirana.

I arranged to have the same taxi driver who had taken me from Rinas airport to Tirana take me out for my departure. He had decried the conditions in Albania when I arrived, suggesting that I should get right back on the airplane and leave.

"Albania not s**t country?" he asked as I was leaving.

"Albanian people have good hearts." I replied.

David Edwards works in the Korea and East Asia Division at DFAIT. He has had postings in Harare, Lusaka and New Delhi.

Bicycles in Shanghai



by Richard Belliveau

There are 7.5 million registered bicycles in Shanghai and only 300,000 automobiles. Public transport is still by bus. The street layout of the main part of the city is hardly changed from what it was in the 1920s and 1930s. The streets are not all straight and many don't necessarily go where you think they might go. Buses, cars and bicycles compete for the same space on the streets.

As is evident from the numbers, bicycles constitute the principal mode of transportation for Shanghai's adults. Children are not permitted to ride bicycles; you have to be over sixteen for that privilege.

Given the bicycle's central role, you would think we could deduce something about the character of the people of Shanghai from the way they ride bicycles. If so, let us look at how they handle their bikes.

Things people do on bicycles:

- a) Cyclists move in the direction and at the speed of least resistance. Frequently such directions have nothing to do with the bicycle lanes, oncoming cars, traffic lights, pedestrians or intersections. It is a recipe for danger.
- b) Streams of bicycles flow like sand through the fingers into any space available.

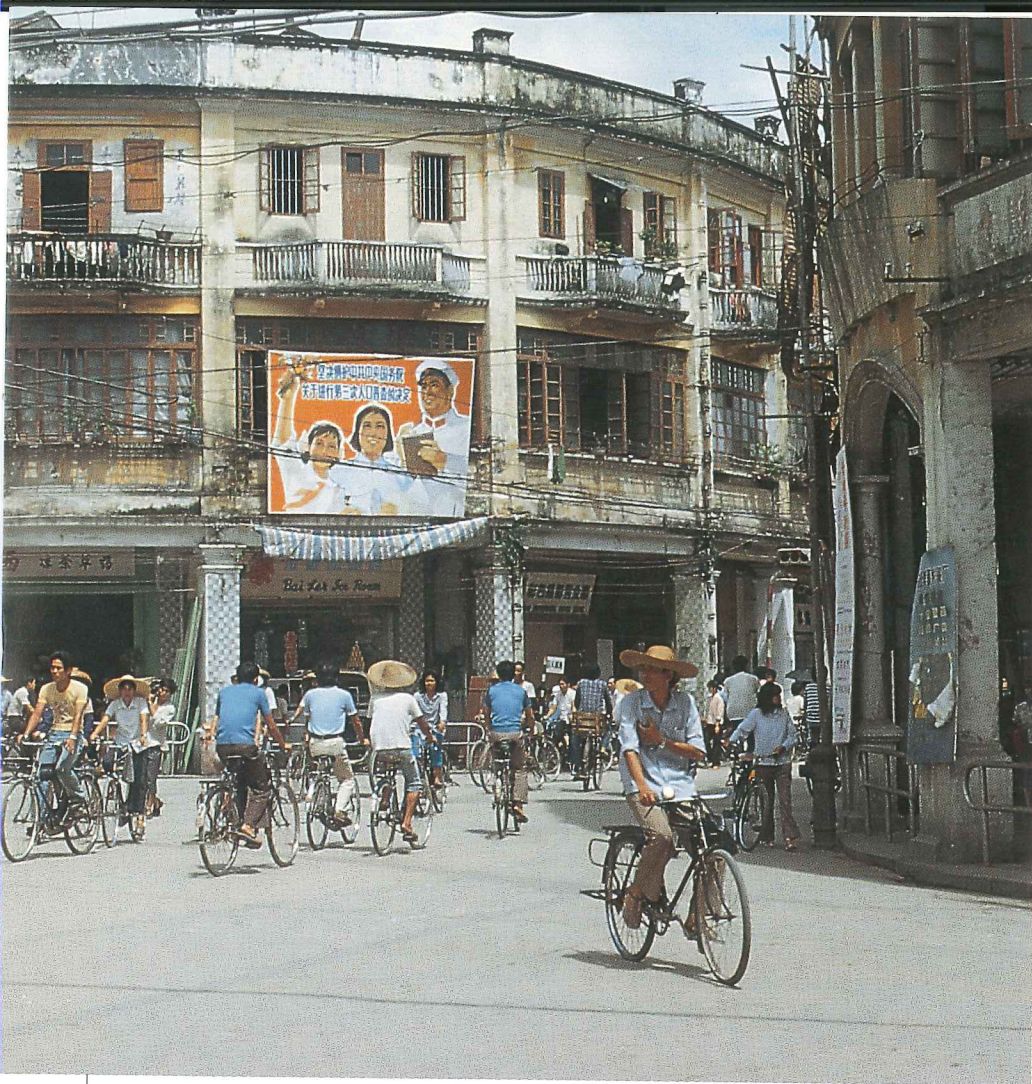


Photo: Nicholas Coghlan

A friend of mine was hit by a bike as he was stepping out of a taxi onto the sidewalk. The woman driving the bike had tried to go through that little space on the inside rather than going around. And she blamed him.

