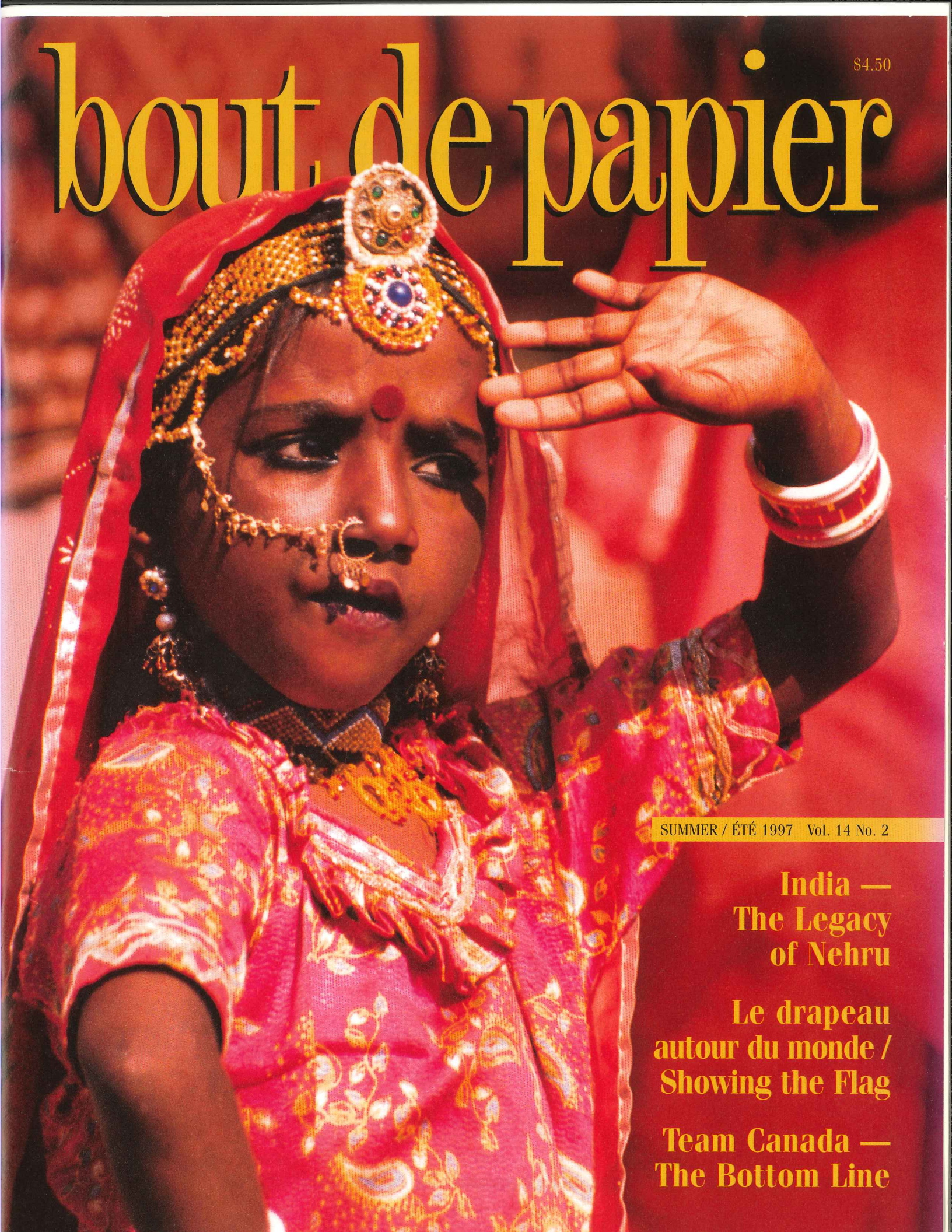


bout de papier



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SUMMER / ÉTÉ 1997 Vol. 14 No. 2

**India —
The Legacy
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**Le drapeau
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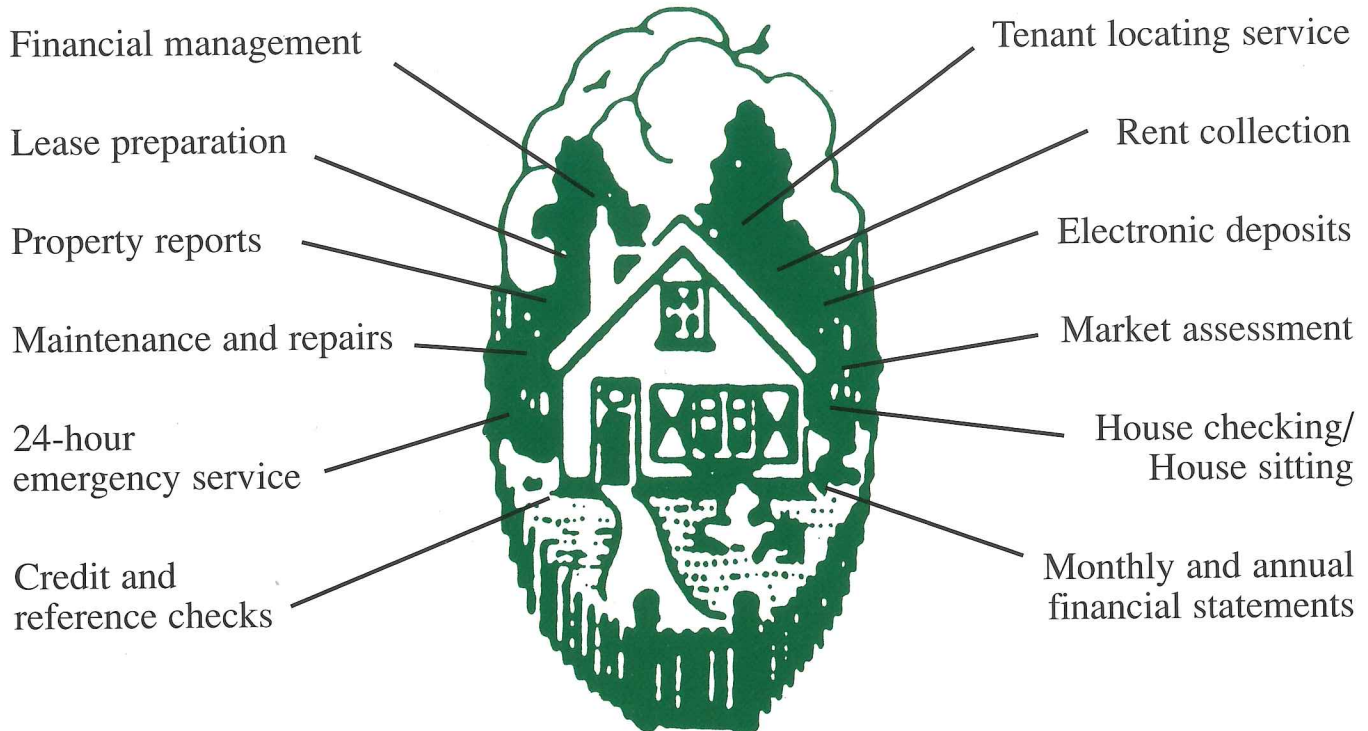
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Canada's Magazine of Diplomacy and Foreign Service
Le magazine canadien de la diplomatie et du service extérieur

SUMMER / ÉTÉ 1997

Vol. 14 No. 2



Photo: Jon Allen

East meets West at a gas station in Rajasthan.

Features / Reportages

Air India Remembered

Sanjeev Chowdhury remembers the 1985 Air India bombing and talks to the Canadian officials who flew to Ireland to deal with the aftermath.

Le drapeau autour du monde / Showing the Flag

Photographies d'une exposition exclusivement canadienne. / Photographs from a uniquely Canadian exhibition.

Micros and Minis — Can They Cover the Essentials?

In the first of a three part series, Martin Collacott describes his ground-breaking experiences in operating a one-person show in Cambodia.

Team Canada — The Bottom Line

With Team Canada well on its way to becoming an institution, Mark Drake takes a cool look at its batting average.

Sarajevo Days: 1995-96

Excerpts from the working diaries of Geoff Gartshore, on Carl Bildt's team in the post-Dayton Balkans.

Fifty Years of Independence: The Legacy of Jawaharlal Nehru

A former Canadian High Commissioner to New Delhi, Bill Warden, finds that, were he alive in this fiftieth year of Indian independence, Nehru would have much food for thought.

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Our cover photo this issue, by Hartmuth Kroll, is of a young street performer. The picture was taken outside the Mehrangarh Fort, in Jodhpur, Western Rajasthan Province, India.

Editor's Notebook / Carnet du rédacteur

*On being a Magazine Magnate
(or Not Quite The New Yorker)*

Like the Canadian Foreign service as whole, **bout de papier** is both cursed and blessed with editors and board members (with some notable exceptions here) who rotate through the establishment almost as frequently as pizza delivery persons. It's a curse for the magazine because, barely have they started to learn the ropes then they're off again, to places exotic, leaving behind them piles of half-edited stories, photos with no names or captions and enigmatic lists of half-born story suggestions. A blessing because every new board member and editor brings in new ideas, new contacts and new energy.

What keeps the magazine from disappearing for months at a time and from lurching too erratically from one crazy idea to another is the tireless enthusiasm and institutional memory of managing editor Debra Hulley — who has silently (even smilingly) endured regimes ranging from the crackpot to the tyrannical — and the wisdom and experience of its senior editorial board, always there tactfully to remind over-enthusiastic neophyte editors that there is little new under the sun.

Then there are the ranks of our contributors, unfailingly at hand to bail us out when ideas seem to be drying up. I wonder with all due modesty whether there is another small-circulation magazine in North America that consistently attracts contributions of such high quality, on an unpaid basis and with so little promise of glory? Extracting those long-promised articles via e-mail from colleagues on the other side of the planet sometimes feels like HQ wheedling performance appraisal input from a none-too-interested EX-5, but when my computer finally beeps to indicate an incoming story, I know I'm always in for an interesting read.

Our longest-standing contributor of all is of course the enigmatic A Aalto. He/she has been contributing to **bout** for fifteen years. One of his/her many fans — who happens to be the winner of the puzzle from our last issue — is Forrest Pass, who writes thus from Madeira Park, British Columbia: "I am sixteen years old and have been an avid reader of your magazine since I was sent a copy by my local Public Service Commission office almost two years ago. One of my favourite features is A Aalto's puzzle, though I am rarely able to solve it completely...". Mr. Pass will no doubt be

shocked to learn that A Aalto, like other faithful contributors, does not always receive the treatment he/she merits from philistine editors. This editor, for example, was frankly mystified by the title for his/her last piece, as submitted: "On the Steppes of Central Asia: A puzzle that Genghis Khan (but Immanuel Kant) Solve". He mistakenly took it upon himself to correct what he perceived to be a typographical error (but was not) — think about it.

But there is another community of dedicated individuals that has, over the years, made **bout** into what it is, and whose names never appear in these pages. We are blessed, at Acart Communications Inc., with a team of individuals that consistently goes far beyond the call of duty and ensures that every issue of **bout** lives up to the high design and production standards for which we have become renowned. The team includes Al Albania (President), Nancy Boland and Leslie Babcock (Graphic Artists), Sarah Deschamps (Art Director), John Staresinic (Creative Director) and many others. Typical of the care with which they handle **bout** was the phone call we received when we were working on the cover for this issue. In Hartmuth Kroll's original picture, the little girl looks out to the left. The picture would be more effective if we flopped it. But, by reversing the jewelry on the girl's face, did we not run the risk of causing offence, perhaps to a religious community? India hands at DFAIT quickly did some research with Indian friends and reassured us — we could run the picture flopped. On this tenth anniversary of ACART's relationship with **bout**, a warm thank you from all of us.

With this edition, I retire. The new editor will face many joys and some tribulations. But he/she will also become privy to some secrets: the story of the cover that was air-brushed to avoid seizure by the vice squad, the edition that wasn't, the Fall edition that came out in January, what was said in those interviews after the tape-recorder was turned off.... It's not The New Yorker, but then I'm not Tina Brown.

N.I. Coghlan

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Articles

Manuscripts are welcome in double-spaced format, preferably on WP 5.2 3/8" 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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Editor:

I would like to compliment you on the excellence of the Spring edition of **bout**. Having spent some time on the editorial board, I know how difficult it is to obtain material that is neither self-serving nor pretentious. Too frequently, it seems, the opportunity for personal record of the unique, exhilarating, frustrating context of foreign service is wasted. This has never been the product of editorial will, only a reflection of what could be recruited as contribution.

The Spring issue is an excellent example of what **bout** can and should be. It combines humour and scholarship, reflection on the past and analysis of the contemporary, insightful comment and informed criticism; in other words, a brilliant collage of the foreign service experience. I hope you will be able to maintain this quality in future editions. To a great extent that will depend on the interest and generosity of colleagues. In any case, very well done!

Robert Burchill
Ottawa

Editor:

Springtime makes us appreciate flowers; so let me offer a small bouquet to your magazine, which has for years provided a bright collection of literary blossoms in my life! You have done it again with your Spring 1997 issue, all the way from the daffodil-coloured cover photo — your photos are always good and the reproduction excellent — to the article on returning to Bucharest by Peter and Glenna Roberts, where we got double value through both of them commenting.

Having worked in the field of international development for many years, I may seem a little traitorous to my own kind to say that I have always found **bout de papier** more entertaining than the earnest tracts put out by various development agencies. And yet you maintain a really high standard of writing, achieved (no doubt) because so many of your authors practised their skills too privately in political reporting back to External during their foreign service careers. May I just enter a small plea? Find room for more book reviews! Lots of your subscribers have time to read good books now. If you cannot afford more pages, perhaps you could trim some of the longer articles — but not, of course, cut back on the like of Peter and Glenna Roberts.

Clyde Sanger
Ottawa

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DFAIT's Tough Love: Will Serving Abroad be Worth it?

by Marie A. Stamp

Once upon a time, or so the story goes, being a member of Canada's Foreign Service was its own reward. In those golden years, passing the Foreign Service Exam held a mystique akin to receiving a peerage: the recipient, having grasped the key to the gates of high society and privilege, bore the honour of his grave responsibilities with grace and magnanimity, confident his distinguished and important service to the nation would be well-rewarded. And they all lived happily ever after.

The reality is that more and more of the work of the Foreign Service is done inside windowless cubes in not-very exotic Ottawa, and as many FS-1s have learned in their introductory years, much of it is shared with non-Foreign Service colleagues. Those same colleagues are better paid, travel more, gain specialised knowledge, have more mobility across Departments, can compete for promotions, can still be posted abroad, and are psychologically unencumbered by the archaic performance review process.

For many new recruits, most of whom accepted substantially lower salaries to join DFAIT, this unexpected realization has been sobering. Many are asking themselves: are there better international careers than what the "traditional" Foreign Service can offer? Is "rotationality" really worth it? About thirty-three FS-1s (including one Immigration officer) will take their first posting this summer, and most expect the experience abroad to answer those questions.

In response to a brief survey of FS-1 attitudes and expectations of their first posting* nearly 80% of respondents said they expected it would help them make up their minds about how long they would remain dedicated to this career. It seems many believe a foreign posting will make them more marketable than ever.

"I expect to gain an understanding of government's role in promoting Canadian business abroad and facilitating export development, particularly for SMEs, as well as of the business community's needs and expectations. I also want to gain an understanding of the

context and realities of doing business in a developing country, the development of trade policy, and situating trade objectives in a larger relational framework...."

The attitude of most of those polled suggests they believe they are undervalued by their current employer, since most expect the posting experience to increase their value in the labour market. FS-1s expect they will have other options, if not other offers upon completion of their posting, and most (61%), say they would consider requesting Leave Without Pay to try their luck elsewhere. Only 16% said they had no intention of looking anywhere else on their return.

*The attitude
of most
of those polled
suggests they
believe they are
undervalued by their
current employer.*

How did so many new recruits get so blasé? Most start out pretty keen, despite the lower wages. The majority (78%) claimed that they accepted the lower salary when they came to work at DFAIT because they expected the experience would be worth it, and nearly all have benefited from great opportunities for professional development and travel (such as second-language or foreign-language training, the Foreign Service Institute, and a cross-Canada tour). In casual conversations, most seem to be enthusiastic and energetic, and claim that the work is challenging and enjoyable. Nonetheless, a surprising 45% of those answering the survey indicated that their career expectations thus far have been largely or somewhat frustrated. Clearly, many think they can do better.

While most FS-1s certainly came to work here with their eyes open, many expected quicker improvements in salary and a better

system of personnel management. While half of survey respondents agreed that making do on their starting salary (about \$32,000 per year) was among the most frustrating things about being an FS-1, a slightly greater number (62%) put the bureaucracy (including the seeming unfairness of the posting process and performance appraisals) on their list of top frustrations of their pre-posting years. The list of disappointments also includes heavy work demands, management attitudes and insufficient recognition for knowledge and experience gained elsewhere. Half agreed they would not work as hard for the same salary if they did not have the chance to be posted abroad.

An important characteristic of these new diplomats-in-waiting is their age. Nearly 70% of those who responded to the survey are between 30 and 40 years old. This group has had other, better-paid work experience, and these officers are already well-travelled and multilingual (55% speak more than two languages). From this perspective, a stint in the foreign service may be just a stepping-stone, not a career but a job like any other. This is a group that may not share previous generations' expectations of a career for life, and they are old enough to know there is no "happily-ever-after" at DFAIT or anywhere else. But it's precisely from this perspective that it's tough to accept DFAIT's conditions: you have no opportunity to compete for a promotion even if you're ready for it, additional responsibilities are not compensated with "acting pay", and — although families are expected to make do on one salary for years at a time — that salary is scarcely enough to support a family while in Ottawa. If the current review of Foreign Service Directives results in any decrease in compensation, that one salary may not be enough to support a family abroad either.

"I expect my posting to be the defining factor of my career in the Foreign Service. Although pay is a factor, I think that interesting work and the chance to live abroad make up to a large degree for the lack of monetary incentive. However, when I have a family, both the pay and the efforts to accommodate spouse and children will be much more influential factors, as I don't know if I could afford

to keep this job if I had more personal responsibilities...."

Forty year-olds feel they have paid their dues, are ready for management responsibilities and expect to afford a family life, a mortgage and a car. A younger person or a single person can more easily afford to be a Foreign Service Officer. So the question is, could a multilingual, highly-trained forty year-old with substantial work experience abroad do better for him/herself than the \$38,000 per year he/she will be probably be earning on return to Ottawa? Many FS-1s seem to think so. Between January and May 1997, seven — most of whom had one posting behind them — left the Department to find challenges elsewhere. This is a question the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration will need to address to in order to avert a fundamental crisis in human resources in the years ahead.

Perhaps we Foreign Service Officers are slightly prone to overstating our potential opportunities, and perhaps the number of us who would actually take advantage of them are smaller still — there's a topic for another author and another survey — but what of it? The Government may be unconcerned about its ability to replace "defectors" from the Foreign Service. As we are often reminded, thousands of hopefuls still

line up to take that multiple-choice test every year to qualify to replace those of us who move on. But those fresh troops will quickly face the same disappointments if nothing improves. Those answering our survey joined, on average, less than three years ago, yet all but one respondent claimed to have reservations about recommending the Foreign Service as a career choice today.

What role will ex-Foreign Service Officers even play in "La Relève" among our own ranks?

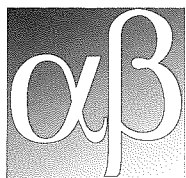
In that case, can our departments really afford to disregard what seems to be a growing and profound disaffection among the members of a workforce it has spent so much to recruit and train? And if so many new recruits feel this way now, what might be the mood among the FS-2 population with no hopes of promotion, and without even the right to earn "acting pay" on secondment anywhere else?

