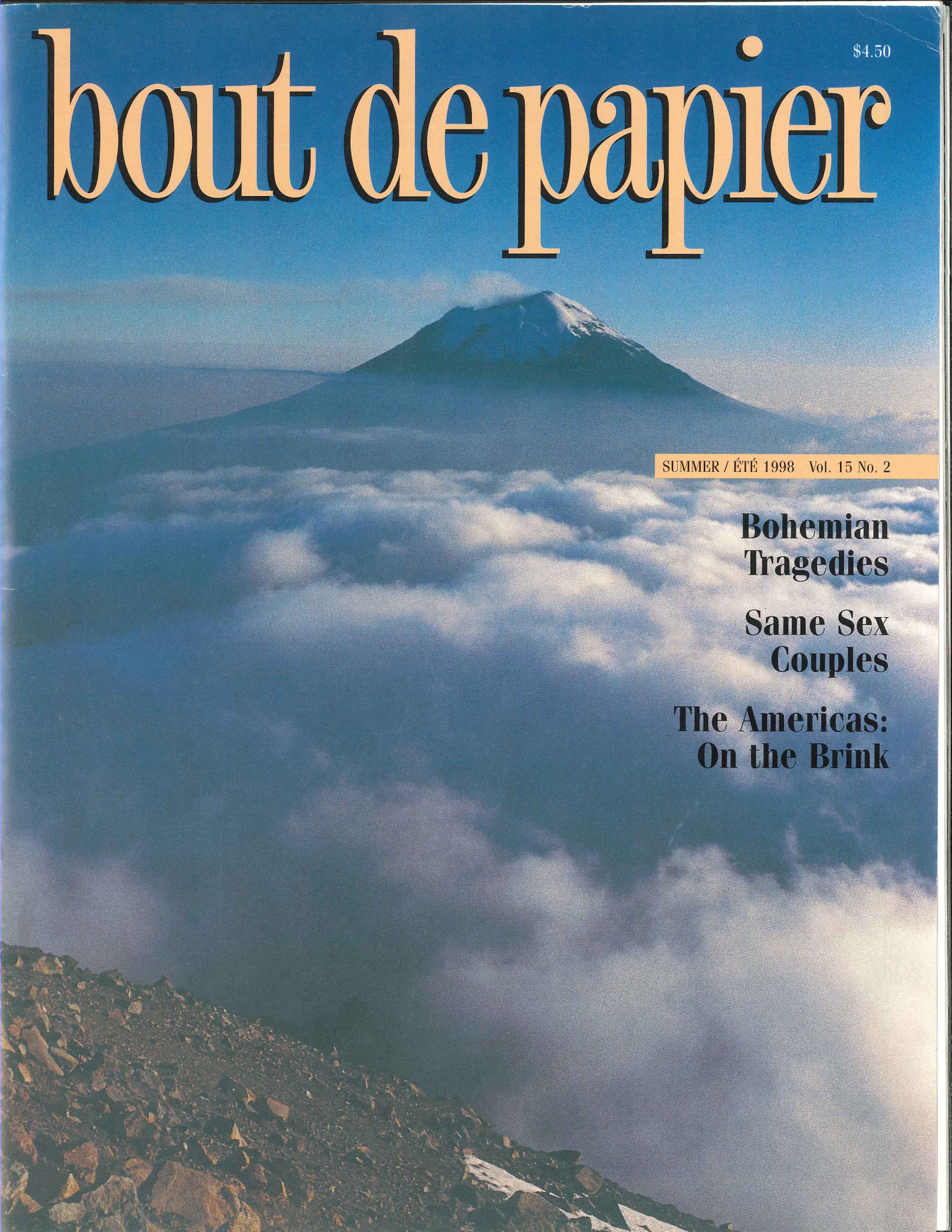


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**Bohemian
Tragedies**

**Same Sex
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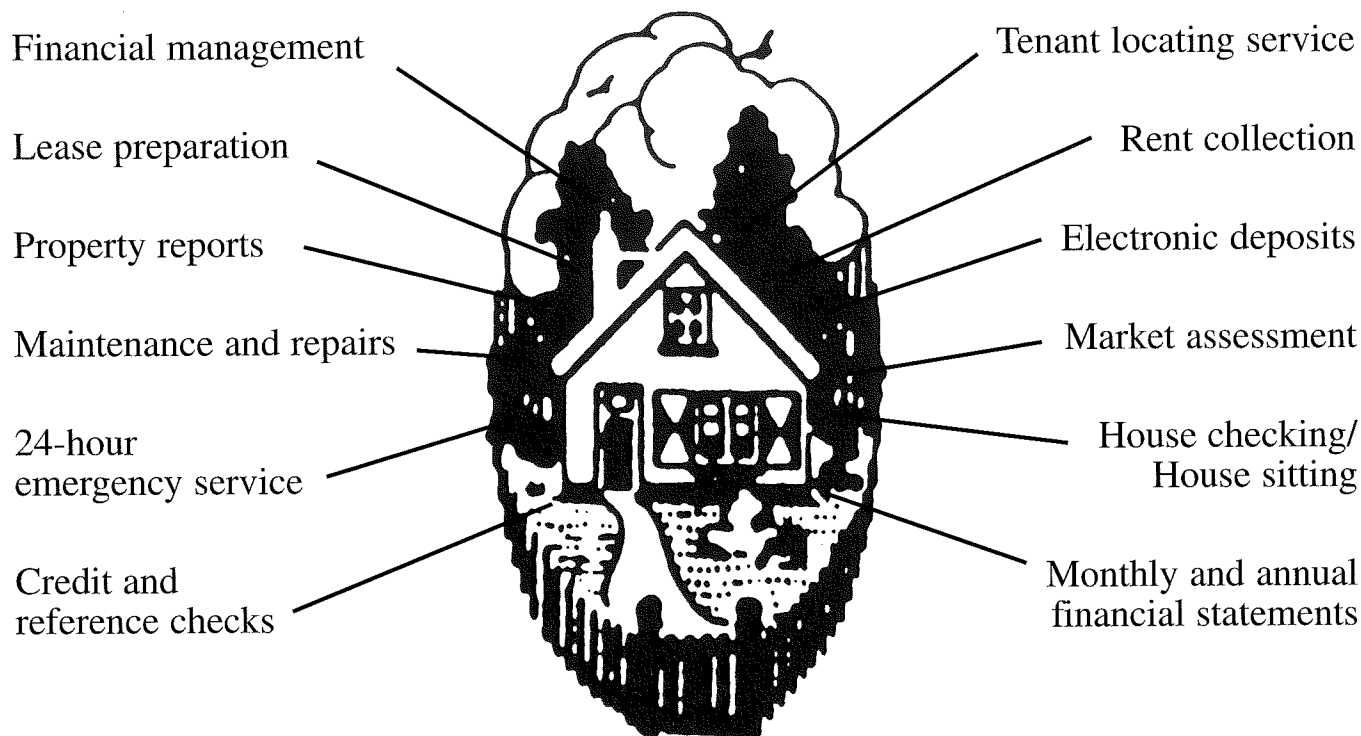
**The Americas:
On the Brink**

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*Our cover photo by Nicholas Coghlan is
Popocatepetl from the slopes of Ixtaccihuatl.*

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Editor's Notebook / Carnet du rédacteur

This issue of **bout** focuses on two disparate parts of the globe: Central and Latin America and the Czech Republic. And, in between, we look at Canada's Foreign Service — from recruiting to relocation into the Pearson Building to same sex couples.

David Bickford reflects on the relationship Canada has had with Central and Latin America since the beginning of our diplomatic ties — how it has waxed and waned according to events in other parts of the world. And, how Canada now appears to be "On the Brink" of enhanced bilateral and multilateral relationships. This theory is further reflected through the thoughts of OAS Ambassador Peter Boehm and his recent address to the Ottawa Branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs: "The Road to Santiago", the recent OAS Summit. To complete our Latin American trilogy, our *Travel to Far and Wide* takes us up to the dizzying summits of Mexico's volcanoes, courtesy of Nicholas Coghlan. Most will agree that better him than we.

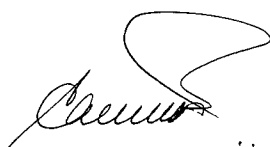
Two excerpts from our archives mark significant milestones in the history of the former Czechoslovakia. The first is an account of the funeral of Jan Masaryk, Foreign Affairs Minister and son of former Premier Tomas Masaryk, in 1948 by the chargé at the Canadian Legation. The second is a series of telegrams, newly declassified for publication in this issue, of the Soviet invasion of Prague in August 1968. Forget the instant news of CNN — these messages evoke powerful images even 30 years later. Rob McRae contributes his memories of his last encounter with Czech President Vaclav Havel. We also have a review of Rob's new book, "Resistance and Revolution: Vaclav Havel's Czechoslovakia", courtesy of Secretary of State David Kilgour.

bout Board member Hector Mackenzie has shared with us an extract from his paper on the recruiting practices at Foreign Affairs, highlighting what went on — and how one got in — during those early days when Mike Pearson *et al* joined the Department. Early recruits toiled in the East Block and the old Post Office on Sparks Street, no doubt as crowded then as are those who ply their skills in the Pearson Building today. If you have ever wondered why the cubicles are airless or about the works of art adorning the public areas, Gordon Brown's behind-the-scenes details of its completion and official dedication will provide the answers. We also pay tribute to the late John Halstead,

military and diplomatic veteran, nationalist and teacher, through the words of his friends, Jake Warren, Ferry de Kerkhove and Colin Robertson.

In 1995 a foreign service officer won a landmark case at the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal about equality for same sex partners. I thought it was time to survey our colleagues to see if things had changed. **bout** Board member and foreign service spouse, Liza Linklater, acted as the conduit for submissions. That there were only two from members — who both requested anonymity — to me speaks volumes: the situation for same sex partners has not undergone a radical transformation, yet. Nonetheless, one of our colleagues provides some thoughtful comparison with other foreign services which may prove something of a surprise.

An issue of **bout** appearing on desks marks the end of the publication cycle and time to start on the next. We develop the lineup, gather together book reviews, solicit or confirm advertising. Our graphic designers, Acart, then begin their production magic. Photos, graphics, screens, fonts — Acart really pulls rabbits out of hats to be creative within our budget. The master magicians are Al Albania and Nancy Bolland, two of a triumvirate without whom the editor would be completely and totally lost. The third is, of course, PAFSO's Debra Hulley — Managing Editor (an all-encompassing title which includes advertising manager and unpaid volunteer). These three are primarily responsible for the *look* of **bout**, with a little help from the editor (who is responsible for the words, including any and all errors). To them all I owe a tremendous vote of thanks, it has been a fascinating and enjoyable experience. However, after three years on the Board and the last one as editor, I must now relinquish this role for an overseas assignment in ...Prague. (Our plans for a Czech focus were well in place long before my posting came up, but perhaps it could be the beginning of a trend for editors-to-be...) To my successor, Neil Reeder, I wish the same degree of enjoyment as I have had. To our contributors and readers, thank you for continuing support.



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The Lester B. Pearson Building:

A Silver Jubilee



by J.C. Gordon Brown

In September 1972, I took over the newly-created branch of the Department of External Affairs called the Bureau of Communications and General Services — identified for short as ACP — reporting to Larry O'Toole, the assistant under-secretary for administration. By far the most pressing task of ACP was to ensure the smooth move of the Department into its new headquarters, the building which was to be given the name of Lester B. Pearson. This responsibility came my way because it was a function of the Central Services Division — one of the four divisions that made up the bureau — to look after accommodation and furnishings at headquarters. My part in the project was small, concerned

with logistics and cosmetics rather than with construction, and limited to the last nine months before the Department's move when the building was already firmly set on its massive podium on Sussex Drive, its complex form and character delineated in brown granite aggregate.

Over the sixty years since External Affairs had been created in 1909, the staff of the Department had grown from a few clerks into a professional organisation, two thousand of whom were stationed at the headquarters in Ottawa. From the early duties of looking after passports and a few representatives abroad, and channelling correspondence between the Canadian Government and the Colonial Office in London, the Department had evolved into a service respected abroad and admired even at home.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the Department was located in the East Block of the Parliament Buildings which it shared with the Prime Minister and the Privy Council. When the bureaucracies of the two central agencies of government burgeoned, External Affairs was forced to expand elsewhere. In the 1940s, the Department moved divisions into the New Post Office at the corner of Sparks and Elgin Streets and the Daly Building — once a department store and now razed, east of the Chateau Laurier — while the Passport Office took up quarters on Sparks Street. Other accommodation farther from the Hill was added in later years. By the 1960s, when the Langevin Block — across Wellington Street from the East Block — had become the site of the major divisions of the Department, the

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demands of Parliament and the Privy Council for office space bordering the Hill led to the location of External Affairs in its own building. It seemed a good idea to the departmental establishment, despite the fact that the Department would be situated farther from the antechambers of power.

Construction began in 1970 on the site across Sussex Drive from the National Research Council. Rather than a single building, the design provided for a cluster of four blocks of varying height and mass joined by a central reception hall, grand in scale and two-storeys high. The planning of the headquarters building had been meticulous. Parameters were set forward in the first place by the Department of Public Works (DPW) which, as the "landlord's agent", would remain responsible for the building even when External occupied it — and beyond, if the Department were to move elsewhere. External Affairs was consulted in detail about its special requirements by DPW and then by the architects — Webb, Zerata-Menkes of Toronto — and the building contractors, The Foundation Company of Canada. As the construction advanced, it was necessary to focus on the realities that had been created in steel and mortar to satisfy these requirements. To the credit of all those who had been involved in the planning — especially the project manager, Bill Rankin of DPW, and Malcolm Grant, then director of Central Services Division of External Affairs — there were few unpleasant surprises that necessitated major adjustments during the fleshing out of the building.

Inevitably there were to be problems caused by failings such as overstated space demands and lack of imagination in the use of new office technology.

Inevitably there were to be problems caused by failings such as overstated space demands and lack of imagination in the use of new office technology, and unforeseen "warts" that grew on the linear external fabric to accommodate an extra tube or exhaust. Other concerns arose from the interior

"landscaping" of the building which had been imposed by contemporary DPW doctrine. To meet the objections of staff to the lack of privacy in the unaccustomed open spaces of general offices, we provided movable partitions; when these were installed, the spaces were converted into ugly mazes, moving people to complain that their view of the outdoors was impaired. Others argued against open landscaping on security grounds and forced the construction of separate offices; as most of these were located on the interior side of corridors without windows — and with poor ventilation because the air conditioning system was designed with the open landscape in mind — the solution proved as objectionable as the problem.

From the outset of planning the move to the new headquarters, it was evident that we should conduct a programme of information on the building to familiarise the staff with its features and achieve acceptance of it. Tours were undertaken weeks in advance of the move of each major division with the staff being polled after these visits to identify problems. The location of the headquarters on a street that did not enjoy direct bus service from most parts of the capital region of Ottawa and Hull was a major concern to be addressed. Of the

Department's staff at headquarters, more than half were "non-rotational": they did not go abroad and were permanently based at headquarters. For them, the changes of daily routine, indeed of life-style, that were to be imposed by the move were much more dramatic than for the rotational personnel.

Begun in mid-June, the move of divisions to the new building continued at the pace of two or three every weekend until mid-August. The official opening had been set earlier for the 1st of August, when Queen Elizabeth would be in Ottawa for the first Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting ever to be held in Canada. Planning for the ceremony was well underway in April. As the Queen wished to make a speech of tribute to L.B. Pearson during her visit, it followed that she should open the building.

Plans were soon made and approved and we turned our minds to the preparation of the Queen's speech which would be one of only two that she would make during her visit to Canada. The first draft of the speech was largely the work of Geoffrey Murray who had been close to Mr. Pearson — especially on United Nations matters — and had been the principal spinner of words for the foreign policy review of 1970. By mid-June, the text had been approved by the Minister,

Mitchell Sharp, passed for clearance by the Prime Minister and transmitted to the Palace.

The details of the programme now dominated my time. Fortunately, I was able to obtain the services of an assistant, Kay Peterson, who, as the day neared, became the departmental voice to the press and broadcasting media about the event, for which coverage promised to be intensive.