- c) Cyclists never look around them to see what is coming. They look only in the direction they are going and hope nothing will hit them. After all, if you can't see it, perhaps it does not exist. Certainly you do not have to take responsibility for it. By and large — but not always — they are not hit by onrushing buses.
- d) Cyclists shoot out of side streets, alleys, lanes and compounds without looking to see if there is oncoming traffic and without reducing speed. They shoot right into a traffic lane with the dazed look of a spacecraft pilot who has just leaped through a time warp.
- e) Cyclists ride hypnotically. I suppose you would too if you spent two hours a day commuting on a bicycle.
- f) Many cyclists are not fully in control of their bikes. This is especially worrisome when they are carrying their only-permitted child on the bicycle with them.
- g) Cyclists do not signal their movements in traffic (see a, b, c and d above, probably also e and f, come to think of it).

h) This one I can't figure out. When cyclists cross paths with another moving vehicle (either motor-powered or man-powered) they always try to cross in front of the oncoming vehicle rather than slip behind. This makes no sense in terms of smooth traffic movement because it frequently ends in a standoff with both vehicles having to stop. Maybe it has something to do with face.

- i) Such rules of the road as exist are largely unknown or ignored, unless there are people to enforce them, like the army of retired old folk who have been pressed into service to help control bicycle traffic armed only with yellow jackets, a little red flag, their old bodies and courage. Old folk like telling people what to do.

I am convinced the only reason more people have not been slaughtered on the roads of Shanghai is that, because of congestion, the speed of the traffic is never fast enough to incur real carnage. The opening last December of the city's first ring road should change this for motor vehicles at least because bicycles are not allowed on the ring road. That does not mean they would not like to be. There are policemen posted at every on-ramp on the ring road to prevent pedestrians and cyclists from using the

highway. In fact, the ring road is already dangerous. It was reported in the press that there were over 1,900 accidents during the first two months of the road's operation, many of them due to "mechanical problems, such as tires falling off or braking systems malfunctioning."

Shanghai is at the forefront of China's economic and technical modernization program. With new mass transit systems that are being built and increasing mechanization, bicycles will undoubtedly be phased out as the preferred means of transport. After all, a bicycle is just a half-way point between a horse and an automobile. Taxi drivers in Shanghai already drive pretty much as if they learned on bicycles, which is very scary when one comes shooting out of a laneway without looking or slowing down.

If the habits learned from riding bicycles are applied to running the new industrial and automated society, Shanghai is in for a rocky ride. Although the people probably won't see it coming.

Richard Belliveau is currently Canadian High Commissioner in Brunei. He recently completed three years as Consul General in Shanghai where he rode bicycles with Prime Minister Chrétien in 1994.



Photo: Julia Bentley

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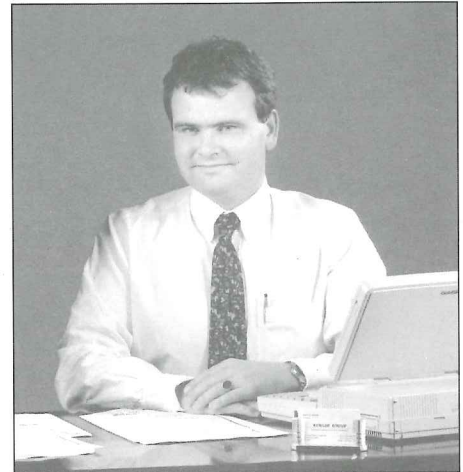
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Carla Thorlakson

Jeff LeBane provided the following eulogy during a memorial service for Carla Thorlakson in Ottawa on January 22, 1996. Carla died, surrounded by her family, in Winnipeg on December 9, 1995.

Carla had four enduring interests in her life: a love of travel and exploration; a deep commitment to her work; her family, roots and tradition; and a heartfelt appreciation of friendship.

Carla's love of travel and exploration began even before she joined the foreign service. She had already spent a year in Italy and to subsequently have her first posting in Italy was a source of great joy to her. She was fluent in Italian, and loved all things associated with the country, including its cuisine. In subsequent years she travelled widely in Europe, Asia and North America with her undiminished sense of inquiry about all things surrounding her. From her first holiday outside of Italy to visit me in Greece, to her last holiday from Singapore to visit my family in New Delhi, she never stopped.

Carla gained this love from her own family and their long history of migration to Canada from Iceland in the 19th century, especially from a great-aunt who influenced her greatly.

Her sense of inquiry was combined with a strong attachment to her work. Carla was a professional foreign service officer who had the deepest commitment to the immigration program. Yes, she was meticulous and exacting in her work but it gave her such great satisfaction. She loved her craft. Her final accomplishment was the 'Reporting and Liaison Handbook', a tool enabling immigration officers to strengthen and broaden their abilities to produce focused and relevant reporting. Carla truly practised and reflected excellence in any task she took on — it was in her blood to do nothing else.