Moreover, what does this portend for the future management of DFAIT's leadership in international affairs? If other federal departments (17 of 23 have international programs/policy divisions and 25 federal agencies or departments are involved in international business development) can offer better international careers for people with specific qualifications, for better pay, less family disruption, and more career-growth possibilities than ours, what will a small corps of resentful "generalists" have to contribute? What role will ex-Foreign Service Officers even play in "La Relève" among our own ranks? Even DFAIT's own Trade Policy Branch (that Olympus of the elite among international traders!) is no place for generalists. The real substance in that field is for those that dedicate their careers to it, and the best and brightest on Olympus did not *all* take that foreign service exam way back when. ☺

Marie A. Stamp is Communications Director and VP (Trade) on the Executive Committee of the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers.

* Of the 33 officers going on their first posting this summer, only 21 were in Ottawa at the time of the survey in mid-April; 18 replies were received.

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Air India Remembered

On the eve of his posting to Mumbai,
a junior officer remembers Flight 182



by Sanjeev Chowdhury

As another June goes by, I can't help but remember my friend Vinod Thomas and his family who were murdered twelve years ago on the ill fated Air India Flight 182. The Thomas family was one of two families from Halifax, Nova Scotia, to perish in the disaster off the coast of Cork, Ireland. All 329 people on board the Boeing 747 — 278 of them Canadians — were killed when the plane exploded over the Atlantic Ocean en route from Montreal and Toronto to New Delhi and Mumbai (Bombay). The tragedy remains, today, the worst civilian airline disaster over the sea and the worst mass murder in Canadian history.

I had just finished grade eleven and was in Montreal studying French when I heard the news. I couldn't believe it. I didn't want to believe it. That summer, the innocence of youth was lost amongst my peers as we realized, for the first time in our lives, how terrorism could affect us, even in Nova Scotia.

Vinod and I had known each other for five years, but our friendship had grown in the last two years of his life. We used to talk to each other at school a lot. You see, his locker was next to mine, and we were in many of the same classes. Naturally, I would see him throughout the day when we would get our books for class. We grew closer that year because we were "locker buddies".

A trilingual monument was dedicated on June 23, 1986 by then External Affairs Minister Joe Clark. It is located in Dunmanus Bay, Ireland, the closest point of land to the crash site.

Vinod was an honours student with such great potential. He always placed in the top ten students on the honours roll at Halifax West High School. Unlike many of the other honours students, however, Vinod was always eager to help if you had a question or needed assistance. He was not competitive. He had a very gentle manner and regardless of his academic achievements, he did not seek the limelight.

Vinod's father was a professor of biology at Saint Mary's University (SMU) from 1968 until his death in 1985. He chaired the

department for several years and was well respected by both faculty and students. After his death, students renamed SMU's biology society in his honour.

While many of the Air India victims came from Toronto and Montreal, the tragedy of losing two entire families from a smaller city like Halifax was devastating. The Thomas family, in particular, was well known to many, partly because Dr. Thomas had taught so many students throughout his career at the university.

While I know how my friends in Halifax felt, I often wondered what was going through the minds of Canadian government officials on June 23, 1985, the day of the tragedy. Twelve years later, this feeling has intensified greatly, in part because I recently learned that I will be posted to Mumbai — the destination of flight 182 — as Vice-Consul.

Canadian Officials Arrive in Ireland

The first departmental official from Ottawa to reach Ireland was Daniel Molgat, who, in June, 1985, was on pre-posting training in preparation for his new assignment as Ambassador to Spain. Today, he is the Executive Director for Senior Assignments. Daniel Molgat still finds discussing the experience very emotional and fought back tears several times throughout our discussion.

Molgat received a call from then External Affairs Minister Joe Clark's office two days after the disaster asking him to leave, immediately, for Cork:

"The Minister knew that there was a large consular case developing, and while I had no previous consular experience, I was asked to assume the responsibility of getting things organized on the Canadian side. We had a problem in Ireland at the time, as the then Canadian Ambassador, Edgar Benson, had just finished his assignment and had not yet been replaced. So, I headed to London where I was joined by Michael Phillips who, today, ironically, is Ambassador to Ireland but who was then the Minister of Political and Public Affairs at the Canadian High Commission."

The two diplomats had their first taste of what was to follow during their flight to Ireland. "We asked the pilot to make an announcement asking if anyone was heading to Ireland because of the Air India disaster.

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The Globe and Mail

CANADA'S NATIONAL NEWSPAPER

142nd YEAR, No. 42,292 METRO MONDAY, JUNE 24, 1985

2 groups claim they planted bomb

Sabotage feared as 329 die in jet

390 people on CP plane miss death by minutes

At a glance

- In the wake of the crash of Air India Flight 329, a Canadian Airlines jet, the wreckage of the plane is being searched for evidence of sabotage.
- Three separate groups have claimed responsibility for the sabotage.
- The crash of Flight 329 was the deadliest air disaster in Canadian history.
- The crash of Flight 329 was the deadliest air disaster in Canadian history.

Police seeking 2 Sikh fugitives in air tragedies

By ZUMPHRER

The Sikh community in Canada is being urged to help police in their search for two fugitives who are suspected of being involved in the sabotage of Air India Flight 329. The fugitives are believed to be involved in the sabotage of the plane, which resulted in the deaths of 329 people.

Family dead, 'There is nothing left for me'

By MARR KINNEL

The family of a man who was killed in the Air India disaster is struggling to cope with the loss. The man's family is described as being in a state of shock and grief.

Connection to TWA hijacking denied

Israeli release of 31 Shiites 'insufficient'

From Beirut and Amman Press

Peterson says Grits to move on RC bill

By DUNCAN MURRAY

PQ picks Sept. 29 for choosing leader

By BERNARD MASSETTE and GREGORY FRASER

Ideas search for acceptance

By DUNCAN MURRAY

Star-spangled and furious

By DUNCAN MURRAY

Distinct illness comes with age

By DUNCAN MURRAY

Star-spangled and furious

By DUNCAN MURRAY

Immigration), Shelley Wann, and the two communicators, the late Daniel Villeneuve and Ron Massette. Members of the group travelled daily to all of the hotels around the area to brief family members on the progress of the investigation. The visits by Canadian officials with family members also served as an opportunity for bereaved relatives to mourn with departmental officials. It was a difficult time for the team members, as it took a long time before the hospital authorities were in a position to make the bodies available for identification. Many of the bodies were missing, too, so family members had to be prepared for the possibility that their loved one(s) had not been retrieved.

Once the bodies had been recovered, photos were taken of each and placed in a large room of the morgue. Family members were then brought in and asked to attempt to identify their relatives.

Molgat and his team spent six weeks working with the Irish authorities. He praises the work of his team: "...for many, it was their first time dealing with such an emotional situation. They were an exceptionally dedicated group who spent long hours passing messages back to Canada and visiting families."

He also praises officials at headquarters who, at any time of the day or night, would respond to requests from him and his team and send them the resources they needed without fail.

Task Force Established in Ottawa

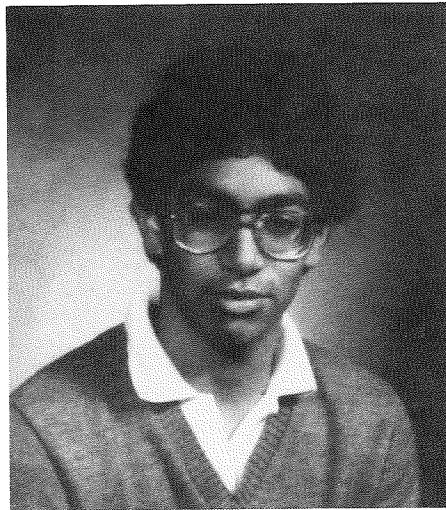
Back in Ottawa, one of the key departmental officials who was heavily involved in the Air India crash was Henry (Gar) Pardy, then Director of Asia-Pacific South and now Director General of the Consular Affairs Bureau.

In late July 1985, Pardy became the department's representative on the Air India Interdepartmental Management Group, which included representatives from the RCMP, CSIS, Justice, PCO, Transport, and the Aviation Safety Board (now known as the Transportation Safety Board). The mandate of the committee was to oversee all aspects of the Air India investigation, including relations with the Indo-Canadian community. According to Pardy, at the time in Canada, relations within the Indo-Canadian community were badly fractured. "The Sikh community was isolated from the rest of the Indo-Canadian community

because of the assassination of former Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by her Sikh bodyguards the year before. Joe Clark had encouraged ethnic communities to raise their concerns to the Government of Canada, but he drew the line at using violence. However, Clark felt that the alienation of any community from their own government was wrong and that it was very important that the Government of Canada be seen to be reaching out to any community in distress."

The Indian community at large had reason to be distressed, for in a response to media immediately after the crisis, then Prime Minister Brian Mulroney referred inadvertently to the victims as "Indian citizens". Mr. Mulroney corrected himself soon after learning that the vast majority of the victims were, indeed, Canadian citizens. However, this initial slight, according to one senior government official, was never forgotten by the families of the victims. Some called it a form of "inadvertent racism". Those close to Mulroney at the time said that the former Prime Minister sincerely regretted his initial comment for years to follow.

In the fall of 1985, while still a member of the Interdepartmental Committee, Pardy was charged with planning and



Vinod Thomas in 1985

implementing a monument to the victims to be unveiled by SSEA Clark and the foreign ministers of both India and Ireland on the first anniversary of the disaster. The Irish government donated a piece of land on Dunmanus Bay for the monument, the nearest point of land in Ireland to the crash site. This bay is located one hour's drive west of Cork, Ireland.

An Irish sculptor, Ken Thompson, was tasked with designing the monument. A sundial was chosen as the main part of the tribute, and was surrounded by a semi-circular wall with the names of all of the victims inscribed on it. On the sundial were the following words: "Time flies, suns rise, and shadows fall; Let it pass by; Love reigns forever over all".

In an effort to reach out to the victims' families, several months after the ceremony, each victim's family was presented with a video of the monument unveiling and an accompanying written piece. SSEA Clark wrote:

"I had the opportunity to meet many of you last June at the dedication of the Air India memorial in Ireland and to share your grief. The shock, distress, and anger that the Air India disaster continues to cause touched me most deeply. I can only express the wish that time will lessen your pain and allow you to rebuild your lives.

The Memorial on the beautiful Irish coast will never be a substitute for lost loved ones. Yet in the wall of names, the dramatic sun dial, and the evocative location can be found a permanent monument to the memory of those who perished in this senseless tragedy. I hope that it will become a place of pilgrimage for you in the years to come.

Many of you could not travel to Ireland to participate in the dedication

ceremony. I hope that, in time, you will be able to visit the Memorial ... This booklet and videocassette commemorate the Memorial and dedication ceremony. It may, in some small way, ease the burden of your loss to know, that with this small token, your grief is shared by all Canadians."

One thing Gar Pardy will never forget is the way the people of Ireland, and those living in Cork in particular, treated the families and dignitaries attending the original monument unveiling:

"Cork is such a small place, and so many people wanted to attend the unveiling. So, the people of Cork opened their homes and hearts to those needing places to stay, including hundreds of family members of the victims. The ceremony was, in effect, a total community effort on the part of the Irish, most of whom never even knew any of the victims."

Today, on the anniversary of the disaster, the caring displayed by the people of Cork continues, for a ceremony is conducted annually at the monument with victims' family members.

"Justice Must Be Rendered"

In Canada, progress in the Air India investigation has been slow. Up until two years ago, it looked as if the perpetrators of the Air India tragedy would escape unpunished. Then, the RCMP offered a one million dollar reward for information, and new leads developed. It appears that as a result of these new leads, the RCMP will be able to lay charges in the very near future against several individuals living in Canada. Proving the charges will be difficult, regardless of the new leads, given the fact that so little of the wreckage was salvaged from the bottom of the ocean. Nonetheless, the Indo-Canadian community has never given up its demand for answers and will carefully watch the court proceedings leading to, it is hoped, the eventual conviction of those responsible. According to people like Gar Pardy, who spent a significant part of their lives dealing with this tragedy, "it shouldn't matter how long it takes ... justice must be rendered." Daniel Molgat, who remembers the distraught families, couldn't agree more. "If it was murder, then those responsible must be punished."

Vinod Thomas, his father, mother, sister, and the other 274 Canadians who perished on that day, deserve nothing less. ☺

Sanjeev Chowdhury, who is on the board of bout de papier, works in the Media Relations Office at DFAIT. This summer he leaves for his first posting, to Mumbai (India).

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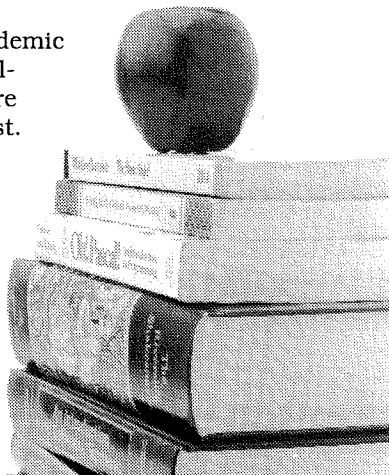
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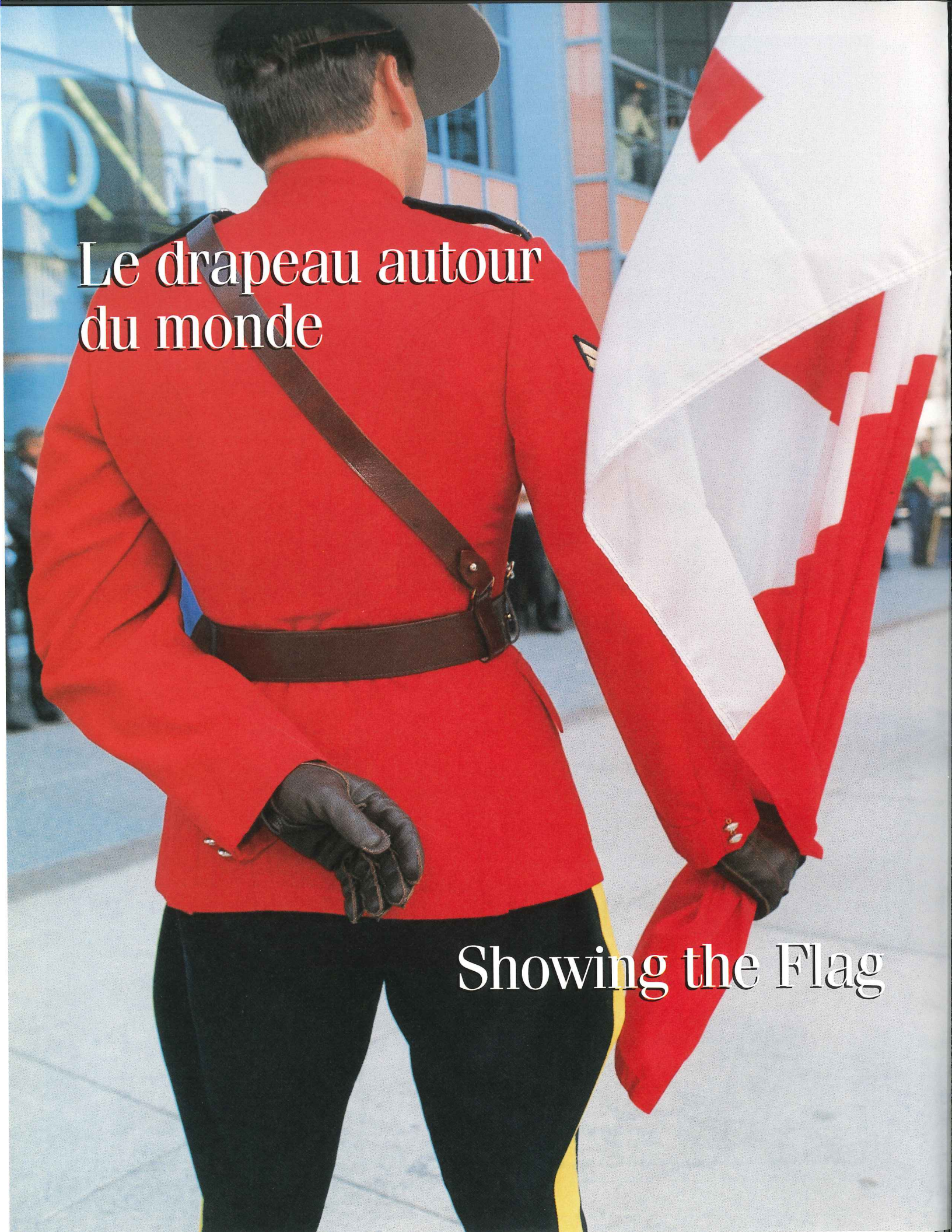
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A full-page photograph of a Canadian Mountie in a red serge uniform, seen from the back. He is wearing a wide-brimmed hat and a brown leather strap across his back. He is carrying a large Canadian flag in his left arm. The background shows a modern building with blue and red panels and a paved area.

Le drapeau autour
du monde

Showing the Flag

Un hommage au travail accompli et à l'engagement manifesté par le Canada dans le monde entier

par Carole Stelmack

L'exposition « Le drapeau autour du monde » a été inaugurée le 14 février 1997 à l'occasion d'une cérémonie tenue à l'Édifice Lester B. Pearson, à Ottawa, pour commémorer le 32^e anniversaire du drapeau du Canada. Cette exposition rassemble quelque 60 photographies montrant le drapeau canadien tel qu'on le voit dans les ambassades, les hauts-commissariats et les consulats du Canada partout dans le monde ... parfois flottant résolument à l'extérieur, parfois mis à l'honneur à l'occasion de réceptions officielles et d'activités professionnelles ou de loisir.

Une version électronique de cette exposition a pris l'affiche au même moment sur Internet sous le titre « Le drapeau autour du monde : un album de photos canadiennes ». Cette exposition virtuelle, qui peut être admirée sur le site Web du ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Commerce international (MAECI), pourra être utilisée pour diverses présentations électroniques au pays comme à l'étranger.

Deux années de gestation

L'idée d'une exposition montrant l'unifolié dans les missions du Canada à l'étranger a été initialement proposée par Gaétan

À gauche : Minneapolis, É.-U. — Stabilisation du drapeau lors de l'inauguration de la nouvelle chancellerie, le 1^{er} juillet 1987. / Left: Minneapolis, USA — Steadying the flag at the opening of the new chancery, July 1, 1987.



Lavertu, ancien sous-ministre adjoint, à l'occasion des cérémonies de célébration du 30^e anniversaire du drapeau du Canada au MAECI en 1995. Toutes les ambassades et tous les hauts-commissariats et consulats ont été mis à contribution pour réunir des photographies ou des négatifs montrant le drapeau du Canada en vedette sur nos édifices ou dans le cadre des activités quotidiennes des missions.

Les oeuvres finalement retenues regroupent environ 200 photographies en provenance de quelque 50 missions. Certains des

Washington, D.C., É.-U. — Le drapeau canadien a la place d'honneur à la nouvelle chancellerie, le 3 mai 1989. / Washington DC, USA — The Canadian flag has the place of honour at the new chancery, May 3, 1989.

choix ont été faciles ... D'autres, moins. Une des priorités, toutefois, a consisté à s'assurer que l'exposition contienne au moins un cliché en provenance de chacune des ambassades et de chacun des hauts-commissariats et consulats ayant fourni des photographies en vue de l'exposition.

Une fois la sélection terminée, les photographies ont été regroupées en six catégories : Ambassades, hauts-commissariats et consulats du Canada, Visites et fonctions officielles, Au travail..., Pendant les moments de loisir..., En haute mer..., et Commerce et foires commerciales.

Il est « branché », « canuck » et « yahoo » tout à la fois!