After the announcement was made of the programme for the August royal visit, including the Pearson Building ceremony, requests for places at the opening flowed in. The first was from the Honourable Paul Martin, External's Minister a few years earlier, who wanted a "ticket" for a former executive assistant. We put together a folder of information for the press and a thinner version which was to be given to the guests at the ceremony. Some arrangements went well: the lawn areas around the building were sodded in time and the platforms required for the seating were quickly built on top of the large planters at the front entrance. A military band was organised and banners readied. As the event neared, a huge CBC camera and sound team was deployed and the red carpet was readied for unrolling. In her small office, Kay Peterson briefed journalists — including

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the star anchor of the CBC News, Lloyd Robertson — most of them sitting on the floor, taking notes.

*Of all its attributes,
however, none drew
more public attention
and fire than some
of the pieces of
“fixed” art.*

It rained on the morning of the ceremony: the seating outside the front entrance had to be adjusted to avoid drips. I watched the arrival of the royal party from the ninth floor balcony and looked down on the half-hour ceremony in which Queen Elizabeth delivered her speech. A trumpet fanfare sounded the formal opening of the building. Moments later, I was at the ninth floor bank of elevators to greet the Queen who was accompanied by Mitchell Sharp. We walked along the balcony, pausing to look at the

Gatineau Hills while Prince Philip and others arrived. Inside the reception area waited over a hundred members of the Department specially selected by their peers for the honour of seeing the Queen. Mr. Sharp led Her Majesty along the line of those standing on the right while the Under-Secretary, Ed Ritchie, introduced Prince Philip to those on the left. All was soon over and the Queen descended to the front of the building to conclude the ceremony and depart.

In the run-up to the opening of Mr. Pearson's building, it was suggested that somewhere in it, a plaque bearing a replica of his flowing signature be displayed. It occurred to me that on the coming 10th of September, it would be 25 years since Mr. Pearson became Secretary of State for External Affairs in the Cabinet of Prime Minister Mackenzie King. Financed by those who had served in the days when LBP was Minister, the plaque was the building's first commemorative tablet.

By the time that the Queen had opened the Pearson Building, its architecture and setting had been widely accepted by people in the capital region. Of all its attributes, however, none drew more public attention and fire than some of the pieces of “fixed” art which were provided as part of the

construction programme and approved by DPW's advisory committee on art.

Of the nine works, the four pairs of sculptured bronze doors by Robert Hedrick, which were set in the glass walls of the lobby entrance, gained the widest approval. About others controversy arose. Even Arthur Handy's planes of sheet metal, painted deep red, that formed a sculpture outdoors between two wings of the cafeteria, were provocative though not in plain view. It helped that Handy had a modest sense of the importance of his work, engagingly described by him as representing nothing but “three-and-one-half tons of f***ing steel”.

Few were aware of the *Inuksuk*, a cairn on a near-human scale that was created by Oseotuk of Cape Dorset of loosely piled stones from the Arctic, where similar figures stood on the featureless shores as temporary landmarks for travellers or markers to direct the migration of caribou. Our *Inuksuk* was located outside in the garden of the conference area, overlooking the bridge to Quebec. Because the cairn's stones were held together only by gravity, it was vulnerable. On a Saturday, driving towards the bridge, Pamela McDougall of the Department saw a naked man embracing the *Inuksuk*. Across the bridge, Pamela reversed direction to alert the

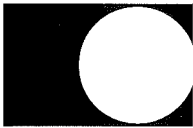
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security guards. Nonplussed, they warned the man off after persuading him to put his pants on. Although only a few pieces of stone had been dislodged in the attack, the attempted rape was enough to persuade DPW to bring the *Inuksuk* indoors, and to bolt its pieces solidly together.

Although only a few pieces of stone had been dislodged in the attack, the attempted rape was enough to persuade DPW to bring the Inuksuk indoors, and to bolt its pieces solidly together.

The most prominent — and most exco-riated — fixed work of art was Robert Murray's sculpture which was located in the courtyard of the main entrance of the building. Crafted from a single strip of steel plate, twice the bulk of a contemporary Cadillac limousine and painted in blue epoxy, the curved and angled product was inexplicably entitled "Haida". Unfortunately for its fabricator, the sculpture was set up in front of the Pearson Building just as the City Fathers of Ottawa decided to adopt a by-law requiring dog-owners to pick up after their pets. As the shape of the sculpture resembled that of the tool that dog lovers would employ, "Haida" was quickly renamed "The Poop Scoop".

The Poop Scoop became an object of such cutting derision that the official art establishment, DPW and the Government itself felt the wrath of the unwashed. On the eve of the Queen's opening of the Pearson Building, a Liberal Member of Parliament suggested that Mitchell Sharp "get rid of that blue piece of metal" before the Queen saw it. Mr. Sharp agreed that "there is an understandable difference of opinion about that particular thing". When Prince Philip spotted it during the opening ceremony, he quipped to Ed Ritchie: "Is that something that the builders left behind?" The *Ottawa Journal* editorialised that it was time "to stop gouging the taxpayers for this sort of trash".

The last significant "fixed" work of art was a memorial to Lester B. Pearson.

DPW's Fine Arts committee invited artists to compete for a memorial that would be located in the entrance foyer. It was made clear that the memorial was to symbolise Mr. Pearson's role in the Department, his accomplishments in international affairs that gave Canada its high place in the search for peace and security; in a word, it was to commemorate Pearson from 1928 to 1957. Ten artists were invited to submit "maquettes" which were considered by the DPW art committee. Charles Gagnon's proposal was deemed the one most faithfully reflecting the aims of the competition. An oil mural entitled "Timescreen/Thoughtspace", it consisted of quotations from Pearson's speeches and highlights of his career set in three panels against a grey/white/black background. Gagnon spent over a year painting the mural which was unveiled on June 11, 1975 by Mrs. Maryon Pearson.

The mural was closely examined in the days that followed. Like many others who had known Mr. Pearson, our former minister, Howard Green, came by for a look and indicated his approval. The Department's librarian spotted a misspelling of "turbulence" in the text and the Bilingual Adviser and his staff conducted a search of the French words, ferreting out other mistakes.

I recalled that, moments after unveiling the mural, Mrs. Pearson had found that the name of her hometown, Winnipeg, was misspelt. But these were small blemishes in a huge canvas that gained in favour as the days and months passed.

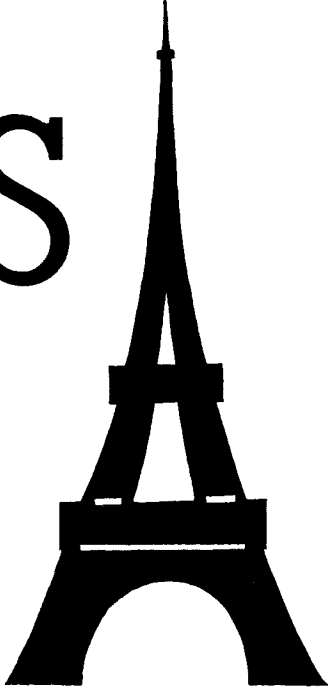
The highlights of my responsibility for the Pearson Building over the three years as director-general of ACP were the move of the Department to its new headquarters, the official opening by the Queen and the placing of the memorial mural in the building. I was involved in much more detail than I had reckoned for. My involvement was also deeper because Ed Ritchie was unfailing in his attention to the image of the Department as reflected by the building and constantly in touch with me on matters that seemed to tarnish it — or might burnish it. His pride in the building and concern for the welfare of the staff were at once goads and props to me in my job. By giving me his backing and the authority of his position in many dealings with outside departments and agencies, he made my work at once easier and more rewarding. ☺

J.C. Gordon Brown was a member of the foreign service from 1947 to 1979, stationed abroad in Switzerland, South Africa, Soviet Union, Congo, Cyprus and Seattle.

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THE LAST TIME I SAW VACLAV HAVEL

by Rob McRae

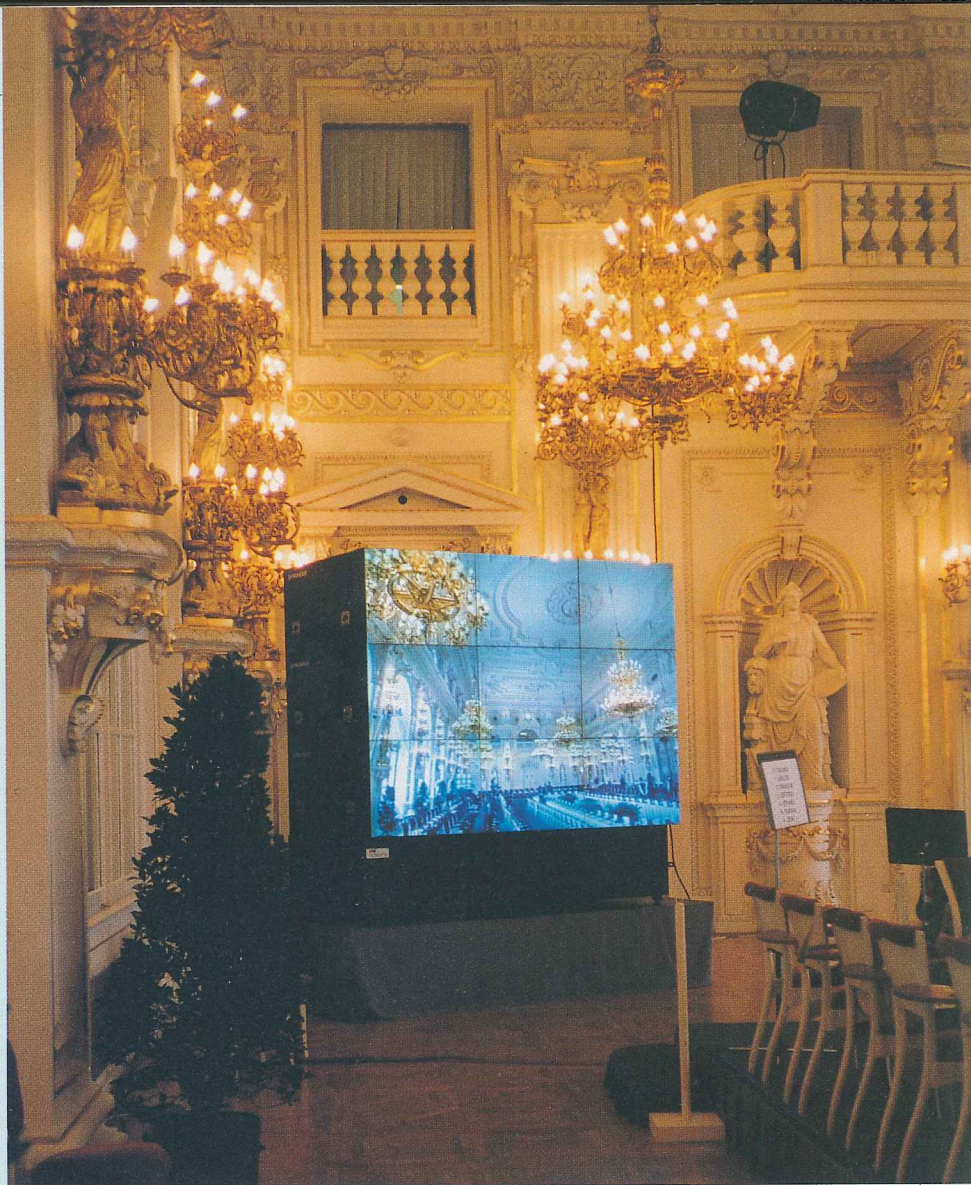
It was a warm and sultry evening in Prague as I ran across the flag-stones and through the inner courtyards of the Castle. I was late for what was going to be one of Vaclav Havel's most interesting forays into what could only be described as transcendental diplomacy. He had decided to invite the greatest minds of the age to Prague to discuss nothing less than the fate of the Earth. This was to be a major Havelian happening, and I was late.

The opening ceremony was taking place in Vladislav Hall inside the Royal Palace. This vast hall rose into vaulted gothic arches unchanged from the days when knights attended assemblies here by riding into the hall on horseback. This was the same hall where Bohemian kings were traditionally crowned, and where Havel had first been installed as President of Czechoslovakia on December 29, 1989. How much had happened in the years since, not least the disappearance of Czechoslovakia.

Now, as I showed my pass to the palace guards and was ushered into the waiting assembly, I could not help reflecting on my luck: not only to have lived through a revolution, but to be present at what would be Havel's attempt to sow the seeds of a new, global revolution. But before a minute had passed inside Vladislav Hall, heralds and coronets trumpeted the arrival of the President and there was an expectant hush in the crowd. Havel entered from a side door and strolled down the centre aisle. He looked very serious and very Presidential. As he passed by, somehow I could not summon up the requisite amount of deference. I still remembered our talks in his apartment, glasses of Jack Daniels in front of us, and Havel crawling under his desk, looking for a cigarette.

Havel was followed into the hall by Elie Wiesel and a procession of the great and the good. Over the next few days, Havel and Wiesel (a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize) would co-chair "Forum 2000". This Forum, a global version of Havel's 1989

Civic Forum, was made up of Nobel Prize winners and well-known thinkers, writers, scientists, politicians, religious leaders and artists. The opening ceremony in Vladislav Hall was replete with solemn statements from Havel and Wiesel and music by Czech composers, including an ethereal performance by the Prague Children's Choir. But the highlight for me was the end. After Havel walked back out of the hall, the participants in the Forum followed. That was when I saw the Dalai Lama, dressed in a saffron robe and sandals. He was walking down the aisle with this fantastic smile on his face, looking at everybody as he went by. It was both child-like and infectious. You couldn't help smiling back. He had written somewhere about the importance of smiling as crucial to instilling peace of mind. Then suddenly he seemed to be looking for someone: he turned around and, seeing Shimon Peres, went over to him to take his hand. Peres and the Dalai Lama walked up the aisle, hand in hand, smiling all the way, to the delight of the crowd.



Left: High tech in the Spanish Hall
Right: New World Street

The next morning, Havel convened Forum 2000 in another of the Castle's spectacular halls, a gold-and-white baroque fantasy called the Spanish Hall. On just one stretch of the round table in the centre was Helmut Schmidt, Shimon Peres, Jordan's Crown Prince Talal, the Dalai Lama, and Bosnia's Haris Silajdzic. In fact the whole table was crowded with well-known figures from all walks of life.

A number of themes emerged during the following three days of debate, all of which reflected a profound preoccupation with "globalisation and its discontents". But there was also time for a little intellectual tourism. During one of the evening events, a concert of avant-garde Czech theatre and music, I chatted at length with Thor Heyerdahl. I had read "Kon Tiki" as a young lad, and Heyerdahl remained for me one of the great adventurers of the 20th century. He was ancient now, but still full of his own iconoclastic theories, including one about the migration of oceanic peoples from the Pacific Islands to the West Coast of Canada. There even seemed to be a plan to build boats to prove it!

Havel opened the Forum by sharing his concerns about globalisation, concerns which had been growing as he travelled the world in his official capacity. He had witnessed first-hand the increasing polarisation of rich and poor, the human impact of unending population growth, the poison of ethnic hatred, the physical deterioration of the environment, the insidious spread of weapons of mass destruction, and the emergence of huge cities that destroyed natural communities and bonds. "I see a large, yet typical paradox for our era, in the fact that though contemporary humanity has been aware of these dangers, it does almost nothing to confront or avert them. It is my deep conviction that the only option is for something to change in the sphere of the spirit, in the sphere of human conscience, in the actual attitude of man towards the world and his understanding of himself and his place in the overall order of existence". Havel's hope was that such an understanding would lead to the development of what he called new models of behaviour, new values and new life objectives, which would imbue existing institutions and laws with a new spirit.

Havel said that when he asked why humanity was confronted with such threats, he always came to the same conclusion: a lack of accountability to the world and responsibility for it. But where did that lack of responsibility come from? Havel believed

that our social organisation seemed to legitimise the pursuit of particular interests as something healthy and as a contribution to the national good. Yet those who pursued what he called "universal" interests, such as the environment or inter-generational equity, were marginalised as impractical idealists. This erosion of idealism was particularly worrying at a time when many people were playing up the differences between the great religious systems, differences that were feeding political and armed conflict from the Middle East to Africa, South Asia and the Balkans. Tribalism had become the flip-side of globalisation.

The paradox was that the first truly global civilisation was atheistic, in fact the first atheistic civilisation in the history of mankind. It fuelled the pursuit of individual interests and short-sighted calculations, having lost any rootedness in the transcendent. But this anonymous global civilisation not only encompassed increasingly fractious religious beliefs, it inspired reaction. Global integration had forced the world's religions into uncomfortably close quarters. In Havel's view, this mix of rootless globalisation and religious intolerance was generating global irresponsibility.