Carla comes from a close-knit family. No matter how far afield she travelled, Carla kept in close touch with her family and visited home — Winnipeg — at least once a year. As well, her family's long commitment to Manitoba, their sense of social duty and medical professionalism influenced Carla greatly. She was especially close to her sister, Pat, whom we are honoured to have with us today.

Carla appreciated friendship and had a wide circle of friends. I have been Carla's friend since the beginning — as native Winnipeggers we joined the Immigration

Foreign Service on the same day in 1973. Indeed, we travelled to Ottawa on the same flight. Over the years and despite whatever miles separated us, we always kept in touch, sharing our adventures. Carla came to our wedding, and visited our family often, in Canada and overseas. She knew our three children well, and tolerantly I might add. Carla and Pat shared an evening at our home last August, what was our last together.

Carla was very stoic over the past difficult years. She very much did not want to dwell on her health, nor did she want others to do so. She wanted to get on with life and make the most of it.

I know she would be very pleased and happy to see you here. This is a fine celebration of her life. Even though Carla was a private, modest person I know she would be touched and smile warmly at today's remembrance.

There are just three things I would like to say to Carla today, which I am sure you all share:

I am sorry, Carla, you had to leave us so early.

I will keep your memory as something very fine.

I wish you safe journey.

Sylvie Bédard-Gigantès

The following poems were read by colleagues at the funeral service on January 24, 1996. Sylvie died on January 21, 1996.

Sylvie

Je suis allée chez toi jeudi dernier.
Je suis allée pour t'embrasser et te parler un peu.

On s'est manquées.
Mais aujourd'hui, je suis là, et je peux encore te parler.

Sylvie,
Je veux te dire que tu me manques
— que tu nous manques — au bureau.
Tu sais, je me suis habituée à voir dans le bureau du coin un collier de perles.
Ton collier de perles sur ton cœur qui bat.

Ton collier de perles qui saute sur ta poitrine, tellement y'a de l'énergie là-dedans!

Tu sais, Sylvie, quand t'es pas là, c'est pas pareil !

Sylvie,
J'aime ça quand tu arrives le matin et que j'entends tes talons hauts, avant même de t'apercevoir.
J'aime ça quand j'entends ta voix grasse et bien ronde lancer un «Bonjour mes chéris».
J'aime le froufrou de tes blouses de soie.
J'aime te voir marcher : on dirait que, même quand tu marches, ça te fait un plaisir fou.

Puis, tu t'arrêtes à mon bureau, et tu me racontes la promenade matinale que tu as faite dans les bois, un peu plus tôt, avec ton mari et tes chiens.
Tu me parles de l'air frais du matin, du soleil qui se lève, du lac gelé, et même des épaisseurs de laine que tu as mises pour te garder au chaud. Comme si tu en avais besoin.

Sylvie,
C'est simple : j'aime ta présence.
T'es ronde, t'es réconfortante, et t'as toujours le bon mot.
Tu aimes, tu le dis, et tu le montres.
Tu aimes la nature, tu aimes les fleurs, tu aimes les bons repas, tu aimes la vie et tu aimes les gens.
Je comprends pourquoi t'as tellement d'ami(e)s : avec une amie comme toi, on ne s'ennuie jamais.

D'ailleurs, je sais que ce matin tes ami(e)s, des quatre coins du monde, sont d'accord avec moi. Chacun voudrait seulement être là pour pouvoir te le dire.

Sylvie,
Je m'ennuie de ces matins-là...

Louise Levasseur

Like a Breath of Fresh Air

Sylvie
You are like a walk in the park
Or a light in the dark
Style without pretention
Your vision with intention
Kind and sincere
You draw us all near
Gentle but courageous
Sometimes outrageous
For it is true
We all love you and
You are a breath of fresh air

Geoff Pender

Books in Review / Critiques de livres

Overseas Chinese Business Networks in Asia
reviewed by Peter MacArthur

True Brits: Inside the Foreign Office
reviewed by Hector Mackenzie

OVERSEAS CHINESE BUSINESS NETWORKS IN ASIA, by the East Asia Analytical Unit of DEAT Australia. Available for A\$39 from AGPS Mail Order Sales, GPO Box 84, Canberra, ACT, Australia, Telephone (008) 02-0049 or (06) 295-4861.

Reviewed by Peter MacArthur

Peter MacArthur is Counsellor (Commercial) and Trade Commissioner in Hong Kong. In 1992-94 he was seconded to the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Canberra. He has also served in Moscow, New Delhi, Bombay and was Deputy Director, Central and Eastern Europe Trade in Ottawa.

Misunderstanding Asian business practices continues to be a major stumbling block to foreigners even attempting to enter South-East Asian and Chinese markets. A roadmap is needed to show outsiders how

to navigate the world of ethnic Chinese commercial networks.

