

SUMMER/ÉTÉ 1996

\$4.50

bout de papier

Magazine of Diplomacy and Foreign Service
le canadien de la diplomatie et du service extérieur

Vol. 13 No. 2
ISBN/ISSN 305500



Roy MacLaren
Radio Canada International
Turkey

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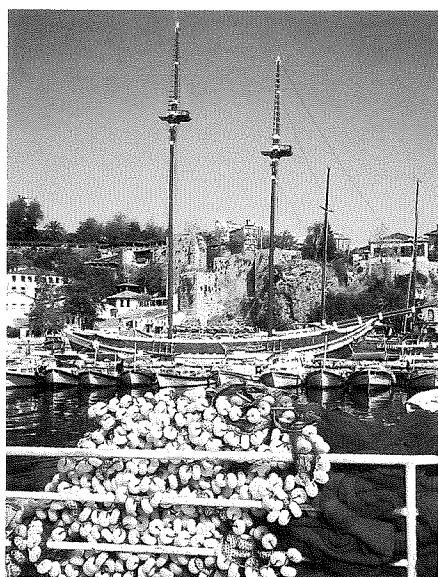
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Our cover photo was shot by Liza Linklater, an Ottawa based photographer and writer. It was taken in front of a shop in Nevsehir in Central Turkey during the "Charlie's Angels" days.



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Editor's Notebook / Carnet du rédacteur

"The lady's not for turning" Sir Ronald Millar

"An endless enduring dream and a thousand points of light..." Peggy Noonan

"It's morning again in America" Hal Riney

If you thought that the attributions listed above are surely wrong and should read, respectively, Margaret Thatcher, George Bush and Ronald Reagan — well, check out "Brewer's Quotations". The lines were in fact coined by two full-time speech writers and an advertising executive.

Now step back a few years. What about "This was their finest hour" or "Ask not what your country can do for you..."? The former carries echoes of Shakespeare's Henry V, the latter of Khalil Gibran, but historians who like to pore over handwritten drafts of famous speeches agree that it is fair to give Churchill and Kennedy full credit for the lines — both used speechwriters, but by no means all the time and only for rough first drafts.

So what's all this got to do with foreign policy, let alone **bout de papier**? Well, quite a lot, really.

As most civil servants well know, the fact is that very few world leaders, politicians — or even senior bureaucrats — write their own speeches these days. Strangely, many in the media seem unaware of this, and continue to give such luminaries personal credit for their keynote speeches to the UN or to party political rallies. The same reporters also seem to think that Summit communiqués are actually negotiated at Summit meetings — perhaps at Yalta and Potsdam they were, but those days seem to be long gone.

Not only do we write the politicians' speeches and negotiate peace in their name, but we now script every possible encounter they may have with their counterparts, whether it be five minutes seated side-by-side on a couch outside a UN conference room or a few words and a handshake in an airport lounge during a refuelling stop. Of course, much to our frustration, our masters do not always follow, or even read our "Points to register," but should our leaders perchance speak their mind and/or say the wrong thing, the next set of "Points to register" or keynote speech will subtly bring them back onto track — sooner or later, we usually, by dint of persistence, get our way.

I wonder whether this is really how a government department should work. It is true that our Ministers have many demands

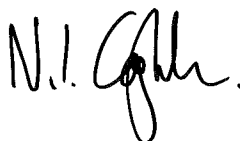
thrust on them and find little time to write their own speeches. But Churchill managed in what was, to say the least, a demanding situation, and — anyway — wouldn't our Ministers have a lot more time on their hands if they didn't have to wade through an inch-thick briefing book in preparation for every one hour meeting?

Ah, you may say, but today's issues are so complex that it takes full-time specialists to keep up with them. Without a bureaucracy of thousands, Warren Christopher could never have come up with the Dayton accords, it is true. On the other hand, Dayton was such a complex and fundamentally bureaucratic solution (to a mediaeval situation), that one has to wonder how long it will stick.

There's a question, too, as to how democratic our Departmental processes are in this era when accountability, transparency and "hearing what the people want" are the buzz phrases. Instead of lining up every so often, to brief our Ministers on Haiti or the latest developments on Helms Burton, shouldn't we be the ones to listen, to take instructions from the elected representative of the Canadian people, interjecting only with institutional memory and points of information?

Will the Departmental review that is currently under way change all this and start throwing up new JFKs? Stay tuned...

For those who thought that those heroes of the Golden Age didn't know how to write anyway, and that the desk officers would have done a far better job, we are this issue beginning a new feature: "From the Archives". This month's item is an exchange of letters between Lester Pearson and Dean Acheson — concerning the ever-topical Taiwan; both were penned by the signatories. Readers are invited to contact a member of the board of **bout de papier** if they have suggestions for particularly interesting items for which we might ransack the archives — either particularly well-written pieces, or items with a special resonance today.



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Articles

Manuscripts are welcome in double-spaced format, preferably on WP 5.2 3½" diskette, with a short biographical note about the author(s). Features are normally around 2,500 words. **bout de papier** publishes all articles in their original language. Send articles to **bout de papier**, c/o PAFSO (see address above). Manuscripts accepted at double space, de préférence sur WP 5.2, disquette 3,5", accompagnés d'une brève notice biographique sur l'auteur. Les articles comptent habituellement environ 2500 mots. **bout de papier** publie tous les articles dans leur langue d'origine. Envoyer les articles à **bout de papier**, a/s APASE (voir adresse ci-dessus).

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Winning Articles for RHOMA Award

We are pleased to announce the winners of the Retired Heads of Mission Association (RHOMA) Award for the best article written by a PAFSO member (FS-1/FS-2) in Volume 11, 1994 and Volume 12, 1995.

David Edwards has won the 1994 Award for his article **Travelling the Trans-Siberian in Troubled Times** published in Volume 11 No. 2.

Terry Greenberg has won the 1995 Award for his article **China's Wall** published in Volume 12 No. 4.

The members of the Selection Committee were **André Couvrette**, **Georges Blouin** and **James H. (Si) Taylor**.

The Editor and members of the Editorial Board of **bout de papier** congratulate the winners and remind all members of PAFSO that we welcome contributions to the magazine reflecting our life and how we see the world.

Articles gagnant du Prix de l'ACMAR

Nous sommes heureux d'annoncer les lauréats du Prix de l'Association des chefs de mission à la retraite (ACMAR) décerné au meilleur article rédigé par un membre (FS-1/FS-2) de l'APASE dans le volume 11, 1994 et dans le volume 12, 1995.

David Edwards remporte le prix 1994 pour son article **Travelling the Trans-Siberian in Troubled Times** publié dans le volume 11 n° 2.

Terry Greenberg remporte le prix 1995 pour son article **China's Wall** publié dans le volume 12 n° 4.

Les membres du Comité de sélection étaient **André Couvrette**, **Georges Blouin** et **James H. (Si) Taylor**.

Le rédacteur en chef et le Conseil de rédaction de **bout de papier** félicitent les gagnants et rappellent à tous les membres de l'APASE qu'ils sont invités à contribuer au magazine en soumettant des articles qui reflètent notre vie et notre vision du monde.

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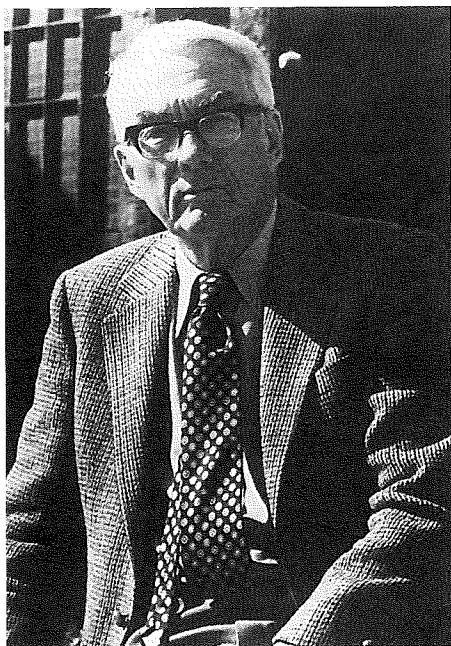
Thou Shouldst Be Living at This Hour

With Apologies to Wordsworth and Milton

Every generation at DFAIT creates its own legends. A legend for my generation was John Holmes. It may stimulate efforts of the current generation and those of others in and out of Government, to consider the enduring values of some of the best of the "Golden Age".

by John Hadwen

In 1996, perhaps more than in other years, we will miss John Holmes. What follows is an attempt to imagine how he might have responded to some of our current challenges. More than any other public analyst in our post-World War II history, John Holmes was the figure who represented Canada best, and probably most often, in interpreting Canada's position in world affairs. He would however, be amongst the first to say that new situations require new answers, and that neither himself nor anyone else should be valued excessively. He ensured that the politicians got their rightful place in the sun and believed strongly that the public servant's role should



John Holmes

be a supportive one. In or out of government he was clear and forceful when it came to principled argument. His views were objective and frequently very original and humorous, so that his presence at any occasion guaranteed substance and good cheer. He would urge us now not to take ourselves too seriously.

One of the principal influences John Holmes would bring to bear in 1996, would be to remind us that in times of great uncertainty, there will always be opportunities to advance long term interests if we search them out imaginatively. It was a great experience to watch Lester Pearson, John Holmes, R.A. MacKay, Geoff Murray and Allan McGill, in 1956 at the General Assembly, as they tried to turn disaster on Suez to advantage. This was not done as a formal, established policy, but as a natural inclination to respond to insecurity (or earthquake or terrorism, or civil war) with constructive invention. John Holmes did not believe in rigid policies. In his view, there would always be a wide variety of factors to be taken into consideration, none of which should be given an artificial priority over the others. Human rights, the representation and promotion of women's issues, population, the environment, demography, the management of nuclear weapons, immigration, trade, and many other subjects were to be pursued but not at the expense of each other or as separate goals. The national interest for him was the objective, however hard to establish.

We will certainly miss John Holmes as Canadians and others are obliged to adapt to a new temper in the US Congress. Perhaps John Holmes's finest writing was on the nature of Canada-US relations. At a time when those supporting a major role for the United Nations in international politics will be in despair at the current direction of US policies, John Holmes would have been sure to counsel patience. In his view there would be more to be lost than gained by confrontation. John Holmes knew that on many issues, irrationality might well temporarily be the victor, but he always assumed that by the judicial application of pure reason, there was a chance of achieving progress towards international, including UN objectives. Setbacks should not prevent us from

continuing our efforts. He might well have approved our recent actions to preserve Canadian fishing stocks but he would not have fired the shots.

John Holmes never became a prisoner of his own style or language, nor did he try to enforce it on students or colleagues. His influence came mostly by example. He did not have faith in the much laboured great paper, and he preferred that foreign policy documents be directed at the requirements of the time for action. He was reluctant to prepare major studies on Canada and the United Nations, and so on, which might be outdated almost as soon as they were completed. In some ways he almost regretted the effort put into his two volume work: *The Shaping of Peace*. His main contributions, we would now recognize, are to be found in the essays he wrote and the speeches he gave, and which contain so much wise assessment. He had a great gift of language himself, and was stimulating and provocative as a lecturer. He seemed always capable of drawing on his literary and deeply varied background to illuminate current problems in a way which was persuasive.

Of course, he was a believer in quiet diplomacy, but he was also ready to speak out when the circumstances required it or when there was no alternative. We remember that after a lifetime of confidentiality and restraint as a public servant, he became almost immediately on retirement a favoured commentator on the CBC. He was able to respond to crises in a way which stimulated usable policy. He would urge his successors to speak out today.

Many have spoken of his willingness to live with paradox. He knew that problems could not be completely resolved. He was suspicious of visions and accepted the importance of national sovereignty at a time when many people were looking forward to the disappearance of national boundaries and the development of "one world." He was like other academics of his generation, a believer in "the art of the possible," and would not allow himself to be diverted into the idealistic pursuit of unrealistic goals. He might well have considered that today's financial restraints could help us to better focus our minds on priorities.

In purely Canadian terms, he was a constant believer in the French fact. He taught at Glendon College where French and English were both used. He would have opposed any form of fanaticism in the development of positions on Quebec's place in Canada. He would have favoured gradual improvement in the work of federalist institutions, believing that when you can not achieve everything at once, you should at least do what you can, thoroughly and well. In this respect he was a pure Pearsonian. He would have been a calming influence on the separatist debates.

At a time when the federal public service in Ottawa is being eviscerated and its reputation and influence greatly reduced, John Holmes would have held out for recognition of the importance of public servants giving loyalty and service to political leaders. He would have been horrified and ashamed at the record revealed in "On the Take," but somewhat ironic. He would have strongly opposed the politicization of the Canadian bureaucracy and done whatever he could to encourage the provision of courageous advice. On the basis of experience with the CIHA, the UN Secretariat, the Academic Council on the United Nations System, and a surprising number of universities, he would also have been a good man to help with new administrative challenges.

For the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, he would have supported the view that a permanent UN police force could not be established but that the UN's ability to respond to crisis could and should be strengthened. He would not have spent much time on charter reform. His ideas on relations with eastern Europe, on north/south relations, on the way development assistance should be re-structured, on how universities should be treated in a new fiscal atmosphere, and on many current issues are badly missed.

A biography is in course of preparation. That may help, and we have his writings. The friends of John Holmes are legion and no one of us can speak for the collectivity. We all had separate experiences and there are many different vantage points from which to assess his contributions. What we miss most is his style and spirit. He worked hard. His productivity was awesome. He gave generously of his time and of himself to his students and friends. Our response to his life and works will be to do our best for Canadian foreign policy interests. However, we must be allowed from time to time, to mourn his absence.

John Hadwen is a former Foreign Service Officer — 1950-1987.

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The Honourable Roy MacLaren

An Interview with Mr. Free Trade

*The Honourable Roy MacLaren, a graduate of Cambridge University (U.K.), is a former Foreign Service officer and the author of several books, including Canadians behind enemy lines: 1939-45. His distinguished career in politics culminated in his nomination as Minister for International Trade (1993-96). **bout de papier** caught up with Mr. MacLaren in Ottawa on the eve of the annual Oxford-Cambridge Boat Race, as he was beginning his preparations for his next post: Canada's High Commissioner to London.*

bdp: Before entering politics, you served for twelve years as a Foreign Service officer...

MacL: Yes, I served in Hanoi and Saigon followed by Prague, the UN in New York and Geneva for a period.

bdp: When you came back to the Department as Minister, did you find that having served as a Foreign Service officer influenced in any way your perspective on the job?

MacL: I would like to think that I was better equipped to hit the deck running. So much of life is to know the vocabulary. I knew the jargon. All institutions have a certain personality. I think I knew the personality of the Department.

bdp: Are there any particular lessons you learned from those twelve years in the Service?

MacL: The lessons were many. Most important, I learned that foreign policy and domestic policy are inextricably intertwined. One can no longer have, as did the British Foreign Office in the 19th century, a separate Foreign Service distinct from the Foreign Office. Our rotational system,

I thought, was right. It meant that Canadians serving abroad had a much better idea of what the priorities of the government of the day were, what the domestic priorities were. That's common, I suppose, to all foreign services today, but our foreign service has to be particularly sensitive to domestic issues.

bdp: Such as?

MacL: Obviously national unity is at the top of the list. But we must also be sensitive to the interests of Canada as a major trading country — on a per caput basis we are one of the leading trading countries, dependent to a degree on foreign investment for our development.

bdp: Did you learn any more practical lessons?

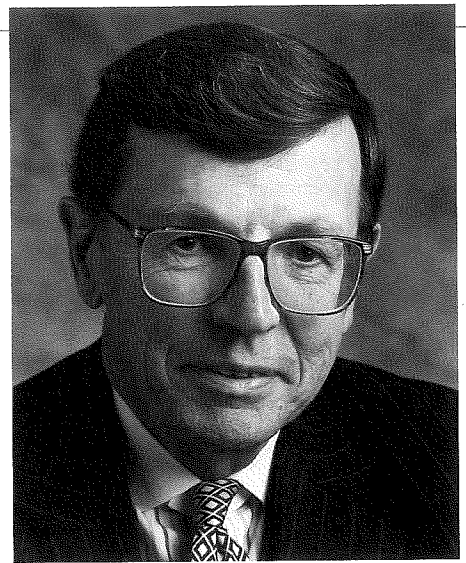
MacL: Having served abroad myself in several posts meant that when I began my tenure as Minister I had some idea of the strains, demands and challenges of the Foreign Service. It wasn't as if I had come to the job with no experience of what representing one's country abroad is like.

bdp: Hanoi shortly after Dien Ben Phu must have been particularly interesting.

MacL: Yes, it was three years after, and the Geneva Accords of 1954 had established the tripartite international control commission — India, Poland and Canada. There was still very little foreign representation in Hanoi. There was a French Commission; the British had a consulate, Sweden also had a mission and, of course, the Eastern Bloc was represented. That was the total corps. As was my experience later in Prague, we tended to be isolated from the local people.

bdp: Why was that?

MacL: They were frightened of having much contact with us. But I did see Ho Chi Minh often enough. Curiously, he had been a plongeur (dishwasher) in a restaurant in Paris — a dubious distinction that I share with him. In any event, he quite enjoyed



coming to Western parties. I think it was a sort of nostalgia for the West. Despite his very real and deep-seated commitment to communism and to the harsh realities of Marxism, he did occasionally like a glass of champagne. He would shake hands with these little claw-like hands. He appeared to weigh about 98 pounds.

bdp: What adventures did you have in Hanoi?

MacL: What I did enjoy very much was the opportunity to go out on the patrols with our military people. The Canadian, Indian and Polish military would often do a four or five day trek from one post to the next either along the Chinese border or elsewhere in the hinterland. I would do the trek with them. It was simply a way of getting out of the sometimes sterile and artificial atmosphere of Hanoi and seeing something of the more remote Vietnam.

bdp: What eventually drove you to politics?

MacL: I had been in business in Toronto for some years and I had enjoyed that. I had acquired my own company and it was flourishing. I recognized that others could run it as least as well as I could. And for my part, I had an interest in being back in public policy. I have always had an interest in the formulation of public policy, the factors that make for public policy, the analysis of public policy. I began to miss that a little and thought the time was right to take the plunge into politics. So I held my breath and away we went. In 1979 I won the then new constituency of Etobicoke North. In 1980, we swept the board. But in 1984 I was invited to take myself off somewhere else by an ungrateful electorate so I had a four year furlough from 1984-1988. I went back to my business in Toronto and told my

president the bad news, that he was going to have to move over: I was back. I won again in 1993.

bdp: Had there been any inspirational figure in your youth? Why did you become a Liberal?

MacL: I suppose there were two factors. One was that my family were generic Liberals. They had been Liberals for generations. In fact, I remember being taken as a child to our ancestral province of PEI just at the end of the Second World War. I was playing with some children and my Aunt said "you shouldn't play with those children," as if they had some dreaded disease. They were Tories you see. The other element is a real conviction that the Liberal party is a party of reform. In Laurier's phrase: a party that is always willing to reconsider the question, search for better policies. I have always found that the party follows the doctrine that the state has a role to enable an individual to make the maximum of himself or herself. Having done that, the individual then is on his or her own.

bdp: You were thrown out once by the electorate...

MacL: When it comes to elections, the fact is that an individual member of Parliament, in my view, can make a difference of maybe 5% in his or her own result. No matter how many doorbells you ring and how much effort you make, how many signs you put up and how many brochures you deliver, 90% of the votes that are cast are for the leader or for the party. Any poll or survey will indicate that most people decide primarily on the leader. If they are going to turn out a prime minister, it doesn't matter what party you belong to as a local member of parliament — out you go. This is what happened in 1980 when Joe Clark was turned out. The same with Mulroney in 1993 and with Trudeau in 1984. The Canadian people had that love/hate affair with Pierre Trudeau over a couple of decades. 1984 was the hate period: out he went and out I went. Individuals necessarily must work hard as candidates, but in the end most votes that are cast are either for or against the leader or the party.

bdp: Was it difficult to reconcile your duties as Minister for International Trade with your work in your riding?

MacL: Yes, to a degree. I had been Minister of State for Finance, a domestic portfolio. I had been briefly Minister of National Revenue, another domestic portfolio. This

allowed me to go to my riding office almost every Saturday morning and see constituents. I had my surgery hours, as it were. In the more recent job I did a lot of travel and therefore had to rely more on my local staff. A Minister has one additional local person, for a total of three. They were excellent and did a good job of ensuring that the constituents felt they were well served. You know, as a Minister you do wear a lot of hats. You wear the hat of constituency MP. You wear the hat of a Minister. You wear the hat of a member of the caucus formulating or contributing to Liberal policy across a broad spectrum. It is a many faceted job.

bdp: As Minister for International Trade, the media like to call you Mr. Free Trade. Would you like that to be your epitaph?

MacL: I would be perfectly content with that. I believe, and believe deeply, that Canada's economic future is best secured on the one hand by the elimination globally of trade barriers matched with, on the other hand, a rules-based trading structure.

bdp: But in opposition the Liberals had opposed Free Trade?

MacL: It is true that the Liberal party for a period gave the impression that it was against freer trade. But I think any observer would acknowledge that, even during that period — during the debate about the US/Canada Free Trade Agreement — the Liberal Party continued to advocate freer trade multilaterally. What gave concern was the sense that the Conservative free trade agreement was tying Canada into a continental arrangement rather than giving Canada free play in a larger global trade agreement — the Uruguay round of the GATT. We were concerned that we were tying ourselves too closely to the United States.

bdp: But once the FTA was concluded...