Havel asked "whether the way out of the current bleak situation could not be found in the search for what unites the various religions and cultures, in the search for common sources, principles, certitudes, aspirations, and imperatives". He believed that the only way to stop what appeared to be the perpetual motion of contemporary civilisation was an existential "prise de conscience" which revealed the spiritual and moral roots common to all cultures. Havel hoped that this *existential revolution* would come about of our own will, rather than be provoked by some unprecedented disaster.

Havel then asked the Nobel Laureates whether his prognosis and prescription were correct. The assembled leaders and thinkers responded with three days of sparkling debate, circling around the following key themes:

The Clash of Civilisations: There was a heated discussion about Samuel Huntington's book of this name, with virtually everyone disagreeing both with the analysis and



with the conservative, seemingly xenophobic, nature of Huntington's conclusions. The consensus of the Forum was that there was in fact a set of core values that were common to all religions, and that the challenge was to build understanding between religions. Jordan's Crown Prince Talal argued forcefully to the effect that Huntington's thesis seemed to legitimise the creation of destructive cultural blocs, when this was precisely the time to show generosity of spirit and work toward a new international humanitarian order. But the Prince went on to remind the group that if we were to focus on the core values enunciated by Havel as a way of overcoming religious and cultural differences, we would

values, actions, and Havel's concept of responsibility. Listening to this Buddhist leader from Tibet speaking in a medieval cathedral, "shared values" became tangible.)

Health and Quality of Life: Claude Jasmin claimed that the growing concern for health issues everywhere was a newly integrating factor globally. The aids epidemic had forged bonds of solidarity between medical practitioners around the world. As for future trends, what was new and becoming a major preoccupation in the medical community was the importance of quality of life considerations, especially in the West. Quality of life was increasingly taking priority over the prolongation of life at any price. Jasmin said that quality of life



impoverished societies, not of the West. But now our confidence in the victory over microbes had been shaken by the HIV pandemic, Hantavirus, Ebola, and antibiotic-resistant tuberculosis. Lederberg said that humans were engaged in a global struggle with microbial competitors, which were armed with every imaginable trick of genetic adaptation. The influenza epidemic of 1918-19 was the single biggest demographic event of this century: it killed 25 million people in one year. Yet there has been no preparation for the inevitable return of this strain. Indeed we were more vulnerable today due to crowding in cities and the speed of contact.

The Use and Misuse of Politics: Shimon Peres warned the Forum that politics was for politicians, who always sought glory, blinding people with old stories. Economic development, however,

benefited people, since it provided the means for them to achieve their personal goals. Today, there were new opportunities to learn and lead productive lives, regardless of religion and class. Hazel Henderson (futurist, Worldwatch Institute) criticised this view, arguing that the new "economism" had become the leading ideology of the age. The shift from politics to economics was often, just as much as in politics, about power and greed and wealth. The major concern of the next ten years was how to check the power of the new global operators, the global companies and financial players that gambled with our futures in "the global casino". Haris Silajdzic (co-Prime Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina) spoke eloquently about the fact that, though there was an increased awareness of human rights, these were violated every day around the world. What was needed to help prevent such violations was a global political consensus and shared ethics, the ingredients for which had

Forum 2000 round table

have to recognise that being contemporary was not necessarily synonymous with being Western. Core values would have to emerge from the reality of an increasingly multi-lateral and multicultural future.

The Dalai Lama said that we would only be able to overcome the threats described by Havel if we possessed sufficient self-confidence and peace of mind, for which motivation was key. The Dalai Lama believed that the right motivation was not so difficult to attain: human nature was instinctively compassionate. Education could play an important role, and it was the Dalai Lama's view that education should seek to develop an awareness of values, not simply focus on developing intelligence. (At a "Multi-religious Reflection" in St Vitus Cathedral later on, the Dalai Lama spoke movingly about compassion, the heart, and the right motivation, in a way that linked

was for the first time being measured in the medical community by a calculation of years lost due to premature death, and due to disability (both mental and physical). In 2020, the three principal causes of disability in the West would be cardio-vascular illness, mental illness, and car accidents. Jasmin was convinced that quality of life interests were going to generate another medical revolution. This would reveal the extent to which the environment played a key role. As the health-environment nexus (and by health, Jasmin meant both physical and mental health) became more clear to the public as a major factor affecting quality of life, tolerance for unhealthy and stressful environments would plummet, leading to a new and qualitatively different kind of environmental revolution.

Joshua Lederberg (Nobel Prize for Medicine) countered that the post-WWII generation had taken it for granted that communicable diseases were the scourge of



Left: Gates to Prague Castle

ethics and principles, and to enlightenment. Fritjof Capra ("the Tao of Physics") called for a revolution in the educational system. Young people should be taught how to look at the world in a more integrated way. James Lovelock (originator of the "Gaia" theory) agreed: the West was changing the chemistry of the planet in ways we did not understand. Ecological change would be sudden.

The Role of the West: Though most participants in the Forum agreed that the way to overcome religious and cultural differences was to reinforce shared values, Cornelius Castoriadis (former Director of "l'École des Hautes Études") pointed out

highlighting some of the individual themes that emerged in this one.

The last evening's "concert" consisted of selections from the works of Havel and Wiesel read by Lynn Redgrave, Gregory Peck and James Earl Jones. There were musical interludes by some of the greatest classical performers alive today, including such artists as Barbara Hendricks, backed up by the Czech Philharmonic and a 100-strong choir. While there was lots of Dvorak and Smetana, the last movement of Beethoven's Ninth blew the roof off the house.

After the concert, I met Havel for a chat. He was pleased with the way the discussion had gone, having deepened his own thinking about the enormous challenges that

to come from different cultures. Bosnia was a test case as to whether this could be done.

The Future of the International System: Serguey Kovalyov (Russian human rights activist) claimed that reform of the UN would fail, since what was lacking was a new global ideal. Kovalyov believed that the ideal of a global government was the key to progress, because it would make the UN more relevant to our publics. This ideal would be informed by the over-riding importance of human rights, reflected in a world parliament and international criminal court. Richard von Weizsacker (former German President) agreed that the UN today was totally out-moded. It had simply not been designed to deal with today's problems, such as civil war, migration, population growth, environmental degradation, pandemics, etc. Willy de Klerk pointed out that through globalisation we were all becoming citizens of the world, one way or the other. The challenge was not to force people to choose between the many dimensions that made up their identity, but to create enough space for people to be individuals and citizens of states, regions, and of the global commons.

The Key Importance of Education: This theme, first introduced by the Dalai Lama, was picked up by many speakers. Jack Lang (chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, French National Assembly) said that the innate limits of the political process emphasised the importance of culture and education for the future. Raimon Panikkar (University of California) made a similar point, but with a twist. He said that the West was always talking about development in the Third World. Was this not an overly materialistic view of life? Perhaps in addition to material development, more attention could be devoted to the development of



Czech cherubs

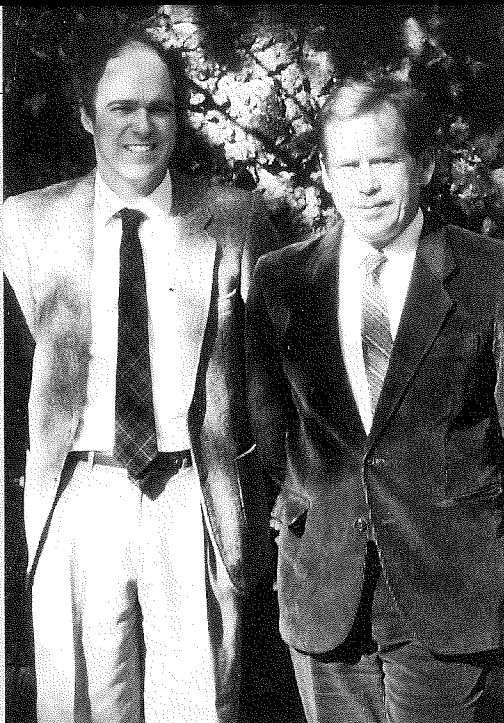
that while many religions shared the same principles, only the West had embodied these norms in secular life. The West had given them institutional sanction. It was now crucial that this impulse be re-animated, in the West itself. The negative by-products of capitalism were worse today than in the 19th century. There were two options: either to recover the creativity of Western culture, or be enslaved to economic growth for growth's sake.

There were many other issues discussed, and lots of conversations over dinner. Havel concluded Forum 2000 by describing how the many themes that animated discussion were interconnected. It was these interconnections that had been most useful in beginning to think how the threats facing mankind might be overcome. He wanted in the future to engage more women and young people in this dialogue, and suggested that the Forum might become an annual event for the next few years, each

faced us. I think it also confirmed his belief in the need for a "revolution of the spirit", as the prerequisite for so many of the other proposals made in the last three days. We then talked a little about my book, as his new wife hovered rather protectively nearby. He spoke in that same, rather direct way I first experienced ten years ago. I appreciated his solicitude. He was never one to stand on ceremony, or be impressed by status or title. But I have to admit I was now worried about his health: he seemed to have difficulty breathing, and I noticed during the conference that he tired more easily than before. Most Czechs share my worries these days, seeing his Presidency as a beacon not only of stability, but of a humane republic. The rest of us should be pulling for Havel too, given his profound insights into global change and his advocacy of *radical* action, in the true sense of that word.

It would have been easy to have been cynical about Forum 2000, and indeed some in the Czech press described it as so much pie in the sky at a time when the Czech Republic had more pressing demands. But it was precisely this mentality, forever captivated by the urgent at the expense of the important, that Havel wished to counter. The idea had been to bring together great minds and personalities, opinion leaders all, to think through the complex set of challenges that faced the globe. What lay behind this initiative was the conviction that present day practitioners were not up to the task: incremental change would not be able to avert the worst. Hence the rather dramatic idea (befitting a playwright) of tapping into the scientific, artistic, intellectual, and spiritual capacity of Planet Earth to illuminate the horizontal linkages between the various strands of our predicament and, just possibly, to synthesise a solution or two. There was reflected in this approach the belief that ideas and words mattered, that words are more powerful than the sword.

The jury is still out on that one, but it is consistent with Havel's view, expressed at various points during his career, that changes in society and the world are prefigured in the realm of language. All



Dissident days: Vaclav Havel (right) and the author in 1989

revolutions, even on a global scale, had of necessity to include a revolution of ideas, and ideals.

As to how to generate the ideals in question, Havel turned to the same kind of heterogeneous mix of personalities that had characterised Civic Forum in 1989. The

challenge, of course, is rather different this time around. Havel is not alone in his disquiet about the future of humanity, but he is uniquely in a position to engage people from all over the world in finding solutions. With Forum 2000, he has taken the first step.

But the question remains, as Havel noted in his opening remarks, whether attitudinal change will be possible without some kind of disaster to spur it on. In the meantime, most of the participants agreed that much could be done, through the re-orientation of education to engender values and eco-literacy, through intercultural dialogue, and through the development of an international humanitarian code. Immune from the periodic attacks on his idealism that has accompanied his career as both dissident and President, Havel intends to hold a series of Forums on global issues over the next few years. But it will be difficult to match the intellectual fireworks of this all-star founding session. ☺

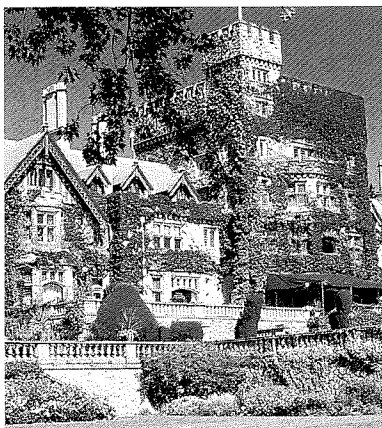
Rob McRae served in Prague from 1988 to 1991. His recent book *Resistance & Revolution* published by the University of Carleton Press provides an insider's view of the Velvet Revolution.

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The Road to Santiago

From an Address to the CIIA,
Ottawa Branch March 16, 1998,
by Peter M. Boehm,
Ambassador and Permanent
Representative of Canada to the OAS

We Canadians like to make the point that we and the Americas are geographically linked, yet historically distinct. Like all truisms, this is true...up to a point. Canada is certainly part of the Americas, but a distant part. Some regions of Canada are actually closer to Europe than to South America. On the other hand Havana is actually closer to Toronto than Toronto is to Vancouver.

Historically, Canada's connections to the Caribbean, Mexico and Central and South America are considerable. Ships from the Maritime provinces regularly traded south in the 18th and 19th centuries, exchanging cod and beer for rum and sugar. Canadian investors rushed to Mexico City, Sao Paulo and Havana at the turn of the century so that at one point, next to the United States, Canada was actually the major foreign investor in Mexican mines, where many young Canadian mining engineers started their careers.

Also at the turn of the century the Royal Bank of Canada opened a branch in Havana the same year it opened its first one in Toronto. And politically, Canada established missions in Mexico, Brazil and Cuba at about the same time it was setting up embassies in most of the capitals of Europe, in the 1940s.

There were cultural ties as well. As early as 1853 Canadian Catholic missionaries arrived in Chile, while since the 1950s many Latin American and Caribbean families have chosen Canadian schools for their children. There was even an important sports connection: in the former International Baseball League the Toronto team — then the Maple Leafs — were arch rivals of the Havana Sugar Kings. In fact one spring Fidel Castro came up to Toronto to pitch the first ball in the opening game!

These connections had, until recently, diminished in content if not in form. Links between Canada and our southern "almost-neighbours" were not born yesterday, as the fruit of some great artificial policy flourish, nor are they unnatural. I believe that we are beginning another "Americas" phase of our foreign relations. Interestingly enough in the present exchange between north and south today it is Canadian women who are leading the cultural invasion in South America — Céline Dion, Alanis Morissette, Sarah McLachlan, Shania Twain — with Margaret Atwood not far behind.

Canadian relations with the Americas do not take place in a vacuum. Canada is a country with strong transatlantic traditions and growing transpacific interests. Immigration and trade, politics and security, have until recently bound us closely to Europe, as our participation in two world wars indicated. The Cold War helped define the way Canadians looked at the world — east or west or north, but not south — or rather, not farther south than the United States. And, of course, these policies brought us close to the United States.

In practice, which is perhaps more important than policy, Canada tried to balance its connection with the United States, so near, overwhelming and similar, with an assiduous devotion to multilateralism. Multilateralism, of course, involves the United States, but a United States whose interests are balanced with those of others. From the Canadian point of view that is highly desirable. It corrects our northern astigmatism, our "American squint", one might say. We have often been criticised, even in Canada, as the world's foremost practitioner of "joiner-itis" or, in the words of one of our

former Prime Ministers, as the world's "helpful fixer".

On the positive side, however, our interest in multilateral institutions has meant that Canadians genuinely try to make them work — it is our occupational or professional deformation. Sometimes that must make Canadian diplomats seem very tedious to the outside world.

By coincidence, the end of the Cold War occurred at the same time that Canada joined the Organisation of American States (OAS). The achievement of democracy in central and eastern Europe coincided with a wave of democratic reform in Central and South America. Europe, though still close to Canada for a variety of reasons, was no longer as urgent as a focus for our policy. The Americas were no longer as distant, politically, as we once imagined them to be.

When the precursor to the OAS, the Pan American Union, was established in 1910, a "Canada" chair was created at the headquarters' conference table in Washington in anticipation of our eventual membership. We did not, however, join and in fact we waited another 62 years before doing so as a Permanent Observer.

In the meantime we did join many of the other Inter-American agencies, such as the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), in 1965 and the Pan-American Health Organisation (PAHO) in 1971.

Canada finally joined the OAS in 1990 for several reasons: the spread of democracy improved prospects for strengthening human rights and more open societies encouraged major economic reforms, thus creating new opportunities for Canadian business. Emerging non-traditional issues, such as drugs and the environment, meant that Canada could no longer afford to be excluded from the hemisphere's foremost political forum.

Canada is now a committed member of the Inter-American system. One of the indications of our expanding relationship with the region is in the area of trade. As the western hemisphere's second-largest economy, Canada depends on trade for approximately 40 percent of its gross domestic product. The fast-growing, liberalising economies of Latin America, with their structural reforms and extensive privatisation of key sectors, have created important new trade and investment opportunities for Canadian businesses.