The East Asia Analytical Unit of the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade has taken a major step towards meeting this cross-cultural commercial intelligence need. The research agency has published the 360 page *Overseas Chinese Business Networks in Asia* which describes in great depth how to find your business partners the Chinese way. The book helps prepare Westerners to enter Chinese dominated markets across Pacific Asia in a more geo-culturally targeted and effective manner. It highlights the fact that culture is becoming more and more of a business input.

This well researched book documents how to conduct business through these borderless webs of interlocking families, clans, and sub-dialects. It describes ways to link into China from the outside through various ancestral and cultural allegiances and

specific affinities to crafts, regions, cities and towns in China. The product of over a year of interviews with 160 leading ethnic Chinese business people, politicians and academics in nine countries, including Hong Kong, the study also draws on extensive desk research, consulting work, surveys and analytical distillation. It is not a book on Chinese business etiquette but rather a compilation from mainly public sources of how to play the Chinese diaspora card in gaining access to business circles in ASEAN countries and ultimately China. The book is a timely one for Canadians as we will be hosting the World Chinese Entrepreneurs Convention for the first time outside Asia in Vancouver in 1997.

Compared to contemporary books on the same theme such as Sterling Seagrave's *Lords of the Rim*, Claudia Cragg's *The New Taipans* and John Naisbitt's *Asian Megatrends*, this work comes loaded with informative organigrammes, useful lists, graphic data tables and fascinating case studies. The research work takes a comprehensive step by step approach to explaining how historical patterns of migration and settlement have led to today's international linkages and occupational associations. It provides a better understanding of why trade and investment flows into China have taken on particular configurations in the past 15 years. As such, the book is more of a point-by-point reference tool for specialized or policy readers, watching Asian developments, in both the public and private sectors. But it could also appeal to the academic or general reader with an interest in the economic revolution and realignment that is swirling around the Pacific Rim.

The Australian report highlights the need for Canadian researchers to undertake a similar survey of how our communities are integrated into the 50 million member overseas Chinese diaspora. It is a diaspora which has not forgotten its roots, maintaining an interest in the Chinese mainland. If one is to learn from the approach of this book, a comparable Canadian study would do well to place the accent more on conclusions and next steps rather than simply on trends and facts.

The author, economist Michael Backman, seeks to suggest by implication that

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Australian, like Canadian, corporate marketers should draw more intelligently on these influential culturally-linked expert resources at home in preparing to enter almost any line of business in Greater China and the southern flank of East Asia. He recounts some success stories where particular Australian firms have tuned into these almost invisible currents of influence and won business where others had not. Reading the extensive sections on Australia's linkages to the China-centred networks, one could almost always transpose Canada's realities. Today's Chinese communities in both countries can play an increasingly dynamic bridge building role. I will never forget the Japanese banker who once admitted that, despite geography and obvious differences in history and competitiveness, Canada would always enjoy an advantage in trading and investing in China due to the linguistic and cultural strengths of one million Canadians of Chinese origin embedded in the country's multiculturalism. It is a hidden strength upon which much of our success in Pacific markets may well hinge.

Some of Backman's points on learning more from the Chinese on how to connect through the "Bamboo Network" are noteworthy and provide some flavour for what lies within the guide's covers. In general, these entrepreneurs are heavy savers, inherent risk takers and hard workers. They eschew direct involvement in politics, prefer highly centralized business decision-making, use low margin and high volume to penetrate markets, and are obsessed with rigorous control over inventory to achieve low capital investment and high rates of stock turnover. In addition, companies normally keep transaction costs lower by relying on ethnic Chinese connections and prefer internal financing, minimizing any outsourcing for supporting services. Ethnic Chinese represent 6 percent of South-East Asia's population, they control more than 70 percent of the region's corporate wealth and account for 86 percent of its billionaires. They employ 18-20 million Chinese on the mainland. The 50 million ethnic Chinese in the region generated an estimated GDP of US\$450 billion in 1990, equivalent to that of China at the time. Among the top 500 ethnic Chinese controlled public companies in Asia, about 20 percent have land and property development as their core activity. Banking, textiles and retail trade are also heavily represented.

Backman estimates that the diaspora's corporate network today controls an estimated US\$600 billion. Outside Greater China, activity is most concentrated in Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines. This kind of entrepreneurship is now

launching a comeback in Vietnam and Myanmar. This seamless web of immense economic power and influence is replacing the Japanese as the underwriters of early economic development in South-East Asia. Occupying niche areas others ignored, many of these entrepreneurs are "fillers of economic potholes on the road to development" in mainly ASEAN countries, according to Backman. To a large extent, these huge savers of capital are exporting funds and fueling the rapid intra-Asian GDP and trade growth. Overseas Chinese are also displacing Japanese commercial interests in real estate markets across Australasia and North America. The Japanese do not enjoy either the same extent of family guanxi outside Japan or family-centred companies inside Japan for purposes of internalizing business advice, market intelligence or finance for nimble action in markets. Leading families and emerging elites in the Chinese diaspora are consolidating their positions by sending their children abroad for specialized management and other professional education.