Peu après son inauguration, le site « Le drapeau autour du monde : un album de photos canadiennes » a été déclaré l'un des sites

Séoul, Corée — La Fête du Canada au complexe des N.-U., en 1995. Peg Peters et Rhonda Philpott sont coiffées de chapeaux en forme de feuille d'érable. / Seoul, Korea — Canada Day at the UN compound, 1995. Peg Peters and Rhonda Philpott sport maple leaf headgear.



canadiens importants sur le WWW par trois organisations autonomes faisant la promotion de l'excellence en matière de conception de sites Web et d'innovation dans ce domaine au Canada. Le site a remporté le titre de « Site canadien branché du jour » le 18 février, celui de « Site vedette Yahoo de la semaine » pour la semaine du 7 au 14 mars, et celui de « Site canuck du jour » le 18 mars. Plusieurs sites de Patrimoine canadien, y compris « Le Canada — Une affaire de cœur », offrent des liens avec ce site, auquel on peut aussi accéder par l'intermédiaire du site du gouvernement du Canada sous la rubrique « À propos du Canada » dans la section « Symboles du Canada ».

Nous vous invitons, où que vous vous trouviez dans le monde, à visiter cet hommage au drapeau canadien et à explorer par la même occasion le travail accompli par le service extérieur du Canada. L'exposition virtuelle est accessible sur le site Web du Ministère à l'adresse suivante : <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/francais/drapeau>

Le drapeau du Canada : Une esquisse
La croix de saint Georges, drapeau anglais du XV^e siècle, a d'abord été apportée au pays par Jean Cabot, qui l'a

arborée en atteignant la côte est en 1497. Trente-sept ans plus tard, Jacques Cartier planta la fleur de lis en sol canadien, qui flotta sur le pays jusqu'au début des années 1760, moment où le Canada a été cédé au Royaume-Uni.

Bien qu'il ait flotté une première fois sur le Canada en 1621, c'est à compter de 1759 que le drapeau de l'Union royale, orné des croix de saint Édouard et de saint André, a remplacé la bannière ornée de fleurs de lis. Après l'Acte d'union de 1801, la croix de saint Patrice fut ajoutée au drapeau, que nous connaissons depuis sous le nom de Union Jack.

Le Red Ensign a été créé en 1707 pour servir de pavillon à la marine marchande britannique. C'est ce drapeau, modifié par l'ajout des armoiries provinciales, qui est à l'origine du Red Ensign canadien, dont on a vu flotter différentes versions entre 1870 et 1965.

Le dessin de l'unifolié canadien ne peut être attribué à une personne en particulier, car, inspiré par un vigoureux sens de l'histoire canadienne, il est le fruit d'un effort collectif auquel ont participé plusieurs Canadiennes et Canadiens. Le rouge et le blanc, qui figuraient déjà sur

la médaille pour services généraux décernée par la reine Victoria, ont par la suite été proclamés couleurs officielles du Canada par le roi George V en 1921.

La feuille d'érable stylisée, l'un des principaux éléments du drapeau, a été dessinée par Jacques St-Cyr, tandis que les proportions ont été établies par George Bist et la couleur précise, choisie par Gunter Wyszecki. On attribue officiellement la conception du drapeau au comité parlementaire de 15 personnes qui a arrêté les divers éléments du motif. Adopté par résolution de la Chambre des communes le 15 décembre 1964, puis par le Sénat le 17 décembre, le motif a été proclamé emblème officiel du Canada par Sa Majesté la reine Élisabeth II, à compter du 15 février 1965. ☺

Ankara, Turquie — Bedri Baykam, artiste contemporain turc de renom, pose aux côtés de son œuvre lors du lancement de son exposition, *On the Road Again*. / Ankara, Turkey — Bedri Baykam, a well-known Turkish contemporary artist, poses with his work at the opening of his exhibition, *On the Road Again*.





Photo: Allan Culham

A celebration of Canada's work and commitment throughout the world

“Showing the Flag” was launched on February 14, 1997, at a ceremony celebrating the 32nd anniversary of the Canadian National Flag, in the Lester B. Pearson Building, in Ottawa. It includes some 60 photos showing the Canadian flag at many Canadian embassies, high commissions and consulates around the world ... sometimes flying boldly outside and sometimes displayed prominently at various official, work-related, or leisure events.

An electronic version of this exhibit, **“Showing the Flag: A Canadian Photo Album”**, was launched on the Internet, at the same time. This virtual exhibit, which can be found on the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) Web site, may be used nationally and internationally for various electronic presentations.

Two years to completion

The idea for an exhibit showing the Canadian flag at missions around the world

was first suggested by Gaetan Lavertu, then Associate Deputy Minister, at DFAIT's 30th anniversary celebrations of the Canadian flag in 1995. All Canadian embassies, high commissions and consulates were asked to contribute photographs or negatives with the Canadian flag prominently displayed on our buildings or in the course of the work of a mission.

The final selection was made from approximately 200 photos from some 50 missions. Some of the choices were easy ... some were not. One of the prime goals, however, was to ensure there was at least one photo in the exhibit from every embassy, high commission and consulate that sent photos.

Once the selections were made, the photos were grouped into six categories: Embassies, High Commissions and Consulates; Official Visits and Functions; At Work...; At Leisure...; On the High Seas...; and Trade and Trade Fairs.

It's “Cool”, “Canuck” and “Yahoo” too!

Shortly after its launch, **“Showing the Flag: A Canadian Album”** was selected as a significant Canadian site on the World Wide Web by three independent organizations which promote excellence in Web design and innovation in Canada. The site was chosen as **“The Cool Canadian Site of the**

Day” on February 18; a **“Yahoo! Pick of the Week”**, March 7-14; and the **“Canuck Site of the Day”** on March 18. It was also added to several Canadian Heritage sites including **“Canada Take It to Heart”** and the Government of Canada's **“About Canada”** section under **“Symbols of Canada”**.

Wherever you are in the world, you are invited to browse through this celebration of the Canadian flag and share in the work of the Canadian foreign service. You can find this virtual exhibit on the Department's Web site at: <http://www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca/english/flag/>

The Canadian Flag: A Profile

The St. George's Cross, an English flag of the 15th century, was carried by John Cabot and flown over Canada when he reached the east coast in 1497. Thirty-seven years later, Jacques Cartier planted the fleur-de-lis on Canadian soil and it was flown until the early 1760s, when Canada was ceded to the United Kingdom.

Although first flown over Canada in 1621, the Royal Union Flag (with the Crosses of St. Edward and St. Andrew) replaced the fleur-de-lis after 1759. Following the *Act of Union* (1801), the Cross of St. Patrick was added to the flag

Above: Andrew and Katherine Culham at the World Cup qualifying game against Mexico, 1997. / Andrew et Katherine Culham au match de qualification à la Coupe mondiale contre le Mexique, en 1997.

Newlyn, Cornwall, England — Canadian High Commissioner Royce Frith presents a Canadian flag to the head of a local fishing fleet, April 11, 1995. / Newlyn, Cornouailles, Angleterre — Le haut-commissaire du Canada, Royce Frith, présente un drapeau canadien au capitaine d'une flotille de pêche locale, le 11 avril 1995.



Camcraft

that we now know more commonly as the Union Jack.

The Red Ensign was created in 1707 as the flag of the British Merchant Marine. A form of the Red Ensign, with the quartered arms of Canadian provinces, gave rise to the Canadian Red Ensign, various forms of which were flown from 1870 to 1965.

No one single person can be credited with the design of the maple leaf flag. Indeed, the design arose based on a strong sense of Canadian history and a result of a collaborative effort involving several Canadians. The combination of red and white appeared in the General

Service Medal issued by Queen Victoria. Red and white were subsequently proclaimed Canada's national colours by King George V in 1921.

A key element of the flag — the stylized maple leaf — was designed by Jacques St. Cyr while the proportions of the flag were outlined by George Bist and the precise coloration of the flag defined by Gunter Wyszecki. The final determination of all aspects of the new flag was made by the 15-member parliamentary committee, which is officially credited with the design. The design was

approved by a resolution of the House of Commons on December 15, 1964, and in the Senate on December 17, 1964, and proclaimed by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II to take effect on February 15, 1965. ☉

London, England — Raising Canada's new flag at Canada House, February 15, 1965. / Londres, Angleterre — La levée du nouveau drapeau du Canada à la Maison du Canada, le 15 février 1965.

Carole Stelmack is Strategist and Co-ordinator (International Communications), Corporate Communications Division, DFAIT. / **Carole Stelmack** est Stratège et coordonnatrice (Communications internes), direction des communications ministérielles, MAECI.

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Micros and Minis — Can They Cover the Essentials?

*In a series of three articles, **bout de papier** will be looking at how (and if) mini and micro missions really work. In this edition **Martin Collacott** describes his recent assignment as *Our Man in Phnom Penh*; in later editions, **Jennifer Daubeny** and **Anne Collins** will take us to the very different settings of "their" missions to *Guadalajara (Mexico)* and *St. Petersburg (Russia)*.*

An audience with King Sihanouk, issue visitors' visas to a Cambodia ministerial delegation, speak at a Canada Fund project, open the incoming mail and close the diplomatic bag, meet with a Canadian business group and with an NGO representative from Canada, try to complete a report on a World Bank briefing and perhaps have another crack at the mission accounts. Sound like the normal work of a Canadian diplomatic mission abroad? It is — but with one exception: this is our Embassy in Phnom Penh and all of this is being done by the Ambassador, the only Canada-based (CB) staff member at the mission. Does the one-CB post really work? Perhaps up to a point — but are we getting the best return for our investment?

When offered the assignment of head of our first one-CB post at the ambassadorial level, I needed, in fact, little encouragement to go to Cambodia. I had always been intrigued and beguiled by that country and its people (I first went there in 1964) and, although it is hardly at the centre of the world stage, I knew there were few places that could offer such a varied and challenging diplomatic assignment. I went with few illusions about the demands I would have to face and knew that the pressures of the previous three years as Ambassador to Syria and Lebanon would only partly prepare me for the challenges of Phnom Penh.

Perhaps most daunting were the expectations which are inevitably aroused when you hand out your shingle as an embassy with an ambassador in charge. In the case of Cambodia, Canada is well remembered for the role we played on the old International Control Commission in the 1950s and 60s as well as for our active part in bringing about the 1991 Paris Peace accords which made possible the relative peace that



Photo: David Edwards

Co-locating in Cambodia.

now exists in Cambodia. Add to this the facts that we are fairly well known and well regarded because of the success of the Cambodian community in Canada, that, as in Cambodia, we speak both English and French and use both civil and common law and Cambodian interest in Canada and closer links does not take long to emerge. While this obviously pays dividends in good will and the promotion of Canadian interests, it also places heavy demands on a lone representative who cannot avoid at least hearing out a serious proposal from a minister or senior official who thinks Canada may be particularly well placed to help their ministry.

If the Cambodians are not particularly conscious of the fact that our embassy has far more limited resources than the other Western missions in Phnom Penh (the Australians, Americans, French and Japanese, for example, each have between 15 and 28 home-based staff), Canadians at home are even less aware of how restricted we are in our ability to respond to their requests and inquiries. While the entry for Cambodia in *Canadian Representatives Abroad* indicates that there is only an Ambassador at the post, this does not deter the public and other government departments and provinces from sending requests to the commercial counsellor, the political first secretary, administrative officer, cultural and scientific attachés, etc. on the assumption that anything that calls itself an

embassy must have such denizens lurking somewhere on the premises just waiting for an opportunity to show their mettle.

The idea of having an embassy with only one home-based staff member has been driven largely by our shrinking resources combined with the increasing awareness that many opportunities to further Canadian interests can be pursued more effectively if we have someone permanently on the spot. In the case of Cambodia, an additional factor was that we recently concluded an agreement with Australia under which we can co-locate in each other's missions. Under this arrangement, the Australians cover the Caribbean from offices in our High Commission in Barbados, while we operate from their Embassy in Phnom Penh. Although this co-location resulted in a substantial reduction of my administrative workload, there remained a very considerable amount of administration and support type functions that still had to be dealt with. The incumbent of a one-CB mission has to be reconciled to spending a good deal of time on duties of a clerical level, to the obvious detriment of being able to concentrate on head of mission tasks.

The problem is magnified in the case of relatively dysfunctional locations such as Phnom Penh, where services are unreliable, language can be a major problem and competent local help scarce to say the least. Indeed, even the Australians, who in my view operated one of the most effective diplomatic missions in Cambodia, were constantly struggling to keep a handle on administration and convince their headquarters that it

could be almost unmanageable without sufficient home based staff. On a personal note I must add that I was particularly fortunate to be cloistered with the Aussies in Phnom Penh as they were a most enjoyable and supportive crew and arguably the best informed mission in town.

When I completed my posting in July 1996, I recommended a number of measures which the Department should take if one-CB posts were to have a reasonable chance of being viable. These included sending in an advance team to set up the essential logistical requirement for the chancery and residence including communications, equipment and furnishings as well as ensuring that posts in the area that provide program and administrative support (i.e. hub posts) are properly resourced to carry out these functions and do indeed deliver this support, including regular visits by program managers.

It is also important that the various units of the Department, other government departments and agencies as well as the Canadian public in general are aware of the fact that such missions are extremely limited in their resources and that requests to the post are filtered as much as possible through the Department. Having to spend a major part of one's time explaining that we do not have the means to respond to a slew of detailed

requests for information and assistance is obviously not the most effective way of using one's time.

The incumbent has to be reconciled to spending a good deal of time on duties of a clerical level.

A question which has been raised in connection with how to make the one-CB post more effective is whether it is really a good idea to raise expectations by calling the incumbent an ambassador or high commissioner. Would it not make more sense simply to have a chargé d'affaires and thereby lower the ante somewhat? While this would probably take off some of the pressure, the downside would be that the incumbent would not enjoy the same access as a full fledged head of mission. In my view therefore we should stay with the ambassadorial level assignment and make it work as effectively as possible.

What therefore is the future of the one-CB post? My own assessment is that it is

useful to a degree but that we would get better value for our money if we used a minimum of two Canada-based staff. This would allow the head of mission to concentrate the better part of his or her time on the duties of a HOM rather than to a much more limited extent when they are on their own. The addition of a good first or second secretary would more than double the effectiveness of the post and would still serve as a model which could make possible wider Canadian representation for a relatively modest price tag.

Having said this it should be added that, whether staffed by one-CB position or two, working in a micro-mission such as Phnom Penh has to be one of the most stimulating assignments the Department has to offer. The sheer variety of work and the sense of running your own show keeps the adrenaline flowing and leaves you in no doubt that you are earning your pay as well as making a useful contribution to the effective representation of Canada abroad. ☺

Martin Collacott is a former Foreign Service Officer who served in Saigon, Hong Kong, Beijing, Lagos, and Tokyo and as Head of Mission in Colombo, Damascus and Phnom Penh. Mr. Collacott is currently a consultant on foreign policy and international development.

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Team Canada — The Bottom Line

by Mark Drake

“**A** domestic political exercise with marginal export value added.” That’s how one cynical participant described Team Canada’s recent mission to Korea, the Philippines and Thailand. While that’s certainly a minority view, there’s no doubt that many over-taxed, snow-shovelling Canadians regarded this trip as a bit of a junket — particularly bearing in mind the time of year and with the politicians taking their wives along. They also looked somewhat askance at the multi-billion dollar deals which Team Canada “came back with” (arrive Monday, negotiate Tuesday, sign deal Wednesday). And some of the media reports were negative, as they looked for stories which would sell, rather than trying to support the combined Canadian effort. So maybe it’s time for some reflection on the value of these missions and what they are actually trying to achieve.

No big deal?

Perhaps we should deal first with the billion dollar deals. This is primarily politics and essentially for the media and domestic consumption. Sure the mission can help clinch some deals which have been on the table for a while, and it may even advance others which are proving difficult to nail down. However, most of the companies in the signings have worked for years to get this close to a deal and the MOUs are usually the starting point for an equally long (and generally frustrating) negotiating period. Of course, it’s fun to brag about a large dollar figure, but we need to do this with some caution. The numbers can come home to roost if the deals fail to come through, or for that matter, if sales to the region decrease (as they have in the case of some of the previous Team Canada destinations). So if the value of the deals is over-emphasized and is in any case primarily for domestic political consumption,



Mark Drake, Senior Vice President, The Alliance

why do the business people line up to go on these missions, and very often come back for a second or a third trip?

The presence of the Prime Minister of Canada and the Provincial Premiers gives ... significant credibility, ... where government support is a key element for business success.

The answer is simple. Business people pay to be there, because Team Canada works, and it works in three basic ways.

Win, win, win

First of all, it helps give substantial regional visibility to a country which — although it is a member of the G-7 — only accounts for 2% of world trade and, in spite of what we may think from the local media, is simply *not* well-known as a top-class supplier of goods and services around the world. Major companies in Asia (and indeed in Latin America and elsewhere), deal extensively with the US and Europe, but with some notable — and often resource based — exceptions, are not used to doing much business with Canada.

Secondly, the presence of the Prime Minister of Canada and the Provincial Premiers gives participating companies (especially the SMEs) significant credibility, and this is particularly important in regions where government support

is a key element for business success. This is why Team Canada is more likely to flourish in say Asia or in Latin America, where government is perceived to add value, than in parts of Western Europe, where its role is decreasing.

Thirdly, Team Canada provides unique inter-Canadian networking opportunities for business people, amongst themselves and with politicians. While you could argue that this would be achievable in a mock-up jumbo on the end of the Pearson Airport runway, anyone who has travelled abroad with business companions knows the natural bonding that takes place during the travel itself, and as you wrestle with the idiosyncrasies and frustrations of doing business in a strange environment. This networking is good for business and is a very important component of the Team Canada effort. In fact, it’s so important that some companies take it a touch too far. Sickness prevented one of my colleagues from going on the trip this January, but his photo and coordinates remained in the catalogue. He has so far received 10 follow-up letters from Team Canada participants, saying what a pleasure it was to meet him,



Photo: J.M. Carisse

Premiers Lucien Bouchard, Brian Tobin and Frank McKenna share a quiet moment.

how much they enjoyed the discussions with him in Korea! Well, I suppose it's preferable to no follow-up to a real discussion....

You've got to admit ... it's getting better
Team Canada is fundamentally about improving exports and that's important because — as we all know by now — international trade accounts for nearly 40% of Canada's GDP and exports employ one Canadian in three ... and let us not forget that each \$1 billion of exports provides 11,000 jobs — now where *did* that number come from?!

The January 1997 mission was the fourth in the series and the largest so far, with well over 400 business and academic participants, plus the politicians, media and

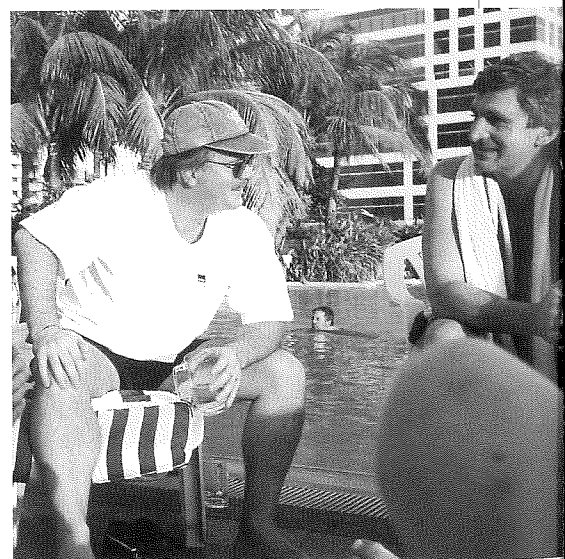
support staff. Regulars tell me it was the best so far — for several reasons. For one thing, we are getting better at putting them together. The logistics for this type of large, non-sectoral mission have got to be a nightmare, and the support teams involved at the posts and back in Canada — not to mention Canadian Airlines — did an outstanding job. It was also more of a genuine Team Canada effort this time. First of all, there was one plane (the first time this has happened) and there was lots of contact between the politicians and the business folk on the flight, as well as in the countries visited. This opportunity had been missed on previous occasions, where the business people felt like second-class citizens, flying on a separate plane, with a different programme, and also very often staying in different hotels. If it's Team Canada they said, let's all travel together and share a good part of the programme. It was a fair

request, even if it meant that some executives rediscovered economy seats for the first time for 25 years. After all, the business people (who pay \$10,000 or so to go on the trip) are the ones who ultimately make the contracts and ensure the success of these missions in terms of export business and job creation. Incidentally, most of the Premiers were also highly-accessible and well-briefed on the participating organizations from their provinces. A helpful scenario, as wheeling in the Premier in support of a business position can very often clinch a deal.