This past January "Team Canada '98", led by Prime Minister Chrétien with the provincial Premiers and over 500 business men and women, went to Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and Chile. The results were very gratifying: many of our businesspeople and our

government leaders gained a greater understanding of concerns in this area of the world. Added and tangible benefits were 306 signed deals worth an estimated \$1.78 billion. Over 90% of the deals signed were done by Canadian small and medium enterprises.

*In the present
exchange between
north and south today
it is Canadian women
who are leading the
cultural invasion
in South America.*

Already Canada's two-way trade with Latin America and the Caribbean is more than double what it was five years ago. Canada's strong interest in advancing free trade in South and Central America through the Free Trade Area of the Americas and Mercosur has, in many respects, flowed from its positive free trade experience in North America, in terms of both the Canada-US

Free Trade Agreement and NAFTA. In addition to trade benefits, NAFTA has directed our commercial and integrative gaze southwards and shown us the benefits of dialogue between two important partners that in many respects transcends a strict interpretation of commerce between nations. Our conviction that all of this activity was to the good led us to enter into a Free Trade Agreement with a hemispheric partner even further to the south: Chile.

The Road to Santiago is not just paved with good intentions on the part of our government, the public also believes that universal integrative activity in our hemisphere is a good idea. A recent poll showed 93% of Canadians surveyed supported the FTAA.

In December 1994, Canada participated at Miami in the First Summit of the Americas. This was the first full meeting of the western hemisphere's leaders since the 1967 meeting in Punta del Este, where Canada participated as an Observer. The Miami Summit was also the first one to involve all 34 democratically-elected leaders.

At Miami's historic meeting, the leaders released a Declaration of Principles and a Plan of Action highlighting four major themes: preserving and strengthening democracy; eradicating poverty and discrimination;

guaranteeing sustainable development and promoting economic integration and free trade.

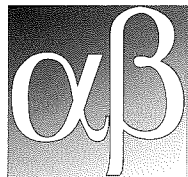
Summit participants agreed that the 1998 Santiago Summit should focus on issues where nations can make realistic progress within 2 or 3 years. They want organisations in the Inter-American system, such as the OAS, the IADB, the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and PAHO to expand their role in implementing the Summit's Action Plan. Much will fall to the OAS.

Canada's priorities at the OAS range from institutional renewal to democratic development, human rights and hemispheric security. We have also used OAS membership to promote sustainable development, drug abuse control, trade liberalisation, economic integration and the elimination of poverty through a strengthened technical co-operation regime.

Since becoming a full member 8 years ago, Canada has accomplished much. We have also contributed much — and not just financially, although we are the second largest contributor to the OAS. In 1997 we provided 12.6 million, or 12.36% of the annual budget of the organisation.

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initiated the establishment of the Unit for the Promotion of Democracy. The UPD is a unique OAS mechanism for the promotion and reinforcement of democratic institutions in the Americas. Along with the UPD, Canada works with non-governmental organisations on a variety of projects that bolster democratic development in the Americas.

Neighbourhood is a state of mind as well as a state of geography.

Last year, Canada strenuously promoted a General Assembly resolution on the eventual creation of a western hemisphere Anti-Personnel Landmines-free Zone, in support of broader efforts towards a global ban. A total of 33 of the 35 OAS states signed the APL Treaty in Ottawa in December.

Canada has also contributed funding to a program sponsored by the OAS Unit for the Promotion of Democracy and the Inter-American Defence Board in 1992 to clear

the Central American region of all landmines by 2000. The de-mining program is already underway in Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua and Guatemala and has already cleared the area of 28,000 mines.

Canada played a constructive role in the negotiations last year for the ground breaking Inter-American Convention on the Illicit Traffic of Firearms. This Convention is the first of its kind in the world and illustrates OAS members moving decisively to combat the illegal trade in firearms.

In 1998 our main focus will be on improving the structures and institutions at the heart of the Inter-American system, integrating the OAS with the amorphous Summit Implementation Review Group, and clarifying the Organisation's mandate so that it can reduce waste and duplication among hemispheric organisations. This is a rarefied atmosphere of regional multilateralism, with latino traditions, Caribbean rhythms, Uncle Sam omnipresent and the Canadians helpfully scurrying around trying to fix everything in sight!

Many of the developments I have mentioned are incremental and unspectacular — as they should be. They are signs of a system that functions well, though never perfectly. They must be supplemented by public and political initiatives. For this the

approaching millennium is, I suppose, heaven-sent.

As we approach the millennium various events will direct Canadians' attention to the south. For example: April 1998 Chile hosts the Summit of the Americas in Santiago; Winnipeg will host the Pan-American Games in 1999 — the largest multi-sports event outside of the Olympics (no ice hockey thankfully!) and in 2000, in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of our joining the OAS as a full member, Canada will host the OAS General Assembly.

Events such as these will bring home to Canadians and, we hope, symbolise to our partners in the Americas, Canada's growing connection to our neighbours. Neighbourhood is a state of mind as well as a state of geography. It is politics and economics as well as history. It is interaction among our publics as well as discussion among diplomats. It is trade and immigration as well as high politics and grand conferences.

When one of my successors addresses the CHIA twenty years from now, she or he will say that Canada's connections to its hemisphere are historical, geographical, political and economic, but most important, strong, significant, and positive. Our government's endeavour has been, is and will be to make it so. ☺

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Examination and Selection for the Foreign Service of Canada

by Hector Mackenzie

The following article is extracted from "Recruiting Tomorrow's Ambassadors: Examination and Selection for the Foreign Service of Canada, 1925-1997", which will appear in a collection of essays edited by Robert Wolfe entitled Diplomatic Missions: the Ambassador in Canadian Foreign Policy. The book will soon be published by the School of Policy Studies of Queen's University and it will be distributed by McGill-Queen's University Press.

For more than seventy years, the Department of External Affairs and its successor, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, have principally relied for recruitment of Canada's foreign service on broad criteria for eligibility, careful scrutiny of the experience and academic qualifications of applicants as well as a distinct and often elaborate ritual of written and oral examination. Most of Canada's ambassadors today survived this ordeal and for some years to come their successors will likely have shared this peculiar rite of passage into the nether world of diplomacy. As the foreign service examination itself becomes a part of the past, it is timely to review its origins.

After assuming the offices of prime minister and secretary of state for external affairs, William Lyon Mackenzie King chose not to rely for advice on international affairs on the few employees of the Department of External Affairs in the East Block. Instead, he sought the informal counsel of political contacts before developing confidence in the ability, dedication and judgement of a distinguished scholar, Dr. O.D. Skelton, then dean of arts at Queen's University. Skelton's suitability was not diminished by his Liberal sympathies nor by his laudatory biography of King's mentor, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. But what convinced King that he 'might make a very good Under-Secretary of State [for External Affairs] in succession to Sir Joseph

Pope' was an address which Skelton made to the Canadian Club in January 1922 on "Canada and Canadian Foreign Policy". As King recorded in his already voluminous diary, Skelton "certainly has the knowledge and the right point of view". Over the next few years, King increasingly relied on Skelton, as a delegate, as a special adviser for imperial conferences, as a counsellor and finally, on April Fool's Day, 1925, as Pope's successor. Skelton's performance had confirmed King's assessment, so that no alternative for deputy minister was considered. Unlike his predecessor but like the prime minister, Skelton firmly believed in Canadian autonomy in international affairs and he was convinced that a stronger department of external affairs, a professional foreign service and separate diplomatic representation were essential instruments for that purpose. When Skelton set out to recruit, there were precedents in the public service for qualifying standards and entrance exams.

"Much international business is transacted orally," Benjamin Rogers wrote. "A tremendous amount of paper is used within governments, but very little passes between governments."

But the process which Skelton devised, and the way in which it was implemented, demonstrated a distinct approach to recruitment, which influenced not only the exceptional quality of the early entrants but also the approach taken in later years. For the first opening, to replace himself as counsellor, Skelton was keen to apply the merit principle, with competitive entrance. But he set a high qualifying standard for eligible

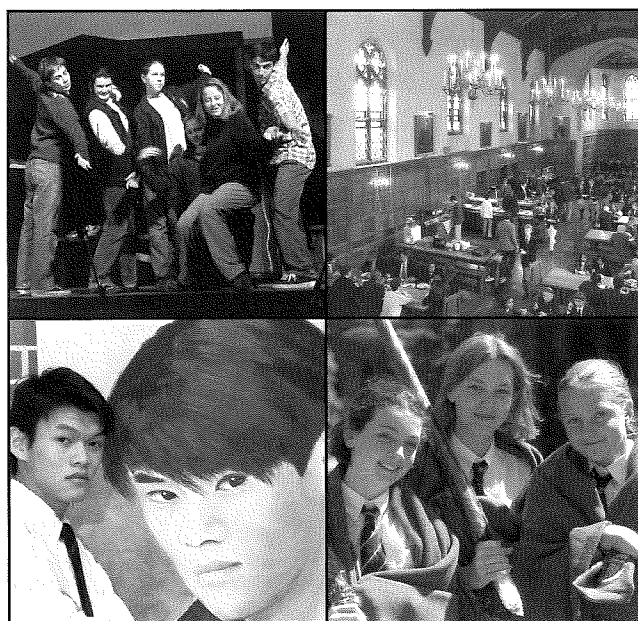
men (women were excluded): "a law degree or membership in a provincial bar association, two years of post-graduate studies in international affairs, practical experience in legal work, and a good knowledge of both English and French". As a result, there was only one qualified applicant: Jean Désy, professor of international and constitutional law and political history at the University of Montreal, who joined DEA in July 1925.

Undaunted, Skelton devised a specialised examination for foreign service officers in time for a second competition in 1927. To be eligible, candidates had to have graduated with a university degree or its equivalent, preferably with graduate work in political science, political economy or international law. The questions which Skelton posed in the four parts of the written examination clearly indicated that he wanted what are now called "generalists" rather than "specialists". Apparently, he was also looking for autonomists: "The first essay, which was usually on nationalism and internationalism," John Hilliker has observed, "was designed to elicit the candidate's attitude toward Canada's role in the empire and enabled the department to determine whether he accepted the government's position as enunciated at recent imperial conferences." Another essay tested knowledge of Canadian and international affairs, while a third involved a choice from a list of topics drawn from the qualifying disciplines. Another component of the examination, which could last for two days or more, was a précis. Leaving nothing to chance, Skelton graded the papers, assigned a value to the examinee's curriculum vitae, usually chaired the panel which interviewed those who distinguished themselves on the written portion, and often introduced the prospective foreign service officers to the prime minister, who as secretary of state for external affairs was politically responsible for the department and the service.

Though there is understandably greater evidence of the written papers, interviews with the superior candidates were essential parts of the process. One veteran Canadian diplomat implicitly has justified that emphasis. "Much international business is transacted orally," Benjamin Rogers wrote. "A tremendous amount of paper is used within governments, but very little passes between

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governments." In addition to the academic standards, candidates for first secretary were expected to possess "undoubted integrity, tact, astuteness, keen perception, good judgement and good address." Particularly in the early years, when the recruits were likely to be posted to "the great cosmopolitan capitals," the oral examination may also have ensured qualifications which could not be tested on paper, as John English has suggested. "Skelton sought out Canadians who would be neither rustic nor colonial, who should know that one sipped cognac but downed aquavit; that one used 'one' in certain company; that Gladys Cooper and Diana Cooper were not sisters, though both were actresses and exquisite women; and that, according to Lord Curzon's definitive ruling, gentlemen never took soup at luncheon. Proper, to be sure, but stuffy never, for Skelton's strongly democratic instincts meant that the department rejected the formal trappings that traditionally accompanied diplomacy." In effect, Skelton was "constructing" the Canadian foreign service "in his own image".

For Skelton, the results of the competition in 1927 were disappointing. There were few applicants and only two successful candidates: E. D'Arcy McGreer and J. Scott Macdonald. To his other roles in the process, Skelton then added that of recruiting officer. Relying on an elaborate and effective political and academic network, Skelton personally encouraged likely prospects to apply, with impressive consequences, as there were more than 60 applicants. Examinations held in 1927 for first and third secretaries eventually resulted in the hiring of six individuals, five of whom had taught in university: Lester Pearson, Kenneth Kirkwood, Hugh Keenleyside, Norman Robertson, Paul-Émile Renaud and Keith Crowther. We know more about this competition than about all but the most recent examinations, not least because the distinguished careers of some of the victorious candidates have inspired memoirs, biographies and other studies. From this group would emerge not only ambassadors but three deputy ministers, one of whom would later serve as secretary of state for external affairs and later still as prime minister. Skelton had recruited his successors.

"There were no gimmicks or gadgets in 1928 to test one's IQ or one's skill at not putting square pegs in round holes," Pearson recalled in his memoirs. Nor was there an evaluation of competence in French. Pearson wrote his optional paper on "The Rise of Fascism", along with compulsory ones on international affairs, modern history and international law. With the précis, this trial took place over four days in late

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June. The interview must have followed soon after, as Pearson received a telegram offering him the position of first secretary on 10 August 1928. Other applicants, then and since, did not receive their offers so promptly. Keenleyside had hedged his bets by applying for both openings, which meant that he wrote two sets of examinations (though he was unable to complete all the papers for first secretary), which certainly must have established that he was committed to a career in the foreign service, or that he should have been committed to some other institution! Keenleyside recalled the oral examination as "a very pleasant experience," with "most of the questions" about "my prospective book on Canada-United

States relations". After an informal meeting with Skelton at the Rideau Club, Keenleyside was then summoned to dinner with King, who according to Skelton "had been taking a great personal interest in the recruitment of staff for the department". For his part, Robertson very nearly wrote no papers, as he was unable to write the examination in Washington or Montreal, eventually performing the task in Ottawa. When the first positions were filled by Pearson, Keenleyside and Kirkwood, Robertson was placed on an eligibility list — an impressive achievement for one of the youngest applicants. Not until late May 1929 did Robertson report for work and he did not receive written confirmation of his appointment until four months later.

Of course, the perspective in these accounts is that of the victors, while the vanquished have understandably been less effusive. Still, what Skelton achieved in these early examinations and in others to follow was an impressive beginning for the professional foreign service, particularly when one considers the qualifications and expectations in relation to contemporary Canadian society. In other respects as well, those who would represent Canada were not representative of its population, but they did exemplify the qualities and abilities

which Skelton believed were important to define an autonomous diplomatic presence internationally for Canada. Moreover, these aims and the process which Skelton devised to realise them, would profoundly influence later recruitment for Canada's foreign service. The procedure today for "recruiting tomorrow's ambassadors" owes a great deal to Skelton's legacy. But the appointment of heads of post in 1927 and 1928 was certainly not his responsibility. Nor were all of the lower ranks filled by Skelton's method, even then.

The nomination of diplomats to represent Canada in foreign capitals, as well as the redefinition of the high commissioner's role to approximate a diplomatic representative and to eliminate the governor general's representation of the British government, was sanctioned by the discussions and conclusions of the Imperial Conference of 1926. Though the Canadian government had intended to appoint a minister in Washington — unambiguously independent representation at the rank of ambassador was not yet contemplated — and funds for the purpose had been approved by Parliament, King did not act until his political and constitutional position was secure. By then, the Irish Free State had established its own legation in Washington,

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distinct from the British embassy, which made it even less likely that separate representation for Canada would be controversial. As prime minister and external affairs minister, King was determined to exercise his prerogative to choose Canada's first diplomats. His choices demonstrated similar criteria as for the earlier appointment of Peter Larkin as high commissioner in London, with an even more pronounced partisan bias.

As minister in Washington, King eventually selected Vincent Massey, a patrician aesthete who, as Blair Neatby has noted, "combined an academic background with some experience in public affairs" as well as "an adequate private income" to meet the representational expenses of the new office. He had served briefly in King's cabinet as a minister without portfolio before his defeat at the polls in 1925. Massey presented his credentials as "His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary for Canada" on 18 February 1927. Massey personally hired the legation's staff, including Laurent Beaudry, Tommy Stone and Hume Wrong, who thereby entered DEA and the foreign service by selection, not competition. Though all were able, there were considerable tensions within the small mission, which prompted King's greater interest in recruitment. As for Massey, he looked and played the part of a diplomat successfully, so well that he convinced himself and others that he was one and he seems to have been genuinely offended when King's successor treated him as a politician.