One of the book's most salient points is to make clear that the overseas Chinese communities are by no means homogeneous, that spoken languages and histories are totally different. It is therefore just as important to select the right partner outside

China as inside China since certain dialects and sub-dialects or clan-specific industry specialties are only appropriate in certain regions or industries in China or the region. More and more multinational corporations are waking up to this competitive advantage and joining forces with conglomerates such as the CP Group of Thailand, Taiwan's Evergreen Group, Malaysia's Kerry Group, Hong Kong's New World Group or Indonesia's Salim Group to tap into these traditional cultural empathies in their quest for an entree. Accounts of how specific Australian companies, particularly those in the small to medium size category, have succeeded with the help of Chinese communities in Australia are quite instructive.

The legions of Chinese business delegations visiting certain regions of North America such as Toronto and Vancouver can partly be explained as a reflection of these networks at work. For example, one occupation-dialect linkage which still exists today are the Teochiu Chinese who continue to control most of Asia's international trade in agricultural products such as rice, seafood, fruit and vegetables. Backman's book goes into some detail on the important Shanghainese community in Hong Kong and how it has come to dominate the textile, clothing and other industries. At the same time, the book explains why

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overseas Chinese groups have been less successful operators and investors in North America where the rules of the game in mature economies are different.

Among the insights and useful facts presented in the book are stories about major business families. This is particularly well done for industrial groups located in ASEAN countries. For example, there is the story of the Salim Group of Indonesia. The conglomerate is composed of 400 affiliates with a combined turnover of US\$9 billion, representing 5 percent of the country's GDP. Founded by the Liem Sioe Liong family through many linkages, the group is now involved in ventures with other key figures such as Malaysia's Robert Kuok, Taiwan's Ko family and Filipino Chinese George Ty, Henry Sy and Lucio Tan. During the struggle for independence from the Dutch, Mr Liem supplied the fledgling Indonesian army's division in Java with food, medicines and military supplies. The quartermaster of that division was none other than a Mr Suharto — now President of Indonesia. This did not harm the group's expansion into textiles, soap and banking in the 1950s and 1960s when the Liem family secured exclusive import rights from the Indonesian authorities. The control of milling flour allowed Liem's company to become the world's biggest producer of instant noodles and the world's largest commercial buyer of wheat, including Canadian grains.



TRUE BRITS: INSIDE THE FOREIGN OFFICE
by Ruth Dudley Edwards. London. BBC
Books. 1994. 256 pp. \$42.99 hardcover
in Canada [£16.99 in the U.K.]

Reviewed by Hector Mackenzie

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

Some readers will be familiar with *True Brits*, a six-part television series on the Foreign and Commonwealth Office produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation. The initiative for this project came from the BBC in 1983, but it was nearly ten years before filming began. By then, the prospect of massive public expenditure cuts and the awareness that it had few friends inside or outside Whitehall prompted the FCO to overcome its instinctive aversion to public scrutiny and to permit camera crews to invade its collective privacy. The result was a remarkable look behind the veil that

has traditionally shrouded Britain's Diplomatic Service.

Whether or not it accomplished the fundamental objectives of the BBC and/or the FCO, the series certainly provided viewers with a more varied, and ultimately therefore a more positive, portrait of the FCO and of its staff, especially those posted abroad. Though not a ratings threat to *Pride and Prejudice*, *Match of the Day* or *Coronation Street*, we are informed that the programmes attracted a respectable, if not necessarily a respectful, audience when first telecast over a year ago.

True Brits, the book, has been adapted and restructured to take account of the different medium, but its perspective and tone are consistent with its progenitor. Ruth Dudley Edwards conveys in the introduction and throughout the text a profound sympathy for the members of the Diplomatic Service and for their work. Even when there is specific criticism, it takes place within a generally favourable context which mixes national pride, élitism and appreciation for the virtues of a beleaguered institution, not unlike the way the BBC itself would like to be depicted. Mercifully for the FCO and its inmates, the author seems more inclined to debunk the myth of the idle, high-living and arrogant diplomat than to raise probing questions about the value and purpose of the Diplomatic Service in the modern era. When such negative thoughts infect the commentary, it is usually as a foil or counterpoint to an episode or exposition which sweeps such doubts aside. Similarly, foreign experience is employed for comparative purposes — often to show how each country's diplomatic service reflects some historical tendency or national character — but these references are usually brief and superficial.

The book has certain advantages over the series: it is not so dependent on visual images (though it is profusely and effectively illustrated); it does not have to be as episodic or anecdotal in approach; and, it is possible to develop themes which would test the attentiveness of even the most dedicated viewer. Chapters correspond to topics rather than to locations. Of course, some remarks made casually or hastily before the cameras acquire an unwelcome permanence in print, while others display shadings more obviously on re-reading, as with a few of the carefully phrased tributes to Sir David Hannay on page 157. The delightfully impertinent minutes reproduced on pages 167 and 168 demonstrate one of the distinct pleasures of the written word, which it is difficult to convey on television. Moments of pathos or drama lose impact, but that is not always a bad thing. Accents are missing,

though many are familiar or easily imagined. For better or worse, the qualities and personalities of the members of the Diplomatic Service are vivid in both media.