MacL: Once the Free Trade Agreement had been concluded and indeed NAFTA was pending, it seemed idle for Canada to withdraw from either agreement. Whether one liked the agreement or not, the fact was that it was too late. Business was making its adjustments. Market opportunities were open. It was a challenge for the incoming Liberal government to adapt to those circumstances. My approach has always been — and has continued to be — that we should seek every occasion bilaterally, regionally, multilaterally and globally — even unilaterally — to help bring down trade barriers. I would advocate that we seriously consider

a review of whether we shouldn't proceed with unilateral reduction and elimination of our industrial barriers over a five year period.

bdp: In the last two or three months of your tenure we were starting to see discussions concerning a transatlantic Free Trade arrangement with the EU. Why the EU rather than the two areas we have identified as our target markets — Latin America and the Asia Pacific? Isn't negotiating with the EU going to be extremely difficult?

MacL: Yes, I think it is. But in a sense the rewards may be greater given the level of sophistication of the economic relationship. We have committed ourselves in Canada to Free Trade in the Asia Pacific region by not later than 2020, indeed 2010 in the case of developed countries. We have made a similar commitment for 2005 in the Western hemisphere — only nine years from now. I asked myself if we can make commitments to Transpacific and Hemispheric Free Trade, can we not make equal commitments across the Atlantic? Looking at the Atlantic, I also had in mind Canada's traditional ties with Europe. After the Second World War Canada's ties with Europe had been underpinned by security concerns. Since the end of the cold war, those concerns were no longer there. Nor are the military and security linkages. Should we not see whether enhanced economic links can provide the underpinning that the military once did? The economic relationship with Europe is much more complex and sophisticated and already has — in tariffs — a fairly open market. But the range of non-tariff barriers is larger. Accordingly, the opportunities to enhance our economic relationships are real. Examples of areas we could look at are mutual recognition of standards and common rules for investment.

bdp: Should these processes — Transatlantic, Latin America, the Asia Pacific — move simultaneously, without any particular priority?

MacL: What we have is a rather awkward, shambling sort of progress. I wouldn't pretend that it is particularly symmetrical. I would certainly argue that the momentum towards freer trade that we have sensed in Asia Pacific and the Western Hemisphere — and I hope transatlantically — can all be building blocks on the way to global free trade. Surely our ultimate goal must be global free trade. Period. How we best get there is a matter for continuing debate. There are some who say that the world is dividing itself into regional blocs. I don't

accept that for a moment. The world is still groping forward to global free trade, but through the kindergarten, if you wish, of regional arrangements.

bdp: You are not concerned about Pat Buchanan and his like, South of the border?

MacL: No. Dole has sewn up the nomination. Obviously he has trimmed his sails in recent months, but Dole by tradition has been an outward-looking trade liberal. Whoever wins the election, and certainly if Clinton wins and then is without another term open to him, we can expect a more liberal trading regime to emerge in the USA. I don't mean a flabby trading regime. It will continue to be alert to the trade interests of the United States but it will enact a more outward going or dynamic trade policy than we are seeing during this campaign period.

bdp: How serious, for Free Trade, is the Helms/Burton bill?

MacL: The passing of this bill is symptomatic of a campaign year when both administration and the Republicans are eyeing the support of South Miami and are willing to set aside their commitment to the World Trade Organization or NAFTA for the sake of seeking votes domestically. It's not good news to see the United States utilizing, in what are quite inappropriate ways, self-proclaimed trade rules that violate the more liberal trade regimes that we have agreed upon globally.

bdp: As Minister, were you at all troubled by the trade vs. human rights debate? Do you think we have the balance about right at this time?

MacL: Probably we have it right in broad terms — unless you can demonstrate to me that, in the case of human rights abuses, the world is capable of agreeing upon the isolation and boycott of a single country and of making such a boycott effective. We haven't seen much evidence of that in the past. The much preferred way is to engage with offending countries. For Canada to break off its trade relations with country X doesn't achieve anything if countries A, B, C and D rush in to fill in any gap we leave behind.

bdp: You don't detect a recent shift in world opinion?

MacL: It is undeniable that, despite the real misgivings of some European and developing countries in particular, there is a

certain movement to relate trade and human rights issues or social issues. The obvious tip of the iceberg is child labour. It remains to be seen whether we can adequately address such concerns in international organizations without triggering the use of trade restrictions as a means of attempting to change social practices. There are a lot of countries out there, protectionist countries that I won't name, that would be only too happy to have rules of this kind, rules that would allow country X to say "We don't want any products of country Y," and for whom this would be a marvellous way of saying "Well, you engage in inappropriate labour practices so we are going to keep your products out" and thereby mask their protectionist inclinations.

bdp: Do you think trade sanctions worked in South Africa?

MacL: I don't know. I am told that what really turned the tide of white opinion in South Africa was the flood of weapons coming in from Angola and Mozambique. Certainly South Africa withstood the so-called economic boycott for an extraordinarily long time.

bdp: You will shortly move to the UK as High Commissioner. Does the fact that you went to Cambridge mean that you have a special attachment to Britain and that you have followed British affairs particularly closely?

MacL: Yes, I have a particular affection for Britain for a whole variety of reasons, not the least of which is the sheer richness of its history. On the other hand, I suppose I have good reason to be a little sceptical about my own attachment to Britain when I recall that the MacLarens were driven out by the English 200 years ago. Fortunately, as sometimes happens, it was the best thing that ever happened to us. Instead of scratching out a miserable existence in the Highlands of Scotland, we came to Canada two centuries ago. In a perverse sense I am grateful to the Butcher Cumberland whom we faced in the first line at the Battle of Culloden.

bdp: Does this translate into some sympathy for Scottish separatism?

MacL: It contributes to an enormous sympathy for Scotland. I was reading a statistic the other day which I hadn't realized. Someone did an analysis of leave requests and passes in the Canadian Army in the First and Second World War and overwhelmingly, by a margin of 4 or 5 times, the

passes were requested for Scotland. I don't think that it was merely that off-duty soldiers wanted to be as far away as possible from the action or that the licensing hours were longer in Scotland. I think it was that many Canadian soldiers had a special regard and affection for Scotland. My younger son (who is now in law school at University of Toronto) and I, when he was 18, we walked together from Land's End to John O'Groats. It took us 51 days. We went a slightly circuitous way, so it was about 1,500 kilometres. We had a great walk. We averaged 20-25 miles a day. It rained, of course, 90% of the time. In Scotland it rained 100% of the time. I first developed my affection for Britain when I was in the Navy in 1953 and went to the Coronation. My son must have developed a similar affection in that long walk because he subsequently went to Oxford. The black sheep of a Cantabrigian family....

bdp: And the Special Relationship?

MacL: When Britain decided, after a couple of false starts, to go into the European Community, there was much concern in Canada that the Special Relationship would erode and disappear. I don't believe this has happened. The common practices of our two nations mean that we have, in the UK, an interlocutor in Brussels who can be especially valuable. We certainly saw this during the recent "fish war," but that is only the tip of the iceberg. There is a whole range of ways in which the fact that we share a common history has enabled us not so much to lose from Britain's membership in the European Community but rather to gain from it, by making ourselves better heard in Brussels through London.

bdp: But doesn't Britain's own ambivalence about Europe mean that in fact Britain is less useful to us than ever in Brussels?

MacL: One could make that argument to some degree, but you can not carry it very far. This is in part a generational thing in Britain: any poll would indicate that support for membership or participation in Europe is greater amongst those 30 years or younger than it is amongst those 50 years and older. This holds promise for the future of Britain playing its full role in Brussels as time passes. I once appeared, years ago, on a platform in London with (former Liberal Party leader) Jeremy Thorpe, advocating British membership in the European Community. I argued then — and I think it is a valid argument — that Britain, if it had gone in promptly and enthusiastically, could

have had an enormous impact on the shape and nature of the European Community. Giving the impression that Britain is only in Europe with one foot does indeed, as you suggest, reduce her impact in Brussels. I hope that will change.

bdp: Do you have any particular plans for your first few months, either vis-à-vis Canada-UK relations or the running of the High Commission?

MacL: On the one hand, I very much want to work with the British in attempting to advance the transatlantic nexus which we have already spoken of: its evolution from what is essentially a security relationship to an economic relationship. There is a lot more that we can develop. The British, for reasons of their own, are particularly eager to develop the transatlantic ties. We have advocates in Brussels for the idea.

bdp: And on the other hand?

MacL: My more tangible and immediate task is to get our Canada House renovated and fully functioning again. It served as a symbol of Canada for more than 60 years, including through the Second World War. For most Canadians visiting London, Canada

House is the center of the universe. We must get it back in working order and I am sure that we shall.

bdp: Do you have any regrets on leaving the Minister's office?

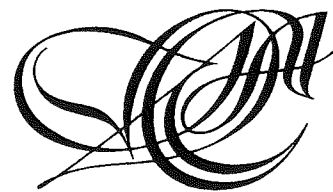
MacL: Yes. Whenever a Minister leaves there are things left undone. I would have liked to deepen our free trade commitments and to advance the transatlantic relationship more than I was able to do. We are on the eve of an action agenda with Brussels. I shall follow that prospect from London with the liveliest of interest. I would also have liked to have seen the completion of the bilateral free trade agreement with Chile as an indication that we were willing to liberalize faster than the United States. But look, if I'd left 50 years from now there would still have been a whole agenda of things that I would have wanted to complete.

bdp: And a prediction of this year's Boat Race winner?

MacL: Cambridge of course, once again. I'll bet you a pint on it....

Note: The editor, an Oxford man, is now in Mr. MacLaren's debt — but only until April 1997.

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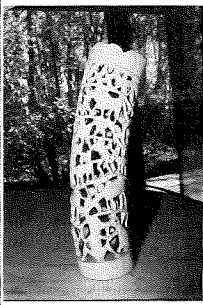


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Turkey, the West's Eurasian Ally

story and photos by Dr. David Anido

From Scimitars to Gallipoli

Turkey and the Turks conjure up many images and passions in western minds.

Scimitars, ruthlessness, and a determination to conquer allowed these nomadic Asians to strike at Constantinople, the heart of Christendom and western consciousness. The root meaning of the word "Turk" is

"power," and Turkish languages are spoken from Siberia to Macedonia.

In the seventh century, Muslim Arabs conquered major portions of the world previously hellenized by Alexander the Great.



In the mid 10th century the Seljuk Turks conquered Anatolia. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Ottoman Turks conquered the Eastern Orthodox Christian world and its sacred capital Constantinople.

Seljuk Turks "provoked the crusading counterattack of our western society," wrote Arnold Toynbee. Yet the conqueror of Constantinople, Mehmet II, saw his Empire as the extension of the power of Rome. His

portrait by Bellini portrays him in western perspective as a renaissance ruler of the eastern empire.

The two-headed eagle of the Rome-Constantinople axis remains today above the door of the Greek church in the compound of Patriarch Bartholomew of the Orthodox Church in Istanbul. Nearby is the rusty locked gate that legend says will be opened when the Christians return to Turkey.

At Gallipoli in 1915 the blood of New Zealanders and Australians was shed between Turkish ferocity and Churchillian miscalculation. In Cyprus in 1974 a Turkish invasion divided an island, while at home, Turkey, the NATO ally, provided the alliance with a forward listening post on the Soviet Union.

Homer, Mark Twain and Kemal Atatürk

Homer's *Iliad* is arguably the first great work of western literature. It is the story of an attack by the Greek King Agamemnon on the Anatolian city of Troy where Paris had kidnapped the femme fatale Helen — "the face that launched a thousand ships and burned the topless towers of Ilium." Such was the bellicose reputation of the inhabitants of Asia Minor long before the Turks arrived.

Shakespeare's third witch in *Hamlet* mixed,

Gall of goat and slips of yew
Slivered in the moon's eclipse
Nose of Turk and Tartar's lips.

And Othello, the Moor of Venice, stabs himself to death with the words:

Set you down this:
And say besides in Aleppo once
Where a malignant and a turban'd Turk
Beat a Venetian and traduc'd the state
I took by the throat the circumcised dog
And smote him — thus. (stabs himself)

Mark Twain, in *The Innocents Abroad*, temporarily loses his (Clemens') wit on a visit to Constantinople;

...the men were dressed in all the outrageous outlandish, idolatrous, extravagant, thunder-and-lightning costumes that ever a tailor with the delirium tremens and seven devils could conceive of.

Even the magnificent, if desecrated, church of St. Sophia is described by Twain as "the rustiest old barn in heathendom." And, while "mosques...churches...graveyards are plenty,...morals and whisky are scarce." The wit returns when "they say the Sultan has eight hundred wives. This almost amounts to bigamy."

Mustafa Kamal Atatürk took up the challenge of constituting modern Turkey in 1923 when the Ottoman Empire was still reeling from its collapse after the first world war. He rejected Arabic script and the fez,

Roman ruins in Anatolia



and introduced the Latin alphabet and western clothing so that the Turkish language and people looked western.

Ataturk drove the Greek community into the sea, thus ensuring there would be no love lost between these two neighbours. Today in Istanbul the derelict apartments of former Greek residents stand forlorn and abandoned on the hilly streets near the Golden Horn. The cultural tectonic plate between Hellenism and Asia begins at the Turkish border.

Ataturk oriented the Turkish constitution towards the western model. His clairvoyance, despite western xenophobia, was to be rewarded by what has happened long since his death as Turkey joins the European customs union on its way to full membership in the European Community.

Turkey at the Crossroads of Conflict

What does Turkey mean and matter to Canada and the west? There are many dimensions to consider in answer — strategic, political, economic, cultural and religious. More than any other country in Eurasia, Turkey inspires passion in anyone who wants to discuss history or geopolitics. Its image of toughness, difference, and history as a crossroads of conflict from Alexander to Ataturk, makes Turkey all the more fascinating and controversial.

Myth and religion conjure cloudy and volatile thoughts and instincts. Turkey is not as well known to Canadians as are Italy, Greece or Egypt. The xenophobia aimed at Islam in the west, and the ever-present mystification of Asia, present a double jeopardy for Turkey. The sense of the alien, with a language as cryptic as Magyar, Basque, or Finnish, instils cultural and religious prejudice.

There are also human rights issues that raise warning flags in the west. A twelve year war has been fought by the Kurds who want an independent Kurdistan that would include parts of Turkey, Iraq and Syria.



Mosaic of Christ, Church of Chora, Istanbul

Kurdish rebel leader Abdullah Ocalan, protected by Syria and banned from Germany, has threatened terrorist attacks against tourists if the Turkish government does not stop military operations against the Kurds. Ocalan and his PKK guerrillas have accused western countries of supplying weapons to the Turkish armed forces for use against the Kurds.

The Kurds exemplify a people caught between and behind the borders of nation states. They are first mentioned in history by Xenophon in *The Anabasis* (The March of the Ten Thousand) as the nomadic Carduchi tribe tending to their cattle and sheep. 2,400 years later they seek a homeland. The political ramifications are complex, both from the viewpoint of a search for statehood, and the interests of neighbours such as Syria. Syria claims the province of Hatay, incorporated into the Republic of Turkey in 1936, where Antioch is situated.

Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz sees Kurdish peace as a priority. The twelve-year war has taken a toll of 20,000 troops and civilians and sorely tarnished Turkey's human rights record. Over fifty journalists are in jail, which constitutes a grave debit for Turkey's human rights reputation. The Turkish Anti-terrorism law is draconian, and has been

a mainstay of Ankara's battle with the PKK. But ongoing international pressure on Turkey to adopt democratic principles and actions seems to be having slow effect.

Much has changed in the world since the collapse of the Berlin Wall, and Turkey stands on the threshold of one of the most important geopolitical stages on the planet. Turks are sensitive to what the world thinks of their country, and there can be no doubt that alienation by the west would cause great resentment. For Canadians,

among whom there is a growing number of fellow citizens of Turkish origin, knowledge of modern Turkey — its history, aspirations, cultures, and its people — is a vital investment. Canada can play a significant role as a broker promoting good relations without compromising Canadian values on human rights and peaceful behaviour.

Asian prosperity and culture, and Islam, are powerful forces in the post Cold War period. The Turkish government makes it clear that its policy is of a secular, indivisible, and democratic Turkey with a Moslem majority. There is no state religion, and the trade pact with the European Union will add an official third dimension to Turkey's Asian and Islamic connections.

Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz has called for pro-western social and economic reforms. His coalition partner and former prime minister, western-educated Tansu Ciller, is known as a free-market conservative and mainstream politician. Her political instincts tell her that most Turks, while considering themselves Moslem, want to help build a strong secular state.

The fifteen governments of the European Union worry about Turkey's human rights record and military-written constitution. But even hardliners recognize the existence of strengthening democratic forces in Turkey.

Former prime minister Ciller is honest about the "tough Kurdish problem" but she asks for support and encouragement from Europe, not condemnation. Turkey, for the first time in its history, has seen seventy-five years of peace and has proven its solidarity with democracy during the Cold War.

The Rise of Islam...or of the Orthodox Christian Church?

The end of the Cold War has seen more talk of the rise of Islam but it is too easily forgotten that Islam has been a powerful force since the seventh century. Moreover, Islam is a worldwide religion, growing in North America and elsewhere. Arabic is the third language of Ottawa, and new mosques are built across the continent as the third great monotheistic religion takes its place beside Judaism and Christianity.

Another religious influence is having major impact on the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. Since 1991, the revival of the Orthodox Christian Church has been rediscovered by the faithful in former communist countries. Marlene Simons of the *New York Times* describes the revival as "unmatched in the rest of the world as thousands flock to reopen churches." (NYT 10 November, 1995). There are over 200 million orthodox Christians in 15 independent churches.

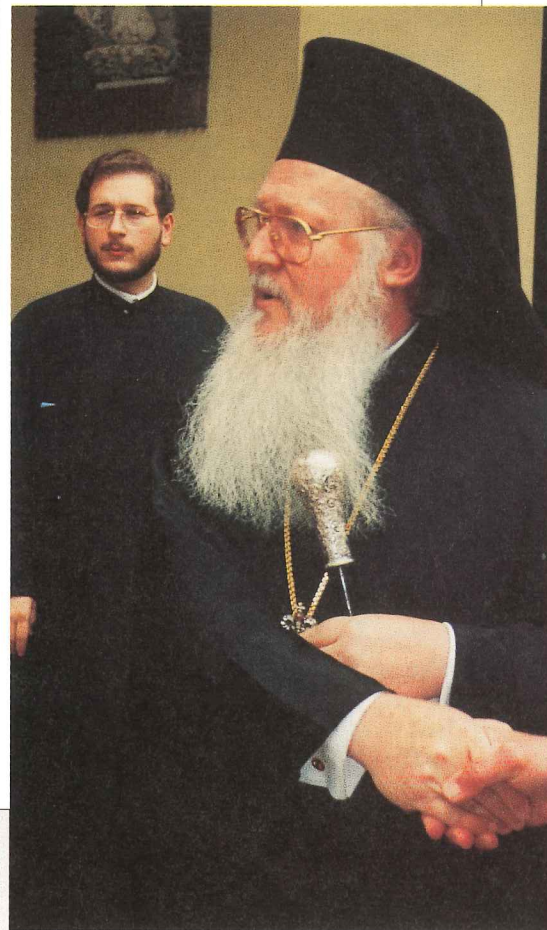
Patriarch Bartholomew I leads this revival as Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch. Recently, on the island of Patmos in Greece, Patriarch Bartholomew brought together most of the fifteen Primates of the Orthodox Church, some of whom represented congregations from countries newly freed from communism and searching for new ideals.

Stark reminders of dissension have been seen in former Yugoslavia where Orthodox Serbs have been accused of using religious fervour to fight, rape, and murder Catholic Croats and Slavic Muslims. The dark cavern of Europe's past, like a dormant volcano, erupts to haunt the dream of democracy, harmony and a united Europe. But Patriarch Bartholomew claims only to be a "first among equals." The Patriarch has visited Pope John Paul in Rome as a sign of the broadening ecumenical vision of Christianity, and has followed the example of Pope John Paul in travelling, speaking out, and raising the profile of his faith. With only about 2000 faithful left in Istanbul, Bartholomew seeks a wider congregation.

The Turkish government is concerned that the Patriarch's initiatives might impinge on Turkey's relations with Greece. The powerful Greek-American lobby concerns Turkish officials who see the Orthodox

Church as a potential wedge that will open the locked, symbolic, gate in the ecumenical Patriarch's courtyard.

The government places high emphasis on the fact that Turkey is secular, albeit with



Right: Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew. Below: Bosphorus bridge connecting Europe with Asia



a Moslem majority and tiny Jewish and Christian minorities. Turkish angst over religion was heightened in March 1994 when United States President Bill Clinton suggested that Turkey take certain symbolic steps to improve relations with Greece by involving Patriarch Bartholomew. The suggestion raised the hackles of Turkish authorities because it related to the status of Bartholomew in Istanbul (the Treaty of Lausanne, signed in 1923, permitted the ecumenical Patriarch to remain in Istanbul as long as his activities were purely religious and related exclusively to the Greek Orthodox minority in Turkey).

The Turkish government points out that it once abolished the Islamic Caliphate, and cannot contemplate the establishment of an equivalent to Vatican City in Istanbul. Also, the Turks believe that the Greek government will use Orthodox expansion to further Greece's influence over Turkey. There is even the suggestion that the three million Americans of Greek origin, who severed their ties with the Greek Church in 1930 to join the Patriarchate of Istanbul, will adversely affect Turkish sovereignty.