Could do better still....

In spite of the positives, there are still some rough edges to knock off. The media tried desperately to promote political disaster (fortunately without success) and had to be encouraged during the trip to focus more on helping sell Canada abroad, rather than baring our unity and other bruises. The signing ceremonies (involving companies trooping up to a stage one after the other to shake hands briefly with the Prime Minister and the Premiers) still need to be improved. Local partners, who are signing deals at senior level with important Canadian partners, want much more exposure. They want at least an individual photograph with the PM and preferably the opportunity to spend a few brief minutes talking with him. So this part of the operation has to be stage-managed better and maybe specific hurdles put in, so that a certain quality level is achieved at the signings, even at the expense of a lower total dollar value.

The stage-management of some other events — e.g. lunch invitations to companies' local partners — needs to be fine-tuned. And why should the business part of Team



Networking: an important component of Team Canada missions.



Photo: J.M. Carisse

Team Canada on the move.

Canada be kept sweltering at the back of the plane on arrival, as the politicians exit through the front door to great fanfare? They should be allowed out of the back door to be part of the ceremony.

Opinions are divided on some other issues. For example, what value do the Premiers bring? I suggested earlier that they help the companies from their province gain recognition, but there is another important aspect to their involvement. This is the bonding between Federal and Provincial politicians, as they travel abroad to promote Canadian trade. This is not to be underestimated with our unsolved unity and internal trade barrier problems. On the other hand, they do potentially lessen the PM's impact, and have raised questions in some Asian minds about who is leading Canada. There is even a risk that a proliferation of provincial premiers may confuse the customers. The jury is out on this particular question.

It is also out on the size of the mission. 500+ is an impressive number of people to land in a capital city and it certainly creates waves. However, it also means that

the individual contacts between business people from the Canadian delegation and their local counterparts become more difficult to control, and some people get lost in the crowd. 1,500 people for lunch, for example, becomes almost unmanageable and local guests sometimes can't find their hosts (yes, this did happen). Large companies and SMEs (of which there were many on the last trip) have different requirements, and a "one size fits all" arrangement — e.g.

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in the signing ceremonies — doesn't work too well. But what else can you do with a mission this size? This argues perhaps for an export-ready hurdle before a company can participate, even if this cuts back somewhat on the size of the SME contingent.

The success of any venture depends on attention to detail, and not just some details, but every detail. We learn as we go and there is no question that the 1997 Mission showed many areas of improvement. For example, the pre-trip briefings were good, the sector reports were useful and there was even some spare time to rest (ignore the pool-side photo; these trips are murder on the digestion and the biological clock). And there was good media support in the regions for individual companies.

However, there are still some areas of concern. Simultaneous translation is expensive, but it is certainly necessary for the presentation sessions in countries like Korea, where the business language is not English. And why are the name badges still so miserably small? For good networking, you must be able to read the name at six feet. If we need a photo identification card let's have one as well but, for goodness sake, let's have a decent-sized name badge. And why not sector code the name badges while we are about it?

What colour ink: red or black?

So what's the bottom line? No question in my view that these missions are extremely

valuable window-opening exercises, and of considerable potential help to Canada's business leaders from large and small companies. They create excellent recognition, visibility and credibility for Canada. There has to be follow-up of course, perhaps in sectoral missions and certainly by the companies individually. But high-profile visits with government partners help Canadian business leaders to achieve more, and often in a shorter time, than they could do on their own. So the Team Canada Missions should continue, but should concentrate on countries where visible government support remains important, and where politicians can add credibility to the business presence.

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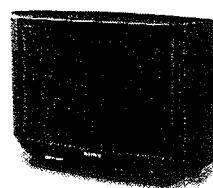
In addition, the lessons learned from the four previous missions should be put to good use, and the rough edges which I have mentioned should be smoothed out — particularly those related to the signing ceremonies, which could achieve much more impact with local partners if they were handled differently. And, talking of the bottom line, we could make a better judgement if we actually *knew* what that was. What is the net cost to taxpayers after the business contribution? Maybe *bout de papier* could tell us?

And finally, let's not make too much of those billion-dollar deals. What's important is that Canada is there in force, is recognized as a top-quality supplier of goods and services and is ready to do business competitively with the best in the world. If the missions achieve that, they will have been very much worthwhile. ☺

Mark Drake is Senior Vice President of the Alliance of Manufacturers & Exporters Canada (The Alliance).

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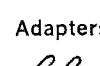


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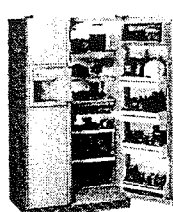
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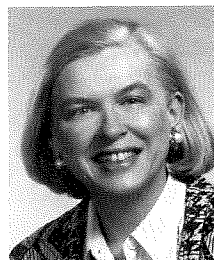
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The Asia Pacific: Canada's destiny in the new millennium?

An interview with John Bell, Ambassador for Canada's Year of Asia Pacific.

bdp: What are the basic objectives of Canada's Year of Asia Pacific (CYAP)?

Bell: Speaking in Vancouver last January, Prime Minister Chrétien explained very clearly the rationale behind CYAP: "Canada knows that Asia Pacific is the future." Throughout 1997, business forums, youth events, and cultural activities will prepare Canada for that future. We want Canadians to understand that when people talk of the coming "Pacific century", they are talking about opportunities for Canadians. Canada is a Pacific nation!

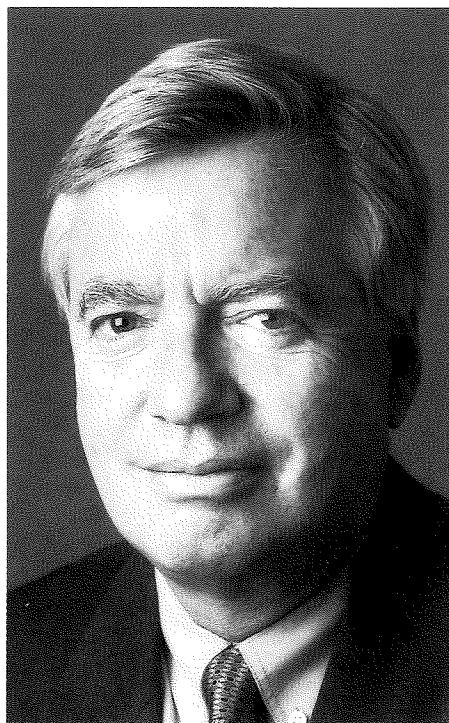
We need Canada's Year of Asia Pacific to build human links between Canadians and the various peoples of the region — links strong enough to sustain the weight of our growing economic interests. Links that allow us to contribute to the social and political development of the region. Links that reflect the shifts in population that have changed the face of Canada over the last twenty years.

bdp: Could you elaborate on the shifts in population that have occurred in the last twenty years?

Bell: In 1955, 85% of the immigrants coming into Canada were from Europe. In 1996, 62% came from Asia. We have a growing Asian population, currently numbering about two million. In fact, four of Canada's top five sources of business immigrants are from Asia. The Asia Pacific Foundation has called Asian Canadians our "Hidden Advantage". The knowledge, cultural understanding, and business contacts of Asian Canadians are an important human resource to the economy of Canada — a resource so far left largely untapped. Canada's Year of Asia Pacific aims to change that.

bdp: Would you describe some of the key activities?

Bell: The Year began when Prime Minister Chrétien departed with Team Canada this January to the Philippines, Korea, and Thailand. It will culminate on November 24th and 25th in Vancouver at the APEC



leaders meeting, an important forum for liberalizing trade and investment throughout the region.

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Canada's hosting of APEC is a special opportunity that comes only once in 20 or 30 years. We are building on that opportunity with CYAP, encouraging events across the country for business and youth, as well as cultural programs, media conferences and conferences on human rights. Some of them are initiated by government, many more are initiated by the groups

themselves, such as NGOs, and business associations.

Numerous annual business conferences, like the Electrical Producers Association, the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association, and the Intercom Telecommunications conference have adopted the CYAP theme. Bilateral business associations with Japan, Korea, and the ASEAN countries will also be very active this year.

Media was the focus of a recent conference in Toronto. Bringing together journalists from Asia, the United States, and Canada, it examined how we perceive Asia, how we report on Asia. What do we understand? What are we missing? Asian participants shared their impressions of Canada and what Canada means to the people of Asia Pacific.

The CYAP Secretariat is supporting these events by offering our communications strategy, our website, and our logo. We are especially proud of the logo: a crane, which is the symbol in Asia of peace, longevity and success with the maple leaf intertwined on its back and the calligraphy strokes all over the vibrant blue Pacific.

Besides the leaders' meeting, we also have five APEC ministerial meetings throughout the year in cities across Canada:

- in Victoria, an APEC Transport Ministers meeting including associated meetings for business people on Pacific Gateway opportunities;
- an energy meeting in Edmonton;
- an environment and sustainable development meeting in Toronto;
- small and medium-sized industries in Ottawa;
- a Trade Ministerial in Montreal in early May.

As a cross-cutting theme, every APEC ministerial includes youth events and business networking functions, especially for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). Specialized meetings for APEC senior officials — each bringing seven or eight hundred people — are also taking place in Quebec City, St. John's, and Regina.

bdp: Have you noticed different levels of awareness of Asia Pacific across Canada?

Bell: In British Columbia more than 35% of trade goes to Asia and the population mix is more Asian on a percentage basis than other parts of Canada. Certainly, they are more aware of the Asia Pacific than Quebec, Ontario or Atlantic Canada where there is only an awakening of interest in the opportunities. People in those regions are just beginning to realize that we are a Pacific nation and that events in Asia Pacific matter to our economy.

But the audiences we really want to reach, across Canada, are small business people, youth, and Asian Canadians. I would be happy if at the end of the year there was a new sense of awareness among these groups — a longer term legacy to what we are doing, particularly with youth. When I finished University everybody went to Europe to spend a year hitch-hiking around. Now people are more likely to go to Thailand or Indonesia or China. This is an encouraging trend.

Young Canadians learning the skills, the languages, and the cultures of the Asia Pacific are critical to our own goals and interests in the region.

bdp: What about Departmental outreach activities?

Bell: Our Ministers are speaking with editorial boards. Departmental representatives are giving backgrounders. We are making speeches at different organizations and bilateral business associations throughout the country. Building on Team Canada's success, conferences have taken place in Toronto, Calgary, Quebec, and all four Atlantic provinces.

As I have said, it not just our desire to engage youth during our year of Asia Pacific, it is a necessity. We have set up, with the help of Human Resources Development Canada, a youth coordination office staffed by seven young Canadians tasked with bringing a strong youth component to the APEC ministerials, the leaders meeting, as well as organizing *Asia Connects/Asie Cherchons*, which took place in May in Winnipeg.

Asia Connects was our flagship youth event, linking young Canadians in each province and territory to the conference site in Winnipeg. It focussed on how youth can become engaged in Asia Pacific, the relevance of Asia Pacific in their future and the opportunities for them, not only in Canada but also going to Asia Pacific, working, getting job experience and studying. They also discussed broader issues such as child labour and the environment.

bdp: What about culture?

Bell: We feel that through Canada's third pillar in our foreign policy, we can learn a lot about Asia, and Asia can learn a lot about us. We have engaged the Harbourfront Centre in Toronto to both manage and deliver an important cultural component for Canada's Year of Asia Pacific.

There are several different components in the year of Asia Pacific cultural program. First, we are challenging cultural and local ethnic communities to come up with cultural projects and they have done so magnificently. To date, through regional cultural coordinators and advisory councils, we have approved no fewer than 160 projects.

We are also supporting Canadian artistic groups and musicians that want to incorporate an Asia Pacific theme into an original work in 1997, and collaborative projects between Canadian and Asian Pacific artists will be encouraged. For instance, a Toronto dance studio is creating a work with a Japanese choreographer that includes Korean decorations and Canadian dancers.

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There will be collective projects where various Asian cultures contribute. This might include an exhibit of paintings from throughout the region, or a fashion show featuring Asian styles. By the end of 1997, the cultural component will reach millions of Canadians. We hope these activities will also present opportunities for Canadian artists and cultural enterprises to visit Asia over the coming years.

bdp: How do we engage some of the smaller or less developed economies?

Bell: On behalf of the government, Minister Axworthy has written to his counterparts in Asia Pacific countries inviting them to come to Canada with both a performing group and some sort of visual exhibit, the idea

being that one would be more contemporary and one traditional.

Another way is the collective exhibits. For example, we are supporting a photographic exhibit curated by Marina Mahathir, called "Eyes on ASEAN" which covers all of the countries of the ASEAN group. These magnificent photos were on display when we had our joint consultative committee to celebrate the 30th anniversary of ASEAN and the twentieth anniversary of the Canada-ASEAN dialogue relationship. The photographic exhibit is one way of culture enriching the event and providing a backdrop to it.

bdp: How are the activities you have mentioned under Canada's Year of Asia Pacific being funded?

Bell: The federal government is acting as a catalyst. As Minister Axworthy has announced, we are contributing \$1.9 million to the cultural component. This money allows for grants of between \$5000 and \$10,000 to local community associations, and supports some of the larger collaborative and collective events. There is also some modest funding for the business events, but many of these are self-funded through the fees of participating companies.

bdp: One area of controversy expressed by Canadians about certain Asian countries is the nexus between trade and human rights. That is, in our rush to do business with the booming economies of the region we are neglecting very serious human rights abuses. Does CYAP plan to address human rights concerns?

Bell: Very much so. Issues of human rights concerns are an important element of Canada's Year of Asia Pacific. We are supporting conferences that explore issues of child labour, good governance, civil societies, and the whole notion of Asian versus Western values.

The annual Couchiching conference this year focusses on those issues. The universities of Toronto, McGill, Simon Fraser, and the Canadian Institute for International Affairs, will all provide an opportunity to discuss human rights concerns in a meaningful way. And the parallel conference of NGOs taking place at the same time as the APEC leaders meeting will certainly look at the relationship between economic issues and human rights.

bdp: In certain Asian countries, this dialogue on human rights is not necessarily one which is welcomed. Would you

elaborate a little on the concept of Asian values that are expressed by certain Asian leaders, Malaysian Prime Minister Mahatir being one.

Bell: In one of his first speeches as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lloyd Axworthy pointed out that Canada should not practice megaphone diplomacy on human rights, but we have to be engaged in a meaningful way. Of course, the degree of how you do that varies from situation to situation and from country to country.

In my conversations with Malaysians, such as deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, Anwar Ibrahim, and Mousa Hitam, who was once deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia and chair of the Human Rights Commission in Geneva and the UN, they make a point of saying how much they appreciate the Canadian way of dealing with human rights in Asia. We pursue constructive engagement. Through the Canadian International Development Agency, we support programs that are creating a human rights commission in Indonesia, and training judges in China, among other things.

As long as we do not appear to be preaching and we recognize that we are not unblemished ourselves, I think there is welcome room for dialogue, particularly

through civil society, through working with NGOs and so on.

bdp: A number of the cities in Asia are showing serious signs of environmental strain. I wonder if you have any comment on the nature of the limits to growth that might be evident in these booming Asian economies which have, on the one hand, great opportunities and great promise but which, on the other hand, are also leading the world in environmental problems?

*Asia is the market
of the future for
cultural industries.*

Bell: What I used to say in Malaysia applies to all of Asia Pacific. Malaysia has a vision of becoming a fully developed country by 2020 and they are really making tremendous strides. They are going to get there, yet there are major hurdles to overcome.

One, they must have the necessary infrastructure in place. Two, they have to mitigate the environmental impacts of

rapid development. And third, they need people with the proper educational and skills background to make everything happen. In fact, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank have identified environmental challenges as the greatest single impediment to durable economic growth across Asia Pacific.

And these happen to be Canada's three priorities in our Year of Asia Pacific: infrastructure, such as transportation, telecommunications, and power generation; the environment and sustainable development, specifically sustainable cities; and education and human resource development. All areas where Canada can make an important contribution.

And they are all inter-related. The reason that you have environmental strain is because, in some cases, infrastructure development is too rapid. We have our own blemishes there but we also have special skills. This is very important and this is where we can really provide some contributions, some value added. And thanks to Canada's Year of Asia Pacific, we will have thousands more Canadians, from across the country, in all walks of life, engaged in these issues and contributing to the challenges facing our Pacific community.

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bdp: CYAP itself takes place throughout 1997. Is there a plan or legacy to move from Canada's Year of Asia Pacific to the Pacific Century?

Bell: I said a few weeks ago that I had stopped worrying about 1997 and I was starting to worry about 1998 and what will be the legacy. People suggested to me that I had better pay attention to 1997 for a while yet. But without that meaningful legacy we will have worked very hard without the results we set out to achieve.

But we also have some very specific long-term goals related to trade. I would like to see a program of training and counselling for small and medium size industries specifically related to Asia Pacific. Doing business in Asia Pacific is quite different from doing business in the United States or even Latin America.

I would like to see more colleges and universities right across Canada offering programs like the one at Capilano College where young Canadians spend a year obtaining work experience in Asia Pacific. Our government recently announced a \$350 million youth internship program. Asia Pacific should be front and centre in a program like that.

We need a continuing program of culture. When we sent our Cultural Attaché publication to our posts in Asia, people asked how we could talk about a cultural component of Asia Pacific when nearly all of our cultural initiatives abroad are directed at Europe. We need to change that. With its increasingly affluent, expanding middle class, Asia is the market of the future for cultural industries.

Our goal is to redirect Canada's overall focus to Asia Pacific in a manner commensurate with our economic and political interests and commensurate with the region's growing influence in global affairs. That will be the legacy of Canada's Year of Asia Pacific. ☺

*John Bell has had nine foreign postings, the most recent of which was as Canada's High Commissioner to Malaysia. From 1992 to 1993 he was Professor at the Sustainable Development Research Institute of the University of British Columbia. John Bell was interviewed for **bout de papier** by David Edwards, a longtime **bout** contributor and board member, who has had postings in Harare, Lusaka and New Delhi, and who this year leaves for Yaoundé (Cameroon).*



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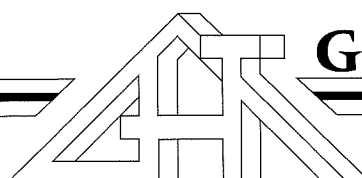
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story and photos by Geoff Gartshore

The dialectic of grocery shopping in Markale Market

"I'd like half a kilo of peaches and some yoghurt please," I say to an elderly vendor in Sarajevo's most infamous open market. He smiles, turns to his wife as he puts my fruit on the scale, and observes: "Hey, the man speaks normally!"

"What's normal?" I counter with a smile, as little is in Sarajevo. They laugh in return, and ask: "Where did you learn to speak our language?"

I query further: "What is 'our' language?" "Bosnian, of course" they reply, as if 'our' Bosnian language had been around for decades.

"Where did you learn Bosnian?" they repeat. "Two years in Serbia, in Belgrade," I say with a smile, accenting the Serbian pronunciation of the word "two".

"It's all the same," they say with more laughter, and a shrug.

I nod in agreement but say to myself: if it's all the same then why the War?

Election Day, September 24th, in Herzegovina

Driving south of Sarajevo to the Adriatic coast, you drop from the high Bosnian mountains down into Herzegovina — the southern third of the country. A hot and arid region, Yugoslavs looked down on Herzegovinian brethren and, depending on whether the speaker was Serb or Croat, dismissed the land as a place inhabited by "ustasha / cetniks and rattlesnakes".