Indeed, there are times when Edwards rivals the denizens of the FCO in her estimation of their talents and of Britain's place in the world. For example, the discussion of permanent seats on the Security Council — why the United Kingdom deserves one and Japan does not — strikes a foreign reader as remarkably insular, arrogant, complacent and uncritical. Moreover, the harsh tone of the comments on Japan stands in stark contrast to the silence about the qualifications of another claimant, Britain's fellow European, Germany. The patronizing references to American diplomats and to the political context in which they must work are neither original nor informative. Foreign assessments of the FCO and its work — or even views from another part of Whitehall or from British commentators — are conspicuously missing.

For a Canadian reader, especially one familiar with PAFSO and its preoccupations, a number of the concerns expressed about recruitment, promotion, working conditions and treatment of spouses, will strike a responsive chord. *True Brits* is at its best when it contrasts the perceptions of the Diplomatic Service by others with the conditions at posts. Though complaints from the diplomats are sometimes bluntly expressed, especially in the anonymous interviews which are a feature of the book rather than the television series, the FCO is most often accused of indifference or misunderstanding, with the harshest barbs reserved for the ignorant and parsimonious Treasury. An exception to that rule is the palpable resentment surrounding the division by the FCO of the Diplomatic Service into two streams — delicately labelled "fast" and "main" (formerly "executive" and "administrative") which roughly correspond to two social classes. As the labels suggest, these groups are divided in recruitment, assignments and promotion. A simple table which Edwards reproduces on page 91 conveys starkly the chronic under-representation of women and over-representation of Oxbridge graduates in the "fast stream." These biases are even more pronounced in the top four grades of the Diplomatic Service. One is left wondering, however, how the FCO compares to other British government departments, as comparative statistics are not provided.

Overall, then, the book and the series present a favourable portrait of the FCO and especially of the Diplomatic Service. From that perspective, the FCO's commitment



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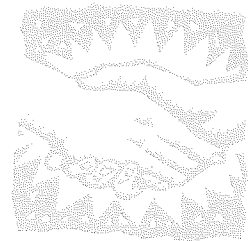
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to the project was justified. It may be too soon to tell whether this televisual revisionism has had an impact on the public perception of British diplomats and the budget of the FCO, but it has certainly attracted attention from other foreign ministries, including our own. Without any precise information about what may or may not have been proposed here — why should this subject be different from any other? — it may still be possible to raise relevant questions or comments about whether *True Brits* provides a model for *Fake Brits: the Sequel* or *Virtuous Canucks*.

The book is coy about funding — there are references to travel and hospitality but not to production costs — which must surely be a crucial consideration in the current fiscal context. Any major commitment in this realm by a foreign ministry today would justifiably be controversial. For such a project to be worthwhile for a film company or broadcaster, there would have to be an attractive combination of access and editorial freedom, as well as a perceived story-line and audience — all of which may make it more difficult to influence or control the outcome. There have been powerful documentaries recently in Canada — including notorious ones on controversial subjects — with the study of the break

between the United Auto Workers and the Canadian Auto Workers as an especially vivid example of what remarkable results can be achieved when a camera crew witnesses unexpected developments. But these films have most often been studies of events which illuminate people, values and institutions, rather than straightforward presentations.

It is also unlikely that the peculiar relationship between the BBC and the FCO as mutually sympathetic institutions could be reproduced in Canada. Moreover, as recent reports and commentaries on public broadcasting in this country have stressed, the audience for film and television here is very different from that in the United Kingdom. Perhaps the best outcome would be a variation on the theme from *True Brits*, with the equivalent of one programme dealing with a specific topic or episode to evaluate the viability of a more comprehensive scheme. But the interests and objectives for each institutional participant should be clearly understood beforehand and the respective commitments of time, resources and funds should be defensible, not only within the Department but also to taxpayers.



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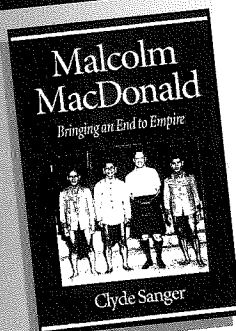
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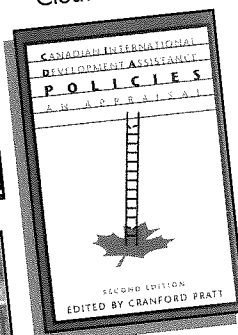
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Hommage to Tannu Tuva

Steppe by Steppe with A Aalto

When last we checked with ace logician Ludwig Liebnitz, South Pacific pseudo-debutante Mabel Stanley was considering a career move. On his return to the Centre, Liebnitz got word that she had indeed joined the infamous grunge rock band, Edible Granite, on an Eastern European tour long-awaited by western listeners.