There are no easy answers, particularly when religion is involved with secular government. But answers must be found both to diffuse the animosity between Greece and Turkey, and to strengthen democracy. Greece is better known to Canadians, it seems, than is Turkey, and no decline in affection for Greece must ever be considered as increased interest in Turkey is encouraged. The resolution of the Cyprus question, so visceral and complex, could help replace recidivist instincts with democratic solutions agreeable to both Turkey and Greece.

East Is East...or Is It?

Turkey stands in a strategic position, geopolitically, culturally, and religiously. It is a country reaching out to the west without deracinating its Asian origins. Turkey adds the vital dimension that might be called "the bridge" between east and west.

The recent dispute between Greece and Turkey over the islet of Simia reopened old territorial rivalries. Islands are controversial across the world so the tensions are not unique, but the Gulf War illustrated the tensions that also exist on Turkey's eastern border. Turkey will defend its security, and the world must be vigilant in reminding Turkey of the importance of respect for human rights in the equation of self-defence. What must change is the deep-seated, anachronistic attitude that the Turks are, by nature, more brutal than most people. Europe's acceptance of Turkey as a partner will go far to strengthen democracy in the world.

As a NATO ally, Turkey, like Greece, is seen as a friend in arms whose culture deserves much greater attention to obviate the old prejudices of Macbeth's witches and the crusaders. The Turkish government is wisely encouraging tourism and cultural exchanges which permit individuals from other countries to see the country for themselves.

Turkey's tourism industry is on the verge of a boom as westerners discover the ancient sites of Greek and Roman settlements, the battlegrounds of Alexander and Darius, and the modern coastal resorts on the Mediterranean and Aegean seas. New official interest in renovating and protecting the huge number of untouched and damaged historic sites is being shown. The once mutilated Christian symbols in the caves of Cappadocia, and the hidden images in the great churches of the Aya Sofya (Hagia Sophia) and Chora help to tie the history of western culture with modern Turkey through the history of hellenism and monotheism.

The Turks believe that the Greek government will use Orthodox expansion to further Greece's influence over Turkey.

Turkey's youth seeks places in western universities to expand their knowledge of languages and ideas. It is with them, as with youth elsewhere in the world, that the hopes of the future will replace the stupidities and prejudices of the past.

A major part of the soul of western culture rests in Turkey's Anatolian soil. The ancient cities, monasteries, and settlements of antiquity — Ephesus, Antioch, Pergamon, Termessos, Aphrodisias, Alahan, and Troy — link modern Turkey with the cherished western history of ancient Greece, Macedon and Rome.

Canadians, perhaps more than any other people, are less likely to succumb to volatile behaviour over religion and culture. Our contribution to world peace, human rights, and economic welfare places us in a helpful position to reach out to Turkey as a profoundly interesting ally, partner, and democratic fellow traveller. The Europeans are ready to do the same. There are over 30,000 Canadians of Turkish origin who can help bridge the two countries personally and culturally.

Meanwhile, in the shadow of the massive transcontinental Bosphorus bridge, in Istanbul's Ortakoy district, a synagogue is being renovated with three spaces — one for Sephardim; one for Ashkenazim; and one for Oriental rites. A Christian church opens for prayers a stone's throw from the neighbouring Mosque while ferries ply the harbour.

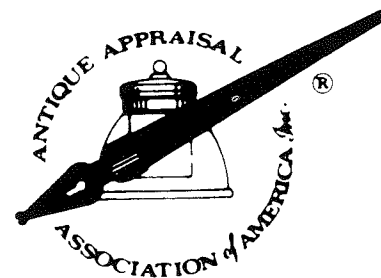
A street vendor sells the Turkish translation of Shakespeare's sonnets, and a squad of heavily armed paramilitary police stands alert and ready beside their BMW motorcycles. I ask the commander what he is waiting for. In excellent English he replies, "Istanbul is a peaceful city," he says, "we are just here to impress visitors like you."

Turkey is worth knowing and understanding. Canada must encourage cultural, humanistic, educational, and tourism exchanges with Turkey. By doing so we will help enhance our political and business relations with a modern country, rich in ancient traditions, and proud of its capacity to join the new world. 

*Dr. David Anido, a member of the editorial board of **bout de papier**, is also the chair of the new learned society, the Canadian Institute for Mediterranean Studies (University of Toronto).*

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Retrofitting the Political Officer

A New Approach to Information Management

by Randolph Mank

For over a decade, officers in the political-economic stream of the department have been under silent pressure to change. This is because successive governments have been placing greater and greater emphasis on trade promotion in foreign policy. Last year's foreign policy review confirmed that the trend will continue, as well it should given the connection between exports and jobs.

Trade Commissioners have been adapting well to this evolving departmental culture. Political officers have not. I say *political* officers because there is a growing bifurcation in the political-economic stream: some officers have been migrating to the other side of the hyphen — *economic* — to nest in specialist roles in trade and economic policy. Becoming known as economic officers, they too are adapting.

Where does that leave political officers? Are we to compete with journalists to report the news, pausing only long enough to meet demands for briefs and speeches? Or are we to be the messengers on narrow issues of foreign policy, disturbed from our routines only by the need to arrange occasional visits and conferences? The answer, of course, is that we must continue to do all of this. Unfortunately, if that is all we do, we will continue on our way toward a rendezvous with the dinosaurs.

It doesn't have to be that way. Far from being marginalized, the political officer has a more important role than ever to play in support of Canada's trade and other foreign policy objectives. The introduction of the country desk system offers a clue about what this role might be. Large corporations, with their government relations divisions, provide another. To put it simply, someone has to understand the political environment in which business operates. What's more, someone has to use this information to devise precise and detailed strategies to advocate Canadian interests abroad. Both are crucial in an age of globalisation, where commerce and politics often intersect. Neither can be achieved without first

harnessing the deluge of information that our new communications technology has brought upon us.

As some of our larger missions have already learned, the political officer can do this, but not without first being "retooled".

Stopping the Information Rot...

The Japanese have pioneered a management approach called *kaizen*, which literally translated means improvement. Its meaning goes well beyond this. One of its main tenets is that improvements in the work of any organisation rely to a large extent on the sharing of information. In his seminal book named after the approach, author Masaaki Imai points out that, like any other raw materials, "information rots, too."

We all know instinctively what this means. But his elaboration of the point holds up a clear mirror:

Information that is collected but not properly used rots rapidly. Any manager who does not forward information to the interested parties, and any management that does not have a system to use information, is doing a great disservice to the company....The trouble with many managers, however, is that they regard information as the source of their authority and try to control their subordinates by monopolizing it. Often they do this at the risk of sacrificing the organization's effectiveness. Managers may be totally ignorant of the value of information and the contribution it can make in the hands of the right people at the right time.

In the department's case, "managers" can be taken to mean anyone who controls information. That includes all of us.

For our purposes, the lesson taught by *kaizen* is clear. We need to make sure that relevant information gets to the right people quickly. More than that, it has to be converted into some form that assists in the pursuit of Canadian interests and improves the work of the department. Talking about it won't make it happen. It requires a knowledge of the playing field, a good playbook, and a versatile quarterback.

Pointed Analysis...

Just as a large corporation needs to understand the political environment in which its business operates, an embassy or geographic division needs to understand the host country with which it is dealing. This is the starting point for the political officer, and always has been. There is, however, a way to put a "pointy end" on what can otherwise all too often become merely an academic pursuit.

Last year, a newly-arrived senior manager at the mission where I am currently assigned, asked the deceptively simple question: "*Who's running the country?*" This sparked a long voyage of research that eventually arrived at the answer: "*Nobody...and everybody!*"

Our analysis showed that the set of actors involved in decision-making varied greatly according to the issue. While these actors, presumably our target contacts, overlapped in some cases, there was no one set of people to whom we could turn to advocate Canadian interests when trade issues became political or when we wanted to promote other forms of cooperation.

Maybe we should have known this all along. Maybe it applies to every country. In any case, we now had to face the issue of what to do about it. If we were to go out and try to determine who the key players were on every conceivable issue, there would be no time for anything else. It seemed logical, therefore, to try to specify the issues that warranted Canadian government advocacy.

We quickly came up with a couple of pages of lists — not a helpful start when one is trying to narrow the field. But then we submitted each issue to a test: what was our actual objective in connection with that issue? For example, if the issue was deregulation then our objective might be identified as *promoting deregulation of the building products sector*. That would at least narrow the field and allow us to start to determine the players. But it was only the beginning.

Using the same example, we quickly realized that we would have to determine which regulations were keeping Canadian building products out. And after that we would have to find out who the people were around those

regulations. Then we would have to know where those people were situated on the political map. And on and on, until it became woefully clear that our analytical conclusion would lead us into a very tangled web, ensnaring nearly every embassy program.

The issue then came back to this: "How do we manage this information?" We had long maintained a database of contact politicians and officials. It had proved useful and we wanted to keep it. The problem was that

the database neither situated our contacts in any kind of useful political landscape, nor connected them to any specific Canadian interests.

Clearly, we needed new tools to do this, and a new approach to information management.

Map-making...

The first self-imposed rule was that any new tool had to be very simple to use. Judging

from my own skills, anything requiring above average dexterity at the computer terminal would sound the death-knell for the idea. We also wanted something visually cogent. After some experimenting, we came up with what we called a *political influence map*, which is really a guide to the playing field on any given issue. When the names of the key actors are filled in, it also becomes a practical contact matrix. Here is the template we devised, which we now use with each priority issue on which we seek to promote Canadian interests (see left, at top).

Once we started to fill in the blanks, the matrix quickly grew to two or three pages. In the case of deregulation, we were able to identify between three and six government committees involved in one way or another. Inside each, there were anywhere from six to twenty members, all of whose names were listed. To this we also added the private sector players, officials, and journalists who seemed to exert some influence on the process of deregulation. As the players and loci of influence changed over time, we quickly learned that the matrix required regular updating.

In the end, we wondered how we had ever hoped to keep track of this complex network without a map.

Strategizing...

But, as our analysis had suggested, the map would be useless unless it could be connected with something that would define our objectives, list appropriate courses of action, and then record our actions and their results, so that we could learn and adjust our behaviour accordingly. To put it another way, in addition to a map of the playing field, we needed a playbook.

All too often, in cases where a trade issue becomes political, it is still approached with *old think*. A two or three page document is written which states the objectives and then lists possible steps to achieve them. Unfortunately, the very format of such a document makes it static and inflexible. It does not allow for the absorption and sharing of new information as the process unfolds. The available technology means we can do better.

In short, we decided that we needed a second tool, a *political influence strategy* to serve as our playbook for moving the ball down the field. Here is the template that we came up with (see bottom left).

By filling in this matrix, and saving it in a numerical series as new information is added, it is possible to keep a record of developments, as well as actions taken and results achieved. This in turn allows for learning and strategic adjustment. In time, it becomes the definitive track record on

Political Influence Map

Issue:

Date:
I:Drive

LOWER HOUSE		UPPER HOUSE	
Government	Opposition	Government	Opposition
Committee:		Committee:	
Committee:		Committee:	
Committee:		Committee:	
Committee:		Committee:	
Key Decision-Makers:		Key Decision-Makers:	
Bureaucracy			
Private Sector			
Media			

Political Influence Strategy

Date:
I:Drive

Issue:	
Objective:	
Legislation/ Regulations:	
Key Committees:	
Key Government Politicians:	
Key Opposition Politicians:	
Action to Date:	
Results:	
Recommended Action:	

the advocacy of any given Canadian interest in the host country. It tells you what works and what does not.

Virtual Teamwork...

As you might have guessed from the football metaphors, the key to making these tools work is teamwork. Task forces must be established around each issue. We were amazed at how much information we already had within the mission, but were simply not sharing with each other. You might think this means more dreary meetings. In fact, it means fewer.

How? The matrices are put on a shared computer file in the embassy. Task force members simply open the matrix, insert the information they have, and close it again. They can see exactly what information others have at any given time without the need to meet. In essence, they become a *virtual* working group.

The assumption is that no one individual can manage all of the information, but that all members need to know what the others are doing in order to learn and adjust their own behaviour.

Task forces need not be limited to embassy staff alone. Provincial or private sector representatives, headquarters officials, and anyone else who might happen to be pursuing the same interests can also

be included. The result is that the country desk system is extended well beyond its original conception.

Of course, it's easier said than done. In reality, people do not adjust readily to this kind of approach, partly for the reasons described by author Imai, partly because they are just too busy to deal with yet another task, and partly because it requires change. The political officer needs to quarterback the information flow. As the one who best understands the political environment, the political officer is in a critical position to advise the group on further actions that should or should not be taken as the strategy unfolds.

Results...

This technique has turned out to be effective on several levels. It forces us to identify our priorities and define our specific objectives. It provides a system for organizing relevant information in an accessible manner, staving off the dreaded information rot. It connects the political officer's analysis and advocacy with the work of the other programs in the embassy, and with the government's overall objectives. It promotes close cooperation and sharing of information. Finally, it provides a track record that can be indispensable in deciding when an issue needs to be added to the high-level bilateral agenda.

We have found that the approach works best in cases where we want to bring about changes in host country regulations that are unfavourable to Canada, or where we want to raise the profile of products that are in the running for government procurement contracts. It can also be used when the objective is to foster closer political cooperation, for example in such fields as peace-keeping or the environment.

Does it sell widgets? We didn't think at the beginning that it would. That wasn't the point. The purpose was to document our efforts and learn along the way. Win or lose, we would at least be satisfied that we had given it our best shot in each case and learned something in the process.

But the results, in the cases we have tackled so far, have exceeded our expectations. Simply by knowing precisely who to talk to, at what level, and at what stage in the process, we have already made breakthroughs with potential commercial benefits for Canada. It has been more than enough to encourage us that we are on the right track.

The approach has ancillary benefits as well. Some issues continue without resolution for many years. Despite this, on arrival at their new assignments officers often find a clean desk and an empty office, with little indication of what has gone on before. This can be avoided. Documented strategizing allows our successors to see precisely what we have been doing. Though to some that might sound a bit frightening, it at least provides some badly needed continuity.

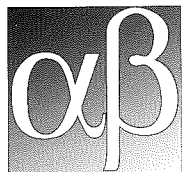
Moreover, officers who base their actions on such systematic strategies arguably present a more professional image to their Canadian and foreign clients alike.

The approach might not work for everyone, everywhere. Missions and geographic divisions differ greatly. Clearly, the matrix categories would change to suit the local environment. But I can think of other assignments where I would have used the approach, had this tool been available.

Political officers cannot possibly hope to compete with journalists for the news. On the other hand, we cannot rely on CNN to advocate Canadian interests either. That is our job. It is real politics. With a bit of retooling, the political officer can approach it with the rigorous professionalism it deserves. 

Randolph Mank has served in Athens, Stockholm, and Jakarta in addition to several headquarters assignments during his fifteen years with the Department of Foreign Affairs & International Trade. He is currently Political Counsellor at the Canadian Embassy in Tokyo.

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Diplomacy and Peacekeeping

PART ONE

Barbara McDougall in the Balkans

story and photos by Gerald Wright

The nineties started on a wave of enthusiasm for the United Nations (UN) and its refurbished capacity to contain, and gradually quell, conflict. By the time Barbara McDougall, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs (the position now titled Minister of Foreign Affairs) paid a visit to the former Yugoslavia and Somalia in May, 1993, events in those war-torn regions had conspired to raise the question of whether confidence in the UN had been misplaced. Nevertheless, there were still optimists to be found, heartened by the seeming stalemate in the Balkans conflict and prepared to write off the setbacks of the previous two years. Srebrenica was a new battle honour for the Canadians and not yet a tragedy gnawing at the Dutch, and reports from Belet Huen indicated that stability had returned to that region of Somalia and, across the country, a major tragedy had been averted.

Sunday, May 2, Toronto

From a CBC studio downtown, Wendy Mesley is recording an interview with Barbara McDougall, filmed sitting in the Canadian Forces Challenger that will take her to the Balkans. The Serbs have just agreed to the Vance-Owen Plan for the partition of Bosnia, pending ratification by the self-styled parliament of the Bosnian Serbs in Pale. Asked what course Canada should

choose if the Plan fails, McDougall strikes a note of resolve, emphasizing "the strongest possible international action" and refusing to rule out "the possibility of some kind of military intervention." She adds that one of her purposes on the trip is to satisfy herself as to contingency plans for the UN Force, which is neither equipped nor deployed for all-out battle.

The visit has been triggered by Major-General Lewis Mackenzie, the retired United Nations commander in Sarajevo, whose activities and public pronouncements have been grating on the ears of Ottawa policy-makers and officials. Their annoyance has recently reached a crescendo with Mackenzie's intervention on behalf of 150 Canadian soldiers positioned between 7,500 Bosnian Serb regulars and government forces defending the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica. TV and radio news have carried reports of an agreement reached in Belgrade between the General and Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, to allow another seventy Canadian peacekeepers to enter Srebrenica, permit independent monitors in the area and let in more humanitarian aid. Mackenzie's private diplomacy has made it necessary to impress on the public that the government has primary responsibility for the safety of Canadian peacekeepers and is capable of fulfilling this responsibility.

McDougall's intention to go to the former Yugoslavia does, however, date back many months. She has had to overcome military opposition, based on the argument that the presence of politicians could exacerbate an

already dangerous situation. She believes that, since she worked hard to get 2,400 soldiers and nearly fifty Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) over there, she must show herself to the men and women in the field. She can point to other foreign leaders, such as François Mitterand, who have visited Sarajevo without any ill consequence. The trip is also a chance to correct the lack of media coverage of Canada's peacekeepers in comparison with the extensive reporting of other contingents by the well-manned crews of CNN and the BBC. In line with the intention to reinforce peacekeeping and humanitarian initiatives, she will also be visiting Canada's UN contingent in Somalia.

McDougall's views of the Yugoslav crisis are hardening. In her view, the primary cause is the exploitation of historical and ethnic animosity by headstrong, maniacally stubborn leaders. She wants to keep the option of using force alive and is even hinting at the possibility of more forceful peacekeeping, meaning that peacekeepers should not flinch from standing up to one of the warring parties when thwarted in carrying out their mandate. She has become one of the chief proponents of an international court to try war criminals, because it could cause the combatants to think twice before they act. The Vance-Owen Plan that will carve up Bosnia-Herzegovina into homelands ("Ten little Northern Irelands," as one UN officer describes them) does not appeal to her but she believes that negotiating the Plan is the best hope for peace. Binding these opinions together is her frustration



with the failures of the European Community and the new Clinton Administration to make good on their rhetoric. There could be progress in getting the parties to the table, she thinks, if the West would just demonstrate a clear and consistent resolve. Thus, whenever the momentum behind applying pressure to the leaders flags, which it frequently does, her contributions to policy discussions become particularly assertive, not to say heated.

Monday, May 3, Zagreb

A strenuous overnight flight across the Atlantic ends in a motorcade careering through the suburbs of Zagreb, police sirens screaming. Riding in a car with other members of the Minister's staff, I am relieved to arrive at the Hotel Esplanade, not only our temporary headquarters but also where Canada's representative in Croatia both lives and works. For many months Sam Hanson has been manning the post by himself, transmitting daily a sheaf of telegrams on a myriad of subjects. Ironically, he has been doing this without Canada having established formal diplomatic relations with Croatia, which occurred just prior to our arrival.

The centre of Zagreb, an old outpost of the Habsburg Empire, should be attractive but a dingy pall hangs over it today. We have to start work in the early afternoon with briefings at the headquarters of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). We meet first with the Canadian deputy commander, Major-General J.M.R. Gaudreau. He leaves us in no doubt that he does not share the meddlesome approach to the conflict exhibited by the UN commander in Bosnia, French Lieutenant-General Philippe Morillon. By making himself a virtual hostage in Srebrenica and by pushing the warring parties to agree that it should be regarded as a "safe area," Morillon has

stretched the UN mandate considerably. General Gaudreau comes from a different mould. A veteran of four tours in Cyprus, he is a trained practitioner of the classical principles of peacekeeping: consent of the parties, impartiality of the peacekeepers and

Head of Information of the Foreign Ministry greets us with a broad Australian accent (and then tries to convince us that the tourist season on the Dalmatian Coast is going splendidly)! When the Foreign Minister arrives he volunteers that he is a medical

researcher who has former pupils working in the Banting and Best Centre of the University of Toronto.

The Foreign Minister is the curtain raiser for a meeting with President Franjo Tudjman, who retains tight control of policy in this country. The President inhabits the Villa Zagorje, a modern structure in a leafy suburb which served as Marshall Tito's residence in Zagreb. There is a bust of Tito in the lobby. Tudjman, a former academic and general in the Yugoslav army, actually served a prison term under Tito for his activities with "Croatian Spring," a reform movement.

McDougall leads off by expressing appreciation for Tudjman's recent visit to the opening of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, the kind of gesture that comes easily to her as an MP representing many Jewish constituents. In turn, the Croatian President offers his thanks for Canada's recognition of Croatia and participation in UNPROFOR. Croatia has accepted extension of the UNPROFOR mandate, he says, and will agree to further extensions provided deadlines are set regarding implementation of the Vance

Plan (the basis of the shaky cease-fire negotiated by former US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in early 1992, which stipulated the return of displaced residents to their homes).