Near Stolac, Herzegovina

The road turns to gravel then dirt, the sun beats down on the dry valley floor, and in the distance looms the remains of a bombed out gas station. The polling station in the

"Mr. Arkansas" (Along the Inter-Entity Boundary Line in Bitt.)

village of Poplat is our goal, a formerly mixed Moslem-Croat hamlet on the western edge of a wide, barren valley only one mountain ridge away — but historic light years — from the more verdant, cultured Dalmatian coast. In this part of the country, the Moslems lost. Approaching the gas pumps, an arrow on a nearby burned-out overturned car points to a tent, indicating our destination: polling station 45. The tent is the only structure now standing in this village formerly of 600 residents. We enter the sweltering darkness: two rows of people on chairs face each other, eyes stare at us in silence. The OSCE have found equal numbers of Moslem and Croats to staff the booth, busing the former Moslem residents here from their new homes many hours away.

I start a conversation with the two local heads of the polling station (one Moslem, one Croat) under the watchful eyes of two huge Croat policemen: a tangible reminder that this is Croat territory now. I ask whether anyone has yet come back to vote. The Moslem head of the polling station looks around and says that 24 people have voted so far, then glances again at the two huge Croat policemen standing by at each polling station to offer 'protection'. Continuing, he prudently adds that he does not know from which nationality the voters are. I turn to his Croat counterpart to take another tack, and ask: Have there been any buses through here today? Moslems were bused back to vote. "No buses," he smiles. "No Moslems," I write in my notes. After a few more pleasantries, I ask if I can take a picture of the polling tent, erected by the local Portuguese IFOR battalion. The picture of them shaking hands — even this once — is worth more than the voting that has gone on there that day.

*Borojevići, Hercegovina:
busing, Balkan style*

A transit bus with out of town plates pulls up outside polling station 13 in this small town, just five minutes before the polls close. How odd: 50 young males with very short haircuts have decided to charter a bus to come and vote together. "Odakle ste-vi," I ask one coming off the bus, wearing track pants, "Where are you from?" No answer. Could it be my Serb accent, I wonder? They present their documents: all carry OSCE

voter registration forms. We look at the first few. Names are of one nationality, originating from all parts of the country, but each stamped in one place, nearby Stolac. Okay, maybe refugees coming back to vote. Birthdates: 1947, 1962, 1956, 1951... Benefit of the doubt exhausted, we summon the joint polling station heads, but opt for the soft approach. "Some of these 40 year olds don't look like they're shaving yet" I observe, with a 'puzzled foreigner' look. The officials shrug their shoulders, but thus confronted the 'bus driver' suddenly hustles his very mature kids back on the bus. In our report to the OSCE, we later find that

Voting "tent" near Stolac, Hercegovina

this bus has made several — successful — stops along the way. These army draftees have voted enough times today to make up for years of one-party rule under Tito.

'TV-IN' and Tina Turner

Manipulation of state-controlled media having been used to foment the Balkan wars, the Office of the High Representative wanted to find ways of making television a force for democracy and pluralism. Within a week of my arrival, I was tasked with finding a way to link up five fledgling local TV stations to form a non-governmental network, and to bring in Serb counterparts in Republika Srpska to join. \$10 million and 6 months later, we had located, upgraded and trained staff at regional stations in Sarajevo, Mostar, Tuzla and Zenica, and had found people to work for us in Banja Luka — but we still lacked an 'event' to mark our on-air day, a fortnight before September national elections. We had lots of election material already in the can, but people were tiring of that. One of our consultants, a network type brought in by the Soros Foundation from NBC, called up his friend Tina Turner. It was arranged. For a fee of one dollar, we had exclusive Balkan rights to go "live" with Tina in concert from Amsterdam. The mood in the studio was electric that night, as we brought something new and different into houses throughout Bosnia on August 31st, followed

Canadian General Couture escorting Carl Bildt, High Representative, after a visit to the Canadian Brigade HQ at Coralici, Bitt.



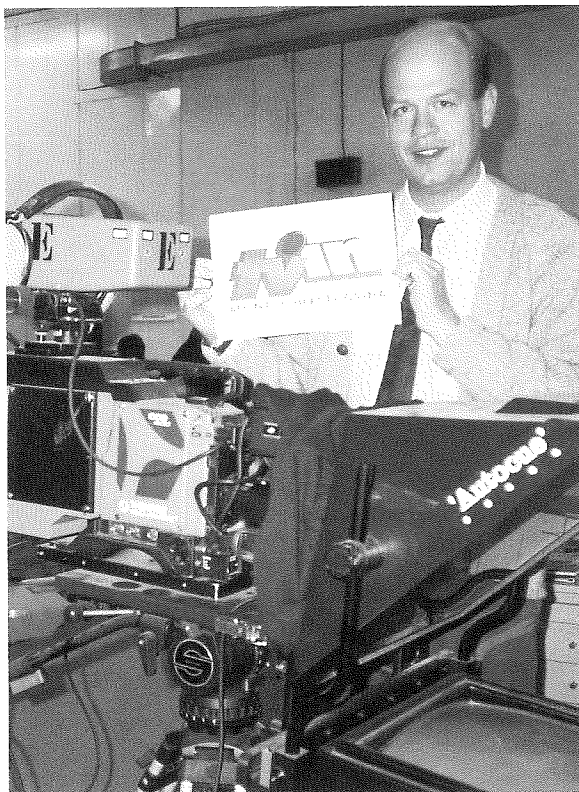
by news from our central studio in Sarajevo at 11. Offering a real option for viewers, the first commercial network in the Balkans was born that night. TV-IN still lives, coming from Sarajevo live to major centres throughout Bosnia.

*The Inter-Entity Boundary Line:
we're not in Nebraska now*

The road from Belgrade to Sarajevo is well paved, but near the Inter-Entity Boundary Line shell holes make slow going out of the stretch between Zvornik (Srpska) and Kladanj (Federation). It's raining, this stretch of road is empty, and mud covers up the headlights of the office Range Rover. Razor wire begins to appear at the side of the road and suddenly a battle tank swings a spotlight on me. I've arrived at the old frontline. I am almost happy to stop at the checkpoint, half thinking myself lost, now in hour six of what was to be an eight hour trip from Belgrade back to Sarajevo. A soldier approaches from the barrier, in full body armour with rifle slung forward to greet me. I see his Hum-Vee truck, and realize now this crossing point is manned by Americans. Good. I want directions in a language I can understand. We chat. He's from Nebraska, had no problem today on the line, been here six months, never seen such mud anywhere in his life. Behind him are hills denuded of all vegetation, of all life. My ID okay, he waves me forward. "One question," I say. "At the T-junction ahead, which way do I turn for Sarajevo?" He pauses to reflect. "Sorry-hive-owe? Sorry Sir, never heard of it, but have a nice day." I drive on slowly in order to stop the next person I see, anyone who speaks 'our language'; they will know what and where the capital city is.

*A February evening at the
'People's Theatre'*

The Sarajevo Symphony tonight has guests from exotic locales like Buenos Aires, Vienna and Mostar, but it is only the conductor who is drawn back to the stage for a third ovation. Teodor Romanic, age 70, has stayed at his podium through four years of war, keeping concerts going and spirits alive. In the audience, people wear everything from dinner jackets to old jeans. High culture here is open to all for one DM a ticket. Sarajevo's success in keeping its Symphony Orchestra going since 1923 puts the travails of my hometown's Vancouver Symphony Orchestra — with ten times the population base — into bleak perspective.



Geoff Gartshore holding logo of new Balkan TV network on opening night.

*At a village polling station in East
Mostar, local election day June 30th*

The old school house is already crowded with voters at 9 a.m. when balloting begins — 'queue' does not exist as a concept in the Balkans. Older women in this once mixed village now generally wear the shamija, or Moslem headscarf. A hush falls when a bus arrives with Croatian, West Mostar license plates. These are the Croats coming back over from "their" side of the Neretva river — many for the first time in three years — to vote in their old place of residence. Emotion is high. The men look uncomfortable, and some women break down as they greet or alternately confront old 'friends'. Men in small groups go back to look at their old farm houses, some rebuilt, others as bombed out as when they left them in a hurry over the past 4 years. Finally the buses leave: a first move toward reconciliation has been attempted. Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina will be made one valley, one village, one step at a time.

*Cafe culture and the food of
empires past and present*

Famous for their cafes, the 'Sarajlie' are enjoying their first home-town summer in five years at re-opened cafes on the sidewalks and squares. At one of them a translator from our office, Vedrana age 25, has

been listening to accents around us and turns to tell us that only about half of the patrons are from Sarajevo, the others are 'displaced' Bosniaks — largely villagers — from areas now under Serb or Croat control. Returned recently herself, she says that only nine of thirty-five classmates from her high-school in Sarajevo remained during the siege, and few have since come back since Dayton brought peace in Winter 95/96. Sarajevo's spirit is forever changed, she adds. Also in the cafe are American IFOR soldiers conspicuously enjoying a day's leave. We reflect on what occupation forces bring as our sacher-torte and turkish coffee 'sa shlagom' — with cream — arrive: the cake looks exactly like what could be had today in Vienna, but the flavour has been lost over the 80 years since Austro-Hungarians ruled this place. If the grainy coffee is Ottoman, the cake is faux Hapsburg. What tasty treat will IFOR leave behind on the long smorgasbord of Balkan culinary history?

Road works for Alija

It's one month before the September '95 elections. Travelling down to Mostar, I'm glad to see a highway crew beginning to paint road-markings for the first time in years. Perfect timing for me: rain is expected for our evening return the following day to Sarajevo, and the road up through the Dinaric mountains is inky black and hard to follow. Tomorrow night comes with rain and darkness, but no road-markings for us. Instead, from Mostar to Sarajevo, the roadworkers have painted the acronym SDA (the ruling Bosniak political party) on the road in huge letters every few kilometres up the highway. Back in Sarajevo, we find the same thing has happened on the main streets, and the police have been mounting SDA flags on lamp standards. The OSCE protests: 'Misuse of civil service by ruling party,' and a \$40,000 fine is levied against the SDA. No Government reaction except to say 'why the fuss?' IFOR gets black paint mixed, and the same road crews shuffle out to paint over their work.

Balkan politics and car insurance

It's February 1996, three months into the Dayton Peace process and Carl Bildt gathers for the first time the Ministers of Interior and Transport from the Bosnian Serb, Croat and Bosniak sides. The mood is relaxed; these politicians from the 'former warring factions' have known each other most of their lives. Today's issue is freedom of

vehicle movement. As each of the Bosnian sides issued their own license plates, every driver was "marked" and nobody dared to cross over to the "other side". The desired outcome today is for each faction to allow cars with other types of Bosnian license plates to travel freely through their territory. Bildt sets out the requirement — freedom of movement is an important part of Dayton. The Balkan types quickly huddle together — a small victory, we think — they are talking at least. The Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks return to the table. Victory short lived, the Balkan politicians have convened among each other only to decide who among them will say no, and how best to say no, to Carl Bildt and the International Community.

Insurance is the obstacle. None of the entities recognize each other's insurance policies. Until this is resolved at the highest level, each minister regrets that their can be no freedom of movement by locally registered vehicles (though foreign registration, oddly, is fine). Bildt explains how things work in Europe, an eternity away, what with transferable policies, out of country coverage. Another huddle, then a new line emerges, one closer to the truth: control will be lost. Such loss of control will be unacceptable at this time. The meeting breaks up, diplomats plot among themselves for the next go-around: the mood is dark.

A European diplomat notes that at least Hobbes wrote that the people had the possibility to end Leviathan's rule — could that happen here? Another colleague suggests that a State of Nature would certainly be better than a Bosnia governed by such politicians.

We have all underestimated the role in Balkan politics of 'inat', the Balkan word for extreme stubbornness, to the point of absolute obduracy. September comes with elections, bringing lots of foreign registered cars to Sarajevo's streets, but not one from Republika Srpska, with the border only 15km away. ☹

Postscript — May 1997

In High Representative Carl Bildt's own words, the work of the Office of the High Representative focused primarily on pressing the Parties to comply with the undertakings they made at Dayton, Paris and at so many other venues since November 1995. For those of us who arrived in Sarajevo in the weeks and months following Dayton, the challenges were immediate and the humour necessary to keep spirits up was often fairly black. A Germany diplomat and I modified a office poster to read:

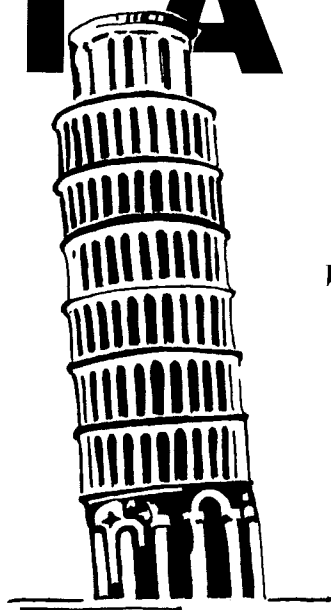
Confused? Frustrated? Bang head here and Say: "I am wrong, I am wrong, Dayton is not failing". (Repeat if necessary.)

We posted this in Carl's office (where it remained) three months after Dayton — and its message has even more resonance today. The General Framework Agreement for Peace, as Dayton is officially know, was drafted in the best spirit of Mid-West optimism. Dayton concluded that in post-bellum Bosnia people would wake up to a new dawn. Looking back, it is clear that none of us, even with NATO and Russian armies alongside, could have undone Tito's legacy of repressed anger over the course of the one year we were originally given.

So much has been achieved — peace, above all. So much more will be up to the Bosnians themselves, if ethnic separation is not to take hold. If obdurate (and now legitimate) nationalist Balkan leaders force Richard Holbrook's Dayton Agreement to fail, Bosnia may well end up partitioned: it was fellow American Robert Frost who wrote "Good Fences Make Good Neighbours". Options are still open in Bosnia — 18 months into the peace process.

Geoff Gartshore was assigned for eight months to the Office of the High Representative, the body charged with the implementation of civilian aspects of the Dayton Peace Accord. He was the first Canadian diplomat "posted" to Sarajevo. He has also served in Belgrade.

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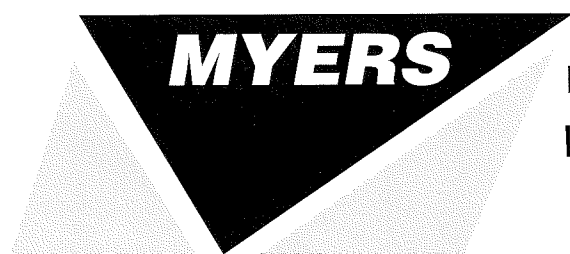
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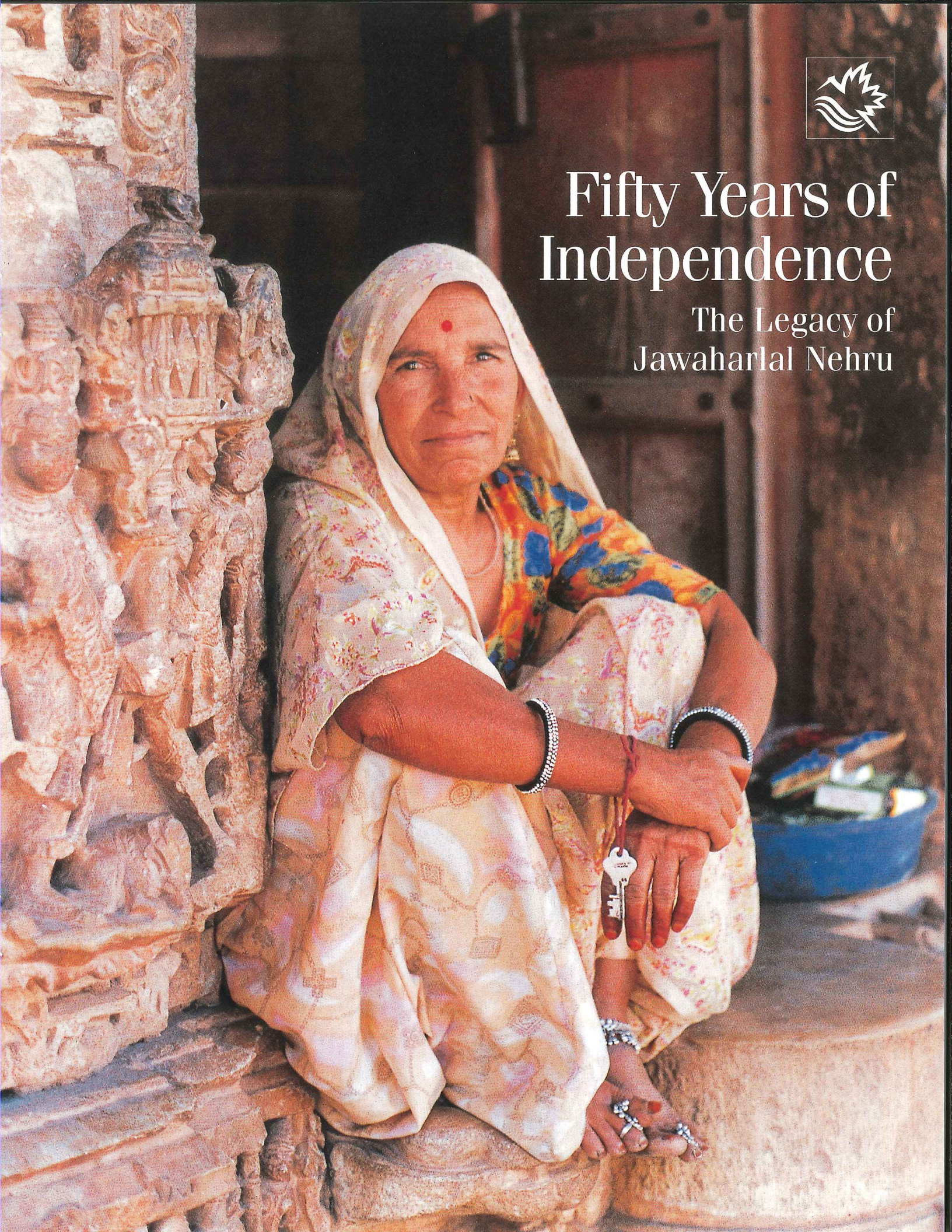
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Fifty Years of Independence

The Legacy of
Jawaharlal Nehru



by William Warden

It was the summer of 1983 when we picked up our belongings and followed the route of the Moghul Emperors down the Grand Trunk Road from Rawalpindi to Delhi. Two fascinating years in Pakistan lay behind us, and another three in India were to prove an equally memorable experience.

One lives and breathes history in the sub-continent, and a page unfolded as we traversed dusty plain and verdant farmland. The same broad River Jhelum once crossed by Alexander in 326 BC opened the road to the splendid city of Lahore and its fabled Shalimar Gardens so meticulously laid out by the Emperor Shah Jehan. The Wagah

border crossing a few kilometers east of Lahore spoke volumes about more recent history and reminded us that this was a divided land.

One could understand the grief and despair of Gandhi and Nehru as this land was torn apart, and at the destruction of the vision of one great people living in harmony. Apart from the beauty and fascination of the countryside, reminders there were on every hand that this was also the route of blood — blood that had been shed in centuries past as invading armies advanced and retreated. But no upheaval had been more frightful than Partition in 1947 when torrents of blood flowed and newly independent nations were born. The reality of it all was

reflected in the continuing massive military presence and in the mutual suspicion on each side of the border.

Nehru: the soul of India

The name most associated with the historic struggle for Indian independence is that of Mahatma Gandhi. However, the man who shaped the course of India's first fifty years was not so much the revered Gandhi, but rather his trusted aide and the country's founding Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. For Bertrand Russell, Nehru was the soul of India; Linus Pauling saw him as the practitioner of the highest ethical principles. For Arnold Toynbee, Nehru was the political and spiritual successor to the Emperor Ashoka and to Gandhi.

Nehru's legacy was still making itself felt as we took up our post in New Delhi. His daughter, Indira Gandhi, had dominated India and the Congress Party since Nehru's death in 1964. She was her father's person — and former confidants of Nehru, some of whom could still be found taking afternoon tea on the lawns of the India International Centre — were only too willing to share their views of father and daughter and grandchildren.