With a "curious geographic argument" to justify the next posts, King decided to elevate the existing office in Paris to a legation and to appoint a minister to Tokyo. There was no need to replace Canada's agent-general, Philippe Roy, in Paris, so that he was redesignated as minister. To represent Canada in Japan, King chose Herbert Marler, whose qualifications for the post closely resembled Massey's. Like Massey, Marler had been a minister without portfolio in King's government before suffering electoral defeat, though his parliamentary career had been longer and more distinguished. Marler was also independently wealthy. As his son recalls, both Marler and his wife "were quite at home in the patrician environment in which diplomacy was conducted in that period when it was still the métier of gentlemen who were expected to have the appropriate educational and social background". Marler interviewed prospective staff for the legation, rejecting Robertson and approving Keenleyside. After serving with Marler, Keenleyside recalled that "in a somewhat wooden way he looked like the conventional idea of an ambassador", though some of his notions

for development of a diplomatic corps for Canada were considerably less democratic than those of Skelton.

Of more concern to Skelton, as well as to the new diplomats, was political reaction to these developments. As Conservative leader, R.B. Bennett had mocked Marler as "a glorified trade commissioner seeking publicity", while his colleague T.L. Church had denounced the legations as "sink holes" for tax dollars. Neither had welcomed the break with imperial diplomatic unity. Moreover, DEA and the foreign service had been created by a Liberal regime, with which Skelton was closely identified. Yet, as prime minister and secretary of state for external affairs from 1930 to 1935, Bennett was more cautious than his partisan rhetoric had presaged. Massey, who had resigned as minister to Washington before his nomination to succeed Larkin as high commissioner in London, was the sole diplomatic casualty of the change of government. With some justification, Bennett argued that the high commissioner, unlike other representatives, required the political confidence of the government which Massey, as a former Liberal minister, would not enjoy. Thus Massey's diplomatic career was interrupted by his resignation from the Washington post and his unsuitability for London. For

Washington, Bennett chose his confidant and future brother-in-law, William D. Herridge; for London, he selected the premier of Ontario, Howard Ferguson, who was certainly not a diplomat. Marler and Roy both kept low profiles and their jobs, as did the foreign service officers in their missions. Meanwhile, back in Ottawa, after an uneasy transition, Skelton proved as indispensable to Bennett as he had been to King.

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and dumb".*

The Bennett interregnum was as important for continuity as it was for change. Though Bennett's diplomatic appointments were no less partisan than King's, the fact that Marler remained in Tokyo — and

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later replaced Herridge in Washington — suggested a limit to the sway of patronage. Recruitment for the foreign service continued, with examinations in 1930 and 1932-33 adding 6 officers, while two senior advisers — Lt. Col. Georges Vanier and Loring Christie — were appointed without competition. With one death and three departures from the foreign service, the net expansion was modest, but in the context of the depression, any increase was important. As a successful candidate, Charles Ritchie, recalled, Bennett continued his predecessor's interest, personally interviewing the group of new recruits. Though Skelton was relieved when King returned to office, DEA and the foreign service had not suffered unduly in his absence.

Neither Ferguson nor Herridge waited for King to decide his fate. Bennett had cleared Marler's transfer to Washington with King, so that left openings in London and Tokyo. King reconfirmed his earlier judgement that the right choice as high commissioner was Massey, who had since performed more good deeds for the Liberal party. For Japan, King chose as minister a former lieutenant-governor of British Columbia, Randolph Bruce, who had been defeated as a Liberal candidate in the recent federal election. Bruce was prominent and

wealthy, but he was 73 when he accepted the appointment and he had lost his eyesight. Meanwhile, Roy, who was 68 and hard of hearing, continued as minister to France. The three ministers prompted Hume Wrong's cruel observation that "Canada was represented abroad by the deaf, blind and dumb". Yet Wrong was not convinced that more dynamic diplomats would make a difference, as Canada did not possess a discernible foreign policy for the heads of post to articulate. "Dining alone this evening", he wrote privately to Massey, "I developed a plan for the perfect representation of Canada at Conferences. Our delegate would have a name, even a photograph; a distinguished record, even an actual secretary — but he would have no corporeal existence and no one would ever notice that he was not there".

Undoubtedly the "low dishonest decade" was frustrating for the members of the foreign service, particularly given the qualities which Skelton had deliberately recruited, but their ranks and their opportunities were expanding. Wrong himself replaced Walter Riddell in what was by then a diplomatic post in Geneva, while Vanier succeeded Roy in Paris in 1938. Désy became the first of Skelton's recruits to head a mission when he was named minister to

Belgium and the Netherlands in January 1939. Later that year, Marler was replaced by Loring Christie, though ill health limited the latter's effectiveness. With McGreer acting as chargé d'affaires in Tokyo, Canada's representation abroad had been transformed on the eve of the second world war. Over the previous three years, competitions had added six recruits, including James Gibson and J.W. Pickersgill, who soon found that they worked for King more as prime minister than as secretary of state for external affairs. Two others joined the foreign service without competition: Escott Reid, former national secretary of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, who was personally recruited by Skelton; and Herbert Norman, whose expertise on Japan prompted his appointment as a "language officer" in 1939 before his posting to Tokyo — an exceptional specialist. As yet, Canada had no ambassadors, but inter-war recruitment for the foreign service, principally through the process devised by Skelton, had produced heads of mission — and future ambassadors.

During the second world war, Canada enhanced its international stature through its war effort and its diplomatic presence overseas by the appointment of ambassadors. Once again, the first foreign service officer to serve as an ambassador was Jean Désy, who achieved that distinction in Brazil in 1943. When King's traditional choice for Washington, Leighton McCarthy, proved a disappointment, the prestige of the foreign service was further enhanced by the appointment of Pearson as Canada's ambassador to the United States. Though King still favoured friends and political associates for heads of posts, the wartime demands for quantity and quality in Canada's representation abroad provided unprecedented opportunities for Skelton's early recruits. When Skelton died in late January 1941, he left the foreign service and DEA well placed to meet the challenges ahead and it was appropriately one of his recruits, Norman Robertson, who succeeded him as under-secretary of state for external affairs. ☺

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THE AMERICAS: ON THE BRINK

by David Bickford

The Canadians who best knew Latin America at the beginning of this century were a small band of dedicated missionaries and a handful of intrepid entrepreneurs. Otherwise, Canadians at large ignored the exotic and oh-so-foreign land of Carmen Miranda. There was a flurry of interest during World War II when, for strategic reasons, Canada opened embassies in many regional capitals. A few academics spoke of the potential of the continent, postulating that Canada was "on the brink" of launching a meaningful relationship with the region. However, with the advent of the Cold War, Latin America again dropped into the void.

About the same time that Canadians in significant numbers discovered the beaches of the Caribbean and Mexico, renewed efforts were made by the government to establish a relationship with the region. Do you remember Pierre Trudeau's "Foreign Policy for Canadians" of the 1960s? In the late 1970s we were once again "on the brink" as the Department identified Venezuela, Mexico and Brazil as countries of concentration: Venezuela, with much oil to burn, spurned our advances, Mexico

was pleasantly surprised. Brazil was pleasantly bemused: there, our first moves after announcing this initiative were to close the Consulate General in Rio and cut RCI Portuguese-language broadcasting by 50%!

Debt and dictators, inflation and instability, Fidel and the Falklands conspired and, once again, we pulled back from "the brink". I think we did learn though: government, business, academics, NGOs and other actors must all see the importance of the region — although not necessarily agree on what

needs to be done — and, above all, that it takes two to tango, even in Argentina. Slowly, Latin American countries began to take a greater interest in us and our potential role in the Americas.

We are no longer "on the brink". I think we have finally launched a relationship which has been caught by the region. The first step was joining the OAS (or being welcomed into the Organisation by the region after much cajoling) which incorporated us actively into the region's political agenda, where we have made a positive impact particularly on the peace, security and human rights agendas in the hemisphere. The second was NAFTA where government, the business community and investors made the commercial leap over the USA and gave the seal of approval to doing business in Latin America. Perhaps a third factor is our active participation in the Summit of the Americas process where political, social and economic themes (above all, free trade) merge.

We have also matured as a nation, no longer attempting to explain who or what we are in anti-American terms — we are definitely not just gringos from the far north — or trying to convince South Americans that we are Latin soul brothers. While at the popular level the word "Canada" generally conjures up a warm fuzzy feeling (along with a few too many polar bears), decision formers and decision makers increasingly see us in new terms. Peru's foreign minister recently described Canada as "a friend who exercises considerable influence in continental, global and multi-lateral affairs". Too often, we forget how well others perceive us, our influence and our values.

The Latin American stereotypes remain, but they are slowly eroding with success stories — Chile, Argentina — more widely told. This is a place where business can be conducted and money made. It is no longer the tinderbox where people go to war over football games. However, deep-seated social problems — many of these values-based — persist. While politically and commercially Canada's relations with the region have gradually matured over the past ten years, the cultural values-gap remains. If we are not able to bridge it, or learn to live with it, we may continue to teeter "on the brink" of cementing a fully-mature relationship with Latin America.

Perhaps the most vivid image of Latin America today is that of grinding poverty. The terrible conditions of life among the poor, most of them amerindian or blacks, and the perceived lack of interest in their plight by the well-heeled elite is a shock to most of us. These images imply democratic, cultural and social values quite different from our own with far less attention paid to human rights. It also points to future instability — which somehow the local elites are not supposed to perceive or to care about. Coupled with corruption, narcotics trafficking, high crime and the military poised to pummel civilians, Latin America appears an unpleasant place with values foreign to most Canadians.

Latin America has been bombarded by shrill demands for it to change its ways: free trade for the good of us all, establish democracies just like ours, eliminate corruption, give jobs and social justice to it's poor. The reaction from governments, all too often, was to circle the wagons, raise the flag and chant the mantra of "non-interference in internal affairs" — the "debate" was sterile.

Many Canadians are uncomfortable with the Latin American political tradition of strongly centralised governments with immense power concentrated in the Presidency, but many Latins like it that way. The perceived need for "stability" has often outweighed individual liberties. Many of them see parliamentary systems as inherently unstable. This does not mean, however, that the majority in Latin America condones the lack of transparency and accountability in government or ignores human rights violations and the rule of law. No longer is there a lackadaisical acceptance of entrenched corruption as just a part of life — if it ever was.

Abject poverty concerns many Latin Americans. The reasons are probably much the same as in Canada: poverty causes social unrest, it drains the budget and deprives people of their dignity. Latin Americans have long seen this as a problem for governments, which haven't had the resources, political will or priority to solve it. Communities are beginning to understand that poverty alleviation requires the co-ordinated effort of government, private sector, civil society and individuals themselves. It will take time, however, for societies as a whole to understand that this



is not a zero-sum game where the rich will lose everything with the end result poverty for all.

Coupled with income disparities is a pronounced class structure, often based on colour in much of Latin America, with little social mobility. Access to better quality education is beginning to break down social and economic barriers, but change comes slowly and is often resisted by elites who fear the erosion of their privileges.

Despite these generalisations, Latin America is not a monolith, nor should it be treated as such given the diversity in political traditions, economic development, culture and social values. Nonetheless, the fundamental political and social values and aspirations of most Latin Americans are not entirely different from our own. There is a growing will in most countries to enhance the rule of law, reduce corruption, and streamline bureaucracies to make them more responsive to the needs of the citizenry, but always in tune with their own history, culture and traditions. There is growing realisation in the region that freer trade is the wave of the future, that Latin America must be on that wave and that riding the wave requires major advances in good governance.

Canadians, with their well-proven constructive and co-operative approach, can (and do) work with governments, business groups and civil society in the region to reinforce the observance of democratic values, good governance and human rights and increase the quality of life. With strong democratic values and traditions that work, but no history of overseas colonial adventures, Canadians can successfully deliver difficult messages often ill-received from others. The approach cannot be the shrill "get your act together or else", but rather by initiating a constructive dialogue to identify areas of need and work with local institutions to better the situation. We are indeed very good at this.

Change in Latin America will be slow, with setbacks along the way, but progress is both inevitable and necessary. Canada must play an increasingly important part in making it happen: after all, Latin America is in our back yard — or is it our front yard? In an ever more global society, the result will be greater prosperity, enhanced peace and security and deeper respect for democratic values in both Canada and Latin America. Let's take the final plunge! ☺

David Bickford has had postings to Mexico City, Brasilia, Venezuela and Chile. He is currently Political Counsellor at the Canadian Embassy in Lima, Peru.

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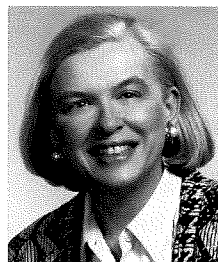
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Sexual Orientation and the Public Service: The Changing Workplace

by Liza Linklater

While the extension of basic human rights to gays and lesbians has certainly been a very slow process, there have been some significant legislative advancements made over the last 5-10 years. But changing the mentality of intolerant people may be the hardest feat.

Last December 10, on Human Rights Day, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) announced a joint union/management campaign called *Towards a Respectful Workplace* in an attempt to change intolerant attitudes. This campaign expands upon CIC's commitment to the "establishment of a workforce that is representative of the people it serves and to the establishment of a working environment which values and respects all employees, whatever their personal circumstances", such as cultural identity, gender, sexual orientation, domestic responsibilities, disabilities, religion or age.

The campaign will extend over several years. Each year, the campaign will focus attention on different aspects of CIC's diverse workforce. The first year is focusing on gays and lesbians.

As the literature indicates, "Building a respectful workplace is about reducing personal isolation". CIC is hoping to create an environment where individuals feel comfortable and secure in expressing themselves about their personal lives.

The campaign is hoping to respond to concerns heard from gay and lesbian employees who describe issues of isolation, of not feeling free to be themselves in the workplace, of difficulties of taking a same sex spouse on some of their overseas postings.

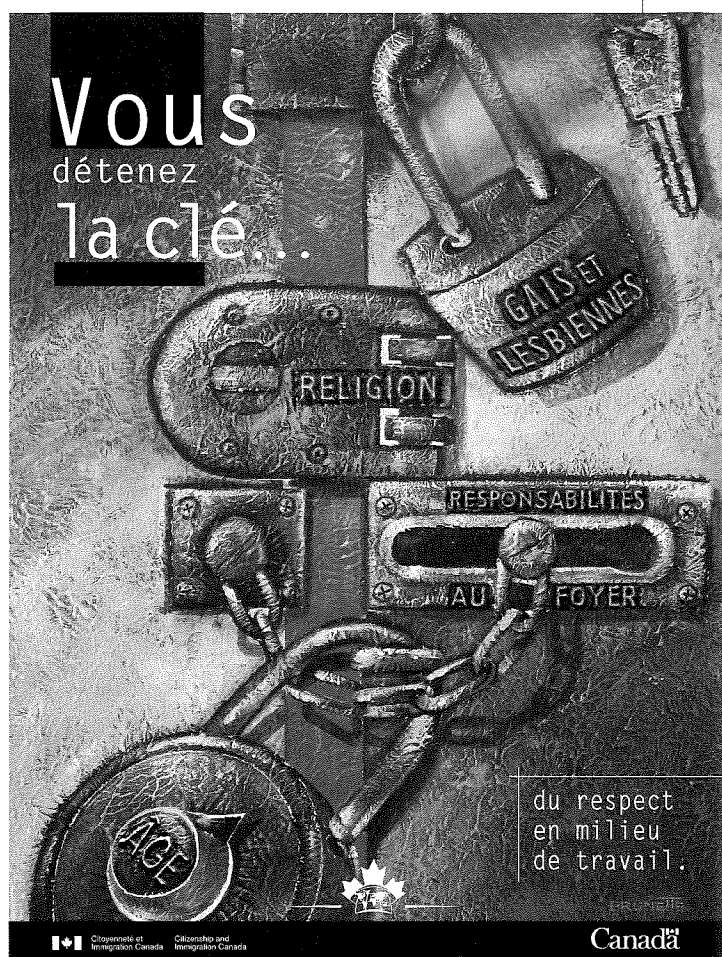
It is hoped that the campaign will help other employees to understand the challenges faced on a daily basis by gay and lesbian employees, especially their sense of isolation. The campaign also hopes to keep employees informed about specific entitlements for gay and lesbian couples, in terms of benefits and pension entitlements in the federal government, since this issue is often reported upon in the media but not widely understood.