Preliminaries concluded, McDougall raises the issue of Croatia's treatment of minorities. Here is where Croatia can set an example, she says. Tudjman is adamant that in Croatia Serbs and Croats live together amicably. The Serbian population of the areas of conflict is less than half the total

THE GLOBE AND MAIL

Toronto, Thursday, May 6, 1993

COLUMN

is off to Europe to meet with the European Community. Mr. Mulroney is expected to be in London, Paris, and Rome. This is a (curriculum vitae) in the far cheaper and Democratic Party. It is a (curriculum vitae) in the far cheaper and Democratic Party. It is a (curriculum vitae) in the far cheaper and Democratic Party.

ave to make a difficult decision. The United States and the Canadian Space Agency are expected to be in London, Paris, and Rome. This is a (curriculum vitae) in the far cheaper and Democratic Party. It is a (curriculum vitae) in the far cheaper and Democratic Party.

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Serbs reject UN peace plan

Parliament instead calls for popular vote on the proposal

Associated Press, Reuters and Staff MOUNT JAHORINA, Bosnia-Herzegovina — The Bosnian Serbs' self-proclaimed parliament overwhelmingly rejected a UN peace plan early today, calling instead for a popular vote on the plan. The vote was 51-11, with 12 abstentions. The vote was a surprise, as the Serbs had been expected to accept the plan. The plan proposed by Cyrus Vance for the United Nations and Lord Owen for the European Community proposes Bosnia's division into 10 provinces along ethnic lines and would require the Bosnian Serbs to withdraw from one-third of the 70 per cent of the republic that their forces occupy after 13 months of bloody civil war. Bosnian Muslims and Croats have already endorsed the plan, although Bosnian Muslim President Alija Izetbegovic also did so conditionally. Mr. Karadzic, who accepted the plan Sunday at a peace conference in Greece, said: "Either we accept this plan, or we can expect fierce attacks by NATO forces. I implore you to ratify the plan, otherwise the damage will be enormous."

SARAJEVO / Thud
of nearby mortars
greens McDougall

Shelling adds zest to lunch at front

BY PAUL KERING
European Bureau

BOSNIA'S battered capital is hardly a regular stop for Western foreign ministers, so when one arrives in town, a little extra is laid on. While Russia pledged troops for peacekeeping in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament debated ratifying a peace plan under threat of air strikes, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall dined off white linen with a paper towel for a serviette as Sarajevo was "relatively calm" yesterday. That meant that, in the brutal pastime of a city where siege has become the norm, only a few dozen artillery and mortar shells dropped by the Serbs. It was calmer still until Mrs. McDougall arrived at the old Deligates Club, now the forward headquarters of French Lieutenant-General Philippe Morillon, the commander of United Nations forces in Bosnia. "We have a Bosnian mortar position about 50 metres away," a Dutch officer said. "They got busy when the Danish foreign minister was here, too."

Predictably, after a few outgoing rounds, the Serbs commanding the surrounding hills returned the fire. At Mrs. McDougall was being briefed and as the lunch, the irregular explosions of incoming rounds drove home the reality that violence remains the main medium for an exchange of views in the former Yugoslavia.

See SARAJEVO — A2



United Nations soldier helps Foreign Minister Barbara McDougall off a plane yesterday at Sarajevo. She is visiting Canadian peacekeepers in Bosnia and Croatia. (AP/WIDEWORLD)

Boomers could face pension plan crunch

Study of big Canadian family leads to cancer-gene clues

Study of big Canadian family leads to cancer-gene clues

Study of big Canadian family leads to cancer-gene clues

of Serbs in Croatia. (The number of Serbs in Croatia is approximately 550,000.) Somewhat inconsistently he goes on, "We have problems with the Serbs because in the socialist system Serbia was the ruling nation. The Yugoslav army was predominantly Serbian and Serbs accounted for 70-80 per cent of the police." Then, in 1991-1992 the Serb-dominated army tried to restore communism. Worse, the behaviour of the army and the para-military Serbs was barbaric. Whereas two settlements were destroyed in World War Two (when, as Tadjman reminds the Minister, he fought against Germany and not with the Fascist Ustashe), 350 were destroyed in the recent war, together with 800 churches. "Nevertheless, we'll grant them (the Serbs) all their civil and democratic rights."

When her turn comes, McDougall observes that a long time has elapsed since Canada last experienced violence. She agrees that Serbia deserves a substantial share of the blame for the Balkans violence. "I was one of the first to call for sanctions on Serbia." She keeps the pressure on Tadjman, this time with regard to Bosnia-Herzegovina and intelligence reports of arms being shipped to Bosnian Croats from Croatia. She also wants his opinion of the prospects for the Vance-Owen Plan. Meeting in Athens with leaders of the warring parties, UN and European Community mediators have just finalized an arrangement to permit corridors for movement between Serb-held areas in Bosnia, a last-minute concession to get Bosnian Serb agreement to the Plan. What are the chances of the Athens agreement succeeding? What role does the President think Canada can play?

McDougall's initial remark has given Tadjman, who has been to Canada three times, an opening. He recalls the roadblocks that natives set up (at several Quebec locations in 1990), implying that even Canada has occasionally fallen down in its treatment of minorities. The Croats, he goes on pointedly, are one of the oldest people in Europe. Moreover, Croatia used to be much larger than it is today. He wants it understood that his government could never agree to separation of the United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs), the zones of conflict in the 1991-1992 war, from Croatia.

As far as Bosnia is concerned, Tadjman appears keener to characterize the players than to explore the peacemaking process. He is sceptical that the Muslims, as he calls them, will negotiate seriously. The Muslim leadership has never given up the idea of Bosnia as a unitary state, with Muslims in the majority. He allows that the Bosnian Muslims are not fundamentalists, though they are bent on imposing Islamic rule.

At the same time, he tries to dispel the idea that his objective is a Greater Croatia. "Some of the Muslim leaders thought the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina wanted to annex areas to Croatia. We have prevented this. We have always been for cooperation between Muslims and Croats."

He reserves more serious condemnation for the Serbs. They are painted as ruthless ethnic cleansers, eager to annex the greater part of Bosnia to Serbia. He accuses Serbia of infiltrating its people into Croatia to continue an aggressive war. He did, however, talk to the presidents of the rump Yugoslavia and Serbia at last weekend's meeting in Athens. Croatia is prepared to normalize relations with Serbia if the harassments cease. "We'll hold you to it," says McDougall, getting in the last word.

Tuesday, May 4, Western Slavonia and Zagreb

Realization that we are in a war zone dawns slowly as our convoy of automobiles traverses the flat land to the east of Zagreb. The first few wrecked houses, where Serbs undoubtedly lived, make little impression. Then their number becomes impossible

of the Princess Patricia's Light Infantry (PPCLI). There are Argentineans to the north, Jordanians and Nepalese to the south. The peacekeepers monitor movements in and out of the area and keep watch over the places where the Serbs were persuaded to deposit their heavy weapons. UNPROFOR is also charged with restoring civil authority in the UNPAs and enabling those who lost their homes to get them back. The peacekeepers are being told to keep their heads and try to cool tensions. "What I do not need in Croatia is a bunch of Rambos," Lieutenant-Colonel Jim Calvin, the commanding officer and a native of Oshawa, has written in the first number of the soldiers' newspaper, *The Sandbag*.

From Camp Polom near Daruvar we travel to a checkpoint in hilly, wooded country, where McDougall shakes hands all round. "I'm just a reservist, ma'am," explains one young Seaforth Highlander apologetically, drawing a protest from Lieutenant-Colonel Calvin, nearly half of whose command come from reserve regiments such as the Seaforths. Then to Pakrac, scene of some of the bitterest fighting in the war, where there are eerie sights of



Left to right: Paul Koring, Dan Dhavernas, Gerald Wright, Scott Mullin and Michael Bell, Visoko, Bosnia

to ignore. Gaping holes are punched in terra cotta roofs and only the sturdiest partitions stand erect amidst the rubble. The scene is more harrowing because the wrecked houses are interspersed with others still intact.

This is Western Slavonia or Sector West, one of the UNPAs the peacekeepers are supposed to secure and demilitarize. The Canadian contingent here is the Second Battalion

gaunt, half destroyed buildings. The Canadians are experimenting with building peace from the ground up by resettling Serbs and Croats on the same street. The locals are apparently quite content to live in mixed communities, but the government of the self-styled "Republic of Serbian Krajina" in Knin will have none of it.

On to Lipic, another scene of massive destruction, once a spa much frequented by

Austrians and the home of the famous Lippizaner stallions of the Vienna Riding School. Some of the horses were lost to a fire caused by the conflict. The soldiers have assembled a display of weapons taken from homes in the area. We are cautioned not to wander into the underbrush by the roadside for fear of landmines.

Throughout the afternoon the tensions crackling beneath the surface become more apparent. Calvin tells us that peacekeepers' patrols have recently been fired upon and points out where locals have been ambushed. Tensions in the communities reflect the struggle being waged between Zagreb and Knin. Possibly a quarter of a million Serbs left the UNPAs as a result of the war, and Croats similarly were evicted from their homes and communities. Tudjman is determined to get Sector West back, as well as the other UNPAs. The rising temperature is evidenced by Croatia violating its agreement not to place artillery in forbidden zones adjacent to the UNPA boundary. A green Croatian spring may be gathering strength but the landscape is dry tinder.

On returning to Zagreb from the ruined homes of Sector West, we must look straight into the human face of war. Fourteen hundred Bosnian refugees, the majority women and children, crowd the Zaprude Camp. The Minister does the rounds of tiny rooms, asking the inhabitants to tell their stories and almost invariably having them break into tears. One room houses eight, a man, six women and a child. She hears how the daughter of one of the women accidentally came across her father's body in the fields. Some of the women saw their husbands killed before their eyes. Even now the refugees' circumstances are not easy and McDougall will be able to direct some Canadian aid funds to their benefit. Thanks to her intervention, the inhabitants of the Camp will have a special building for preparing their meals and will no longer have to cook in their rooms.

Wednesday, May 5, Sarajevo and Visoko

Descending into Sarajevo in a Russian Ilyushin, the pulse quickens. Paul Koring of *The Globe and Mail* hears bullets ricocheting off the aircraft and, when the door is open, there are dull thuds in the distance. Perhaps these are simply to impress a visiting dignitary, but there is no mistaking the photo opportunity. The Minister's descent from the plane in helmet and flak jacket is tailor-made for tomorrow's front pages. She strides across the tarmac in the eye of a retreating television camera and is at once engaged in an interview with Anna

Maria Tremonti of the CBC. The message that McDougall most wanted to register with the home audience she now gets across in a matter of seconds: I came to Sarajevo.

The visit starts awkwardly. General Morillon, who should be the Minister's host, sends his regrets. McDougall will later talk to him by telephone about the situation in Srebrenica. Sitting in his sandbagged headquarters, another former residence of Marshall Tito, we are briefed on the humanitarian relief operation. Of the total Bosnian population of four million, 2.3 million need to be provided with the basic necessities of life. The two biggest problems confronted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and UNPROFOR are the lack of supplies in the pipeline and the proclivity of the Serbs to demand different credentials each time a convoy seeks freedom of passage.

The briefing over, we lunch at General Morillon's table, our conversation punctuated by explosions near and far. "For every one of those explosions you can expect there will be casualties," says Tony Land of the UNHCR, to dispel any thought that the adversaries are merely advertising their ardour. (Two people are later reported killed.) Colonel Valentin, the French chief of staff of the Sarajevo command, explains that there is a hospital, just down the road, in the centre of which the Bosnians have placed a mortar. The Serbs, it appears, have no monopoly on ruthlessness.

Down a broad avenue, hunched in our armoured personnel carriers (APCs). If the inside of a closed APC were not sufficiently oppressive an Egyptian soldier lights up a cigarette! We clamber out, shed our flak jackets and, joined by some shabbily dressed press photographers, charge up the staircase of the Bosnian Presidency and crowd into a boardroom where sombre paintings are superimposed on filthy walls. The Canadians who, owing to the rigours of travelling by APC and Ilyushin, by now resemble the crew of a carwash, range along one side of the table, the Bosnians along the other. I am opposite a weather-beaten General Jovan Divjak, deputy commander-in-chief of the Bosnian Army.

Prior to coming to power, President Alija Izetbegovic's political activities, including work with Muslim youth, earned him two prison sentences amounting in total to over ten years. Today, his opening theme is the tragedy of a devastated country, villages destroyed, 1.5 million people expelled from their homes. He urges McDougall to visit a hospital, mentioning one in the centre of the city that has been shelled five hundred times. Then he adds ominously, "We'll see what happens during the meeting."

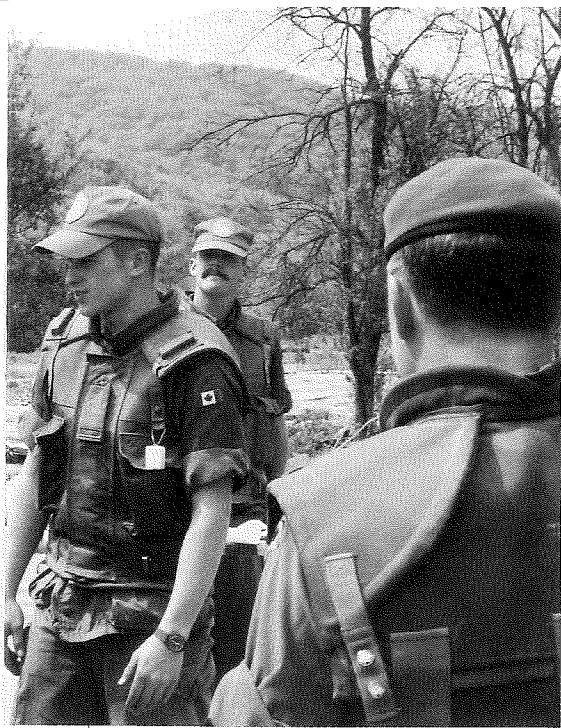


Boosting morale in Bosnia

McDougall gets straight to the Vance-Owen Plan, which she describes as not the optimum but a base on which to build. If peace is in prospect, Canada will assist. She asks Izetbegovic how he views the implementation of the Plan. At least 50,000 to 70,000 troops will be needed, he responds, and the first phase of the implementation should be run by NATO. But he wants to ease the conversation back to his theme, painting the picture of a Bosnia and Herzegovina where nationalities, religions and cultures mingled and lived peaceably and now desire to continue to do so. In Sarajevo, not five hundred yards from each other stand a Catholic church, an Orthodox church, a Jewish synagogue and a Moslem mosque. To illustrate his theme further, Izetbegovic turns to the Minister of Information, whom he identifies as a Croat, and then to the President of the Parliament who, we are told, is a Serb. (He misses Divjak, who is also of Serbian origin.)

McDougall's response is to remind the President that there is nevertheless mistrust existing among the leadership of the successor states. "I will urge the international community to carry on with sanctions (on Serbia and Montenegro) until there is a demonstration of goodwill towards the peace plan, in its implementation," she assures Izetbegovic, stressing the last three words.

The room lights flash on and off intermittently and from outside the window comes the cackle of small arms fire. The line separating the Bosnian forces from the Serbs is, after all, only a few hundred metres away. Izetbegovic sits impassively and McDougall, who experienced a shooting



war in Haiti not long after becoming Minister, plunges ahead, trying to get him back to Vance-Owen. He sounds unconvinced that enough outside forces will be forthcoming to ensure peace but, if it can be achieved, prospects are encouraging. The refugees, he believes, will return and the country is rich in natural resources.

Before leaving, McDougall must register a complaint about reported incidents of Bosnian forces shelling their own people, apparently in or around Srebrenica. "Please look into this to ensure everyone in the region is respecting the safe area," Izetbegovic is unexpectedly apologetic, possibly misunderstanding the nature of the complaint. "I can assure you that our people look on the UN with sympathy, especially the Canadian and the French forces," he says. Their expectations of what UNPROFOR could do for them have, however, been disappointed, which may account for the reported incidents. "They originally thought the peacekeepers came to defend them from the Chetniks."

President Izetbegovic undoubtedly thinks a tour of Sarajevo will reinforce his arguments. The reaction that the besieged city does arouse is a mental struggle with startling contrasts, beginning with the sound of explosions that are incongruous in a superb natural setting like this one. The suburban homes that mount the nearby hills to the north, though they look benign, shelter Serb snipers. The dislocation of war is signalled more graphically by the sight of the installations for the 1984 Olympics with a sea of Christian and Muslim grave markers in the foreground. At the spot where, according to what we can grasp from our driver's Serbo-Croatian, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by a Serb in 1914, a scar on a wall shows where

a plaque must have rested. The driver hands me two letters to be mailed in Zagreb, pointing mutely to the wreckage of the post office. The streets are almost deserted, but from time to time little knots of hurrying people appear in the distance.

The tour concludes when we transfer to the aging M-113s that will transport us to the Canadian bases at Visoko and Kiseljak, a few miles northwest of Sarajevo. In an amazingly swift transition the scenery becomes almost bucolic as we clatter along country lanes and up winding mountain roads past neatly tilled plots and farming families, some of whom wave when they see the blue berets of the UN. Periodic checkpoints interrupt any pastoral reveries: three Serb checkpoints leaving Sarajevo, then a Croat checkpoint before entry into Kiseljak, finally across a bridge and we are waved through by Bosnian government soldiers. The guards, both men and women, cigarettes drooping from their lips, are the target of dark mutterings from inside the APCs about how much slivovitz they consume.

An infantry battalion group, drawn primarily from the Second Battalion, the Royal Canadian Regiment (RCR) and numbering just under one thousand, is near completion of its six-month tour in Bosnia. The main task of the peacekeepers, who are commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Geburt, has been to escort humanitarian relief convoys in the Sarajevo region and in eastern and central Bosnia-Herzegovina. At Visoko, they are billeted in an abandoned factory in what appears to have been an industrial park. Sleeping accommodation is in tents pitched inside the cavernous building. If you want to visit the showers in a neighbouring structure you wear your helmet and flak jacket.

Dinner with the officers and non-commissioned officers climaxes with pears H  l  ne, in which the military cooks take an obvious pride. The mood belies the shabby, makeshift surroundings. There is that distinctively heady feeling that athletes get from being part of a team that has triumphed against all obstacles. It carries over into an evening that mixes socializing with work. An advance party from the replacement unit, the Second Battalion of the Royal 22nd Regiment (the "Van Doos"), is settling in. The young adjutant of the RCR unit, who will shortly be marrying a Croatian girl in Zagreb, is subjected to a good deal of banter. After filing their stories, the press repair to the "Hard Rock Caf  " where the buzz of conversation is mounting.

This is a chance to corner Colonel Geburt on the subject of Srebrenica. He is willing to talk. Srebrenica has given this unit a boost. Peacekeepers returning from there,

on rotation, share a special   lan. A few weeks ago they were sent to the town to assist with its evacuation. Thanks to the agreement that the redoubtable Morillon negotiated with the combatants, they wound up with responsibility for a "safe area" of twelve square kilometres, in addition to more routine jobs such as providing security to a hospital and enabling the restoration of the water supply. Thus far, the agreement is working. So well, indeed, that it has emboldened the UN Security Council to seize on the idea of safe areas as a means of halting the abhorrent practice of ethnic cleansing. Just after we leave Bosnia the Council will declare Sarajevo, Zepa, Gorazde, Bihac and Tuzla to be safe areas in addition to Srebrenica.

Nevertheless, should a handful of lightly armed Canadians have been saddled with the defence of an entire town, packed with refugees, against Serb regulars fifty times their number, to say nothing of irregulars allied to the Serbs? The Colonel's matter-of-fact account makes it clear that the confidence-building role and impartial status of the small UN force were accepted by both sides. The Canadian commander was in fairly frequent communication with the warring parties and had no reason to think that he was about to be attacked by the Serbs. In the event of such an attack the peacekeepers would have tried to defend a core area, not the whole town. If the Canadians were "left in the lurch," as some have feared, they were certainly unaware of it.

Thursday, May 6, Visoko and Zagreb

Breakfast with a young private on his way to Srebrenica. His adrenaline is visibly pumping. This morning CNN is carrying the news that the Bosnian Serb "parliament" in Pale has rejected the Vance-Owen Plan and soldiers crowd around the television set. Then we embark in M-113s for a bone rattling trip to Sarajevo airport and, aboard another Russian cargo plane, fly back to Zagreb. In the evening there is a long stuffy dinner, finishing with port and Irish coffee, at the Esplanade. We toast the memory of Sergeant Michael Ralph and Master Corporal John Ternapolski, the two Canadian peacekeepers who have died in the former Yugoslavia. In the morning the Challenger will take us to Nairobi, which will serve as our base for the visit to Canadian troops and UN officials in Somalia.

Gerald Wright was Special Advisor to the Secretary of State for External Affairs (1992-1993). He is currently employed by Industry Canada. The views expressed in this article are his and not necessarily those of Industry Canada or the Government of Canada.

RADIO CANADA INTERNATIONAL

Projecting Canada to the World

by Terry Hargreaves

In downtown Kishinev, a Moldovan technician adjusts a satellite dish to downlink a "live" signal to be broadcast on local stations throughout his country. In the Adriatic Sea, Canadian sailors tune their radio frequencies carefully. In Southern Chile, a Canadian tourist checks his watch and heads to his hotel room to get his short-wave receiver. In Beijing, students leave classes and prepare to hear the latest news from Canada. In Yakutsk, Siberia, a small businessman listens intently to a report on how Canadian merchants deal with customers.

What do all these people have in common? They are all listening to Radio Canada International and either keeping in touch with home, or learning about Canada. In either case, there is no other daily source of Canadian information available to them in their own language.

The Evolution of RCI

Radio Canada International began 51 years ago as a way for Canadian soldiers in Europe to keep in touch with home. It rapidly expanded to include several foreign languages

to serve both sides of the Iron Curtain. In the decades that followed, languages were added and others dropped reflecting the changes in Canadian foreign policy and methods of projecting Canadian interest overseas. Geographic areas of the globe were added as target areas as Canada's interests expanded into the Middle East, Asia, and South America.