Meanwhile Rialto Sleazewagon, associate managing editor of the Centre's in-house journal, *aide-mémoire*, was the surprise winner of the off-cycle election in an unnamed central province. Premier Sleazewagon immediately began implementing policies based on the core belief that the poor were subhuman and so shouldn't be allowed to eat. In this he was assisted by the out-of-work ex-Premier of another central province, Papa Jack Paridy, whose core belief was that the rich were unpatriotic and so shouldn't be allowed to vote. They found much in common.

The two threads came together in Sleazewagon's passion for Mabel. As soon as he became Premier, he sent word that she should join him in Princess Gardens, there to darn his socks, top up his rye and ginger and generally assuage the cares of office. Mabel, who had done far too much of the same for her father in the Gilbert and Sullivan Islands, and who in any event saw Sleazewagon as a

life form somewhat lower than gangrene, sent back an intemperate reply in Pig Latin. Sleazewagon, who as a politician knew pork, got the message but not her drift. Convinced that she was playing coy, he sent Papa Jack east to bring her back, no matter how.

Liebnitz soon received a second letter from Mabel, reporting that the band was being sabotaged. Misdirected tour buses (Nairobi was lovely), missing music (not that the band noticed), suspicious fires (how do you ignite a papaya?), mysteriously frostbitten fingers (in a sauna?), nights when the whole band stayed sober — nobody knew where it would stop, but Edible Granite was on the verge of packing it in. The last chance for a turn-around was Tannu Tuva, where Edible Granite was playing the Yak Palace. Expecting further disaster above and beyond the musical, Mabel contacted a local shaman, whose visions showed an avuncular stranger collapsing a hundred-metre yurt onto the heads of a strangely grateful audience while (from the sound) someone inside was strangling hyenas.

Liebnitz reacted immediately. Guilty over his part in Rialto's political success ("How could you sink any lower?" he had shouted one day while Sleazewagon was still at the Centre, not realizing the words would be taken as a challenge), he asked veteran field agent Jimmy "the Turk" Flecker to step in. Jimmy quickly determined that Papa Jack was indeed behind the band's problems, having disguised himself as one of the band's four roadies: Bonzo MacHinery, Nozeguard O'Venus, Zylky Kazoo and Conor Cruze Control.

But which one? The Turk's final report was, as always, in the form of a puzzle, as follows:

The following definitions relate to Russian history and geography. The answers should be placed in the numbered spaces beside each definition, one letter per space. The right answers will be in alphabetical order. Using the numbers under the spaces, the letters in the answers can then be transferred to the spaces numbered 1 through 182 in the MAIN MESSAGE box, where they will form a complete sentence. Each number is used only once.

Sails of the South Pacific: Answers

The names of the ships, captains, crews and positions at each stage are given in the table below. The anagram spells out "SAINT MATTHEW 19:30 ENDING." The last five words of the 30th verse of the 19th chapter of the gospel according to Saint Matthew (King James version) is "THE LAST SHALL BE FIRST." T.H.E. Last is therefore impersonating Captain Allnut of the *African Queen*, which finished in first place. (This ship also stands out in that it is the only vessel with the correct captain and crew.)

The original references are as follows:

- The *African Queen*, Captain Charlie Allnut and Miss Rose Sayer, from *The African Queen* by C.S. Forester.
- the *Hispaniola*, Captain Smollett and Long John Silver, from *Treasure Island* by R.L. Stevenson.
- The *Jolly Roger*, Captain James Hook and Mr. Smee, from *Peter Pan* by J.M. Barrie.
- the *We're Here*, Captain Disko Troop and Manuel, from *Captain's Courageous* by Rudyard Kipling.
- the *Bounty*, Captain Bligh and Fletcher Christian, from Nordhoff and Hall's *Mutiny on the Bounty* (and the facts of history).
- the *Pequod*, Captain Ahab and Ishmael, from *Moby Dick* by Herman Melville.
- the *Pinafore*, Captain Corcoran and Ralph Rackstraw, from *HMS Pinafore* by Gilbert and Sullivan. (Major-General Stanley, Mabel and Richard are from the same duo's *Pirates of Penzance*.)

finish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
home	3	5	6	7	2	4	1
half	6	3	2	5	6	1	4
quarter	4	6	5	2	1	3	6
ship	African Queen	Hispaniola	Jolly Roger	We're Here	Bounty	Pequod	Pinafore
captain	Allnut	Bligh	Troop	Hook	Smollett	Corcoran	Ahab
crew	Sayer	Manuel	Ishmael	Christian	Rackstraw	Smee	Silver