There is no doubt but that Nehru it was who set the political and economic course which was to guide India. His influence perpetuated itself not only through the political and economic systems which he engineered, but more directly through his daughter and grandson.

In India much changes — and just as much does not. It is usually only a matter of walking a few blocks, or going down a back lane, to move from one world to the other. During occasional visits to India today, some half-century after Nehru took the helm of the nation, I have often wondered how the great leader, if he were resurrected on this the threshold of the new millennium, would assess the contemporary scene. How would he view his own legacy and the way it has been handled? In looking to the future, would his soul wither in despair? Or would it be charged with new hope and confidence?

Frustrated dreams

Nehru would find plenty to be upset about.

The first thing he would point to — and with great sorrow — would be the failure of

This little piggie went to market ... cradled in the arms of its Goan owner.

*Photo previous page:
Gate keeper at Sammidheshwar Temple,
Chittorgarh Fort, Chittor, Southern Rajasthan
Province, India.*



Photo: Liza Linklater

Indian democracy to keep faith with those lofty ethical principles which had been so central to his own view of politics. The endless scandals of contemporary political life affecting the higher offices in the land — and which enveloped even his own grandson — would have been summarily dealt with in Nehru's day. Today there are few corners of public and private life unriddled by corruption, while the bureaucracy is a far cry from what it was in the early decades when sterling character was an essential qualification for admission to the ranks of the mandarins.

Nehru would also lament India's loss of vision. In spite of his own aristocratic conditioning, Nehru (like Gandhi) had an ability to identify with the people. He was able to capture the people's hope and aspirations, their needs and misery and to translate all of this into a sense of purpose. He undoubtedly would have been proud of Indira Gandhi in her early years of governance, a daughter who had the same ability as her father to understand the people and to merge her own identity with that of the nation. But how disillusioned he would have been to witness the fragmentation and slide into mediocrity, first and foremost of his own Congress Party, and then of the democratic system in India as a whole. Similarly, he would have lamented the failure of the democratic system to reduce the proportion of his people living in absolute poverty.

In terms of lending lustre to national unity, Nehru would have been less than proud of his daughter's role. The communal confrontations of today would have been deeply distressing — and were he prepared to face the facts honestly, he would have to admit that Indira in the last analysis had failed him. Whereas Nehru had steadfastly pursued the vision of one Indian family of peoples, Indira Gandhi was a major force in the vision's unraveling. She inherited from her father the regal notion of the "divine right" of the Nehrus and of the Congress Party. Ironically, however, whenever threatened by the opposition, Mrs. Gandhi scarcely hesitated to betray her father's trust and to employ whatever means at her disposal, including communal rivalries, to secure her power.

In the end, it led to her undoing. She created the fundamentalist hero Bhindranwale, in the Punjab, as a counterweight to the opposition. Once out of the bottle, the genie turned on her and eventually led India to that horror-filled day in October 1984 when Indira Gandhi was struck down by her own bodyguards while thousands of innocent Sikhs were massacred. More importantly, with the vision lost, succeeding generations of self-serving parochial politicians —

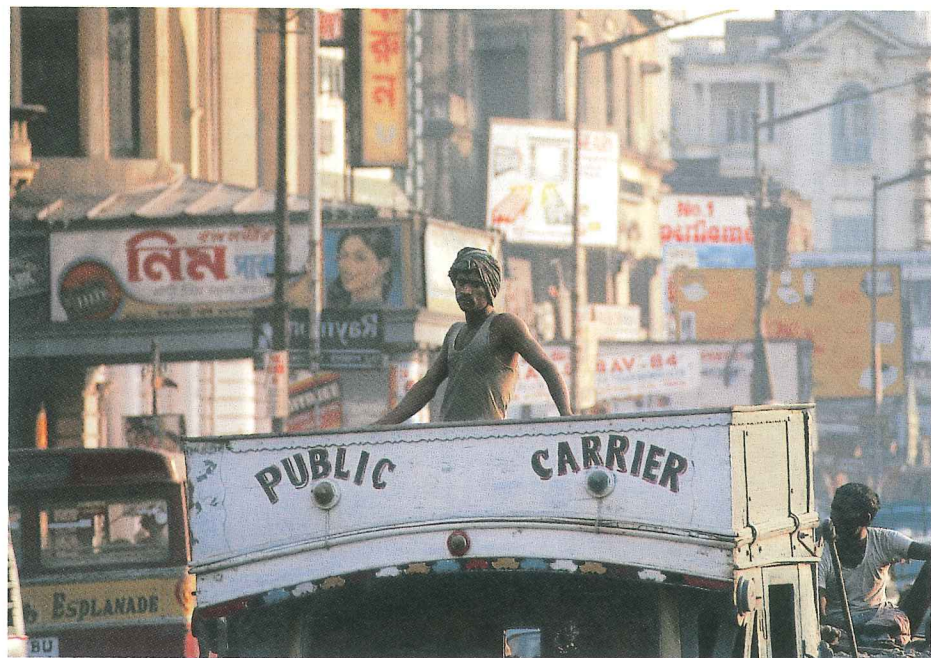


Photo: David Edwards

no longer held in check by the moral legacy of Nehru — proceeded to raise communal politics and passions to new and dangerous levels.

India: failed superpower?

Contemporary Indian foreign policy would almost certainly be the cause of further disappointment. Nehru's sights from the earliest days were squarely set on carving out a leadership position for India and the eventual admission of the country to the ranks of the superpowers. He cut an impressive figure on the world stage as the grand architect of non-alignment. Although loathed for this by successive American administrations, he created a pivotal role for India which continued right up to the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Nehru it was who brought about a reshaping of the Commonwealth, without which the organization would undoubtedly have long since withered away. In matters nuclear, Nehru defined the Western stance as thoroughly hypocritical and he laid the groundwork for the standoff on non-proliferation which continues to this day. In the present era, Nehru would undoubtedly lament the dissipation of his leadership vision.

Relations with Pakistan, contrary to Nehru's hopes for improvement, continue to be tense and to draw down an inordinate measure of both nations' energies and resources. If there is one single issue which has bedeviled the relationship through the past fifty years, it is Kashmir. Would Mr. Nehru, looking at the continuing impasse and its high cost, and if he could turn back the clock, reverse himself and give up Kashmir? It is impossible to say.

Mr. Nehru's fervent prayer today

Calcutta

would be for a new national dream, for a strong moral leader to pursue it, and for an end to the succession of mediocrities in the Prime Minister's office who have allowed the ship of state to drift erratically in international waters.

Economically, Mr. Nehru would clearly be out of his depth in the fast-moving world of the 1990s. An earlier student of Marxism, a several-times visitor to the Soviet Union, and deeply committed to agrarian reform, Nehru used his background to create Nehru socialism. His policies served the nation reasonably well for a time, but India with its enormous "command and control" bureaucracy could no less avoid eventual systemic strains and fractures than could the Soviet bloc. Nehru nonetheless would have been most distressed at the sight of an India increasingly falling into the hands of corporate libertarians and losing control of its economic destiny.

And yet, and yet...

But when all is said and done, India's founding father could still find many reasons for pride in country: the fact that democracy in spite of close calls has survived in this enormous country; that agricultural output has increased dramatically and food imports have declined; and that in the fields of education and technology India has made remarkable strides.

Not least could Mr. Nehru rightfully be proud of the image of integrity which his name still evokes long after his death and of the lasting effect of his legacy where other countries are concerned. In Canada, for instance.

The Canadian connection

Canada undeniably played a useful partnership role with India. And Nehru, were he alive today, would acknowledge this. From Indian independence right through to the present day, Canada was not simply a disinterested observer. Far from that. From supporting India in creating the new Commonwealth, to supplying nuclear technology and large amounts of foreign aid, to collaborating uneasily in the control commissions in Vietnam, to targeting India more latterly as a priority export market, Canada has served as friend and confidant. The process has been helped along by a succession of High Commissioners on the Canadian side who, with only two or three exceptions, have been quite seduced by the country of their accreditation and who consequently have devoted themselves vigorously to making the relationship flourish.

Among the list of Canadian High Commissioners, which includes such renowned figures as Roland Michener and Chester Ronning, perhaps the most fervent admirer of Nehru and the envoy who knew him best is Escott Reid, who served so capably in India from 1952-57. Reid subsequently wrote his interesting recollections in "Envoy to Nehru". He is an Indophile and it was he who authored the idea of the so-called "special relationship". Reid firmly believes some sort of special relationship might be resurrected today. Before taking up my posting in 1983, I sat for some hours with Reid and listened to him expostulating enthusiastically on ways and means to bring this about.

For Reid, the essence of the special relationship was its practical reflection in the field of political cooperation between Nehru and Canadian leaders which prevailed during the 50s. This cooperation extended to the Korean War and the armistice, to contacts over China and Suez, vigorous exchanges over the Soviet invasion of Hungary, over Kashmir and American arms shipments to Pakistan, and so on. Across a whole range of issues, Canada and India worked closely together, agreeing on some, disagreeing vehemently on others.

Throughout the years of early Indian independence, Nehru was himself heavily involved in the Indo-Canadian dialogue. The archives bear witness, in the messages exchanged between Nehru and Canadian leaders. As reported by Reid, the relationship was perceived to be such that on one occasion an Indian cabinet minister went to the extent of floating the suggestion privately that Prime Minister St. Laurent be asked to speak to Nehru about the damage that Krishna Menou was doing to India's interests abroad. Even though the suggestion

was not acted on, the fact that it was made is an indication of the general aura of confidence and intimacy which prevailed.

Nehru, were he looking back today, would undoubtedly value his contacts and friendship of the day with Canadian leaders. Pearson and St. Laurent he considered "good men" and he valued their counsel. However, contrary to Reid's dismay at the loss of what he saw as a "special relationship", Nehru for his part would not be surprised to see that Canada had moved far down in the list of Indian priorities. Bilateral relationships, after all, draw their sustenance and momentum from relatively impersonal national interests, not simply from warm feelings between political leaders. With the sharp winding-down in the 90s of Canadian foreign aid, the absence of cooperation in vital areas such as nuclear technology, and the loss to globalization of whatever defining economic and political identity Canada might once have had, the substance for a special relationship is no longer there.

The endless scandals of contemporary political life would have been summarily dealt with in Nehru's day.

Yet in assessing 50 years of Indo-Canadian relations, Nehru could be forgiven for holding the view that in the give-and-take Canada had profited more than the relationship than had India. In shaping the Commonwealth, Nehru helped to free the organization of the remaining vestiges of colonial mentality and he thus served to loosen in both practical and emotional terms Canada's own dependence on the mother country.

Moreover, because of his persistent and stubborn opposition to United States policy across a wide range of issues, and because he refused to be intimidated or humiliated, he not only preserved Indian freedom of action but also carved out more elbow room in the international arena for countries such as Canada. Arguably, this played a role in enabling this country to exercise some positive influence on US Vietnam policy and to undertake independent initiatives such as the recognition of China.

Finally, Nehru could justifiably claim to have set a standard for integrity and moral

performance by all political leaders which continues as a measuring stick to this day. There is no denying the humanity and flaws of the man. However, when all is said and done, it was not the fact that Nehru in 1956 took so long to condemn the Soviet invasion of Hungary that stands out, but rather that at the end of the day he set aside pressing political considerations and in spite of them took a principled stand.

Into the next half century

Jawaharlal Nehru in looking ahead to the next 50 years could be forgiven for alternating between despair and hope. One has no difficulty in painting a doomsday scenario: unchecked population increase; the spread of massive urban slums; a breakdown in food supply; poverty exacerbated through the failure of the neoliberal model; an ecological nightmare as a result of unbridled economic growth; the total collapse of Indian cultural and spiritual values, and so on.

Alternatively, Nehru might take heart from the prospect of a liberalized economy building on the solid economic base of the past 50 years and unlocking the intrinsic dynamism in a market of one billion people. With renewed leadership and commitment on the part of politicians, he might see democracy flourishing and a strengthening of genuine civil society — which in turn could lead to the expansion of health and education to all sectors of the population, to increased literacy and a sharply declining birth rate. The agricultural sector, already remarkable for its accomplishments, might show itself capable of performing even greater miracles. And India might rediscover and revitalize her enormously rich cultural and spiritual roots.

Both the above scenarios are quite within the realm of possibility. Obviously, they do not pose either-or options. However, Nehru would recognize that the nation he founded together with his compatriots is, in these the final years of the 20th century, at a crossroads and that the ability of the system to produce inspired leaders in the mold of a re-born Nehru and a Gandhi will have a decisive influence on the destiny of India in the century to come. ☺

William Warden joined the Department of External Affairs in 1961. He served as Commissioner to Hong Kong, Ambassador to Pakistan and High Commissioner to India. Upon leaving New Delhi he became Foreign Service Visitor at the University of Calgary and, subsequently, Executive Director of the University's International Centre.



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High Noon, Horseshoe Lake

Robert David Percival Lee, 1936-1997

Bob Lee died in early April of this year, after a six month battle with a rapidly spreading cancer. Bob was a fellow Trade Commissioner and good friend. He served as a trade officer in posts as diverse as Boston, Zimbabwe, Minneapolis and Harare.

Although I knew Bob as a colleague for most of his career, our postings did not intersect until we were both in Ottawa during the last four years, and discovered our mutual interest in fly fishing. We went on many enjoyable fishing outings to Quebec, Ontario and New York State, and had many plans for post retirement trips.

I was away from Ottawa last September when Bob caught the "big one" at Horseshoe Lake. This article, by Bob, reprinted from "The Flyfisher" Newsletter of the Ottawa Flyfishers Society tells the tale.

James Bradford

The first indication that this was not your ordinary Horseshoe Lake speckle came when I raised the rod to set the hook. The fish did not budge. I could feel a lot of power and weight out there, but no movement. I socked him again two or three times to make sure he was on. The fish simply turned and headed for deep water, taking all my line and 20 or 30 yards of backing on the first run.

Mats Streigler and I were playing hooky. We'd booked off work for October 1 to have one last crack at the speckles in Horseshoe. There was an element of trepidation built into this trip for me. On two previous outings, I had failed to take a trout on a fly. Got one on a small spoon, took a couple of nice bass on a rapala, but I'd struck out on why I had gone to Horseshoe

— to catch on flies a few of the splendid speckles that inhabit that pretty little lake. Several fishing buddies from our club had taken numerous of these fish, including a four-pounder by Mats. I didn't want the season to end without at least breaking my Horseshoe jinx.

A leisurely hour and a half drive from Ottawa gets you there, through some very scenic country and a few well-preserved old towns. Travel Advisory: Don't rush through Westport. Stop at the Hawk's Nest, a classic small-town café/diner. Truly excellent homemade butter tarts will make the stop worthwhile. Not bad coffee, either. We arrived at the Bing Resort, to be greeted by Chris Fisher, the genial and competent owner of this little gem of a lake.

We rigged up ashore. Mats' successful formula for fishing this lake is deep and

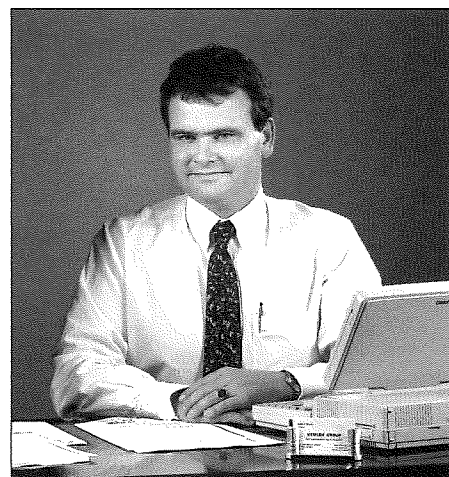
dead slow. I never argue with success. Full sinking lines were the order of the day. My sinker is 8 weight, to be fished on a 9 weight rod. Mats noticed this and offered the use of an older 7 weight fibreglass he'd brought along. The action was soft enough to handle the heavier line, and a lighter rod gave promise of more sport with the speckles I anticipated catching. The night before, noticing I was down to about four feet of tippet left on the sinker, I'd tied on another three feet of 3x tippet to provide the seven feet or so necessary for terminal tackle when trolling for speckles.

I wanted to catch big fish that day, so I tied on the biggest fly I had in my box, a No. 2 woolly bugger, dark olive with a black tail — as much leech as woolly bugger, I've always thought. This is my favourite fly. It looks alive in the water, even when

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motionless. It has a fatal attraction for bass, but I'd never used it for trout. Before showing off, and I still don't know why I did this, I asked Chris if he had a net and could we could borrow it. He did, and we did. This prescient impulse proved a godsend later on.

We were fishing by eleven o'clock, Mats doing the navigating, skilfully positioning boat and lines to take advantage of the lake's structures. We took three fish and released one in fairly short order. I'd just asked Mats the time — noon, he said, time for lunch pretty soon. That's when the fish struck the lure. He had amazing power. Nothing flashy, nothing on top of the water — his sole strategy was to get back to the deeper part of the lake.

For most of the time, the tip of Mat's noodley old rod was pointed straight down and submerged. I was trying hard to raise him, but with 3x tippet on the business end, I soon realised this would not be a brief encounter.

Within a few minutes, I was sure I'd hooked a lake trout. The way he fought reminded me of struggles I'd had with his distant cousins in Beaverlodge Lake, forty-odd years previously. For two springs, I fished for lakereels with spinning tackle around the edge of receding ice in that far distant lake. You could see them coming to the

canoe through the crystal clear water for thirty feet or more, straight down, kicking up sand, rubbing their heads along the bottom trying to shake the spoon.

After about half an hour, Chris came by to see what all the excitement was about. We'd hooked the fish a few yards off the end of his dock, below the beautiful log home he's constructed overlooking the lake. When he saw that this struggle was far from over, he went ashore, returning in a few minutes with a camera. Helmsman Mats, meanwhile, had eaten lunch, all the time keeping the boat well positioned away from the fish. I felt badly for Mats, he wasn't getting much fishing time in for himself. I don't know how the fish felt, but this was beginning to take a toll on me. My forearm and wrist were stiff, sore and losing strength. I was changing hands frequently to get momentary relief. I was beginning to win, though, regaining backing, then line, foot by foot.

By now I was concerned that the hook would work its way through the lip. Within sight of the boat, the fish made one last long run. Finally worn down, I led him alongside. We knew there would only be one chance to net him, and Mats lifted him cleanly out of the water. Fifty-five minutes after it began, the struggle was over. In the

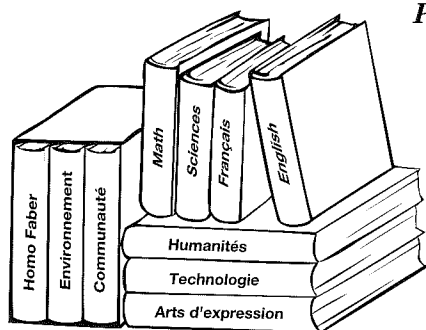
boat, with the line slack, the hook almost fell out of his mouth. This was one fish I was going to keep, but as always, there was remorse at killing such a beautiful creature.

We went ashore to weigh and measure the catch. On scales legal for trade, 7 lbs. 10 ozs., length 27 inches. Chris explained that some lakereels had been accidentally introduced along with planted speckles some years ago. This was the biggest one taken to date, and as far as he can recollect, the biggest fish yet to come out of Horseshoe. While a lakereel this size is far from a trophy fish, I decided it was a trophy for me — the biggest fish I've caught on a fly so far, and the biggest from Horseshoe.