Through all these years, RCI has been, and still is an integral part of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and operates under the same journalistic principles as the rest of the Corporation. Its roles are defined thus:

- to attract an international audience with the purpose of further developing international awareness of Canada and the Canadian identity;
- to broadcast programs to the growing number of Canadians abroad in recognition of their need of more Canadian news and information.

Today, RCI broadcasts in Ukrainian, Russian, Spanish, Arabic, Chinese, Creole, English and French. From its headquarters

and studios in Montreal, RCI broadcasts a minimum of 232 hours a week, with 113 hours in English, 70 in French, and the remainder in RCI's foreign languages.

RCI broadcasts in Russian to the countries of the former Soviet Union including transmissions in the Far East to reach Vladivostok and other such centres. Ukrainian language broadcasts originate from transmitters in Canada and Europe. In both Russian and Ukrainian, RCI broadcasts more than 14 hours a week in a format of news, information, interviews, commentaries, and mini-documentaries on Canadian events, culture, business, and lifestyle.

The Arabic broadcasts project Canada's view into this crucial part of the world via shortwave, with a large number of letters received from listeners in Morocco to the Persian Gulf and Sudan.

Spanish language broadcasts on shortwave from Sackville, New Brunswick are heard clearly throughout South America as far as Southern Argentina and Chile.

RCI's Mandarin language programs are broadcast on shortwave from transmitters in Korea and Japan to provide a strong and clear signal in major Chinese cities.

About 60% of the programming is RCI-produced specifically for international audiences, and includes national and international news reported from a Canadian perspective, as well as commentary by Canadian experts on issues in the news.

RCI also produces and broadcasts current affairs magazine programs designed to place Canadian issues, events, and lifestyles before a foreign audience. With input from RCI staff, freelance specialists and six regional RCI bureaus, these programs include the daily *Spectrum* and *Les actualités canadiennes*, and *Report to Peacekeepers* and *Magazine des Casques Bleus* for Canadian service personnel overseas.

Weekly programs include those covering Canadian technology (*Innovation Canada* and *Eureka*), science and the environment (the award-winning *Earth Watch* and *Planète*) artists and performers (*Arts in Canada* and *Vie d'artiste*) and answers to listeners' questions (*The Mailbag* and *Le courrier des auditeurs*).

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week, allowing Canadians abroad to keep in touch, and opening a window on our Canadian life to international audiences. Favorites include *Best of Morningside*, *World at Six*, *As It Happens*, and *Sunday Morning* from CBC Radio. From SRC we rebroadcast, among others, several editions of *Le Radiojournal*, *Les Actualités*, *En Direct* and portions of morning shows from Montreal, Ottawa, and Quebec City.

Listening to RCI

RCI broadcasts on shortwave from transmitters in Sackville, New Brunswick, and, through relay exchange agreements, utilizes transmitters in Skelton, England; Wertachtal, Germany; Sines, Portugal; Moosbrunn, Austria; Kimjae, Korea; Xian, China; and Yamata, Japan; to spread its shortwave signal across the world. RCI also uses a 600,000 watt AM transmitter in Cape Greco, Cyprus, to broadcast nightly in Arabic to the Middle East, supplementing its Arabic shortwave service.

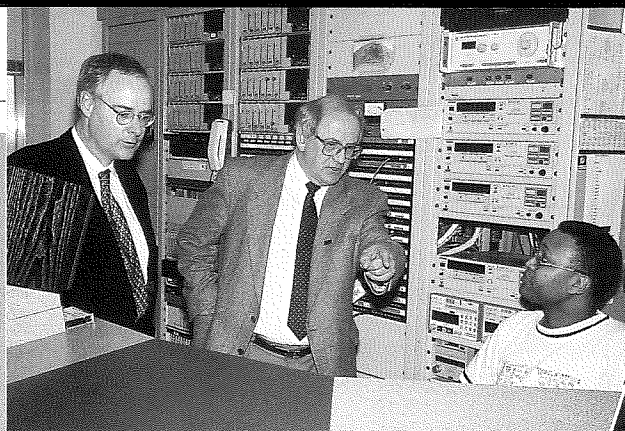
Shortwave broadcasting is used by 126 international radio broadcasters to spread their signal. It is particularly useful in reaching "closed" societies and providing additional, unbiased information to their citizens. The technology, however, is gradually changing.

In Europe, RCI uses the Eutelsat "hot-bird" satellite providing a 24-hour a day year-round service which can be received by a 0.7 m-1.8 m dish depending on location. The "footprint" of this service reaches from Ireland in the West, to the Urals in the East, from North Africa in the South to Scandinavia in the North.

RCI expects to start a similar service on a 24-hour basis which will be received via the Intelsat 702 satellite throughout Africa with a larger receiving dish. RCI will begin shortly a similar service in Asia via the AsiaSat 2 satellite which receives from Mongolia to Australia and Japan to the Middle East.

The use of satellite to home receiver, or satellite to a local radio station in a target country for rebroadcast is slowly making its mark in international radio.

Indeed, RCI is in its third year of providing a 24-hour a day special satellite service to the Canadian Armed Forces. This service, in English and French, consists of special programs for the Armed Forces, messages from home, the best of domestic CBC and SRC programming, and —



through the cooperation of private radio stations in Canada — "live" coverage of hockey, baseball, and football games.

The main overseas locations of Canadian service units are served by a satellite downlink which feeds directly into a small FM transmitter (in effect a small local radio station) which has a broadcast radius of a few miles.

Therefore soldiers on duty away from the barracks, perhaps at a road block, can tune in and listen to "live" coverage of a hockey game from Vancouver or other major Canadian cities. The service is currently operating in Port-Au-Prince, Haiti; in Velika Kledusa, Zgon, and Coralic, all in Bosnia; the Golan Heights; and is beamed to Canadians serving at NATO bases in Casteau, Belgium, Brunssum, the Netherlands, and Ramstein, Germany. RCI is, in the words of one corporal serving in the former Yugoslavia, "a lifeline with regard to information." The audience for this service is numerically small but obviously of great individual importance.

Audience figures on international broadcasting are difficult to measure: some countries will not even allow surveys. RCI estimates it has a weekly reach by shortwave of approximately five million listeners, and that does not include China. It also does not include the satellite audience, or any of the rebroadcasting audience.

This method is also in greater use now. RCI broadcasts one hour of its Ukrainian

daily via satellite to Europe where it is downlinked in Kiev and rebroadcast simultaneously throughout the Ukraine on the national radio network of that country and by cable into 11-million homes, thus increasing its audience and impact.

In Russia, several radio stations are also downlinking RCI Russian programming and rebroadcasting it in St. Petersburg, Petrozavodsk, Rostov-on-Don, and soon in Kaliningrad. Russian speaking listeners also listen to RCI via satellite downlinks and local rebroadcast in Moldova, and in Sevastopol in the Crimea.

RCI expects to expand this service both in Russia and Ukraine, but also in Africa and Asia in the coming months.

To reach the potential audience by as many means as possible, RCI also produces programs in all its broadcast languages for use by domestic broadcasters in 80 countries. Language lessons in English and French, a Canadian "Pop" music service, *RCI Classics* by Canadian artists and orchestras, *Canadian Panorama* and *Canada à la Carte* which feature mini-documentaries, programs on "self help" and business.

What's Cool...

Language lessons have been a staple at RCI for several years. Beginners' and Intermediate lesson series have been produced in Russian, Ukrainian, Mandarin Chinese, Spanish, Arabic, eight indigenous languages in Namibia, in Lao, Vietnamese and Khmer. All of the language lessons inform students

about Canadian business, culture, geography, people, and government.

In several countries the language lessons have been backed by home study groups, accompanying printed material in the form of textbooks, and advertising of the lessons has been widespread both on radio and elsewhere. In Ukraine, fliers were sent to local schools to let students know; in Moscow and Beijing, RCI had notices posted in the subway. In many cities RCI supplied material that could be customized with the name of the local station and times of broadcast added to an all-Canadian RCI poster.

The demand for lessons in English, and to a lesser extent in French, continues unabated. RCI's lessons are first of all "good radio" and for that reason have gained wide acceptance. They are being broadcast, or have been broadcast, in more than 30 cities in Russia, throughout the Ukraine, in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Kirghizstan, Mongolia, Kazakhstan, in 15 cities in China, in 30 cities in Latin America in Argentina, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Ecuador, Colombia, Uruguay, Paraguay, Mexico, and in Namibia in Southern Africa.

New series are planned or underway for China with a business English series, and for Vietnam, and Romania.

RCI boosts Canada's cultural presence overseas not only by language lessons but also through music. RCI produces and distributes each month a high quality tape with the best of Canadian "pop" music for the month, usually six or seven English language songs, and three or four French. This service called *Pick of the Pops* is used by nearly 300 stations around the world, from Vladivostok to Santiago, Chile.

For instance, the popular commercial station in Kiev, Radio Roks, produces a special one hour program every month based on *Pick of the Pops* and devoted entirely to the Canadian music scene. Others use the material in concert with RCI mini-documentaries and some use it in coordination with the language lessons. Ma Jing-hua of Radio Shaanxi in Xian, China, writes us that this music is "the window for us to look into Canada."

The classical music side is not neglected. RCI has negotiated agreements with broadcasters in foreign countries to devote one hour a week exclusively to Canadian artists and orchestras playing great classical music. In Russia, the stereo network 'Radio Orfey' broadcasts this program every Sunday night. A similar program is heard in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Kazakhstan, also in Beijing, Guangzhou, Xian, and Shanghai in China, in Buenos Aires, in Santiago, Montevideo and in San Jose, Costa Rica.

The music on compact disc supplied by RCI is supplemented by written continuity and the Encyclopedia of Canadian Music allowing local announcers to choose their own individual method of presentation.

The dozens of reports, interviews, commentaries, and features that RCI broadcasts in eight languages are largely about Canadian subjects and issues. They are recycled under the title *Canadian Panorama* or *Canada à la Carte* or *Canada a la Carta* from their first use on shortwave programs for distribution on tape to local broadcasters in the target countries. Topics include Canadian culture, industry, resources, and international relations.

Canada a la Carta, for instance, a Spanish language tape, is shipped to more than 100 subscribers in 15 countries.

There is an effort made, where possible, to tailor programs for special markets. RCI produced, with the help of the Foreign Affairs department, a series of programs in Russian on Democracy, Entrepreneurship, and the Environment. The programs received an enthusiastic reception in Russia and were broadcast in more than 25 cities plus several of the successor states of the USSR such as Moldova, Estonia, Kazakhstan, etc.

In China, RCI started in 1992 a weekly half-hour program in Cantonese to reflect the importance of trans-Pacific business opportunities and to build a link between the vital Southern part of China bordering Hong Kong and Canada. The *Canadian Economy Mail News* is broadcast each Saturday after the 8am major economic newscast and is broadcast throughout Guangzhou, Hong Kong, Macao, and the Pearl River Delta, covering an area with more than 30 million potential listeners.

Last fall, the Pearl River Economic Station in Guangzhou started weekly broadcasts in Cantonese of short documentaries about Canada (economy, history, culture, etc.).

In February, 1996 RCI signed an agreement with China National Radio and produced a series of 30 programs on Canada in the Mandarin language in cooperation with the Chinese broadcaster. This series which covers such topics as Canadian business, aerospace, culture, Nobel prize winners, Canadian artists and so on is broadcast each Monday morning at 8am throughout China on the First Channel of the National Radio. China National Radio estimates their First Channel covers an area with more than 700-million potential listeners.

The Canadian programs are the first broadcast on China National Radio from any foreign source and the Canadian Embassy in Beijing says the benefit from RCI programs in China "has been enormous"

Commenting on the latest series the embassy said, "the contribution that this makes to our cultural diplomacy in China is incalculable."

The Bottom Line

RCI, for all of its many activities, ranks relatively low in funding amongst international broadcasters. A recent study by Radio Australia showed that RCI's budget of approximately \$16,000,000 Canadian was below not only the major broadcasters such as Germany's Deutsche Welle — \$394-million Canadian, or Britain — \$307-million Canadian, but was below about that of Radio Australia at \$27-million Canadian, Radio Nederland at \$73-million Canadian, and Swiss Radio International at \$50-million Canadian.

The same study showed that in looking at the Average Cost per hour of Program Output in 1995 Radio Canada International produced programs more economically than Radio Australia, Radio Vatican, Radio Singapore, Radio Nederland, Swiss Radio International, Voice of America, NHK-Japan, BBC World Service radio, and Deutsche Welle.

As the world moves into satellite television and the Internet, the question is raised about the continuing value of radio. First, for shortwave there are still 600-million shortwave receivers in the world. And in many countries, such as those of the former Soviet Union, a standard radio includes shortwave bands.

As well, satellite radio is moving rapidly to the forefront in many parts of the globe and RCI is playing its part in taking advantage of this new method of getting the Canadian story and point of view known in the cacophony of radio sound. It is a competitive environment. Radio France Internationale, for example, has built and operates dozens of FM stations in various major cities of the world at considerable cost to ensure France's message is heard.

The BBC, Voice of America, the Swiss, the Dutch, and many others are deeply and increasingly involved in satellite and digital broadcasting while retaining a shortwave capacity to serve certain audiences — Eastern Europe, Russia, China, Africa and others.

RCI realizes it will never be a broadcaster of major international size but we do believe, in the old phrase, "that we punch above our weight." At relatively low cost, we have given graphic and sound proof that radio judiciously utilized on an international basis can return a recognition and practical benefit. The Canadian Exporters' Association, who should know as well as anyone, says RCI is "one of Canada's more effective

mechanisms to tell the world" that "we have competitive products, services and technology to offer." And the Business Council on National Issues has said that RCI "creates and enhances awareness of Canada" thus generating 'demand for Canadian goods and services.'

Some Canadians might be pleased to know that the *Crash Test Dummies* are a hit in Kiev, that Russian entrepreneurs may have learned from Canadian experience, that listeners in Buenos Aires are listening to recordings of the Montreal Symphony Orchestra, that a bellhop in Xian, China, can tell a visiting RCI journalist that he knows all about 'Vancouver Island, Strait of Juan de Fuca, Victoria, and western provinces' from RCI languages lessons he studied listening to the local radio.

It is a truly competitive world and while Canada has a good reputation and Canadians receive a warm welcome, we must remember that if no one speaks of Canada, no one will hear.

Terry Hargreaves has more than 25 years experience with the CBC as a reporter, announcer, writer, producer and senior executive. Since September 1991 he has been Executive Director of Radio Canada International.

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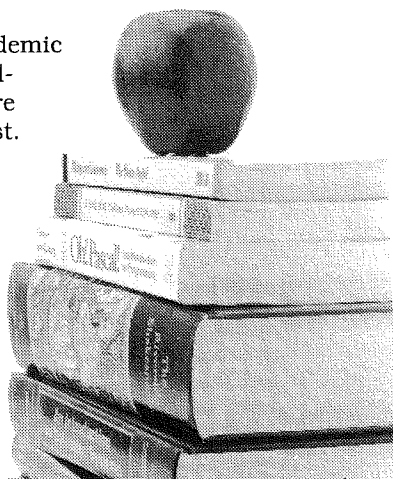
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Solitaire

Small, Solo Special Missions: Threat or Opportunity?

by Sam Hanson

There I was. In my tacky ten-by-ten on the seventh floor of "C" Tower. The ten-by-ten had seen better days. So had I. This was a classy ten-by-ten: it had a window. With a view of some gravelled-asphalt roof, and another ten-by-ten opposite. With someone inside, looking out.

The phone rang.

It was a Monday morning in January. The mercury was in the minus decades. There was a lot of snow being blown around by a lot of wind.

I was cleaning my VDT while I waited for my COSICS terminal to boot up. Hardware, firmware, software, bleep.

I picked up the phone.

She was Personnel, and she didn't say much. Just enough to make the ten-by-ten feel colder inside than it looked outdoors. They wanted to meet. Five o'clock. I'd be there? I'd be there. I forget now who asked and who answered.

They didn't want much. Just me. In Zagreb. In ten days. Temporary duty. Two to four months. Not more than six, promise. Just until the Balkan crisis settled down....

The truth is, I had been trying rather aggressively to sell my services to Personnel. You can never leave a posting completely behind and when those horrific images from the former Yugoslavia began to appear on our screens in 1990 and 1991, I realized that my three rewarding years in Belgrade a decade earlier were still very much with me. With Croatia and Slovenia breaking away, there was a need for a presence in Zagreb, to feed first-hand information into the process of establishing a relationship with those new countries. Also, there was a major UN peacekeeping operation on the cards, with significant Canadian participation.

My suitability for such an assignment was self-evident, at least to me. I had served there, I had learned the language (as it then was), and I also had the experience of maintaining liaison with a UN peacekeeping operation in the field (Namibia, 1989-90). After a few months, Personnel saw it my way.

More generally, I had been advocating temporary missions as a response to the confusion and unpredictability which have beset international relations since the end of the Cold War. Contrary to a widely-discussed article of a few years ago, history has not ended. If anything, it has accelerated, and fixed points of reference are becoming increasingly difficult to find. As individuals, as a profession, and as an organization, we are faced with a world of increasing uncertainty. Transition, it seems, has become the normal state, rather than an interim between the former order and the next.

Some years ago, Alvin Tofler wrote a short book called *The Adaptive Corporation*, about the problems faced by large organizations in adapting to change. His principal conclusion was that in order to adapt and survive (let alone prosper) large corporations would have to change with change. Their fundamental organizing principles would have to alter. Structurally, they would have to be composed less and less of large, permanent, multi-purpose units, and increasingly of small, temporary, single-purpose units. Such units would be created to accomplish a single specific task, and would be planned from the outset to disappear when that task was accomplished.

Tofler was thinking of large businesses, but his analysis also seems applicable to our own Department and our approach to the management of change. Traditionally, we have established embassies or high commissions in countries where it was thought that the Canadian interest required a major long-term investment. Traditional diplomatic missions are intended to do all Canadian business in the host country, on an on-going basis; they are intended, at least by convention, to be permanent. The opening of such a mission is taken as confirmation that bilateral relations have developed a considerable degree of depth, breadth and permanence. This is corroborated by the agony which attends the closure of a diplomatic mission: no matter how many and sincere the assurances that relations have not deteriorated, it is hard to dispel the impression that they have.

By contrast a special mission (this is what my expedition to Zagreb was called, on the advice of the legal bureau who remembered a UN convention on such things) is, or should

be, established to carry out a certain task. Get in, do the job, and get out. A special mission is temporary, and should be terminated when the objective has been accomplished, when a set period of time expires, or when a pre-defined set of conditions is met.

In Zagreb's case, the need to send a special mission arose from a unique set of circumstances. Canada, like a number of other countries, had recognized the independence of Croatia in mid-January 1992, but had decided not to establish diplomatic relations until concerns about human rights, minority rights and democratisation had been dealt with. This was expected to be achieved through the negotiation of a settlement between the government in Zagreb and the Serb insurgents who controlled about a quarter of Croatian territory. The special mission's defining task was thus to report on the developing situation, and advise when conditions existed for the establishment of diplomatic relations. It was expected that this would take between two and four months, and a notional time limit of six months was set.

Things did not work out quite as planned, due mainly to developments in neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina. Independence there was quickly followed by a collapse into civil war, and subsequently by civil wars within civil wars, with the Croat and Serb factions receiving support through various channels from Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This had the effect of side-lining efforts to achieve an internal settlement in Croatia, and to implement the measures which would have satisfied Canadian concerns. We did not, as it turned out, establish diplomatic relations with Croatia until April 1993.

In the meantime, something which our colleagues in the military would recognize as "mission creep" had set in. The special mission to Croatia was originally planned to end when diplomatic relations had been established; there were no plans to establish a resident embassy. By 1993, however, expectations had been raised and imperatives had arisen which resulted in the temporary mission being converted into a traditional diplomatic mission. Something similar had happened in Namibia three years earlier.

One of the uncertainties with which we must live in these uncertain times, is when the next round of cuts will come and how much of our resource base will be left to us. This alone makes quite attractive the idea of small, relatively inexpensive, easily-terminated one-person missions. They can be established at short notice and terminated just as quickly. As we have confirmed in Zagreb and elsewhere, this is practically possible.

I therefore believe that temporary solo missions will become an ever-larger part of the Department's operations. This, however, raises conceptual, personnel, administrative and technical challenges. We need to establish some ground rules, and adapt both ourselves and our headquarters organization to implement them.

Conceptually, temporary solo missions should be seen as filling the wide gap between brief visits and permanent missions. In terms of duration, we might think of a special mission as being no shorter than six weeks and no longer than six months. Anything shorter can be handled as a visit. Anything longer will be vulnerable to the accumulation of additional tasking and a dynamic leading to the establishment of a permanent mission.

The concept of the single, specific, time-bound objective should be central to such missions. In such a mission it is even more important than elsewhere to measure performance against pre-established objectives and deadlines. The existence of a mission almost inevitably attracts opportunistic tasking, and this must be resisted if the temporary nature of the mission is to be preserved. The officer on the ground should be able to insist on this, and to rely on the support of the headquarters unit to which (s)he reports. Once, for example, I had to be quite short with someone who wanted a report on flight safety and security at Zagreb airport.

On the personnel side, there are special considerations. A great deal can be accomplished by a single officer, provided that the right one is selected. Familiarity with the task, the issues, the local operating environment and possibly the local language, are essential. The requirement is thus for an experienced officer, probably with a previous posting in the region, capable of working autonomously.