As for entitlements, in November 1995, the Treasury Board Secretariat of the federal Public Service extended employee benefits for same sex spouses. These benefits include bereavement leave, leave for family-related responsibilities, leave for relocation of spouse, foreign service directives, isolated post directives, and relocation directives.

Employees living with a same sex spouse must meet the same criteria as an employee living with an opposite sex common law spouse — the relationship must exist for a continuous period of one year and the individuals must publicly represent the other person as his/her spouse.

The *Superannuation Act* governs entitlement to pension benefits in the federal Public Service. This *Act*'s current wording does not include same sex couples in its definition of "spouse". Only an amendment to the *Act* can bring about a change to pension entitlements. The exact wording in the *Superannuation Act* is found at section 25 (4): "...where a contributor dies and the contributor has been, for a period of not less than one year immediately before the contributor's death, residing with a **person of the opposite sex** to whom the contributor was not married, the Treasury Board may deem that person to be the surviving spouse of the contributor..."

There are several legal battles being fought, and lately won, over many issues involving same-sex couples. An April 1998 decision by the Ontario Court of Appeal is a case in point. The decision declares a traditional *Income Tax Act* definition of "spouse" to be unconstitutional as it applies to the registration or amendment of pension plans. The ruling states that the words



"or the same" must be read into the *Act* as follows: "the person of the opposite **or the same** sex who cohabits at that time with the taxpayer in a conjugal relationship.".... We will have to wait and see if this decision stands, or if the federal government appeals to the Supreme Court.

It has been asked how CIC can promote acceptance of gay and lesbian employees, when it does not respect same sex spouses in the *Immigration Act*. CIC is considering a number of legislative options, and in the meantime, guidelines have been provided to visa offices, including a general direction that they use favourable discretion when processing such cases. Similar instructions have been drafted for immigration officers in Canada. These are now in place informally but are planned for formal publication this year. I personally know one same-sex couple where the non-Canadian partner was able to immigrate to Canada based in

part on their long-standing relationship. He told me that it would be a long, long time before his native country, Switzerland, would ever extend the same right.

The CIC campaign also aims to establish a "safe" work environment where employees are able to express themselves freely to their managers, to feel able to criticise work policies or procedures, to vent, and to make constructive suggestions for change, and feel supported (confidentially if necessary) when personal issues affect their workplace performance.

As part of the campaign, CIC also published a pamphlet entitled *Towards a Respectful Workplace: Gays and Lesbians*. The brochure focuses on sexual orientation and deals with the needs and rights of those employees who are openly gay or lesbian and those who choose not to discuss their sexual orientation. As the pamphlet says, "Disclosing your sexual orientation is not the same as talking about your sex life. It means talking about your family and friends, who you love, who you live with, and who you socialise with."

For many people, it's natural to talk about certain aspects of their personal lives at work. Many daily discussions that straight employees take for granted at work are a source of anxiety for their gay and lesbian colleagues. This pamphlet hopes to make heterosexuals stop and think about their gay and lesbian colleagues — "Imagine being afraid to put your same-sex spouse's picture on your desk...imagine the isolation of being afraid to ask for time off if your spouse was hospitalised...or having to force yourself to laugh at some demeaning joke."

As the pamphlet says, "Gays and lesbians have the right to be treated with the same respect and consideration as all other employees. Yet, in many places, gay or lesbian employees who 'come out' risk discrimination, harassment and unfair treatment." Hopefully, one day this will not be the case.

Postscript: While it is true that the times are changing, readers may find it interesting that the author had asked a number of gay Foreign Service officers at DFAIT, CIC and CIDA to contribute their stories, anonymously or otherwise, but for various reasons, only two submissions were received. (This may partially be due to the fact that many government employees are reluctant to publicly express their personal opinions about the workplace at all.)

Liza Linklater is a writer and photographer. She has been on postings to Bangkok and New York City.

Same Sex Couples: Making progress, step by step

Gay and lesbian members of Canada's Foreign Service have come a long way since the grim days of McCarthyism and the purge of hundreds of gays from the civil service in the 1960s. Targets among the latter included Canada's former Ambassadors to Moscow, John Watkins (who died of a heart attack in 1964 after an RCMP interrogation) and David Johnson, as well as John Holmes, former Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. Holmes was one of Canada's foremost foreign policy experts. Even as late as 1969, the then DG for Security concluded a briefing for new recruits with the statement: "Would any homosexuals in the group please identify themselves to me after the meeting and we will arrange an orderly departure from the Department".

At the time, "deviant" sexual orientation was equated with security risks; today, attitudes and standards have changed. Society has concluded that forcing people into the closet is the real security risk. Judging people by the quality of their performance is the best and perhaps only guarantee of security and productivity. In the Canadian service, acceptance of gays and lesbians as individuals has spread, slowly and reluctantly, to acceptance of same sex couples as well. It didn't happen overnight and the struggle is far from over.

*In the Foreign Service
acceptance of gays
and lesbians has
come about for many
reasons. Necessity
is one of them.*

Looking back, it is tempting to think that Canadians are a kinder, gentler sort and acceptance of gays and lesbians and same sex couples is the result of a predisposition to live and let live. There may be an element of that, but history is more complex. Reforms came about because of the amendment to the Criminal Code in 1969 that legalised homosexual acts between consenting adults. The Charter of Rights and Freedoms also had a profound impact. The latter forbade

discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (or was thought to do so) and set things in motion which in retrospect now seem irreversible.

One of the most remarkable changes brought about by the Charter, (and much to the horror of some of our politicians), took place in our Armed Forces. In the Fall of '92 the ban against gays and lesbians was lifted. Canadians were given the right to serve in the military regardless of sexual orientation. The decision was controversial and its implementation was delayed for political reasons. But, ultimately, senior brass recognised that the cost of legal settlements the military then faced left little option but to accept change. Our allies balked, particularly the US and the UK.

When the issue of gays and lesbians came to the fore in the early years of the Clinton Administration in the US, a very straight-looking Canadian colonel was interviewed on American television about our "progressive" policy on the matter. He simply said that sex on duty was not acceptable regardless of orientation (to paraphrase, military policy on sexual harassment states that no person will use his or her position or rank to gain sexual or other favours). If people respected that and did their jobs competently, sexual orientation was a non-issue, *punto*. "Get over it" was his message.

Heterosexuals may not appreciate just how liberating it was for their gay and lesbian colleagues to hear that, to know that in the final analysis Canada's senior military (many of whom may have resisted change) cared most about professionalism. But the struggle is not over. Gay and lesbian members of the Forces still face major hurdles in the workplace and it is generally understood that it may take 20 years to change attitudes fundamentally.

In the Foreign Service acceptance of gays and lesbians has come about for many reasons. Necessity is one of them. Some years ago an individual now occupying one of the highest positions in the Public Service said that only two kinds of people would survive in the Foreign Service: traditional couples where the spouse (read wife) was prepared to completely subsume her aspirations to her husband's career, and gays and lesbians (who are single).

Gays and lesbians are well-represented in today's Foreign Service in part because as "singles" they can better afford to weigh quality of life and interest in the job against meagre pay. Given the paramount importance attached to budget cutting these days, is it too cynical to wonder if gays and lesbians are better tolerated today in part because it is cheaper to run the Foreign Service with singles?

Acceptance of same sex couples also has come about in part by inadvertence. As DFAIT lore has it, a very senior member of the Foreign Service had every intention of taking his common-law spouse on posting, with allowances. He got his way. The unintended consequence of his success was to undercut arguments that no comparable provision could be made for same sex spouses. Once the legally married status of the heterosexual spouse was no longer an issue, the argument that a heterosexual common-law spouse should enjoy allowances but a same sex spouse could not, became unsustainable. It was a blatant case of discrimination based on sexual orientation.

Attitudes are improving, but some managers at Headquarters and admin officers at posts still find ways of making their displeasure with same sex couples felt.

To be sure, when same sex couples began to claim equal treatment with heterosexual couples, roadblocks were put in their way. The stated reason will surprise no one: money. The struggle began in earnest with CIDA's Stan Moore, who had served in Jakarta as a member of the Foreign Service. He has since transferred to CIDA but proudly remains an FS officer. His life companion accompanied him there (with the attendant cost to his career that every foreign service spouse knows only too well). Stan compared their situation to that of heterosexual couples and calculated that they had lost some \$23,000 in benefits that a heterosexual couple in their situation would have been entitled to, which is serious money on our salaries.

Our colleague grieved. PAFSO supported the grievance from the outset. He rejected Treasury Board's offer to compensate him personally on condition that he drop the grievance. It appears that Treasury Board calculated that it was far cheaper to buy him off than offer same sex couples equal treatment. But Stan was determined to set a precedent for all same sex couples in the service. He would not be deterred. The case dragged on for years. It eventually made its way to the Human Rights Tribunal. A lead

witness for Treasury Board was asked if it had ever been explained to him why FSDs should cover heterosexual couples but not same sex couples. The answer was no. The result was historic: Treasury Board was told to cease such discrimination forthwith.

Other decisions of the Supreme Court and provincial courts relating to same sex couples have chipped away at discriminatory practices. The Canadian military have adapted, and members of our Forces in principle are free to lead their private lives in dignity. Suffice it to say that this hard-fought struggle has levelled the playing field considerably. A few years ago PAFSO organised the first ever pre-posting briefing for same sex couples and DFAIT Personnel was there to brief people on the latest! But Foreign Service same sex couples are by no means out of the woods yet.

Attitudes are improving, but some managers at Headquarters and admin officers at posts still find ways of making their displeasure with same sex couples felt. It also remains a problem getting a visa for same sex partners to accompany their FS mates. Today, DFAIT will send a Diplomatic note requesting a visa for a same sex partner (a huge step forward) but not for a same sex "spouse" for reasons that relate to legal definitions under Canadian law. Rather, DFAIT requests a visa for "a member of the family forming part of the household", which is to say, for a "dependent". The difference between a spouse and a dependent is significant: if the partner is deemed a "spouse", the receiving country normally would either provide a visa for both or for neither (if they discriminate against same sex couples); if the partner is described as a "dependent", the receiving country may have the discretion to refuse a visa to the partner only.

This problem is not hypothetical. For instance, in the US the State Department will not grant a visa to a same sex "dependent" to allow a same sex spouse to remain in the country for the duration of the posting. Spouses must either apply for a visitor's visa (normally through DFAIT) which must be renewed every six months by application within the country, or they must leave the US and go through the interview process at the point of entry. If a same sex spouse is from a third country, the risk of complications grows (especially at points of entry). Diplomatic visas are issued only to heterosexual spouses (legally wed or common-law). Moreover, although a heterosexual spouse or a dependent child is entitled to work in the US (under a reciprocal agreement), same sex partners are forbidden from working by virtue of their visitor visa. In Canada, different standards for visas also apply to same sex partners as opposed to heterosexual partners.

Looking at other foreign services, Canada now is among the more progressive. The Scandinavians, Dutch, some other Europeans, as well as the Australians, appear to have dealt with most of the old double standards. However, the Americans are likely to remain far behind for the indefinite future given the reactionary attitude of Congress toward non-traditional families. In fact, the State Department does not recognise common-law relationships, so recognition of same sex couples is even farther off. The US military also has a "don't ask, don't tell" policy which seems to suggest that it is still unacceptable to be gay or lesbian but it is more convenient for the authorities to pretend that gays and lesbians don't really exist.

Looking at other foreign services, Canada now is among the more progressive.

Strangely enough, one result of this "don't ask, don't tell" policy has been a sharp rise in the number of dishonourable discharges of gay and lesbian members of the US military; the policy somehow seems to have become a license to hunt issued to those who object to the presence of gays and lesbians in the military. The obverse of "don't tell" is that if you do, you've almost certainly terminated your career. In some instances, the US military has waited until just before the 20 year retirement point to dishonourably discharge gay and lesbian members, leaving them humiliated and stripped of their benefits (pensions included!). In the State Department the situation is much better. Gays and lesbians breathe a lot easier than they once did. However, they look to our system with envy knowing that the days of full acceptance are still well over the horizon.

Thanks to the courage and conviction of people like Stan Moore and the support of PAFSO, we in Canada have come a long way. There is no question that attitudes and practices are changing. This year Citizenship and Immigration has focused attention on gays and lesbians with the slogan "a respectful workplace starts with an open mind". Today, the Forces have sensitivity training that includes issues involving sexual orientation. Looking back, one has to wonder what John Watkins or John Holmes would say if they were alive today. But, if ours is a luckier generation than their's, one is also reminded of Stephen

Leacock's famous line that "...it took twenty years of hard work to get this lucky!"

The author is a Foreign Service officer. The article was written with the help of concerned individuals from the Political, Trade, and Immigration streams and from the Canadian military.

One Foreign Service Officer's Experience

I have been in the Foreign Service for 15 years and will be going on my fifth posting this summer. I have been in a relationship for 20 years and my spouse has never been on posting with me because of the lack of inclusive regulations which would permit this. Like most couples we have our home in Ottawa and two dogs. We have maintained our relationship by visiting each other every six months and spending all holidays, birthdays and vacations together. No small expense given the costs of travel.

I, like others, have not had a very positive experience at the hands of those who administer benefits or of the management which implements regulations. In the fall of 1995 when benefits were extended to gays and lesbians, I registered as required, though this practice seemed to me at the time as one of census and control and not for the actual benefit of the employee. I was then on posting and what should have been a personal matter was discussed around the Embassy as if I was some kind of circus freak. Later I applied for the rent waiver under the FSDs because I also had a mortgage in Ottawa. DFAIT asked for several documents to show proof of our relationship and who owned the house, who paid the mortgage and taxes, etc... I went along with this procedure thinking it was normal and required. Then DFAIT asked the Admin officer at my post about my character, to see if what I had declared was true, though they already had in hand copies of city and bank documents, tax receipts etc... The Admin officer made it clear that this was a favour done for me. My request could have been denied. I do not believe that other straight colleagues would have been treated this way.

I have been patronised by colleagues at various posts. Some have played on the fact that I am gay, there has been a lack of respect and some hypocrisy. But with time you learn to respond by pointing out what they have just said and refusing to accept such attitudes. What is difficult at posts is often the attitude of other Canadian colleagues. Contrary to popular belief, often

the population of the host country is far more accepting.

With Personnel I have also met with resistance, under the guise of trying to be helpful. It is very difficult to get information on visas for a spouse or official recognition. It is often far more simple to ask the host government through contacts. In the past I have had to do all the work myself, and often it can take weeks to find out. In this respect some Admin officers at posts abroad will simply refuse to help. If you have a list of countries you would like to apply for, this can be a roadblock which can deter you from applying for a position. In this respect SERV and Protocol at DFAIT can be helpful and provide clear information. But in my mind this should be a responsibility of Personnel and the employee should not be left wondering.

I have met with a wall of resistance with respect to inquiries about our rights under the law and the FSDs. I was told by an officer working in the S branch at DFAIT that there is still a mentality and attitudes which are clearly homophobic at DFAIT. I believe that is also true at CIC where our colleagues face similar attitudes. HOMs have in the past made comments to me which were out of place but considered acceptable, because it came from an

Ambassador. One such HOM upon learning that my spouse was coming to visit told me that he hoped we would not create a scandal and would behave ourselves. Given that both of us are middle-aged, I thought the comment inappropriate and silly and I pointed that out to him. Another Ambassador said to me one day, that giving rights to people had to be a slow process because the majority had to accept the concept of extending rights to other people and one has to be patient. A rather facile comment coming from a Head of Mission who advocated human rights causes.