My fish is now in a taxidermist's freezer, awaiting resurrection next spring, when I'll see him again in all his glory. I'll find room for him somewhere in our home, to remind me of an outing on a perfect early fall day, the good fellowship of fishing and how I broke the jinx of Horseshoe Lake. ☺

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Books in Review / Critiques de livres

Mandarin and The Last American Aristocrat
reviewed by James Trottier

Malcolm MacDonald: Bringing an End to Empire
reviewed by David MacKenzie

MANDARIN: The Diaries of an Ambassador, 1969-1982 by Nicholas Henderson; Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London 1994. 517 p. \$29.95

THE LAST AMERICAN ARISTOCRAT: The Biography of Ambassador David K. Bruce by Nelson Lankford; Little, Brown & Company, Toronto 1996. 484 p. \$39.95

Reviewed by James Trottier

James Trottier is the Deputy Director of the South Asia Division. He has had postings in Bangkok and with the Permanent Mission to the UN in New York.

"Mandarin" and "The Last American Aristocrat" record life at the glittering heights of diplomacy rather than at the coal-face where most of us labour. "Mandarin" contains the diaries of Sir Nicholas Henderson, an eminent British ambassador; "The Last American Aristocrat" by Nelson Lankford is a biography of David Bruce, an equally distinguished American envoy. Henderson and Bruce were respectively the quintessential British and American diplomats of their generations. Both served as ambassadors in each other's capitals as well as in Bonn and Paris. Both books have much to say about the craft of diplomacy as practiced by two grandmasters.

As a career diplomat, it is unlikely that Sir Nicholas would have reached the eminence he achieved if he had served in the American Foreign Service where foreign service officers are overshadowed by political appointees. By the same token, it is almost certain that David Bruce would not have achieved the same success if he had been in the British Foreign Service; Bruce entered diplomatic life in middle age from the private sector and took on his most prominent ambassadorial assignments well after the British Foreign Office (FCO) retirement age of sixty.

Sir Nicholas's career was that of the classic Foreign Office fast tracker. After graduating from Oxford, he mixed service in the Private Office of several Foreign Secretaries (an almost mandatory stop in the FCO for the ambitious) with foreign postings.

"Mandarin" covers the period from 1969 to 1982 during his terms as ambassador to Warsaw, Bonn, Paris and Washington, DC.

In contrast, David Bruce was not a career official though he became that rare creature — a political appointee respected by foreign policy professionals. Born into the Virginia gentry in 1898 and educated at Princeton, at twenty-three he married Ailsa Mellon, the heiress to the third largest fortune in the United States. Though ultimately ending in divorce, the marriage allowed him to lead a gilded lifestyle. "No one loved the good life more than David Bruce. Stylish, sophisticate, avid world traveler and lotus eater extraordinaire, he passed his fortieth birthday in gilded satiety." The one thing missing in his early years was a fulfilling occupation. In fact he was well on his way to becoming a Fitzgeraldian dilettante; an early background check from the defiantly puritanical FBI described Bruce as somewhat lazy since he had never had "a strong incentive to direct and continue his efforts in productive work."

Bruce became that rare creature — a political appointee respected by foreign policy professionals.

Bruce was rescued by World War II. He had a "good war", as one of the founding members of the legendary OSS — forerunner of the CIA. After the war, he parlayed his OSS experience and mystique into an unprecedented string of major overseas appointments — under 6 presidents — beginning at the age of fifty-one as the Marshall Plan representative in Paris. He followed this up with assignments as ambassador to Paris, Bonn and London as well as US senior delegate to the 1968 Paris peace negotiations with the Vietnamese and as the first American emissary to the People's

Republic of China. This series of appointments ended in 1976 upon his retirement as US Ambassador to NATO at the age of seventy-seven, only three years before Sir Nicholas' first retirement at the much younger age of sixty.

Henderson's "Mandarin" is a continuation of the behind-the-scenes glimpse of the machinery of power provided by his earlier book "The Private Office" describing the inner workings of the Foreign Secretary's Private Office. Both "Mandarin" and "The Last American Aristocrat" provide an intimate view of ambassadorial life and work in several capitals.

The books describe the appeal of diplomatic work at an exalted level. This passage about Bruce could equally be applied to Henderson: "But the narcotic of being the personal representative of the president, of executing the foreign policy of the republic, in fact, of helping fashion that policy ... these were the real reasons he tolerated the sacrifices to private life."

These two books describe issues handled and the wide range of individuals — famous and obscure — encountered in an ambassador's day. Serious policy issues such as European integration, German rearmament and the Falklands crisis jostled for the envoys' attention with social responsibilities. Glittering dinner parties in Paris set the stage for complex negotiations on British participation in the European Airbus project. Both accounts demonstrate the crucial role of the diplomat on the spot in guiding itinerant delegations around diplomatic shoals.

Much ambassadorial time, energy and care was devoted to visiting dignitaries, often unappreciated by the recipients. Henderson describes the 1973 visit of Prime Minister Ted Heath to Bonn with all the attendant planning and advance work. Two years later, there is a very different visit by Ted Heath, now just a Tory member of Parliament, having lost not only the election but the leadership of his party. Instead of state dinners, he ate solitary meals. He invited Henderson to a restaurant where he proved uncharacteristically loquacious, helped along by ouzo.

"Mandarin" also deals with the interaction between ministers and officials. Henderson describes a meeting between British and German delegations: "The ministers sit opposite each other. They are flanked by officials ... The officials rarely intervene. Occasionally if the minister is getting something entirely wrong one of his officials will lean forward over the table and say something like: 'Secretary of State, if I may say so, I think that is entirely right. But I would also suggest that you have in mind as well another aspect of the problem, namely...'" A *Yes, Minister* moment.

Like Sir Nicholas, Bruce had to deal with fellow citizens seeking to treat his embassy like a hotel. "Thousands of our compatriots really seem to think that an American Ambassador is stationed abroad to run a non-stop entertainment (almost entirely at his or her expense) for visiting transients." A group of lawyers arrived in London demanding to meet the Queen. "When Bruce failed them, their leader denounced him as a model of the Ugly American diplomat."

Observing Bruce and Mary, his wife, stand in one receiving line for five hours, a journalist concluded that requirements for diplomatic life included "hands of steel, no bladder and an infinite capacity for saying, 'Yes, indeed' when what he means is 'I never heard such nonsense in my life.'"

Despite the distractions, both envoys always maintained a focus. "Indeed, his [Bruce's] ability to surf without effort across a punishing schedule of frivolous sociability while ... focused on the crucial issues of American policy awed his subordinates and gratified his superiors ... he worked hard during office hours, played long nearly every evening, and often stayed up late to compose his distinctive cables. If he did not arrive at the embassy at dawn ... his night-time labors more than compensated."

As a career official, Henderson retained his position from one administration to another but he still had to adapt. He and other officials were warned to be on their guard after Labour came to power in 1974. "We representatives from abroad, received an unpleasant warning about our reporting ... we must temper our reporting on how London's new policy looked from the European capitals so as to avoid giving offence to our present political masters. We must not give the impression of being too pro-European. It was for ministers to decide policy. I bridled at what seemed to me to be a form of suppression upon which I was given a personal reprimand about being too outspoken in what I said to ministers, and too pro-European."

During the Falklands crisis, Henderson was exposed to the formidable Margaret

Thatcher's distrust of the FCO: "the PM veered the whole time towards being uncompromising, so that the rest of us, and in particular the FCO participants, constantly found themselves under attack from her for being wet, ready to sell out, unsupportive of British interests ... Did the Foreign Office have no principles? ... Were the FCO prepared to hand over people who believed in democracy to a dictatorship?"

Bruce also had to deal with changes of administration. Although he served presidents of both parties, he was closer to the Democrats; a Republican Administration was something to be endured, not welcomed. Bruce did not fit into the Washington, DC of the 1950s. He later said of those years: "I found the atmosphere there depressing, mostly due to McCarthy's inquisitorial and terroristic witch-hunting activities that constitute a national disgrace and have markedly lowered our prestige as a nation at home and abroad." Nevertheless, Bruce's eminence was such that he received appointments from Republican administrations, in part to provide a bipartisan cast to foreign policy.

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Bruce had to deal
with fellow citizens
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Henderson noted the importance of public advocacy in Washington, DC and the nervousness of his staff about his involvement in it. "When I asked for advice ... on what I should say if I got a question on this or that subject, the answer was invariably on the lines: 'Well, I should be extremely cautious; better say nothing if you can; if you have to say something I should stick to generalities.' ... The next line of retreat of the officials is to suggest that I refer the audience to some statement that was made in the House of Commons some time ago: 'That will show that you are saying nothing new,' they say triumphantly." In the end, Henderson's skill in media relations turned out to be crucial in winning American support during the Falklands war.

Bruce's relations with his staff were correct, protective and loyal though somewhat detached; considered to be a shrewd manager of his own time, he dealt directly with only a few key staff members. Although unabashedly elitist, he chose his

subordinates on merit; staff were delegated much authority.

Bruce cultivated a calm, deliberate manner; like the celebrated Talleyrand, "he had long learned to cultivate a kind of studied languor that irritated the second-rate." And like Talleyrand, he favoured "civility over spontaneity, reflection rather than impulse, diplomacy rather than aggression, negotiation behind closed doors rather than orations to public meetings." He undoubtedly shared the sentiment of Winston Churchill who remarked on the diplomatic language employed to declare war on Japan: "When you have to kill it costs nothing to be polite."

One of his former officers said that the best ambassadors "shared with David Bruce the quality of equableness. There were never 'catastrophes' in their professional lives — there were difficulties, and ... they set about quietly to overcome them. Above all, they reserved their time and attention for essentials; and they knew how to use their staffs." What Bruce considered essential was maintaining close contacts with the great and powerful. Bruce was particularly close to Jean Monnet, godfather of today's European Union; he was the key American supporter of Monnet's plans for European integration.

The experiences of Henderson and Bruce diverged as a result of the difference in international standing of their two countries. In Bonn in the 1970s, Henderson dealt with an economic power on behalf of a weaker state in economic difficulty. In contrast, the title of the chapter dealing with Bruce's tenure in Bonn ("Proconsul on the Rhine") reflects American predominance in the 1950s.

But power is not static. Bruce experienced firsthand the relative decline in American stature during his subsequent assignment to London. He was appointed by President Kennedy as ambassador to the UK after being on the short list for Secretary of State. He went on to serve for longer than any other American envoy in Britain. On the surface the appointment seemed a perfect match for Bruce, a committed Anglophile. But while his tenure was generally successful, he found himself increasingly embroiled in the controversy engendered by the Vietnam War and the resulting serious challenge to American authority. He continued to defend American policy in Vietnam despite his own growing doubts about the war.

As ambassador to the USA, Henderson dealt with the American colossus as the Carter Administration coped with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and was overwhelmed by the Iran hostage crisis. He encountered the new Reagan team in their first flush of power. He describes trying to

win the support of a senior State Department official during the Falklands crisis. "He seemed immensely detached. I suppose that's the impression British diplomats gave a century ago when we were a great power and some lesser country sought our support."

*Not for the British,
the Canadian way of
unofficially pushing
senior officials into
retirement by a
progressive withdrawal
of responsibilities.*

Henderson learned about the peculiar habits of the denizens of Washington including an incredible self-absorption and an inclination to immediately interrupt meetings with lengthy phone conversations. No sooner had Henry Owen, Carter's Summit Sherpa, said how much he was looking forward to meeting with Henderson than Owen took a call from his German counterpart, Horst. Owen proceeded to talk non-stop on the telephone for the next 30 minutes. "Indeed he went on and on, and Horst seemed to have no chance of getting a word in. It was all very polite, even charming, but I began to wonder whether Owen was not a bit unbalanced, at any rate on this subject ... So [after 30 minutes] there was nothing for it but to get up and leave. Owen was still speaking on the phone, his eyes closed, as if he was talking in his sleep, so I do not think he saw me go." Henderson concluded that in some cases it was better to telephone than to visit in person.

Sir Nicholas actually retired twice. The first time was after his Paris posting, having reached the mandatory FCO retirement age of sixty in 1979. Like Winston Churchill upon leaving office, he "felt like a diver too quickly hoisted. Not that for me there was any surprise. The date had been fixed for the ending of my career." Not for the British, the Canadian way of unofficially pushing senior officials into retirement by a progressive withdrawal of responsibilities.

Then, unexpectedly and very unusually in the British Foreign Service, he was called out of retirement, by the new Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, and sent to Washington from 1979 to 1982. Henderson was informed that other retired ambassadors would be furious. This is denied by others:

"On the contrary he, and everyone with whom he had discussed it, were delighted. It would help towards breaking down the rigidity of the sixty-year-old retirement rule."

In contrast, Bruce obtained his major appointments in his sixties and seventies. Periodically, between posts, he withdrew to his Georgetown townhouse or his country estate. Over seventy when he left London, a few months later he accepted another assignment as chief US delegate to the Paris Peace Conference. However, it became evident — even to Bruce — that in his last appointments, particularly at NATO, he was no longer well enough to undertake the arduous responsibilities of the positions.

Bruce was held in high esteem by his peers. "The combination of immense personal appeal, stamina, style, and probity, of being steadfast no matter how unpalatable his assignments, made Bruce the indispensable diplomat ... the model for a generation of foreign service officers, the essential man. Not surprisingly, many career diplomats, schooled in contempt for presidential appointees, have said simply, "He was one of us." A particular strength was that he was a "consummate listener"; Bruce believed this to be an essential quality in a diplomat.

Henderson's diaries do not deal with his inner life; in his introduction, he says this is by design. Similarly, by background, generation and inclination, David Bruce was not one to reveal his state of mind or soul to the world. While his privileges and wealth did not protect him from personal tragedies including the apparent and unsolved murder of his daughter, his biographer is left to speculate on the effect such events had on him.

In a recent review of the Bruce biography in the British journal the Spectator, Sir Nicholas Henderson provided a suitable description of both Bruce's and his own legacy. He said that in describing the qualities which had allowed Bruce to make a difference to events, Lankford "answers by implication the question frequently raised, whether, in the modern world ... a diplomat can still play a crucial role in the conduct of international affairs." Both these books leave no doubt that this is the case. Their subjects would have agreed with another former British diplomat, Michael Shea, who recently observed in his own book — with the tongue in cheek title "To Lie Abroad" — that a country with global interests "should be represented globally".

In the end, the best epitaph for both men and the fulfilment, excitement and pleasure they found in their careers and the passing pageant — "the obligations, responsibilities and hazards that are incurred as well

as the much publicized glitter" in the words of Sir Nicholas — is that cited by David Bruce himself in leaving his last post at NATO, namely *Et haec olim meminisse juvabit* ("Someday perhaps we'll look back on this and laugh").



Clyde Sanger, MALCOLM MACDONALD: BRINGING AN END TO EMPIRE, Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995, 498 p. \$49.95

Reviewed by David MacKenzie

David MacKenzie teaches history at Wilfrid Laurier University. His most recent book is Arthur Irwin: A Biography.

In many ways Malcolm MacDonald lived a charmed life. Although not born into a wealthy family, as the son of Ramsay MacDonald — Labour leader and future prime minister — his early life was filled with interesting and increasingly well-connected people. He moved into the political career opened by his father and his father's friends, and, in probably the most intense and exciting decades of modern British history, he was able to witness great political events by day and dabble in the artistic and theatre worlds by night. Later he

*He never had to
wash the dishes,
make a bed, or take
out the garbage.*

moved into international diplomacy and went from one senior post to another without ever having to climb the ladder of success or do the humdrum work of a foreign service officer. Moreover, in a largely separate life, he nourished a love for bird-watching, accumulated an outstanding art collection, and wrote books about the birds and people he knew. He was optimistic and bright, friendly and good natured, and he lived into old age with his family and friends around him. Along the way, it appears that he never had to wash the dishes, make a bed, or take out the garbage. His only continuing disappointment was his failure to develop into the serious writer that he had hoped to become. Everyone should be so lucky.

Clyde Sanger's new biography *Malcolm MacDonald: Bringing an End to Empire* weaves together the many threads of this fascinating and intriguing man. Sanger brings the right credentials to the job. An adjunct professor of journalism at Carleton University, he has travelled widely in and written extensively about Africa and Asia, and he demonstrates an understanding of the many complex issues that MacDonald faced at home and abroad. Sanger does not fully plumb the psychological depths of a man who was constantly on the move and was prone, in odd and potentially embarrassing moments, to tip heels over head and walk on his hands, but he does portray MacDonald as an honourable and decent man without pretence.

MacDonald's resume is impressive. After a stint at Oxford he began his political life at the age of 23 as a Labour candidate in the election of 1923. Two election defeats and an around-the-world debating tour followed before he finally won a seat in 1929, the same election that saw his father become prime minister for the second time. MacDonald supported his father in his break with the Labour Party in 1931 and, in 1935, the junior MacDonald was brought into the cabinet as Colonial Secretary by the new prime minister Stanley Baldwin. Other posts followed, including a stint as Dominion Affairs Secretary, which dropped MacDonald in the middle of difficult negotiations with the 'stubborn but charming' Irishman Eamon De Valera. Thanks to a mixture of skill, charm, and a shared interest in bird-watching, MacDonald was able to lead the negotiations to a successful conclusion.

With the coming of the war and the rise of Winston Churchill, MacDonald's life took an interesting turn. Relations between the MacDonalds and the Churchills were always somewhat strained, and the new prime minister shipped MacDonald off to Canada as High Commissioner. Wartime Ottawa was hardly the centre of the universe, but this appointment began a new, and ultimately more fulfilling, career in diplomacy. MacDonald soon found himself playing various roles as observer, confidant, and counsellor to the Canadian government and, in particular, to Prime Minister Mackenzie King.

In 1946 MacDonald chose not to return to politics in Clement Attlee's new Labour government and accepted an appointment as Governor General of Malaya and Singapore. It was a decision he never regretted. In different roles as Governor General of Malaya, Commissioner General for South-East Asia, and Governor of Kenya, MacDonald became embroiled in countless diplomatic negotiations, colonial problems, aid programs,

and the slow and often painful preparations for colonial independence. The chapter on MacDonald's years as High Commissioner to India at the time of the Suez Crisis is especially good. MacDonald almost broke ranks with his own government over its mis-handling of the situation, but it fell to MacDonald, nevertheless, to repair relations with the Indians in the aftermath. These years in Asia and Africa are the heart of the book.

*MacDonald's role in
the decolonization of
the British Empire
was his greatest
contribution to
political and
international affairs.*

Inevitably there are a few problems. Sanger's canvas is vast and his brush strokes are broad, and as MacDonald moves from one trouble-spot to another, the book gets

a little bogged down in detail. At different times MacDonald vanishes from centre stage as the background of a colony, or the history of a troubled relationship, or the personal biography of an individual is laid out for the reader. Readers of **bout de papier** might be especially interested, as I was, in the Canadian chapters and MacDonald's part in awakening Canadian interest in the north or in the development of atomic energy, but Sanger has few surprises to offer. Those readers, for example, who pick up the book hoping to find new insights on the Gouzenko spy case might be disappointed.

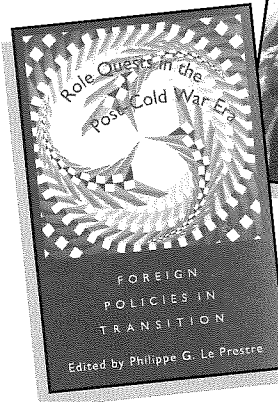
Malcolm MacDonald's role in the decolonization of the British Empire was clearly his greatest contribution to political and international affairs. This solid biography convincingly demonstrates that MacDonald brought to the job the right balance of talent, temperament, and integrity to have both a creative and positive impact. As for MacDonald himself, one is left with the impression that, despite being surrounded by interesting people, dozens of close friends, and a loving family, he was, if not a lonely and isolated man, then at least something of a loner. Perhaps he wasn't so lucky after all.



BOOKS FOR THINKERS

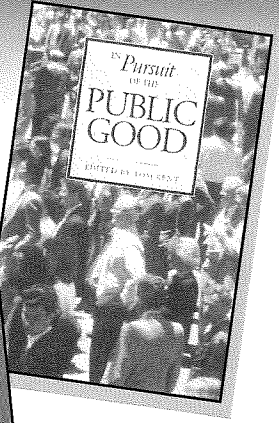
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Shanghaied Again!!