The officer will need to be provided with appropriate equipment and trained to use it. Here again, previous training and experience will be essential. Such assignments are not for those who have never used a PC before, or who think that typing is for someone else to do. Cyber-diplomacy has become a reality.

Given their short duration and the likelihood that such missions might be initiated

outside the normal posting season, those selected for them will probably not be accompanied by family. This raises questions of family separation and employee welfare. Single officers might well find it easier to accept such assignments, but even for them there will be difficulties. The assignment will be almost by definition a high-pressure one, under stressful and isolated circumstances. This is another argument for limiting such missions (or at least tours of duty at them) to six months. There should in any case be a designated alternate available at short notice.

Personnel might attempt to identify a pool of qualified officers who would be willing and able to accept such assignments, and ensure that they receive the required technical training. Officers at the senior FS-2 level would probably form the core of such a group.

On the administrative side it is important that everything be geared to the temporary nature of the mission. Not only do such missions not need the same administrative establishment as an embassy, too much administrative overburden could be detrimental to achieving mission objectives on time. Officers on temporary missions should be considered to be in travel status, and administer themselves by means of travel advances and expense claims. If such claims go beyond the usual expenditures for transportation, meals and accommodation to include vehicle and equipment rentals and temporary local staff, so be it. There are obvious disadvantages, however, to large cash advances; perhaps corporate credit cards are the answer.

It might be advisable to establish a headquarters unit to act as a clearing house for proposals to establish temporary missions, and to undertake their coordination, staffing, funding and administrative support. Such a unit might be located in the Corporate Services Branch, while the requesting geographic or functional unit would exercise policy control. Resources for temporary missions would be held by this central unit; if any mission had to continue beyond six months, it would be up to the requesting branch to provide the resources.

It is technological breakthroughs that have made such missions practical. In only the last few years, equipment has become available which makes it possible to dispatch a mission consisting of a single Canada-based officer, who will be able to remain in full communication with Headquarters. As recently as 1989 in Namibia, an office manager, a secretary and a communicator had been required to support three mission officers.

When I set out for Croatia, my baggage included a satellite telephone terminal and

a laptop computer with fax/modem. Support staff functions, to the extent they were required, were fulfilled by the computer's word-processing, communications and information management software. After about a year, thanks to technical and bureaucratic breakthroughs, secure communications became available.

Hardware and software, however, cannot replace locally-engaged staff functions. Fortunately, I was able to rely on the pre-existing Honorary Consulate for assistance in getting established and gaining access to important interlocutors.

* * *

For the individual involved, the attractions of such an assignment are undeniable. Temporary missions are, almost by definition, established in response to high policy priorities, and can thus rely on the interest and attention of Headquarters. You are on your own, free to do the job in the manner you judge best. It is a source of stress to know that you are solely responsible for the success or failure of the mission, but it is also a source of exhilaration.

On the negative side, you are likely to be dealing with some very unpleasant situations and people. In the former Yugoslavia, the continuing crisis was attended by complete contempt for international humanitarian law and ordinary human decency, and by atrocities so gross that initial reactions were to dismiss reports of them as the imaginings of sick minds. (And so they were, but those who imagined these things have gone on to do them.) Confronted with such issues, you feel keenly the absence of colleagues with whom you may discuss them freely.

You put your life (single or family life) on hold when you accept such an assignment. Living and working in a hotel, there is an inevitable tendency for life to merge into work. This is especially the case when dealing with a situation which generates requirements at all hours of the day and night. In any case, having spent three years out of five living in hotels, I can attest that hotel life, however comfortable, is no life at all. It is an odd combination of isolation and lack of privacy. You are out of touch with everyday realities, and you get the feeling of having wandered into a Dashiell Hammett novel. For anyone who envies me this aspect of the experience: you should have it, were it transferable.

You have to hope for and rely on, the understanding of those to whom you have commitments. I was lucky in this regard. A friend took care of my house for several months. But there are two individuals who

had shared my bed for years, and to whom I had to make serious amends when we were re-united: Pushkin of Tanzania and Ruthless Koevoet (Ruth) of Namibia, otherwise known as the Catterlings of Africa. While I was in Zagreb my two furry co-habitees wore out their welcome in three foster homes. We are now together again, but it took them some time to forgive me.

* * *

So, having said all that, let me say only this.

Someday, it might be you sitting in your ten-by-ten. And it might be your phone that rings. And it might be you that they ask to head off somewhere at short notice for six weeks to six months.

Look at it this way. It's bound to be a great experience. You'll be your own boss, even if you are all you get to be boss of.

And it will get you out of that ten-by-ten for a while.

Sam Hanson was Special Representative and subsequently Chargé d'Affaires in Zagreb 1992-94, having previously served at Brussels-NATO, Belgrade, Dar-es-Salaam and Windhoek. He is currently Counsellor (Finance) at the Permanent Mission to the UN, New York.

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The Taiwan Strait in 1950

On 25 June 1950, North Korea launched a sudden "all out offensive" against its southern neighbour. Eager to meet this Communist challenge to the Western position in Asia and determined to demonstrate the UN's capacity to respond to aggression, the United States President, Harry S. Truman, made American air and naval support available to South Korea. At the same time, he agreed to deploy the 7th Fleet under General Douglas MacArthur in the Taiwan (Formosa) Strait to prevent an outbreak of renewed hostilities between Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist forces and the Communist government in Peking.

When informed of Truman's action on the morning of June 27, Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, and his Secretary of State for External Affairs, Lester B. Pearson, reacted cautiously. During the next six weeks, while Canada and its Western allies wrestled with the strategic and logistical implications of creating a UN force to assist South Korea, the threat of a direct confrontation between the US 7th Fleet and Communist China seemed to hover just beyond the horizon.

Alarmed by MacArthur's provocative activities in and around Taiwan, Pearson and Norman Robertson, the clerk of the Privy Council, travelled to Washington in early August to meet Dean Acheson, the United States Secretary of State. Acheson reassured the two Canadians that the United States would not jeopardize the Western position in Europe by allowing itself to be drawn into a conflict with China. Pearson's misgivings quickly returned the following week when MacArthur paid a highly publicized trip to Taiwan. After embracing Chiang Kai-shek, the American commander declared that "the defence of Formosa was the defence of free peoples everywhere." Pearson, who had in the past enjoyed close relations with his American counterpart, decided to approach Acheson again. The following exchange of letters is extracted from Volume 16 of Documents on Canadian External Relations, edited by Greg Donaghy of the Historical Section in the Department's Corporate Communications Division, which was published in March 1996. The letters have been slightly edited for length.

Ottawa, August 15, 1950
Secret and Personal

Dear Dean (Acheson),

I think that you know how much Norman (Robertson) and I appreciated the talk we had with you a short time ago about Korea and other matters. It was good of you to give us so much time when you were harassed with so many pressing matters.

In the light of recent developments I have been thinking over what we said that night about Formosa and the Chinese Communists, and I should like to put before you some of the apprehensions which I still have over this question. I do so in a personal letter, because it is easier to "get things off one's chest" this way. It will also be easier for you in reply (if you care to reply) to tell me I am off the beam and to stop bothering you!

I wonder whether the possibility of an early attack on Formosa has not been increased by the preventive military measures being taken by the National Government of China against Communist concentrations along the mainland invasion coast, while Formosa itself is "neutralized," as well as by statements reported to have been made by Generalissimo

Chiang Kai-shek, following General MacArthur's recent visit, concerning United States-Chinese "military cooperations" and "the joint defence of Formosa." That visit, incidentally was made by one who is a United Nations as well as a United States Commander. Who is suffering from schizophrenia?

Military conflict between the forces of the United States and Communist China, which could hardly be restricted to the Straits of Formosa, would be a disaster from which only the Soviet Union would profit. Such a conflict would create grave difficulties for members of the United Nations, and at the time they are becoming more keenly aware, as a result of the Korean aggression, of the menace of Soviet imperialism and of the use by this imperialism of Communist parties abroad. I am aware that the United States Government has assumed on its own the responsibility for the defence of Formosa. Nevertheless, the involvement of other friendly nations is, in reality, implicit in this action. If United States warships, for example, were to become engaged against Communist Chinese vessels, or if it were considered necessary, during the course of operations,

for United States aircraft to bomb Chinese bases on the mainland, the sure result would be a charge of aggressions in the Security Council brought against the United States by the Soviet Union. This would confuse the issues of Korea and Formosa, as a consequence of which some nations would be under considerable embarrassment as to how to state their positions in public.

It seems to me that of other unfortunate results of an armed clash between the United States and Communist China over Formosa, the most important are these: the draining of resources which are now urgently needed elsewhere; the possibility of the latent tensions which exist between Communist China and Soviet imperialism becoming active; increasing danger of the involvement of Communist China in the Korea conflict.

If a collision with Communist China over Formosa is threatening, what can be done to avoid it?

Might there not be some advantage in an early consultation among the principally interested Western powers, in an effort to reach agreement on ways of reducing friction between themselves and Communist China; or at the least, on tactics which would make it clear who would be to blame for the resulting fire? Consideration should first be given, I believe, to possible ways of dissuading the Chinese Communists from attacking Formosa during the Korean operations. Perhaps a move in this direction might be taken by some public assurance that the military strength of the National Government forces will be increased by outside aid during this period beyond the minimum strictly required for defence of the island, and that the mainland Chinese will have an appropriate voice in the peaceful determination of the future status of Formosa.

You may reply that the only effective way to prevent an attack on Formosa is to convince the Chinese Communists that if they do attack they will be defeated and destroyed. Is it not pretty certain, however, that an attack — whether doomed or not — is exactly what Moscow, and the extremists in Peking, want, and are we not playing into their hands if we give them any unnecessary excuse for it? Maybe I'm wrong in this, but I'm right surely in thinking that the political result of armed conflict between the United States and Communist China would be disastrous.

There is, of course, another aspect to this problem, namely, Chinese representation on the Security Council. It is too bad that at this moment Chiang's delegate should be

representing China there. That, of course, also plays into the hands of the Soviet. If, as I believe, the Soviet leaders would welcome the involvement of the United States in war with China, if this, in fact, is one of the present major aims of Soviet policy, then the Soviet Government, while posing as Peking's champion, may really wish to keep Communist China away from the Security Council, in order, not only to isolate China from anything in the nature of normal relations with the Western world, but also to be able to present the United States to the Asians as the villain of the piece. In this case, the seating of Communist China in the Security Council might contribute to the upsetting of Soviet calculations. You will probably reply that it might contribute also to the upsetting of Mr. Acheson!

I realize, of course, that in attempting to formulate any policy designed to bring about an easing of relations with Communist China, all of us would have difficulty with some sections of our public opinion and that, in this respect (to put it mildly), there is a special problem in the United States. If however, we could come to some general agreement on a course of action in this regard, it would be easier for us to meet public opinion. May I commend to your attention in this connection — if you have not already seen it — the leading article in the current Economist, "Mr. Malik's Manoeuvres".

If I venture to write you so frankly and at such length on this subject, it is only because of my worry over the danger of the present Chinese situation weakening, and indeed even breaking, the unity which we should show against Soviet Communism. That worry has been increased by the new confidence and assertiveness of Chiang Kai-shek and his people, resulting, at least in part, from General MacArthur's visit, as well as by the strident efforts of the Luce-Hearst-McCormick axis to bring about open, armed conflict between the United States and the Communist China. In that conflict, a great many of the United Nations would do their very best to stand aloof. That division, I'm afraid, would then reflect itself in fields other than China. There could hardly be anything worse than this. Possibly, once again, our enemies will save us from it!

Yours sincerely,
L.B. Pearson

* * *

Washington, September 8, 1950
Secret and Personal

Dear Mike (Pearson)

I am most grateful for your letter of August 15, 1950 and welcome the spirit of complete frankness with which you

discussed problems relating to China. Since reading your letter I have been turning over in my mind your comment and the thoughts which they provoke. I shall not attempt to give you a somewhat fuller outline of our thinking on the general problem than was possible when you were here.

Let me state at the outset that we are very much aware of the dangers inherent in our position respecting Formosa and of the desirability of finding some formula which, without disregarding essential security elements, would lessen the misgivings of our friends. I have already had a preliminary exchange of views with Mr. Bevin through Oliver Franks and I expect that considerable attention will be given to this problem in discussions with Mr. Bevin and Mr. Schuman before the meeting of the General Assembly.

The President's statements of June 27 and July 19 and his letter to Ambassador Austin of August 27 remain firm lines of United States policy respecting Formosa during the present crisis. I am sure that you will understand this although, unfortunately, other less well acquainted with the United States may have found recent developments somewhat confusing.

In taking the measures outlined by the President in his statement of June 27, the United States sought to neutralize Formosa militarily during the present threat to the

peace of the West Pacific. It has carefully stated that these measures were taken without prejudice to the question of long-term political status of the Island. We believe that this question should be settled by peaceful negotiation. Our measures to bring about the military neutralization of Formosa, far from being directed toward a forcible solution of the question, operate, in fact, to prevent a solution by force and to permit a settlement by negotiation. Our willingness to have the Security Council take up the question of Formosa should, I think, provide convincing evidence of this.

In stationing our naval forces in the vicinity of Formosa, we of course accepted a calculated risk that our forces might become involved in active hostilities with Chinese Communist forces. We accepted this risk to avoid what we judged to be the greater risk of leaving Southeastern Asia open to Communist military aggression and permitting a dangerous, hostile flank to be opened at a time when available United States and other friendly forces were, under the auspices of the United Nations, heavily engaged in containing and throwing back the Communist aggression in Korea.

We have sought to minimize the risk of active hostilities with Chinese Communist forces by introducing the concept of neutralization of Formosa. In accordance with this

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concept the Seventh Fleet was directed to assure the cessation of air and naval operations by Chinese Nationalists forces on Formosa against the mainland as well as to prevent attack upon the Island. We had hoped that by making clear that the measures taken by us were for the purpose of neutralization, and that those measure were undertaken without prejudice to the long-term political status of Formosa, a truce in the Formosa fighting might be enforced with minimum danger of a Chinese Communist attack on US force.

These measures were not motivated by a desire to support any Chinese political group. As you know, there were much broader considerations relating to security in the Western Pacific and bearing directly upon a successful conclusion of the Security Council's aims respecting Korea. Specifically, our measures should not be interpreted as a stepping-stone toward our entry into mainland China or toward the return of the Nationalist Government to the mainland with our support. We have entered into no political or military commitment with the National Government in this regard and contemplate none, although we would have to examine this question again should the Chinese Communists embark on a course of military aggression in Korea or elsewhere

in Asia. We are aware of the dangers of permitting the National Government to associate the measure which we have taken with their own political cause and are constantly endeavouring to counter such moves on their part without, however, giving aid and comfort to the authorities on the mainland.

As you know, the Chinese Communists have rejected the concept of neutralization. In view of this and the heavy engagement of our forces in Korea, we are finding it necessary to consider providing a limited amount of military materiel which the Chinese forces on Formosa might need to reduce the possibilities of direct hostilities between the two force without interfering with legitimate defensive measure of the Chinese National Government on the islands they now hold.

I believe that the three immediate problems confronting us respecting Formosa are (1) finding means to dissuade a Chinese Communist attack, (2) finding a basis for wider support of the United States if such an attack is made and (3) assuring that questions affecting Formosa be settled by peaceful means. I hope our readiness to have the Chinese Communist charges against us investigated by the Security Council may contribute something to the solution of these problems. Furthermore, we have been considering the feasibility of proposing that

the General Assembly appoint a commission to examine all aspects of the Formosa problem under conditions where all parties would be obligated to refrain from the use of force while the matter is under consideration.

A word about the matter of Chinese representation in the UN. We cannot in good conscience alter our present opposition to seating the Chinese Communist representative. We would not wish to see the question of Chinese representation, about which there is considerable disagreement among the non-Communist countries, brought to the forefront while the Security Council is occupied with urgent matters relating to the aggression in Korea. After a solution of the Korean crisis, we should be quite willing to have the question considered on its merits. In our view, the heart of the matter is not our opposition to the Chinese Communists, but rather the fact that many members of the UN obviously have the same doubts and misgivings respecting the Peiping regime as do we.

I am most grateful that you have given me your views on one of the most complicated problems now facing us. I hope that you will continue to let me have the benefit of your comments and suggestions.

Cordially,
Dean (Acheson)

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Clothes Make the Man

by John Graham

"Where", I asked, rummaging in my suitcase, "are the trousers for my dinner jacket?"

"When you called from Port of Spain you said 'pack my dinner jacket.' I packed your jacket."

An hour before we had arrived at the Hotel Torarica in Paramaribo. This was the small, very tropical, capital of Suriname, where I was accredited as non-resident Ambassador.

"You didn't pack my trousers?"

"You didn't ask for trousers."

"Dinner jacket means jacket and trousers. Do you expect me to present myself to the President in a tuxedo top and beige slacks?"

"Lower your voice. Perhaps you can rent or borrow them."

"In downtown Paramaribo, with half an hour before this bloody fandango at the Palace begins? You must be joking."

Without my wife's practical guidance, my professional career as a diplomat would have been an unbroken chain of gaffes and disasters. This was an exception to the norm.

"Why don't you try the maitre d'?"

A brilliant idea. Eric, the maitre d', presided over the hotel dining room in a tuxedo and he was about my size. I called the dining room. Eric expressed sympathy, but said he was sorry. He had two sets of dress clothes. One was at the cleaners and he was wearing the other one on the job. I put down the phone and was glaring at my wife when the phone rang. It was Eric. He had decided that the President's annual Independence Day reception took precedence over his dining room. The clothes would be sent up as soon as he could get away from the dining room and take them off. Ten minutes later a waiter appeared bearing Eric's dress clothes.

Eric was my height, but he was younger and slimmer and wore his clothes in a form-fitting crooner cut. The jacket was snug but wearable. The pants were amazing. It was like putting on a pair of gabardine tights. With a lot of careful tugging, I could get them on, but could not move the fly above half mast.

Judy agreed to go on ahead to the Palace. As she left I said "For God's sake, don't tell anyone what has happened."

I lowered the cummerbund so that it would cover most of the exposed triangle of underwear and completed dressing. I stepped gingerly into the hall. It was clear that a difficult evening lay ahead. My mobility was restricted. To avoid bursting Eric's

seams, it was necessary to go down a small set of stairs slowly and sideways. God knows what I looked like. I reassured myself that by the time I arrived, the receiving line would be over and I could slink quietly out onto the badly-lit Palace balcony and pretend normality. The taxi was another ordeal. It was impossible to sit down comfortably. I wedged myself against the floor with my feet and against the back of the seat with my shoulders, using the forward edge of the seat as a fulcrum for my thighs.

At last, at the stately old wooden Palace, the former residence of the Dutch governors, I manoeuvred crabwise up the steps. Navigating cautiously into the ballroom, I was alarmed to see the President and Mrs. Ferrier still in position at the head of the receiving line. By the time I began my advance into the ballroom, there were no other guests sheltering me from the direct line of sight of the host and hostess. Pulling my trousers upward and pushing by cummerbund downward, I minced self-consciously across the ballroom floor. It may have been all the constriction below my waist that loosened my reasoning. Maybe, I wondered, as I drew painfully closer to my destination, they still think I'm the Soviet Ambassador. Ten months before, to the colossal irritation of the real thing, Surinamese Protocol gazetted me as the Soviet Ambassador and the Soviet, with the improbable name of Romanoff, as the Canadian. The Soviets had just invaded Afghanistan. Could I, with my Spandex tuxedo and a thick Russian accent, do terrible mischief to Soviet standing in this country? A marginally saner part of my mind prevailed. This train of thought, it said, is more likely to lead to unemployment.

The President smiled politely and took my hand. Mrs. Ferrier remarked that she had spoken to my wife. If they had noticed my distress, which was probable, they were magnanimous.

With as much haste as my trousers would permit, I fled to the shadows and the other guests on the balcony. Just beyond was a dark tangle of branches where the President's howler monkeys practised acrobatics by day. My wife was talking to a group of friends. As I came up to them, instead of looking me in the eye, they were staring fixedly at my trousers and smiling.

"So much for state secrets," I said.

"Hrr, hrr, hrr..." giggled the entire group, including my wife.

Ulrich, a Belgian entomologist and long-term resident of Paramaribo, raised his head.

"Umm," he said, and went on in his precise English, "I experienced a — uh — similar sartorial crisis. I had been living in Suriname for about six years when I received an invitation from the Dutch Ambassador to attend a black tie dinner. You know, Mad Max, he was Ambassador then?"

None of us did.

"Well, he was something of an amateur botanist, and he invited me to a formal dinner. When I removed my dress clothes from the cupboard, I found that they had been attacked by moths. Most of the holes were small, but there were three large ones in the trouser legs — one was the size of an English crown. As with you, this unfortunate discovery was made the night of the party. Patching was out of the question. What to do? Then it occurred to me. I applied black shoe polish to my legs. Umm..." he went on, glancing at my unusual mid-section arrangements, "unlike your situation, no one noticed the subterfuge."

Conversation drifted away from personal embarrassment. The sound of tree frogs and the faintly ripe fragrance of tropical compost rose from the marsh on the near bank of the Suriname river. The pinching around my loins was becoming anaesthetized by the champagne and, comforted by the dark, I began to relax. Judy and I were among the last to leave.

Back at the hotel, we stood talking to friends in the lobby when a waiter appeared. "Ambassador," he said "the maitre d' presents his compliments and asked me to ask you about his pants and jacket."