There is clearly a double standard at work and I am sure that others have faced similar painful situations. I do not believe that attitudes will change rapidly as long as management does not commit itself to lead by example. We should also not leave everything to the courts to decide. Others such as women, native people, visible minorities have all suffered similar treatment. One can only hope that DFAIT will eventually learn to treat its employees in a spirit of inclusiveness. One just has to look at the way DFAIT has treated women in general and wives historically to see that we have a long way to go.

from a dedicated Foreign Service officer

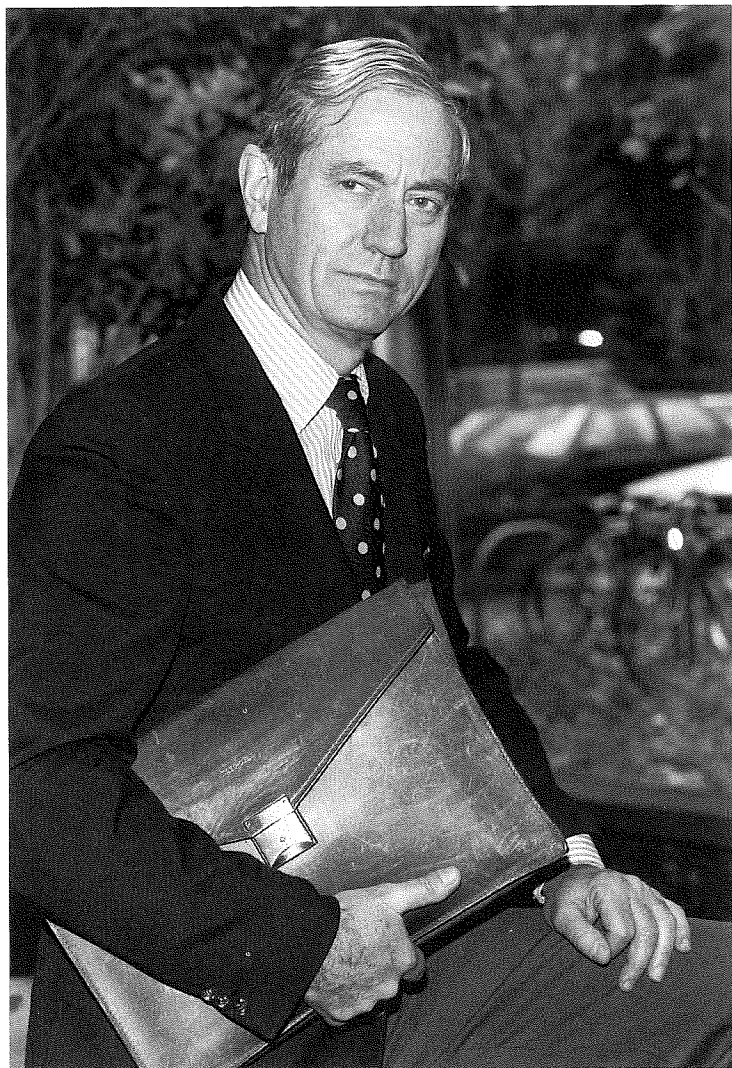
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John Halstead C.M. 1923-1998

John Halstead was one of the 'Greats' of our Foreign Service. The service of Thanksgiving for his life was held on a bright, sunny day in mid-February. It was a celebration of one who followed until death his credo of giving the most of himself in the service of his family, his friends, his faith, his students and his country.

The choice of hymns and readings gave an indication of how John had come to look back on his life. His son Christopher read the passage from Ecclesiastes, "A time to every purpose under the Heaven, a time to be born and a time to die...A time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace...I have seen the travail, which God hath given to the sons of men to be exercised in it". The choir was of good voice and with over 350 in attendance the rendering of prayer and song was impressive.

golden years of the Foreign Service. He was one of those whom Debra Hulley and I enlisted to serve on the senior editorial board when we transformed **bout de papier** into the magazine of diplomacy and foreign service.

An Atlanticist — John believed that while Asia mattered and the United States was primary, we could never make the mistake of turning our backs on Europe. He was convinced that Germany mattered the most in Europe and that the key to containing the Soviets was to ensure that the Germans were kept converts to democracy and to the West.

Jake Warren, his lifelong friend who joined the Foreign Service short months before Halstead in 1946, gave an impressive eulogy. Rideau Park United Church was full. It was a splendid turnout of the old hands, a tribute to the genuine regard

John had carefully selected the hymns. 'Praise my soul the God of heaven' is powerful and robust. 'Eternal Father, strong to save' has the memorable lines "for those in peril on the sea", reflecting his naval service. 'Joyful, joyful we adore you' is set to the music of Beethoven's 9th Symphony 'Ode to Joy', a paean to his love of German culture.

One of that generation which came of age during the thirties, he went to war as a naval intelligence officer who debriefed captured German sailors on the disposition of their submarine fleet. John then joined the Foreign Service and served with distinction under the leadership of the likes of Pearson, Ritchie, and Smith in the

in which Halstead was held. Two former secretaries of State for External Affairs, Mitchell Sharp and Alan MacEachen, were there, along with the German ambassador and John's many, many friends.

His guiding principles were contained in his own version of the 23rd Psalm which was included in the bulletin of Service:

The Lord is my creator and my companion
I put my hand in His.
He leads me where He will.
His presence is my constant comfort.
He knows my every need.
He is the source of my body's
vital energy.
He inspires my mind.
He feeds my soul.
I have no fear, for with Him I will
be equal to
every ordeal, every challenge, even
unto death and beyond.
Without Him I am a shell —
I am nothing.
With Him I can strive to be what
He would
Have me be, and make the most of what
I have to serve Him.

As I left the chapel, I was reminded of the words from Ecclesiasticus and their application to John and his former brothers-in-arms during war and peace:

"All these were honoured in their generations, and were the glory of their times."

D. Colin Robertson
bout Editorial Board

Reproduced below are excerpts from Jake Warren's Remembrance followed by a special contribution from Ferry de Kerchove.

**A Service of Remembrance,
February 14, 1998**
by Jake Warren

Today we mourn the passing of John Halstead. We also, together, and each in our own way, celebrate and rejoice in a life from which so much was quietly given to others and, in peace and war, to his country.

Images of times together come flooding back. I welcomed him to the East Block when he reported for duty to the Department of External Affairs in 1946. (Senior I was, by at least two or three months!) We were both ex-naval officers but, at the time I, a simple sailor, was quite unaware that he was a modern language specialist from UBC who had spent the three previous years in Naval Intelligence gathering information from German U-boat prisoners, and otherwise, to further the war at sea; much less that he had debriefed the German Naval

High Command immediately after the capitulation on the location of their submarine fleet and under-water mine fields. Years later, when Ambassador to Germany, John's contacts were re-established with Germans who had fought in World War II. For his work with them and for international understanding, he was awarded, in 1984, the first Peace Prize given by the Association of German Veterans — a rare honour indeed!

John and I became the closest of friends when we served together at Canada House in London after he had earned a BSc at the London School of Economics... John and I shared a flat in Hyde Park Gate, a short dead-end street off Kensington Gardens. Our quarters were small but served the purpose... One of our visitors was a beautiful and talented American — Fulbright Scholar whom John had met in Geneva and who had come to London to work on her M.A. thesis. Her name was Jean Gemmil. Most of you will recognise her as John's lovely wife of over 44 years.

After increasingly senior appointments to Tokyo, at the UN mission in New York and as Minister at the Embassy in Paris, John returned in 1966 to head the European division in Ottawa. Subsequently he was named Assistant Under Secretary for European and International Security Affairs. He was also for a number of months Acting Under Secretary, then appointed Deputy Under Secretary, until becoming Ambassador to Germany in 1975. For two years prior to his retirement in 1982, he was Canada's NATO Ambassador.

One can safely say that over the period 1966-82 there were no major political or defence policy issues touching Canadian interest in Europe and mutual security which did not come under his vigorous analysis nor benefit from his sound and objective judgement.

By general agreement, John's tenure as Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany was very special, indeed. Germany's role in Europe was becoming more and more central in political as well as economic affairs. The Ambassador's fluency in German, his understanding of Germany and empathy with that country's cultural heritage evoked a warm response and welcome in German senior official, Ministerial, artistic and intellectual circles.

These contacts were invaluable as he sought to promote and protect Canadian interests in the Federal Republic and beyond. John's involvement in the development of Canadian/German relations continued long after his retirement. In recognition of this long service he was awarded an honorary degree by the University of

Augustburg in 1994 — the first non-German, I understand, to be so honoured.

John will likewise be remembered for his contribution in later years as a scholarly teacher of international relations and diplomacy, with emphasis on the Canadian experience... Visiting Professor at Georgetown University, Washington; the Paul Martin Professor of International Affairs and Law at Windsor University; Adjunct Research Professor, Norman Patterson School of International Affairs and the School of Public Administration, Carleton University; and Skelton-Clark Fellow, Queen's University.

In 1994 John was appointed Senior Adviser to the Special Joint Committee of Parliament reviewing Canadian Foreign Policy, chaired by the Hon. Allan MacEachen. He was Co-author of the Committee's important report "Canada's Foreign Policy: Principles and Priorities for the future".

A passionate and proud Canadian, John, in 1964, recommended to Prime Minister Pearson a well received flag design which consisted of three red maple leaves on a white ground bordered by two blue bands. In 1966, he proposed the "snow-flake" design for the insignia of the Order of Canada. In 1996 he was an active participant in the Confederation 2000 Conference which, to strengthen national unity, established an action agenda for necessary change and national renewal. He, a Westerner, argued for greater understanding of Quebec's particular position and urged the development of national unity solutions which would also accommodate legitimate aspirations of other provinces within a strengthened Federation. He pleaded for wise and strong leadership and the articulation of an imaginative vision for Canada: one which could inspire Canadians from coast to coast, help heal our wounds and bind the people and regions more closely together in common endeavour.

We will remember him most, however, as a truly fine human being. One thinks of his strength of character, his goodness and kindness, his high principles and integrity, his sensitivity and judgement, his compassion and courage, not least when faced with tragic illness in his family. A serious man eschewing superficiality and measured in his speech, he was at the same time warm and loving and full of charm. Selfless and concerned for all around him, he was in every sense a gentleman.

Named to the Order of Canada in 1996 he exemplified in his dedication to public service, the motto of the Order — "*Desiderantes Meliorem Patrium*" — They desire a better country.

John was an impeccable draftsman. In a world of body language, triteness and hype, his clean and economical use of English shone as a beacon above a sea of fog. John used words to build understanding, not to confuse or obfuscate. He leaves an as yet unpublished anthem to our country "The Spirit of 67", of which he was also the composer. Amongst his papers he left a penned note saying:

"What is important is not what happens to a person in this life, but how he deals with it."

Over the years, the Halsteads and the Warrens have shared each others' joys and comforted each other in times of trouble. The cup of memory is full of recollections of good times spent together... The Warrens cherish especially the memory of their visits to the Halsteads' hidden refuge — Trident Island at the headwaters of the Rideau Lakes... John's absence will be particularly felt at the Island. It is as if one of its splendid oaks were suddenly stricken down, leaving painful emptiness against the sky — a void which also cries out from our hearts.

Here's to you valiant John,
Few of your calibre pass our way,
Go well, as your indomitable spirit takes
the tiller for the unknown shore.

Un grand homme vient de disparaître: John Halstead

par Ferry de Kerchove

John Halstead vient de s'éteindre et avec lui disparaît l'un des derniers grands de notre diplomatie de l'après-guerre. C'est un pan d'histoire qui s'estompe, et pour moi, c'est un mentor et un ami qui part. Beaucoup d'entre nous retraceront ses contributions innombrables. Je voudrais simplement relater ici quelques souvenirs qu'en son nom, je lègue aux siens, à ses amis et surtout à Jean, son admirable épouse et artiste.

J'ai rencontré John pour la première fois alors que j'étais encore étudiant au doctorat à l'Université Laval. Il était venu dans le cadre d'une conférence de l'Institut canadien des affaires internationales pour nous parler du Canada et de l'Europe, lui qui fut au coeur du débat sur la Troisième Option — sa propre démarche, me confia-t-il bien des années plus tard, n'avait jamais été vraiment comprise et les désillusions qui suivirent ne l'étonnèrent pas, précisa-t-il, parce qu'à un concept généreux mais mal défini, on se refusa d'y mettre véritablement les moyens nécessaires. À la conférence de Laval, avec la prétention du néophyte mais imbu du titre d'étudiant au doctorat et convaincu, européen de

naissance, que j'avai quelque chose à apporter à la discussion, j'intervins assez souvent dans le débat au point que John finit par prêter attention à cet énergumène et, par courtoisie, le traiter en égal le temps d'une discussion. Je lui confiai alors que je me joindrais prochainement au ministère. Moins d'un an plus tard, je devenais l'un des 77 nouveaux ASE-1(D) du 4 septembre 1973 (à l'époque on mettait davantage l'accent sur la quantité que sur la qualité) et, en 1974, je participais, cette fois-ci comme le dernier des sous-fifres, à la conférence que présidait John au ministère sur l'accord contractuel Canada-Europe.

C'est à ce moment que j'ai réalisé dans quel monde hiérarchisé j'étais tombé. Qu'il nous paraissait distant, l'altier John Halstead — inaccessible, sévère, austère — et pourtant, combien cette image était fautive et combien il demeurait toujours d'une profonde courtoisie et vous répondait avec une égale profondeur et "thoughtfulness" pour autant que vous touchiez l'essentiel.

Deux anecdotes que je lui racontai bien des années plus tard illustrent la précision et la rigueur d'esprit de John. Son rythme d'élocution lent mais déterminé était devenu légendaire. Je me souviens d'une rencontre que j'avais eue entre John Halstead et l'ambassadeur de Suisse qui, ayant commencé en français et se méprenant sur la lenteur de la réponse, suggéra à John de continuer en anglais et se rendit compte que le rythme de la réponse en anglais était rigoureusement le même qu'en français puisque John parlait les deux langues avec le même souci de perfection ... et la même lenteur. Une autre fois, prenant les notes d'une rencontre qu'il avait avec son grand ami l'ambassadeur d'Allemagne, soit que la chaleur m'incommoda, soit que le rythme de la conversation m'endormit, je m'assoupis pendant quelques instants sans que ni l'un ni l'autre ne le remarqua. Je rédigeai ensuite mon rapport et le transmis à "PDH", l'acronyme de John à l'époque. Exactement ce que je prévoyais avec crainte arriva: il me convoqua et me fit remarquer que dans ce rapport d'une conversation qui avait duré au moins une heure, il manquait une référence à une nuance, une inflexion qui, je me rendis compte, correspondait exactement au moment où je m'étais assoupi.

En 1981, on me proposa d'aller à l'OTAN où John était ambassadeur. Quand j'acceptai, on me dit qu'il faudrait évidemment attendre la confirmation de John Halstead qui serait précédée d'une entrevue qu'il me ferait passer. Beaucoup avaient craint cette étape fatidique. Pourtant, en moins de dix minutes l'affaire fut réglée. John me dit ce qu'il attendait de moi et je lui promis de livrer la marchandise. À l'OTAN, les choses

allèrent fort bien et certains collègues se demandaient en riant combien de temps durerait "la lune de miel". Elle dura en fait pendant toute la durée de mon séjour à l'OTAN avec lui parce que, par-delà certains moments très tendus, je continuais à vouer à cet homme une très grande admiration. Mon épouse, Louise, partagea elle aussi ce sentiment même si, au début, ce fut avec beaucoup de réticence qu'elle se prêta à un "cérémonial" qu'imposait John à tous ses nouveaux agents: un déjeuner obligatoire à quatre à la résidence le premier mois d'arrivée: John, Jean et le couple nouvellement arrivé. Certains de nos collègues nous avaient décrit ce passage obligé comme une véritable épreuve. Bien au contraire, ce fut le début d'une profonde amitié. Par un heureux hasard, Louise avait apporté en cadeau une bougie centenaire à Jean sans savoir que cette dernière avait une prédilection pour les bougies. Par la suite, John devait confier à Louise une tâche des plus comiques: la copréparation avec le chef du Hilton du menu du dîner que devait offrir Mark McGuigan à ses collègues de l'OTAN quelques mois plus tard à Bruxelles en étant que président d'honneur de l'OTAN cette année-là. Pendant deux mois, presque tous les soirs, Louise nous imposa à la maison une version ou l'autre de sa mousse à l'érable.

Louise eut l'occasion d'apprécier la rigueur de John en même temps que son amitié. Un an après notre arrivée, le poste d'agent d'administration à l'OTAN s'avéra disponible et ma femme, qui appartenait au Conseil du Trésor, postula le poste. John Halstead l'encouragea dans cette voie et Ottawa décida alors que l'ambassadeur présiderait un comité de sélection. Ottawa avait envoyé une quinzaine de questions avec instruction d'en poser quelques-unes au choix. Louise entra dans le bureau de l'ambassadeur, s'attendant à être accueillie avec la chaleur habituelle de son hôte et découvrit qu'on la faisait froidement asseoir d'un côté, les trois interrogateurs de l'autre et qu'avec une austérité implacable, John Halstead se mit à lui poser non pas quelques questions mais les quinze au complet. Elle sortit de la pièce deux heures et demie plus tard, épuisée sans qu'aucun commentaire favorable ou défavorable n'ait été mis pas l'ambassadeur. Le soir même, nous assistions à un vernissage des sculptures de Jean que nous avions aidé à organiser à Bruxelles et, en nous voyant arriver, Jean nous a sauté dans les bras en disant "je ne sais pas si j'ai le droit de vous le dire, mais John est revenu enchanté du bureau aujourd'hui en disant que Louise avait dépassé toutes ses espérances".