- Capital of the former Kazakhskaya SSR 57 64 158 7 108 40 153
- Imitation fleece or southern Volga port 20 94 178 30 135 110 70 159 168
- Trotsky at birth 54 124 84 155 13 37 145 119 77
- Pre-revolutionary Duma party or soldiers in training 66 138 162 27 1 97
- Dzerzhinsky's secret police, later the KGB 45 144 17 166 115
- Caesar in Russia 58 111 4 163
- Stalin, originally 116 21 92 152 50 98 38 171 177 59 79
- Alexander Nevskii 134 48 130 156 101 146 74 22 125 80
- Revolution of 8-11 March 1917 33 167 123 90 117 67 34 133
- He and his grandson Batu conquered 13th century Russia. 139 150 165 19 105 129 95 82 2 122 175
- Russian greeting 83 41 121

12. Foreign Minister and incendiary cocktail	86	35	60	100	18	91	176		
13. Treaty ending Great Northern War with Sweden 1721: Russia gains	8	161	126	31	63	157	132		
14. Catherine the Great's son and successor, possibly Romanov				47	61	164	68		
15. Famous Moscow Circus clown			28	140	114	72	169		
16. Prince, battleship and village	93	142	14	96	36	127	6	109	
17. Composer of Peter and the Wolf	113	62	85	182	29	53	76	25	42
18. Treaty ending the Soviet Polish War 1920: Russia loses				15	170	89	46		
19. Peasant tied to the land				137	87	56	106		
20. Where they sent you	75	154	180	16	71	103	112		
21. Merchant family and beef in sour cream	32	104	136	65	78	10	120	52	128
22. Crimean Muslim, intractable person or sauce for fish		23	148	107	49	172	118		
23. Soviet news agency				141	43	181	151		
24. Treaty with Napoleon 1807: mutual benefit		149	99	51	5	131	143		
25. First constitutional Prime Minister, 1905			9	174	147	24	3		
26. White leader in the Russian Civil War	102	26	73	160	81	39	11		
27. He stormed the White House in October 1993	55	179	12	69	173	88	44		

"Well," said Liebnitz when he had read Flecker's report, "that should be straightforward, as far as it goes, with a little help from the *Britannica* and the *Oxford Concise*. But how do we get from there to a name? Jimmy usually gives supplementary clues..." A careful examination of the report revealed a microdot disguised as a period in the instructions to the puzzle. This revealed a second box marked (what else?) CLUES. "Right," murmured the ace logician. "The numbers will relate to the same letters as in the puzzle, but what do the letter groups — TNIA" and TWAI — mean?"

"If numbers mean letters, then letters probably mean numbers," suggested Mabel when he phoned her. "I expect that the numbers 1 to 9 in the puzzle are replaced by the letters above them — and that A" means the second A. Does that work?" It did indeed, and shortly thereafter Mabel turned a snarling Papa Jack over to the Russian police. Rialto claimed a broken heart, but Mabel reminded him he'd lost it years ago in a poker game.

Can you duplicate this feat by providing: (a) the 27 answer-words; (b) the text of the MAIN MESSAGE; (c) the text of the CLUES; and (d) the name of the guilty roadie?

As long-time readers will recall, while free-lance prestidigitator **A Aalto** was raised by Patagonian missionaries on the Zambesi, he was in fact born in pre-revolutionary Tannu Tuva. Contrary to popular belief, Tannu Tuva is a real place, located on the Mongolia-Siberia border, and was an independent country from 1921 to 1944. During that time, it issued a stamp featuring a camel racing a train, despite having no railroads (the camel was ahead).

MAIN MESSAGE:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25
26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36
37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44
45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53
54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63
64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74
75 76 77 78 79 80 81 (82 83 84 85 86 87 88)
89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101
102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110
111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122
123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132
133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142
143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151
152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161
162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173
174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182

CLUES:

- (a) 66 73 155 122 116 174 61 101
138 36 123 148 75 130 43 157 52 90 37 85
23 70 167 117 97 63 170 109 TWAI
(b) 82 112 15 68 94 TNIA
158 46 181 40 134 163 28 103 145 58 25
(c) 86 177 30 59 125 18 35 160

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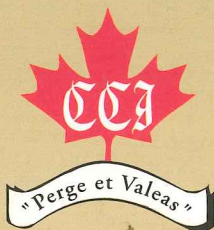
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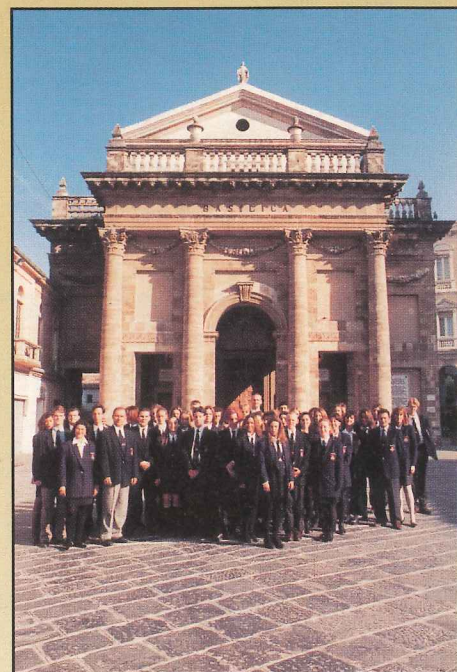
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