"My God" I had forgotten about Eric. I had promised to come back quickly so that he could return in uniform to the dining room. Self-conscious again, I tugged down on my cummerbund and exited carefully to our room. A few minutes later I was in the kitchen. Eric was there wearing jeans, a T-shirt, and an expression that twitched between exasperation and professional aplomb. He was given his tuxedo, my thanks and apologies, and a large tip. 

John Graham is a former Foreign Service Officer whose postings included Havana, Guyana, Santo Domingo, London and Caracas. In 1992 he took up a position as the first Head of the Unit for the Promotion of Democracy at the Organisation of American States (OAS). He is now Senior Advisor (Americas) to the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES).

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Books in Review / Critiques de livres

À la recherche du savoir et de la liberté
recension de livre par Roger Paul Gilbert

The Canadian Way (Shaping Canada's Foreign Policy, 1968-1984)
reviewed by Geoffrey Murray

À LA RECHERCHE DU SAVOIR ET DE LA LIBERTÉ Éd. PROMYK, Ottawa.

Recension de livre par Roger Paul Gilbert

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

Il est rare qu'un institut d'origine ethnique publie un inventaire de ses travaux à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa création au Canada, comme vient de le faire *L'Institut Polonais des Arts et des Sciences au Canada* dont le siège social se trouve à Montréal. Cette institution a publié les actes d'un colloque tenu en novembre 1993 sous le titre *À la recherche du savoir et de la liberté*. Il s'agit avant tout d'un inventaire du savoir d'un groupe multidisciplinaire versé dans les arts, les lettres, la philosophie et d'autres domaines comme les statistiques, la science politique et l'économie, ainsi que les sciences appliquées, médecine, robotique, etc., le tout accompagné d'un compendium de 150 conférences et colloques tenus à Ottawa depuis la fondation de l'Institut. La présente recension n'offrira qu'un survol des nombreuses interventions faites lors du colloque de 1993.

L'ouvrage a été préparé sous la direction d'universitaires chevronnés, MM. Pawel Wyczynski, ancien professeur de littérature canadienne à l'Université d'Ottawa, André Ruszkowski, ancien directeur et fondateur du département des Communications de la même université, et Richard Sokoloski, directeur du département des langues slaves, également de l'Université d'Ottawa.

André Ruszkowski a rappelé la difficulté pour l'Institut polonais de fonctionner dans un climat de guerre froide sans devoir communiquer avec l'ambassade de la «soi-disant république de Pologne, représentant à leurs yeux un régime imposé par l'Union soviétique». Il faudra patienter jusqu'en 1989, année des premières élections libres de Pologne, pour que l'ambassade devienne un point de ralliement plutôt qu'une source

de division au sein de la communauté polonaise du Canada.

Littérature

Si l'isolement des élites canado-polonaises avec la mère patrie a constitué pour elles un problème de taille, que dire des écrivains et poètes polonais au Canada, de s'interroger Richard Sokoloski sur la définition d'un cadre littéraire canado-polonais? Rejetant la notion de *littérature d'émigré*, certains auteurs comme Arkady Fiedler et Melchior Wankowicz ont fait publier leurs oeuvres en Pologne à partir de souvenirs d'*observateurs-visiteurs* de la scène canadienne.

Le nouveau gouvernement... doit marcher sur la corde raide et doit négocier chacune de ses décisions d'importance, tout en respectant celles prises par son prédécesseur.

La difficulté de se faire connaître comme auteurs *canadiens* s'attachera au choix de l'une des deux langues officielles tout en soulignant leurs racines polonaises. Ainsi, Louis Dudek et Alice Poznanska-Parizeau peuvent-ils se lire en dehors de leur contexte culturel polonais? La question paraît existentielle pour tout auteur aspirant à une certaine *canadianité*. Quant à l'idée des auteurs d'écrire dans leur propre langue, le risque est si grand que le Conseil des arts du Canada n'a pu découvrir que 1,3 % des manuscrits soumis dans une langue autre que l'anglais et le français, parmi les 2 297 manuscrits reçus au cours d'une année. La solution au Babel littéraire canadien devrait donc passer par un effort accru

de traduction vers les deux langues officielles. Il restera toujours cependant un sentiment de dislocation propre à un auteur déraciné de sa culture d'origine....

Sciences sociales

Politique

La politicologue Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone, professeur à l'Université Carleton d'Ottawa, propose une analyse de la situation polonaise depuis la montée du mouvement *Solidarité* jusqu'à sa défaite aux élections législatives de 1993, aggravées par la défaite récente du président Lech Walesa. Certes, le nouveau gouvernement formé de la coalition de la Démocratie sociale (éléments successeur du Parti des travailleurs unis polonais), de l'Alliance socialiste démocratique, ainsi que d'autres groupuscules représentant les paysans, doit marcher sur la corde raide et doit négocier chacune de ses décisions d'importance, tout en respectant celles prises par son prédécesseur. La réforme économique, la rigueur fiscale, la réduction du déficit, l'emploi et la qualité du réseau de sécurité sociale, voilà autant d'objectifs qui retiendront la Pologne de glisser dans le giron communiste.

En politique étrangère, la Pologne continue de maintenir une ligne de ferme indépendance (lire de la Russie), et son orientation vers l'Europe occidentale allant jusqu'à son intégration à l'UE (Union européenne) et à l'OTAN. Comment en effet échapper à la sphère d'influence de la Russie qui prétend exercer ses intérêts sur tout l'espace géopolitique de l'ancienne URSS?

Les politicologue russes se réfèrent à une sorte de Doctrine Monroe «de proximité» pour circonscrire la nouvelle zone d'influence de la Russie, atteignant ainsi toutes les zones de l'ancienne URSS jusqu'à l'ex-Yougoslavie. Du même coup, la Russie pose désormais son veto à l'entrée de ces pays à l'OTAN, exigence que cette dernière se sent dans l'obligation de respecter.

Les Américains auront pris acte de ce nouveau veto russe contre le groupe des quatre du «Vyshegrad» (Pologne, Hongrie, Tchéquie, Slovaquie) et proposeront à la place le Partenariat pour la Paix, en foi de quoi l'OTAN n'admettra en son sein aucun membre de l'ancien pacte de Varsovie, si ce

n'est en compagnie de la Russie; on offrirait en échange une «coopération» dans le cadre de la CSCE. Telle sera donc l'acceptation implicite de l'hégémonie de la Russie sur toute la zone d'influence de l'ancienne URSS. Inutile d'ajouter que le politologue Rakowska-Harmstone sera totalement en désaccord, et qu'elle insistera pour le découplage de ces pays avec la Russie, ainsi qu'un réarrangement du dispositif de sécurité en Europe centrale. Ce nouveau défi sera accru par suite de la montée des communistes lors des dernières élections législatives de Russie.

*Les réformes
économiques...
ne représentent
à ce jour que
de timides efforts
aux résultats
très divers.*

Économie

De son côté, le statisticien Tomasz Skapski, professeur de sciences comptables à l'Université du Québec à Hull, s'attachera à décrire la situation économique à la suite du démantèlement politique depuis 1989 du bloc des pays de l'Europe de l'Est, membres de l'ex-COMECON. Composé de six États (Pologne, Tchécoslovaquie, RDA, Hongrie, Roumanie, Bulgarie), ce bloc a été forcé au lendemain de la Deuxième guerre mondiale d'adopter les pratiques économiques de l'URSS : dominance du secteur de l'État, planification centrale, absence de politique de marché et de politique monétaire, non-convertibilité des monnaies, fixation arbitraires des prix, etc. Ajoutons à ceci la spécialisation imposée par Moscou : les économies nationales sont devenues tributaires de l'Union soviétique à partir de l'industrie lourde, sans véritable cohérence en matière d'économie de marché ou d'échanges internationaux extérieurs.

Les premiers signes de la crise se feront sentir au cours des années 1970, époque où l'URSS s'engage dans une longue guerre d'usure en Afghanistan, soutient de grands efforts militaires en Angola par effectifs cubains interposés, mais alors qu'elle ne peut relever le défi de la *guerre des étoiles*, ce programme américain de défense antibalistique. Les pays du bloc s'endetteront par de vastes emprunts à l'ouest et ne pourront

plus désormais compter sur l'URSS pour soutenir leurs programmes sociaux.

Il s'en suivra, pour la plupart d'entre eux, Pologne en tête, une spirale d'inflation, un recul considérable de la qualité de vie, des pénuries en tout genre, la fuite en avant vers l'Ouest de populations. Les sociétés d'État ne toucheront plus leurs subventions, les échanges avec l'URSS tomberont à néant après la chute du mur de Berlin, cependant que tout le marché d'exportations polonaises vers l'ex-R.D.A., désormais absorbée par la RFA, s'effondrera.

Les pays frères connaîtront un sort identique, sauf la Hongrie et la Tchécoslovaquie. La plupart des autres pays se retrouveront en 1990 avec des PIB inférieurs à ce qu'ils étaient en 1980 : un secteur agricole insuffisant, un endettement extérieur massif, le déficit budgétaire aggravé, la consommation très inférieure.

Les réformes économiques mises de l'avant au cours des années 1990-1992 ne représentent à ce jour que de timides efforts aux résultats très divers. Les investisseurs étrangers craignent pour les obligations libellées en monnaie nationale. La grande industrie et l'agriculture stagnent dans la plupart des pays. Même si l'on observe une nette amélioration du secteur des services, le taux de chômage élevé persiste.

Pour le professeur Skapski, les pays de l'Est devront procéder au redressement de leur économie par la poursuite des trois éléments clés de toute économie moderne — l'inflation, le chômage et le pouvoir d'achat. Contrairement à l'économie du Canada, où, après la création de nouveaux emplois, la consommation déclenche en définitive la relance de l'économie, dans les pays de l'Est, les consommateurs ne représentent qu'une force économique insuffisante, faute de productivité accrue par rapport aux dépenses de consommation. Une fois l'inflation jugulée, les gouvernements devront stimuler les investissements intérieurs comme moyen de lutte contre le chômage et susciter la construction du marché interne. La dépendance trop exclusive des investissements étrangers risquerait d'aggraver le climat social, ce qui rendrait impossible la poursuite des réformes économiques, elles-mêmes tributaires de l'achat des produits nationaux par les producteurs et les consommateurs.

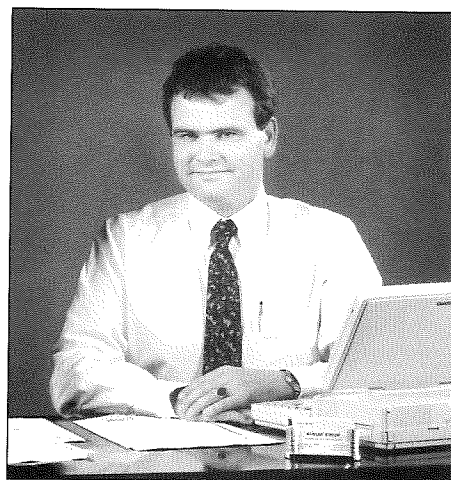
Sociologie

Le sociologue Adam Podgorecki, de l'Université Carleton et de l'Université de Varsovie s'attache à rappeler le rôle extraordinaire d'un Jan Joseph Lipski, un intellectuel actif dans les mouvements de dissidence

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(et parfois de résistance armée) qui n'ont cessé de se former parmi les élites polonaises depuis la prise du pouvoir par les Communistes en 1947. Lipski aura contribué à la destruction du Communisme par son impératif moral.

Podgorecki repousse la notion formulée par Adam Michnik, selon laquelle les mouvements dissidents ont été formés principalement par des Marxistes athées polonais, car selon lui, des groupes nettement opposés à l'idéologie marxiste se sont constitués en Pologne depuis l'après-Deuxième guerre mondiale. Certains d'entre eux, Lipski en tête, secondé par Manturzewski (tous deux fondateurs du Club des jeunes Néo-Pickwick) se sont révélés de véritables groupes de réflexion intellectuelle dont les écrits échappaient aux insuffisances des autorités de la sécurité.

Pour sa part, Lipski est parvenu, grâce à sa position au sein de l'Institut des publications de l'État, à publier un livre clandestin réunissant une série d'essais sur la société contemporaine de 1956. Les auteurs, entre autres Karl Mannheim, Aleksander Hertz, Hermann Raushing, y développèrent leurs thèses de la sociale-démocratie, immédiatement tenues pour suspectes par les censeurs. Ces derniers ont donc référé l'ouvrage au Comité central du Parti communiste, dont les membres y ont perçu des éléments de

réflexion de nature à expliquer les soulèvements populaires de cette même année. L'ouvrage est devenu malgré lui un best-seller!

L'*Association pour la culture morale* cherchait, dans sa première incarnation, à lutter contre l'emprise morale chrétienne excessive (sic) mais elle devint, sous l'influence de Lipski, un club d'intellectuels parmi lesquels on ne se gênait pas pour triturer le régime communiste, formuler des exhortations en vue de la «formation» des membres du Politburo du PC, le tout afin de leur inculquer les vrais techniques des sciences sociales.

Le sociologue soutient que Lipski a contribué par divers moyens à tenir tête à l'idéologie totalitaire dans son pays malgré le harcèlement systématique dont il a été l'objet de la part de la police du gouvernement. Ni traditionnel, ni charismatique, son leadership n'était pas davantage marqué par l'ascension au sein de la hiérarchie. Au contraire, son influence passera par l'implantation d'idées nouvelles, chacun de ses interlocuteurs se croyant investi par lui d'une nouvelle autorité. Son pouvoir sera marqué surtout par sa capacité d'influencer les institutions grâce à une logique implacable. Son action au sein des clubs intellectuels et sociaux, son apport au courant d'énergie qui animera le mouvement *Solidarité*, son

exemple et sa participation aux événements de l'automne de 1989 entraîneront l'effondrement du régime communiste en Pologne. Telle a été la force morale chez Lipski, capable d'éroder le communisme monolithique dans toute son inefficacité et injustice.

Beaux-arts

Achevons ce tour d'horizon par le développement des beaux-arts parmi les Polonais du Canada, ces derniers trouvant leur inspiration dans l'*Expressionnisme abstrait* d'artistes américains d'ascendance polonaise tels que Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko et Barnett Newman, dont les oeuvres figurent dans nos grands musées nationaux. L'ouvrage présente d'intéressantes descriptions de l'illustrateur de livre, Stefan Mrozewski, ainsi que de belles reproductions de Regina Czapiewska, Ewa Kujawska et Marion Slota.

Conclusion

Il faut saluer le mérite des universitaires polono-canadiens et autres scientifiques évoqués ci-haut de leurs efforts remarquables en vue de l'attachement culturel à leur Pologne natale tout en soulignant leur apport à l'enrichissement culturel de notre pays. L'expérience d'un tel rassemblement intellectuel est unique dans notre histoire. Elle illustre à la fois le mariage des cultures et des ethnies dans un climat de tolérance et de démocratie qui est le nôtre.



THE CANADIAN WAY (SHAPING CANADA'S FOREIGN POLICY, 1968-1984) by Ivan Head and Pierre Trudeau. McClelland & Stewart Inc. Toronto. 361 pp. \$29.99.

Reviewed by Geoffrey Murray

Geoffrey Murray retired in 1978 after 37 years of military and civil service. In his final decade he served as a policy guru, first in External Affairs (1967-71) then as ADM Corporate Policy, Indian and Northern Affairs (1972-78).

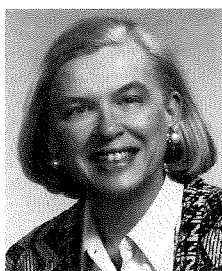
Among the recurring yarns concerning the Trudeau years this one may qualify as the most disappointing because it falls so far short of its potential for clearcut revelations, frank disclosures and persuasive rationalizations. This collection is admittedly conceived by Ivan Head and little more than blessed by the right honourable co-author. The book rambles on effusively and often monotonously about subjects Head selected to illustrate "the Canadian way" pursued by him and Trudeau — in harmonious tandem it seems — to bring about in due course the better world peoples everywhere yearn

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for, however misguided they may appear from time to time. The disturbing element in this lofty endeavour is Head's tendency to drift into ways and means glaringly un-Canadian for most of us. How are we to identify as "Canadian" the self-serving sermons, the often pretentious and inevitably portentous preachings, the bland assumption that because "we" (Head from Alberta, Trudeau from Quebec) saw situations eye-to-eye, they must be seen essentially as showing the Canadian way forward. The validity of this kind of assertion is routinely bolstered in their book with pregnant extracts from various prime ministerial speeches.

Earlier reviewers in various Canadian pub-

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lications have shown their disdain. I want to be cautious about regurgitating those gripes which I share — somewhat to my surprise in some cases. More important for me is a wish to avoid earlier observations I have made from time to time, mainly in *bout de papier*, about the to-ing and fro-ing that took place in the late sixties and beyond, when the Department (of External Affairs) and its political masters — including Prime Minister Trudeau — were intensively engaged in foreign policy studies (as were other Government agencies) across a broad spectrum. Ivan Head was barely involved in that wide-ranging endeavour, apart from his acknowledged mischief-making in the Defence review. This presumably explains why the general review is barely mentioned in his recollections of personal participations in carefully selected events "shaping foreign policy." The book acknowledges its "selective" approach to subject matter without offering much in the way of justification. It is part of the resort to the third person presentation and use of the royal "we."

This selectivity of approach serves to open opportunities for structuring the various chapters in ways that render them immune to precise questioning, unless one were to attack them line-by-line. Chapters open with a pre-fabricated scenario for what is the chosen chapter subject, say "North-South Dimensions" or "The Neighbourhood." There follows some identification of specified

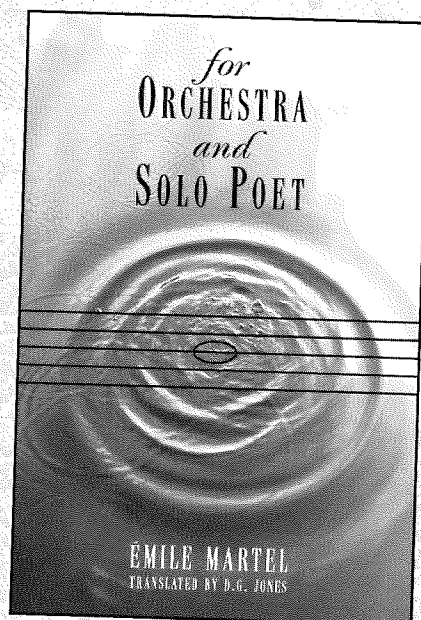
events constituting "crisis," which more often than not is said to be exercising the media, above all in Canada. Head and Trudeau, after one-on-one consultation and cerebrating, decide on a course of action. This may suggest a "summit" encounter of some kind, or call for Head alone to soar off to the site of crisis, occasionally after private conversations with key actors, either in Ottawa or in other capitals. He may serve as the bearer of Trudeau thoughts or views, which are assumed to be germane, if not crucial. The "crisis" is thereby averted, or dissipates in hot air, unless in due course the Canadian way prescribed requires specific support by the Canadian Cabinet. That is not always forthcoming, bringing doleful ending to several chapters, but without much explanation why.

It should surprise nobody that a book enjoying prime ministerial blessing does not dwell on solid differences among ministers within the Trudeau Government. Yet differences there were. Some stemmed in all probability from those which frequently paralyzed their predecessors of the Pearson ministry, but others almost certainly devolved from the divisive strains of the wide-open leadership contest, before April 1968, when the youngish "amateurs" rallying around Trudeau rolled to victory over the older political pros backing Liberal veterans,

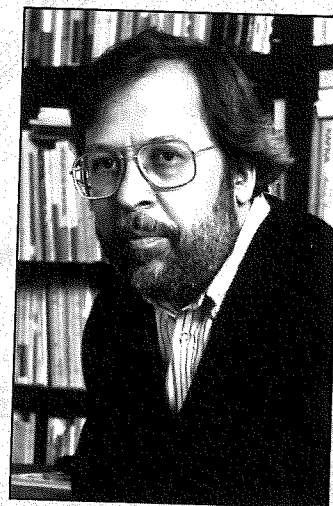
six of whom saw themselves as worthy successors to Pearson. Subsequent policy initiatives of the newly elected Trudeau team — China's recognition excepted — were bound to founder in the mire of those differences, as the avant garde battled with the more experienced old guard, and the middle roaders rolled their eyes helplessly. The infamous Defence Review (of 1968-69), the abortive Third Option (early 70s), the unfulfilled Law of the Sea Convention (the 70s decade) were among other key foreign affairs endeavours that yielded messy results. None of this in-fighting surfaces in Head's account of the Trudeau interventions. His excursions abroad are largely portrayed as opportunities for Canada's PM to explore intimately with other international "statesmen," transcending ideas for bringing about a safer, saner world, the so elusive "new" world order, in a world that had not known much order for a very long time.

Nothing concrete is offered either concerning the most publicized flop in Trudeau's early dabbling in international affairs, the so-called "general" review of foreign policy that emerged in June 1970, in the six-pack of pamphlets generically entitled "Foreign Policy for Canadians." The shortcomings of that exhausting work of more than two years, engaging the attention of large

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segments of External Affairs for prolonged periods, were all too apparent at the time. But the weakest links in the whole chain of policy management lay in the shaky relationships: on the one hand between External Affairs and the new Government, led by a relatively unknown PM Trudeau; and on the other hand, between (and among) External Affairs and the complex of departments and agencies, having some say and stake in Canada's international activities, in a rapidly changing world situation. The Minister (SSEA Sharp at first) was supposed to provide the link with the Government but his messages to officials at times seemed ambivalent. As for direct communication between the new PM and his undersecretary at External, especially at the outset of the Trudeau regime, Marcel Cadieux complained bitterly to me in August 1969 about the lack of consultation. Concurrently the Department's influence among other key departments and agencies underwent a marked decline, even as they became increasingly involved in international activities.