Another Asia-Pacific puzzle from A Aalto
(with clues on how to solve it)

The Puzzle

Ace logician LDC Liebnitz burst into the office of the Centre's archivist, Dryan Tweedie, his vigorous entrance raising clouds of dust from the shelves and cabinets that flanked his friend's desk. "Tweedie," he said urgently, "I need your help on a case." Coughing wildly, the archivist gestured him to a chair. "Of course, Liebnitz," he said. "What's up?"

"We just got a report from Mabel Stanley," the logician replied. "She's in Shanghai with her grunge group, Edible Granite. She was approached yesterday in the Huxinting Teahouse by an old Chinese man, a retired gardener named Ah Q, who said he had a message for the Centre. His mind was wandering a bit — he thought Mabel was her grandmother Barbara Undershaft, who worked for us in Shanghai between the wars. Mabel does look like her. The man said he worked with Major Undershaft's network on something called Operation Jester in 1927. The operation was a success, but the local criminal syndicate, the Green Gang, uncovered the network as a result and broke it up. Ah Q was left with some object important to the operation, but was unable to get in touch with anyone from the Centre to discuss it, and has kept the object hidden ever since. He told Mabel that it was near one of the network's contact points, but when she pressed him for details, he suddenly tensed at the sight of an approaching policeman, passed her a slip of paper with the cipher message: ISP VZUHRD XEIS ISP LJUHRD'Y ED ISP GEDP DPUJ ISP YSJEDP, and disappeared into the night."

"Without background, Mabel was stymied — and so am I," Liebnitz went on. "I don't even know whether to take the case seriously. Does it ring any bells with you, Tweedie?"

"Dear Mabel," mused the love-struck archivist, gazing off with a fond smile on his face. Then he snapped to attention. "Of course we must help her at once. Operation Jester ... yes, I think I remember a file of that name in the Unfinished Business cabinet." He disappeared down a gloomy corridor, returning shortly with a folder bound in fading red tape. He leafed quickly through the pages, then placed the file in front of the logician.

"Let me summarize for you, Liebnitz," he said. "In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist army was approaching Shanghai, then held (except for the foreign settlements) by warlord Sun Chuanfang. At that time the Nationalists and the Communists were allies, but Chiang was about to break the partnership by force. To take the city, the Nationalists needed the help of the Communists under Zhou Enlai; once that was done, Chiang wanted to move against them. But Zhou lived in the French Concession, protected by extraterritoriality from Chinese action. So a deal was made with the Green Gang. The Chairman of the Municipal Council, Stirling Fessenden, would be killed under highly dramatic circumstances, poisoned at the Shanghai Costume Ball, and evidence planted to implicate the Communists. As a result, the Council would turn a blind eye when the Gang took action against Zhou and his colleagues."

"The Major stumbled across this plot in the course of another operation, but the Centre's presence in Shanghai was top secret, and she was forbidden to contact the authorities. So she had to plan direct action. She learned that the poison would be put in one of the two antique cups taken to the head table at the Ball for the toast to the King. One cup was from the imperial residence in Hangzhou, the other was from a medieval apothecary's guild and marked with its symbol. The poisoned cup would go to Fessenden, the other to the Green Gang-affiliated businessman who was his co-host. Which cup would have the poison would only be decided on the day of the ball. To make sure that information got through, the Major told her inside man at the Green Gang to pass it to all the members of the network, as soon as the decision was taken."

"The network had three men and three women, numbered one to six; each had a different code-name and cover occupation, carried a different passport, and had a different contact site. Each knew how to contact some members of the network but not others. (The Major was not one of the six; as the field director she did not normally carry out operations.) When the Green Gang informant sent his final message to the network, he enciphered it as ordered. But he misunderstood the other part of his orders:

instead of passing the whole message to each member, he divided it in six parts and sent one part to each member. In order to get the full message, the Major had to get data from all six."

"So she asked network member #1 to initiate a "circle call". Member #1 called another member, who called another and so on until the call got back to #1. The circle call was set up so that each member would be called once and would make one call (there is only one way this can be done). By coincidence, the pieces of the ciphered message from the Green Gang informant fit together in the same order as the circle call: member #1 had the first piece, the member who made the last call had the sixth, etc."

"The rest was played out at the Ball. The Major arranged for a man named Ah Q, an employee of the Centre but not a member of the Jester network, to be hired as a waiter. It must be the same Ah Q who met Mabel. The Green Gang waiter who was to serve the special cups of wine to the head table was coshed in the corridor and Ah Q took his place. When he got to the head table, he gave the poisoned cup to the Green Gang boss and gave Fessenden the safe one. When the gangster refused to drink, people the Major had planted at the ball began to shout "poison". The boss ran out in panic and the whole plot dissolved. The Gang later wiped out the Shanghai Communists anyway, but Zhou and other key leaders were able to escape."

"The Green Gang took its revenge for Operation Jester. When the Major's inside man cracked, he fingered everyone in the network. Even the Major barely escaped with her life. Ah Q just disappeared into the crowd, and we thought until this week that he was dead. But I do know what he has hidden. The antique cups, which were recovered and returned to their owners, were valuable enough. But the carafe from which the wine was poured, given by a Ming emperor to the missionary Matteo Ricci and decorated with the imperial symbol, was almost priceless. Stolen many years earlier, it had been brought to the Ball by the Green Gang leader. The Major, who was attending the ball in disguise but was by training an antiquarian, recognised it and decided to try and restore it to its owners. But she was

under close observation by the Special Branch and couldn't keep it herself. So she took it from the sideboard during the chaos after the poisoning attempt and gave it to Ah Q with instructions to hide it until contacted. He in turn seems to have been waiting, ever since that night in 1927, for contact from a network that no longer existed. He's 90 now if he's a day, and he must have seen Mabel as his last chance to keep faith. So we'd better try and find it. What do you think, Liebnitz?"

"The whole affair reads like Hollywood," replied the logician. "Do we have anything on the individual members of the network and their contact pattern? How about the famous message from the Green Gang informer?" Replied the archivist, "When the network collapsed, all its local records were destroyed. And the major had a temporary breakdown which affected her memory of the events. All the Centre was able to put together is the following (code names in capitals)." He handed Liebnitz a piece of paper.

.....

(a) Mme LITVANOFF, member #1 of the network and the person at the start and end of the circle call, could contact only the policeman, the woman with the bookstore, and the man with the Japanese passport. Her part of the message was "ISP GPZZPI XEIS". (b) Network member #5 was contacted at an apartment on Kiangse Road (decorated with aluminum bamboo and other metal plants). She could in turn contact only the reporter (at the Mingxing establishment on Guizhou Road). Her part of the message was "ISP WSUZEWP VJRK". (c) Ms HAHN, network member #4, was a fortune teller. She could contact only the actress, the man with the Chinese passport and Mr DUKE. She was contacted in the lobby of the anonymous grey building at 185 Foochow Road. (d) Mr UCHIYAMA could contact only the woman with the French passport (in the forest shrine near the old Jesuit cathedral on the Route de Zikawei) and the woman with the White Russian papers (whose part of the message was "MJPX ISUIEY IJQP"). His own part of the message was "ISP GUZUWP SUY ISP". (e) The Catholic priest, who was network member #6, was contacted at a store on North Szechuen Road (near the writer Lu Xun's house on Shanyin Road) and could contact only Mr JACQUINOT, the woman with the British passport and network member #3. His part of the message was "ISP GREYRD'Y ED ISP". (f) The man who was contacted at an office on Nanking Road (above a Chinese herbal doctor's) could contact only the layman

with the American passport and Miss RUAN. His part of the message was "APYYPZ XEIS ISP GPYIZP";.

.....

"That's more like it," said the logician. "Okay, let's say that Ah Q used the same Operation Jester cypher as the Green Gang informant — a simple alphabet substitution. Is there anything else we know about the code, Tweedie?" Replied his colleague, "The Major did note one coincidence — if you put together the first letter of the code names of the six members of the network, in order from #1 to #6, and treat them as a message in the Operation Jester cypher, then it deciphers as DRAGON."

"Wonderful! That makes it easy!" said Liebnitz, who proceeded in short order to sort everything out and determine the location of the missing flask.

How Does He Do It?

"Easy??" fumed Tweedie after Liebnitz had cabled Mabel where to look. "I have seldom seen a more laboured and confusing report, and you just toss off the answer. I wouldn't know where to start or how to proceed. How do you do it?" His friend replied, "It's all a matter of how you look at these puzzles. Would you like me to explain how I solved this one, for example?" At the archivist's nod, he continued. "The first step is to separate out the puzzle itself from all the junk around it. Most of the stuff you told me is interesting but much of it is irrelevant to the solution. The second step is to see how many puzzles you are actually dealing with, and how they connect. You do all this by considering your goals. Here the goal is to find the flask. To do that, you have to break the cypher. To do that, you need to work out the order of the circle call. To do that, you need a table with everyone's name, network number and other data — especially the identity of the people they can contact. So you start with the table and work your way up, paying attention only to the information you need for each step and ignoring the rest."

"Now, all the information you need for the table is found in the six clues (a to f), plus the confirmation that there are three men and three women, and the fact that each had a different code-name, cover job, passport nationality and contact site. Create a table with the network numbers (#1 to #6) along the left side and the categories of information across the top (code name, passport, job, contact site and the network members each can contact). Then fill in the table using the information from the clues. Much of this will be by deduction, often by elimination. For example: the code name

of member #6. He is a man (inter alia because he is a priest), so he is not LITVANOFF, RUAN or HAHN. He cannot be JACQUINOT, since Jacquinot is listed as one of his contacts, and he cannot be UCHIYAMA, since UCHIYAMA has only two contacts and the priest has three. Member #6 must thus be DUKE. Continue in this manner until the table is complete."

"Once you have the table set up, look at the contact information in the last column. With this data and the fact that there is just one way to create a sequence of calls starting and ending with member #1, in which each member is only called once and makes only one call, you can determine the order of the circle call. (It may help to draw six dots in a circle, number them and connect them with arrows representing the contacts possible for each member.) This will give you the correct order of the original cypher message."

"Only now should you worry about the cypher. All you need is the two messages (they can be deciphered together, since they use the same cypher), the first letters of the network code names in order (which you will recall form the cypher-equivalent of DRAGON) and some knowledge of the alphabet substitution cypher. This cypher is probably the simplest around: each letter of the alphabet is replaced by another, consistently through the message. Thus for example if A=X, B=Y and C=Z, then the message text word CAB would always be ciphered as ZXY."

"So to solve the cypher, first write down the two messages in big letters with space between the lines. Also do a table with one column of letters from A through Z (these are the letters as they appear in the ciphered text) and an adjacent blank column (for the corresponding actual message letters, as you find them). The first thing you can put in the second column are the letters D-R-A-G-O-N, each letter beside the letter from the code-names to which it corresponds. Then go to your copy of the cypher messages and put in all the Ds, Rs, As, Gs, Os and Ns underneath their corresponding letters in the cypher text. From there, deduce what the missing letters are. Hints: (a) The most common letter in an average English text is E. In addition T, A, O, N, I, R, S and H are usually common, although in a message this short there may be exceptions. (b) The most common two-letter combination is TH. (c) Look at the short words, especially those of one or two letters — there are comparatively few possibilities. (d) Keep an eye out for double letters, which make a word easier to guess."

"Finally, look at what you have deciphered and work out what it means. The original Green Gang message is of largely

historical interest, but the message that Ah Q passed to Mabel, plus the information that it refers to one of the network's original contact sites, make it easy to deduce where Ricci's flask has been all these years."

"In a way, Tweedie, the key thing about these puzzles is that they are much like life, where the important elements of a problem are so often lost in a jungle of unnecessary data and a complexity more apparent than real."

The Challenge

Can you duplicate Liebnitz's feat by providing: (a) for each member of the network, their own membership number, code-name, cover occupation, passport nationality and contact site (a single street-name will do) plus the network membership numbers of those whom they can contact; (b) the order of the circle call by membership number, beginning and ending with #1; (c) the text of the two deciphered messages; and (d) the location of the Ricci flask. **bout de papier** will decide the winner by drawing from a box containing all correct entries received by September 15th. The winner

will receive a CD of Tuvan throat singing (the national music of Aalto's homeland) and a book on 1920s China.

As a further challenge, but not necessary for the entry, do you know: (a) the identity of the original Ah Q; (b) the force in which Ms Undershaft was a Major; and (c) the 1955 movie whose plot bears a certain resemblance to the events at the Costume Ball?

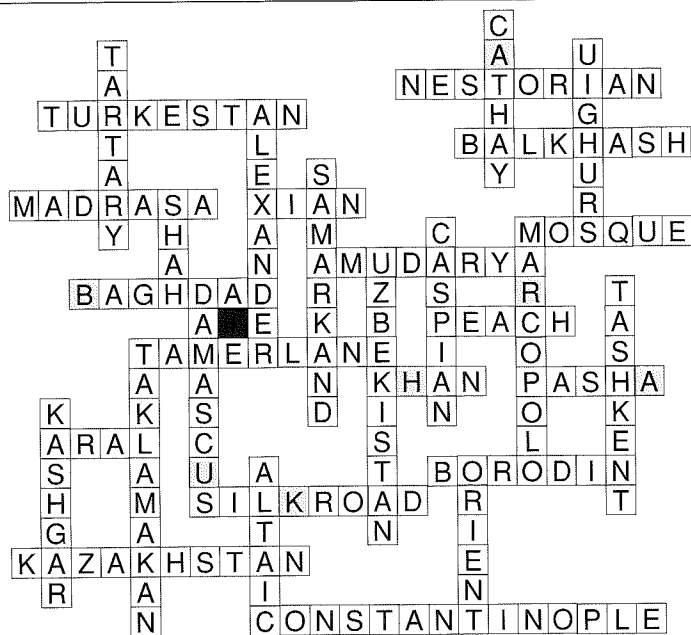
Free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto is still in Asia, working with Edible Granite. Concerned at indications that his puzzles are getting too tough, he hopes that Liebnitz's discussion will help interested readers. Most of the Shanghai names used in this puzzle are of real people, and the general political/military situation in 1927 was not far from what is described. But the story of "Operation Jester" and the events surrounding it are of course pure fantasy. (In real life, for example, Fessenden made a secret deal directly with Green Gang leader Du Yuesheng to suppress the Communists, which was carried out once the Nationalists had taken the city.)

ON THE STEPPES OF CENTRAL ASIA: ANSWERS

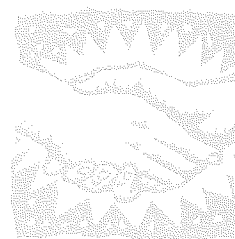
The Edible Granite concert was in BUKHARA, Uzbekistan.

The thirty-two words in the skeleton were as follows: ALEXANDER, ALTAIC, AMU DARYA, ARAL, BAGHDAD, BALKHASH, BORODIN, CASPIAN, CATHAY, CONSTANTINOPLE, DAMASCUS, KASHGAR, KAZAKHSTAN, KHAN, MADRASA, MARCO POLO, MOSQUE, NESTORIAN, ORIENT, PASHA, PEACH, SAMARKAND, SHAH, SILK ROAD, TAKLAMAKAN, TAMERLANE, TARTARY, TASHKENT, TURKESTAN, UIGHURS, UZBEKISTAN, and XIAN.

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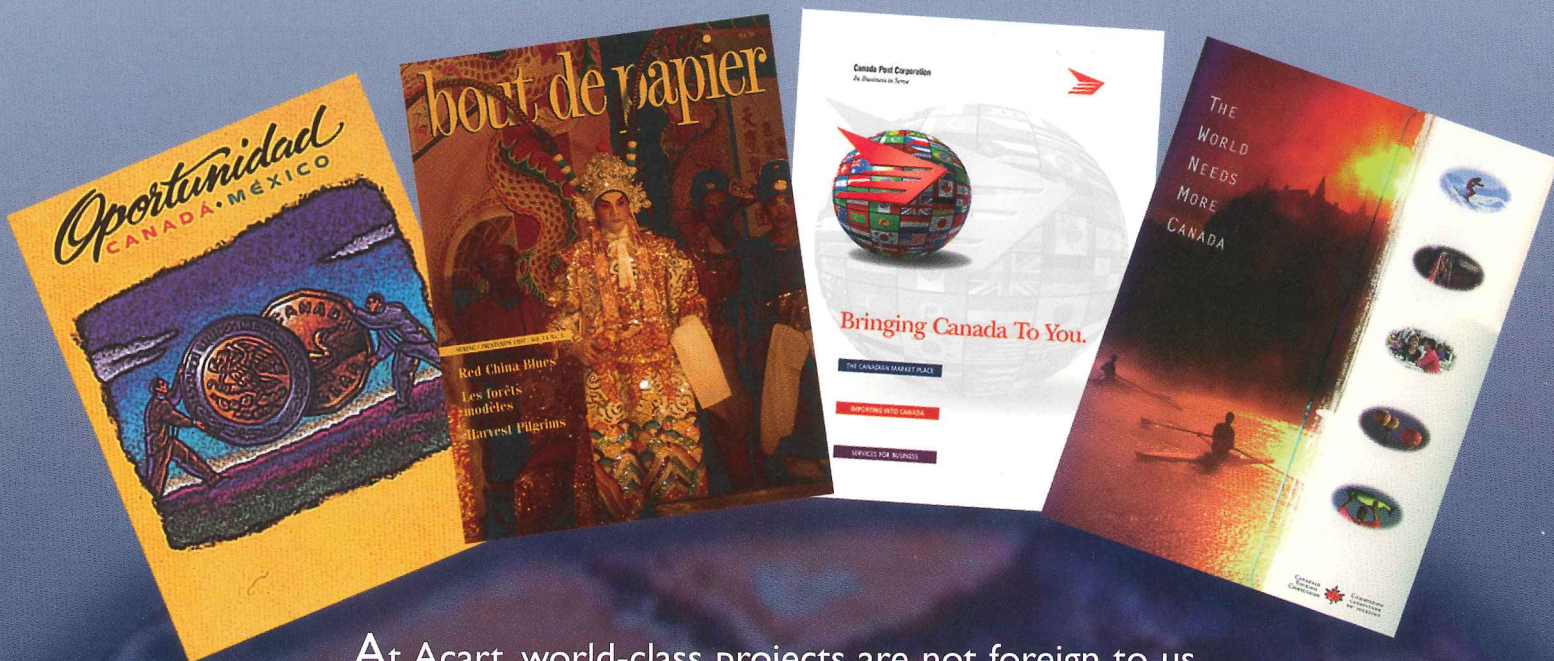


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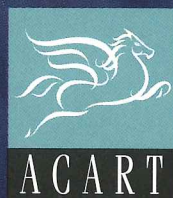


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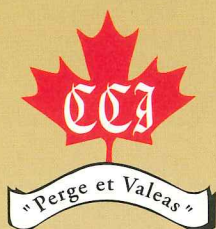
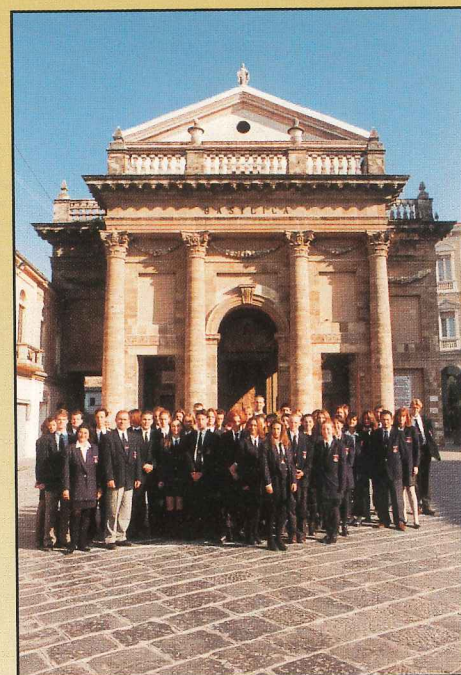
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