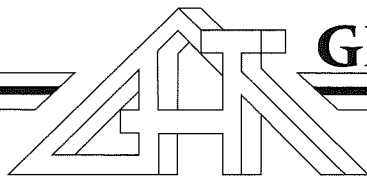
At the same time, External Affairs saw a cooling of relations with the Privy Council Office, dubbed "the Prime Minister's department" by some of its incumbents. Like the Prime Minister's Office, the PCO from the outset of the Trudeau era showed a desire and

aim to bring the various line departments more firmly under central control, stemming from the Prime Minister's role and position of authority. This applied as much to the ministers concerned as to their sprawling, supporting bureaucracies. Some departments were seen as "priority problems" and External Affairs was one of them. I saw the list in the late summer of 1969 but I had heard much earlier that some people in PCO were determined "to cut External down to size." In my experience, nobody around town was more interested in keeping External's nose on the policy review grindstone than the PCO secretariat for the Cabinet Priorities and Planning Committee. Several of those officials were former officers from External. Like Head they had left for greener pastures but these and other PCO "technocrats" get little recognition in *The Canadian Way*, not even named in its copious and verbose footnotes. The same could be said about Head's cohorts in the PMO.

There is plenty of name-dropping in the book. Here again there appears to be a deliberate process of selection. In the first chapter, suitable salutes and genuflections are offered to household gods of the golden age — "brilliant, competent public servants" — the names mentioned include most of the better known members of the older generation, who occupied positions of influence

during and following WW II. "Encouraged by a new generation of public servants" (none identified at this point in the story) Trudeau recognized that a fresh look was needed (at foreign policies). The review launched by Pearson in 1967 (no names are mentioned but clearly this was the Robertson Review of 1967-68) was "incomplete and rather unsatisfactory" so Trudeau called for a new review, "in part a follow-on." It was intended to deal with a number of self-evident subjects, mentioned by Head and relating to changed conditions in the world. Elsewhere in the book the Robertson commentary is dismissed as a defence of the status quo, following from the gratuitous advice offered to the *Windsor Star* by Paul Martin the Elder, shortly before the leadership change. Essentially, the Robertson Report was written for and at the request of PM Pearson, as a considered comment on how specific public criticisms within Canada, about current foreign policies, might be allayed. The Report itself was not intended for public distribution. It was for Pearson to direct what further action might be needed or taken. Accordingly the Report was without doubt "unsatisfactory" for the immediate purposes of the new masters. The Trudeau crowd wanted their new broom to sweep away tired and tarnished policies. Above all they wanted to be seen and heard doing just that.

The co-authors do not deny the validity of Canada's longstanding roles and influence as a middle power. But they were determined to be an "effective" power, not given to futile posturing and empty pronouncements. Accordingly their chapters regale us with painstaking accounts of top-level "debating" and informal confidential chats, involving Trudeau with other ranking world leaders from various regions. These encounters included prime ministerial visits, formal "summit" meetings, of the Commonwealth and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, for example. The G-7 Economic Summits may have become the highest pinnacle attained — though Head displays a missionary fervour for what he calls North-South dimensions. Summitry in NATO (a rare occurrence) is portrayed as an abysmal experience, if not rock bottom, as a forum for Trudeau-brand statesmanship. While he revelled in close consultations (at home and abroad) for intellectualizing the burning issues of his world, he seemed uncomfortable engaging in group discussions that involved decisions, as an immediate outcome, for solving acknowledged problems. He also showed little enthusiasm for United Nations proceedings, which involved long-winded, predictable and repetitive debates leading usually to voting on resolutions. By his time in office most



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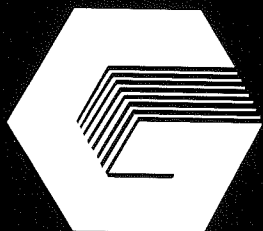
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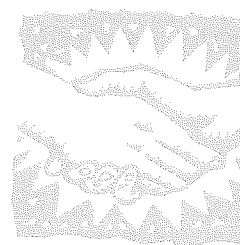
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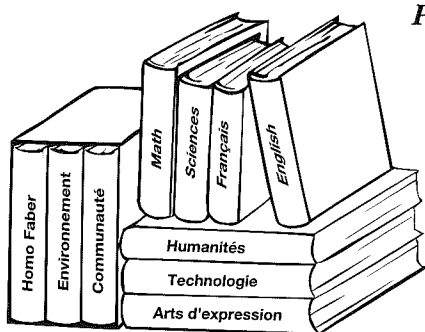


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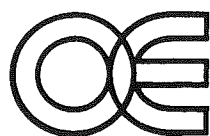
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UN bodies were dominated by representatives from the largest geographical groupings, with their own agendas and resolutions. Once he realized that the Commonwealth was no longer controlled, nor even relished, by the British, Trudeau saw easy openings for Canada to take centre stage, in proceedings routinely aimed at papering over cracks (agreeing to disagree) and achieving a conference communiqué, comfortable to all and free from risks of controversy — provided the media could be persuaded that Canada had played a key role, as 'helpful fixer' perchance?

That role was left to the last act, the Trudeau peace initiative, which Head includes among his "Hits and Misses" in Chapter Eight. The scenario-setting in this case is bizarre in its scratching about to justify the peacemaker Trudeau's efforts to convert diehard cold warriors, including Reagan and Thatcher. Why could we not be told frankly that it was all part of the "restoration," accompanying Trudeau back to power after the Clark crowd fumbled their way out of office? It rhymes with the rest of this book in its unintended illustration of the limited influence Canadian political leaders, acting alone, can bring to bear on major world events. By the mid-decade, before Trudeau came to pass, we Canadians had noticeably foresaken our natural role among the middle-sized powers, working tightly together, and drifted into a sort of top-table mentality and aspiration, that gained us nothing worthwhile and left us instead, nowhere in the real power structure. With the support of a docile Canadian media, babbling constantly about mediation skills, peacekeeping prowess, and other myths deriving from our post-War good fortune and temporary prominence, our politicians of all stripes and capacity have struggled ever since to regain that Canadian way we lost in the general furore of the sixties.

There is little policy to be found in this book. It recites in painful detail a few carefully rehearsed happenings that are said to illustrate "our" policy at work. We are all left wondering still, after a quarter century, what was the policy that Trudeau "knew" he wanted. Head's tales herein offer few clues and serve mostly to expose what may insiders guessed was his own meddlesome role. The right honourable master remains, not unlike Alice's Cheshire cat *enfin*, an enigmatic smile, mocking and tantalizing, and offering little solace or guidance to the post-Trudeau leaders, as they meander "their" way down Canada's long, long trail awinding, at home and abroad.

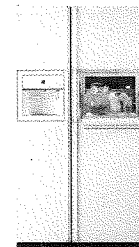
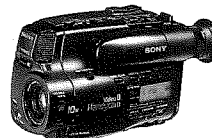


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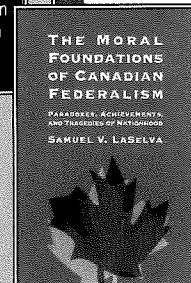
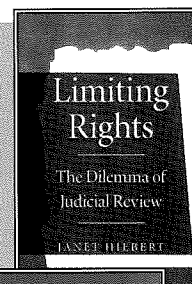
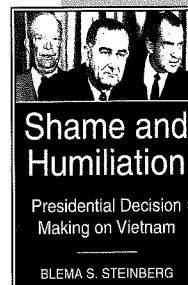
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Who Stole Schrödinger's Cat??

A Aalto Finally Faces Reality

Dryan Tweedie, the Centre's lanky archivist, poured another generous glass of port as the two friends sat watching the sun go down over the river from the balcony of his office. "Not a very good vintage, I'm afraid, but it was raining hard when I bought it and..."

"...Any Port in a Storm" completed ace logician Ludwig Liebnitz. "Really, Tweedie, your jokes are as dusty as most of your files. Fortunately, your taste in port is better than your taste in humour." They drank in companionable silence. Then Tweedie picked up a piece of paper, yellow with age, and handed it to Liebnitz. "Have a look at this, Ludwig. I know you like puzzles, and this one has been unsolved since 1928." On the page, the logician saw a diagram of six clusters of blocks arranged in a rough star formation. Letters in several of the blocks spelled out two words: SORBET and TOWERS. "Looks like one of Jimmy the Turk's reports," he concluded, "But he isn't old enough."

"Your eye is good," said Tweedie. "Actually, it was drawn by his grandfather, Hassan

Flecker, who headed the Centre's Scientific Affairs Division at the time. Five of the most important European physicists of the day were meeting secretly at a rustic inn (owned by Siegfried Smegma, the noted Wagnerian hundentenor) in the Islands of Langerhans. Flecker smuggled himself in as an itinerant schnapps taster to eavesdrop. Like his grandson, he was a natural at dropping things."

"Each of the five registered under an alias that was an anagram combining his first and last name: RUPACALDI from England, MICROFERIEN from Italy, PUWALAGOLFING from Switzerland, ROBENLISH from Denmark and BENSEN-LITERATI from Germany. The purpose of the meeting was to settle the future of physics, following the uproar at the Fifth Solvay Congress in Brussels the year before. How much do you know about the subject, Liebnitz?"

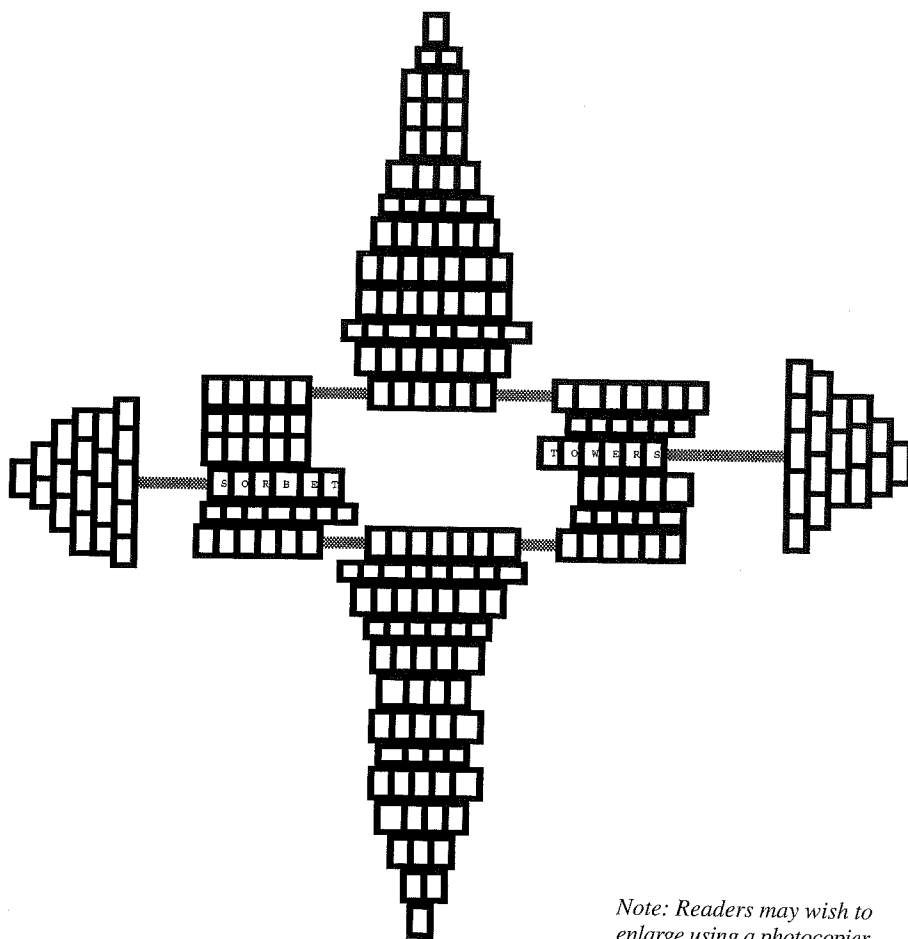
"Not much," the latter admitted, "and I'm not sure that..." But the archivist was already in full pedagogical flight. "The dispute was over the nature of reality, no less.

The majority view at the Congress had been that things don't actually exist, at least at the sub-atomic level, unless they are being observed by someone. Up to that point, quantum mechanics seems to show that there are only a series of possibilities, all of which exist at once in sort of overlapping clouds, which resolve into reality as we know it only when someone tries to measure the situation."

"What a funny thing to believe," chuckled Liebnitz. "I agree," said his friend. "What's even funnier is that it is still the majority view to this day. But at the time, there was still a strong debate, with some very big names on the other side of the argument. One was Erwin Schrödinger, then working in Berlin. He was not at the Langerhans meeting, but he was debated a good deal there. In the manner of the time, he proposed a thought experiment that he believed disproved the quantum reality concept. Build a special box, he said, one that was totally impossible to look or listen into or otherwise communicate with. Put into it a cat, an atom of some radio-active substance, a detector like a geiger counter that would register when the atom split and a machine that would open a flask of poison when the detector went off. Since there was no way to measure what was happening inside the box, Schrödinger argued, the quantum reality argument meant that the state of a split atom and the state of an unsplit atom both remained possibilities, so the cat remained both alive and dead until the box was opened."

"This of course made nonsense of the quantum reality position. There are lots of counter arguments, of course, but at the time the majoritarians were furious. At the Langerhans meeting, one of them announced that he had actually stolen Schrödinger's cat, just to prove him wrong. The thief had constructed the box just as Schrödinger had designed it, and was convinced that the cat would in fact remain in a state of suspended reality as long as the box remained closed. The thief proposed to keep the box in a bank vault for at least 10 years before opening it, well past the time when the cat (who was already elderly) could be expected to have died from natural causes. The quantum suspension would however guarantee, in the thief's view, that the cat would not age a single day, but would rather come out of the box the same age as she went in, either alive or dead only seconds before."

"Flecker, who was a great friend of animals and no friend of quantum reality, was of course appalled. He knew what had happened, but not the identity of the thief. He set out to find him, and that diagram is the basis of his report — a puzzle, of course.



Note: Readers may wish to enlarge using a photocopier.

It clearly runs in the family. When first I found it, we thought it was a sketch-map of the inn, but then we found this second page explaining matters." So saying, he handed another piece of paper to Liebnitz.

The second page said that the star-shaped diagram was an anagram chain. Each row of blocks contains a word, one letter per box reading from right to left (except for the clusters at the far right and left, where the words read down from the top of each row). To move from one row of blocks to the next, one of three methods is used. If the next row has one more letter than the one you are in, you add a letter and re-organize the letters to form a new word — like moving from TALE to LATER. Similarly, if the next row has one fewer letters than the one you are in, you drop a letter and re-organize the letters to form a new word — like moving from ALTER to LATE. If the next row has the same number of letters as the one you are

in, then you change one of the letters to another letter (like moving from TALES to TAPES), *but you cannot change the order of the letters*. Rows connected by grey lines are treated as if they were next to each other.

The page also gave definitions for the words that fit into the boxes in the diagram (including SORBET and TOWERS already filled in to provide a start). These are divided into sections where all the words have the same number of letters. The definitions are arranged so that the words come out in alphabetic order within each section.

Two letters: half of a sunken fence; moon of Jupiter; northern Russian river; Heyerdahl's boat (sun god).

Three letters: what is *longa* although *vita* is *brevis*; live by alms; marsh; possesses; organ of locomotion; fish egg or deer; French king.

Four letters: Arthur of tennis; statue in Piccadilly; theatre box; of sound mind; clear blood components; neither Bosnian nor Croat; Ollie's buddy.

Five letters: puts in chips before drawing cards; tree-trunks; dullards or drill-holes; what a pugilist does; French naval port; medieval northern merchants' guild; leers; slope; one who plants; Sharon or Oliver of the movies; emporium.

Six letters: makes amends; body joints; map orbs; diminishes; light frozen dessert; eagle claws; Pavarotti; soars up overhead.

Seven letters: Johnson's Watson; cricket hurlers; inhabitants of Brittany; chows down; the ultimate (two words); Roman or US politico; vacillates.

Eight letters: Cockney chimers (two words); Texas state nickname (two words).

"Well," said Liebnitz, intrigued despite himself, "That doesn't seem too hard to do, assuming that the two-word answers get filled in as a single word with no spaces. But there must be more — how does this link to the Langerhans theft?"

"In handing this report over to my predecessor," Tweedie replied, "Hassan said that the name of the thief was spelled out in the single boxes at the tip of the four arms of the star, starting at the top and going clockwise. He also left a further anagram clue, written in pencil on the back of the diagram: CHANGE PEON — TRIPARTITE NEON. He said that it gave in two words the successful approach to the problem."

After a certain amount of work (not aided by the port), the ace logician managed to solve the 68 year old puzzle and determine the thief's identity. After doing so, he mentioned with some sadness that it was probably too late for the cat. "Not so," replied the archivist. "You are quite right about the thief's identity, but he was in fact uncovered at the time,

before Hassan could act. That's why we never needed to solve the puzzle. The Langerhans participant from Germany, who was a colleague of Schrödinger's and opposed to the majority view in any event, forced the thief to reveal where the cat and her box were hidden, and got him to open it. The cat was fine, by the way. She had had kittens while in the box, and took time only to shred the thief's left trouser leg before returning to Schrödinger with her new family."

Can you duplicate Liebnitz's feat (with or without port) by filling in the diagram, deciphering Hassan's two-word anagram and providing the real name of the thief? Not necessary to solve the puzzle, but can you also identify the other participants in the Langerhans meeting?

Free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto is recovering from an overdose of hospitality after visiting his native Tannu Tuva. The parts of this puzzle about quantum reality and the Fifth Solvay Congress of 1927 are (more or less) true, although Schrödinger did not publish his thought experiment until 1935. The part about the Langerhans meeting and the cat theft is of course a joke, but then so (in Aalto's opinion) is the concept of reality as a realm of unresolved probabilities.

HOMMAGE TO TANNU TUVA: ANSWERS

(1) ALMA ATA (2) ASTRAKHAN
(3) BRONSTEIN (4) CADETS (5) CHEKA
(6) CZAR (7) DZUGASHVILI (8) EISENSTEIN (9) FEBRUARY (10) GENGHIS KHAN (11) HUG (12) MOLOTOV (13) NYSTADT (14) PAUL (15) POPOV (16) POTEKIN (17) PROKOFIEV (18) RIGA (19) SERF (20) SIBERIA (21) STROGANOV (22) TARTAR (23) TASS (24) TILSIT (25) WITTE (26) WRANGEL (27) YELTSIN

MAIN MESSAGE: The Asian Wall Street Gazette reports from the Tuvan capital of Byrac-Llar: a local throat-singing (khoomei) group's session with Frank Zappa during a brisk visit years ago to the States gained many drunken vivas in Vitebsk.

CLUES:

(a) Canadian Ambassador to the USA in 1946
(b) Karl's 1867 masterpiece
(c) MIRLITON

GUILTY: Zylky Kazoo

COMMENTS: The Ambassador was Hume WRONG, who was later named USSEA but died before he could take office. The masterpiece is Karl Marx's CAPITAL. WRONG CAPITAL points to the fact that the capital of Tuva is not Byrac-Llar (whatever that is) but KYZYL, an anagram of ZYLKY. A MIRLITON meanwhile is the generic name for a KAZOO. The bit about the Tuvan *khoomei* group and Frank Zappa is true, by the way, but I can't confirm the vivas in Vitebsk.

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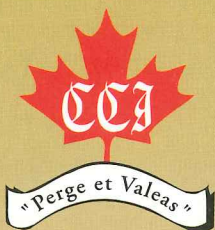
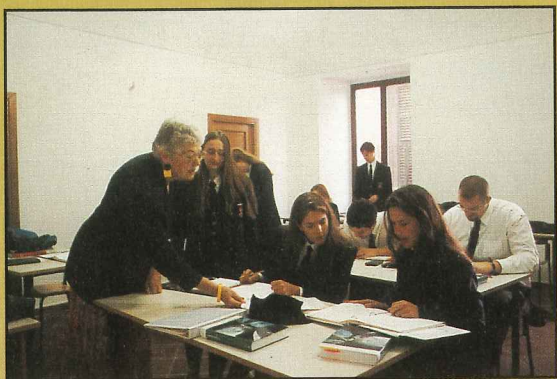


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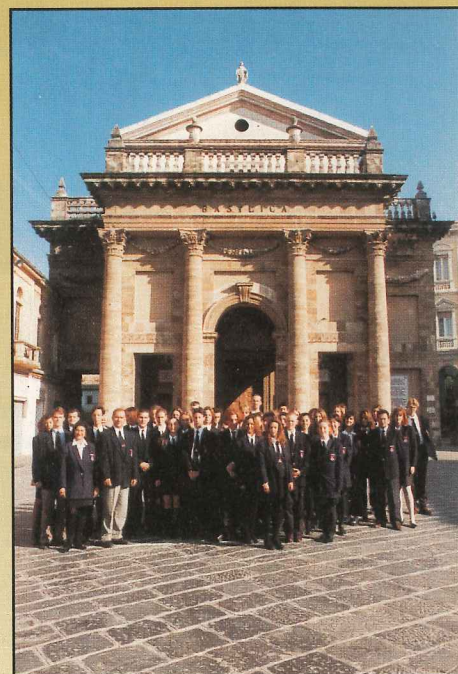


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