De nombreuses années plus tard, John et moi nous remémorions certains passages

de son séjour à l'OTAN. Je lui rappelai son extraordinaire patience de même que la constance de ses réflexions lorsqu'il dut subir pas moins de 14 reprises d'une entrevue télévisée que lui faisait passer Peter Newman — l'éclairage n'était pas bon, l'angle de prise pouvait être meilleur, le décor ne convenait pas, etc. — et qu'il parvint chaque fois à reprendre le fil de sa pensée, suivre la même démarche, soulignant les mêmes thèmes avec un égal équilibre et reflétant les mêmes priorités. J'évoquai son admirable discours de départ à ses collègues en 1982 qui provoqua une salve d'applaudissements nourris. Avec humour, il me dit que je souffrais d'un excès de générosité et qu'il savait bien que sa réputation d'homme difficile ne lui avait pas nécessairement fait que des amis. Il me demanda alors de lui relater certains de mes propres "moments difficiles". Je n'ai pas su résister et je lui rappelai ce déjeuner qu'il avait offert à l'occasion du passage à l'OTAN de Donald MacDonald notre ancien ministre des Finances, accompagné d'une dizaine de parlementaires canadiens. Il me fit venir dans son bureau après le déjeuner et me dit que dans mon plan de table, j'aurais dû déplacer de dix centimètres la place de l'hôte qu'il était, afin d'éviter toute confusion quant à qui était l'hôte officiel du déjeuner entre lui et le Secrétaire Général Joseph Luns ... Il m'en fallait plus pour briser la lune de miel...

Grâce à notre Consul général à Munich, Tim Williams, j'ai eu le bonheur de participer en novembre 1996 à un colloque en Allemagne avec John Halstead et de l'accompagner dans quelques "think-tanks" où sa profonde sagacité se révélait en tout instant. Mais encore plus important, nous eûmes des moments privilégiés quand, dans quelques estaminets de Munich et des environs, nous avons pu évoquer non seulement le passé où il avait été mon inspiration mais aussi l'avenir où il me révélait plus que n'importe quel autre, une passion intelligente et réfléchie pour le Canada. Si seulement les Québécois qui songent à la grande séparation pouvaient entendre ce que cet homme disait et ressentir la souffrance qui était la sienne face au déchiement du pays, l'unité du pays serait reconstruite, plus solide et plus ferme qu'aux beaux jours de juillet 1867.

Enfin, John, je te remercie de notre dernière rencontre qui remonte à ce déjeuner en novembre dernier où les stigmates de la maladie te creusaient déjà mais où ton amitié profonde et ton affectueuse gentillesse s'efforçaient de dissimuler ta souffrance physique et morale. Tu es parti; nous restons très seuls mais fiers de t'avoir connu et aimé. ☺



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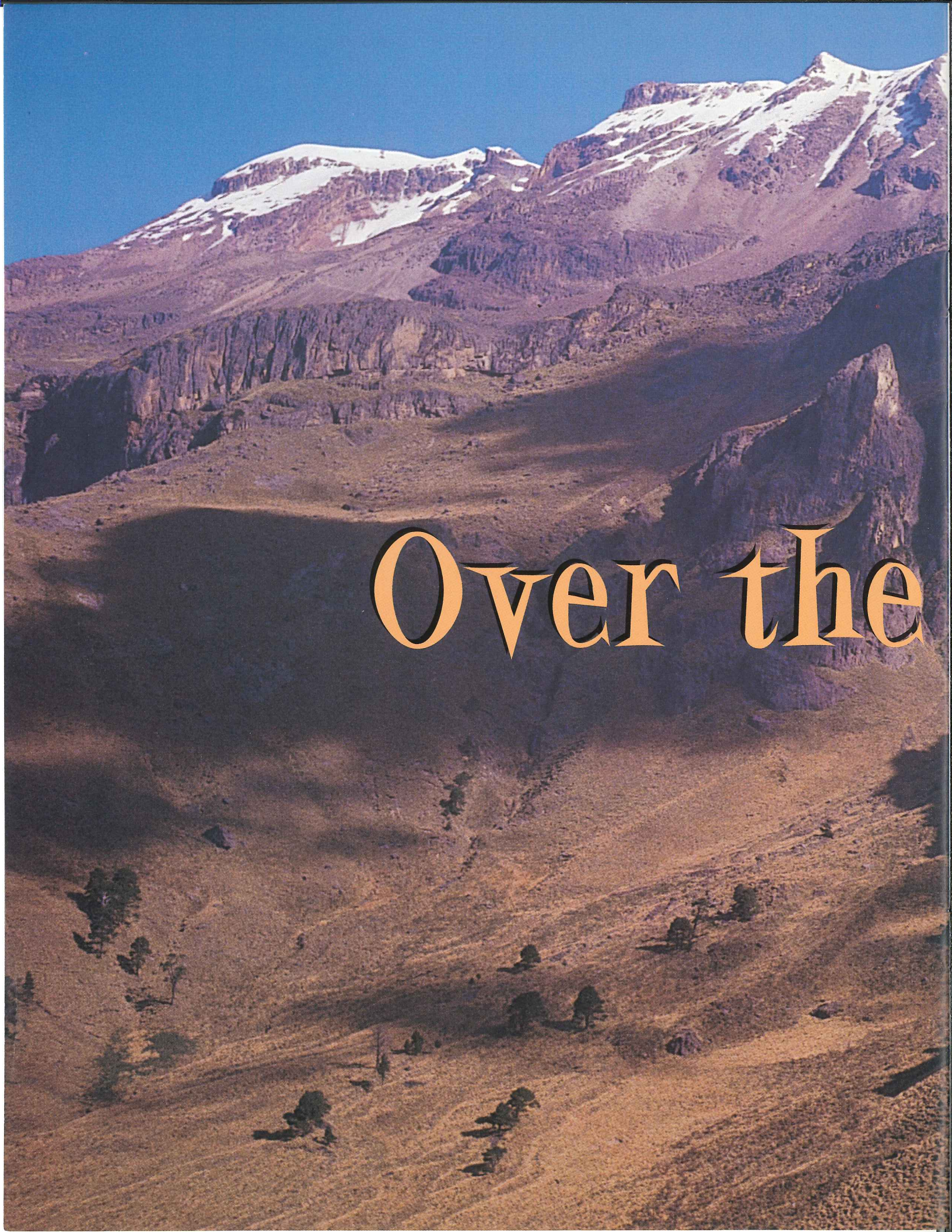
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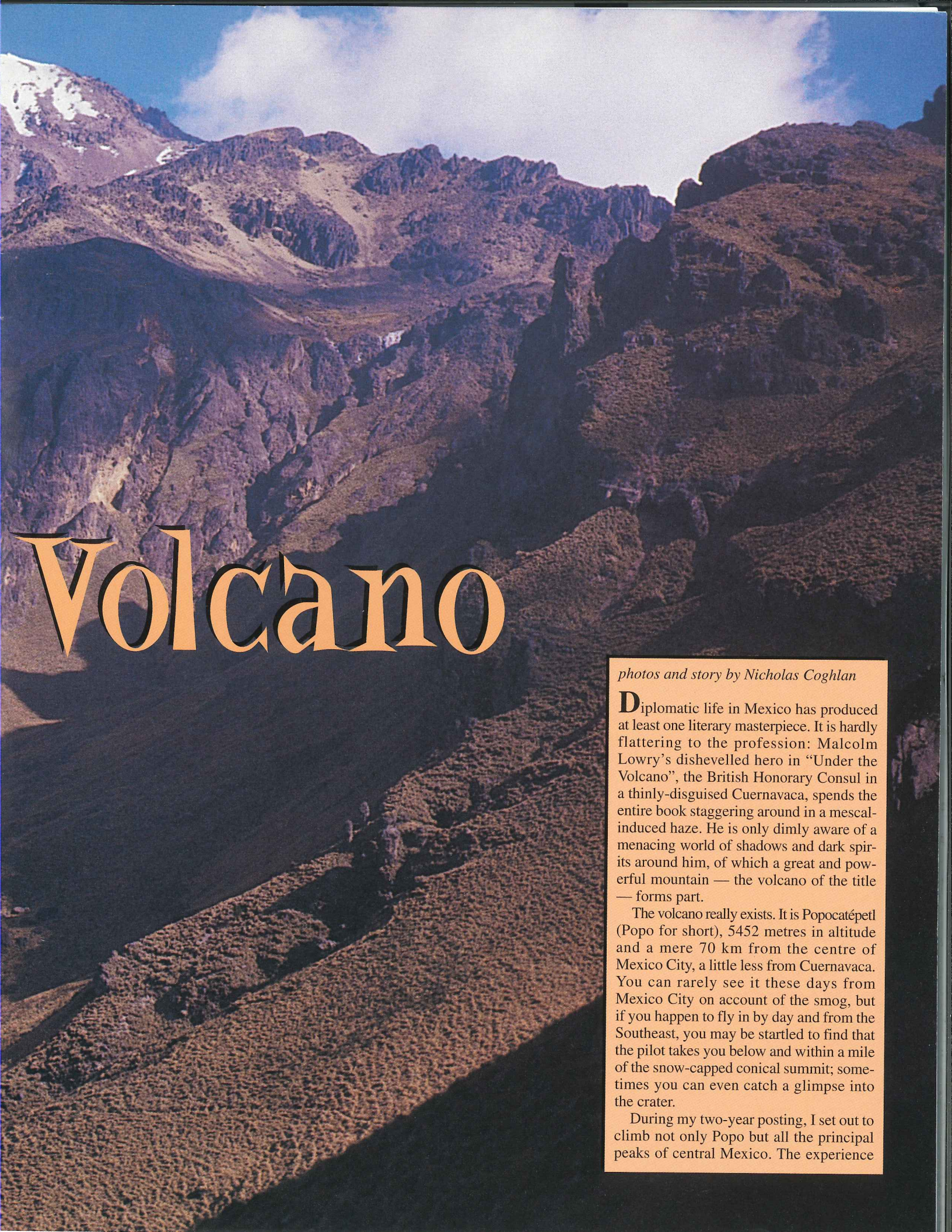
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A photograph of a rugged mountain range. The peaks are covered in snow, and the slopes are rocky and brown. The foreground shows a valley with sparse vegetation and small trees. The sky is clear and blue.

Over the



Volcano

photos and story by Nicholas Coghlan

Diplomatic life in Mexico has produced at least one literary masterpiece. It is hardly flattering to the profession: Malcolm Lowry's dishevelled hero in "Under the Volcano", the British Honorary Consul in a thinly-disguised Cuernavaca, spends the entire book staggering around in a mescal-induced haze. He is only dimly aware of a menacing world of shadows and dark spirits around him, of which a great and powerful mountain — the volcano of the title — forms part.

The volcano really exists. It is Popocatepetl (Popo for short), 5452 metres in altitude and a mere 70 km from the centre of Mexico City, a little less from Cuernavaca. You can rarely see it these days from Mexico City on account of the smog, but if you happen to fly in by day and from the Southeast, you may be startled to find that the pilot takes you below and within a mile of the snow-capped conical summit; sometimes you can even catch a glimpse into the crater.

During my two-year posting, I set out to climb not only Popo but all the principal peaks of central Mexico. The experience



was exhilarating, exhausting, occasionally hallucinatory and involved a great deal of staggering around — all in all, a bottle of mescal would have been a cheaper and quicker way of achieving the same effect.

The Nevado de Toluca — the drive-in Volcano

The Nevado is a great hulk of a mountain that bursts up out of densely-cultivated agricultural land in the populous State of Mexico, some three hours' drive from Mexico City. A two-lane metalled road gradually disintegrates into a dusty track as it zigzags up through thinning pine forest. Around one bend, you suddenly come to a barrier across the road: a polite and timid campesino, with a rifle slung over his shoulder, comes out from behind a tree and collects a small toll. It is unclear whether this toll is officially sanctioned; you suspect not.

Emerging from the trees the road skirts around the flank of the mountain and disappears through a nick in its side. It is rather disconcerting to find yourself then coasting gently down to the shores of a small, black and cold-looking lake and to realise that you are in the crater itself.

From the crater, it's two or three hours scrambling to virtually any point on the rim. It's cold at any time of the year, there are usually snowfields to negotiate and, once you are past 4500 metres, most hikers find the tell-tale queasiness of altitude sickness begins to kick in. However, none of this puts off determined "Chilango" (Mexico City-dwellers) weekenders. They flock to the Nevado in their dozens: plump, stocky women in neon-orange tights and high heels, clutching the family pooch to them as they negotiate scree slopes and requiring pushes up the steep parts; sullen teenagers

in American-college sweatshirts lurking in crevasses and trying to get some noise out of their boom boxes; the population of an entire Mexico City barrio using your car as a goal post for an impromptu soccer game on the crater floor. Definitely not your average volcano.

Volcán Orizaba — a mountain with serious altitude

Orizaba is not to be knocked off as lightly as Toluca. At 5780 metres, it is the third highest mountain in North America, after McKinley (Alaska) and Waddington (British Columbia); at this altitude nothing is easy.

The Embassy team was a motley but capable one: André Charbonneau (at that time posted at our High Commission in London, here on vacation); Nathalie Mathiasen from our Immigration Section in Mexico, along with her husband Dave, a

TRAVEL TO FAR AND WIDE / VOYAGES À TOUS VENTS

Previous page: Ixtaccíhuatl (5286m) — The Sleeping Princess

Left: 6 a.m. on the upper slopes of Popocatepetl; below is the Paso de Cortés, from which the Spanish Conquistadors first glimpsed Tenochtitlán (Mexico City).

US Marine; Elizabeth Gammell, Trade Commissioner at the Embassy; myself; my wife Jenny (Systems Administrator at the Embassy) and our guide, Ricardo. Ricardo, at least, knew what he was doing: he is one of only two Mexicans ever to have climbed Everest and is widely regarded as the country's foremost climber.

cone. There is no glass in any of the windows, and by the time it's ten below, just after dark, we wonder what is the point of actually sleeping indoors. Nobody really feels like eating, but Ricardo forces pasta down us until we are feeling sick.

We're up at midnight, off at 1 a.m. Two feet apart, eyes on the boots in front, we begin zigzagging our way up, at a snail's pace, first on scree, then on hard-packed snow. Nobody speaks. I can't decide if I feel sick or want to go to the bathroom; I soon find I am doing both, repeatedly. At the snowline, just after dawn, the view is breathtaking. At least, I suppose it must be: I take some pictures and wonder if I have ever felt worse. Two of our team decide to drop out. I envy them, but I

Ricardo finally rallies us. We all hold hands and lurch crazily forward: this way, everyone reaches the top at the same time. We've made it! To great applause and admiration — this is the most energy anyone has displayed all day — Dave pulls out a bottle of champagne from his backpack! He sprays it everywhere but is understandably crestfallen when, one by one, everybody politely passes on drinking from the bottle — we all find the prospect of champagne physically repellent at this moment.

Disappointingly, the summit is crowned by a heap of old scrap-iron and the remains of several car batteries. Who can possibly have carted this up here, and why?



Ricardo has everything organised. It takes us the best part of a day

to drive to Tlachichuca, a small village some 150 km inland from Veracruz. Here we transfer to the back of a truck; those who have a presentiment of what is coming squeeze into the front cabin, while the rest blithely enjoy the sunshine and fresh air on the flatbed. It's four hours of lurching up a deeply rutted dirt road that simply disappears for long periods in the forest. We are thankful it hasn't been raining recently, but we are all soon coated with a centimetre of gritty brown dust that makes breathing and keeping our eyes open unpleasant.

The "refuge" is a great cavernous stone building in scree at the foot of Orizaba's

know that Jenny will go on — if I drop out here, the embarrassment will be too much. What seems like many hours later but is actually only 11 a.m., we are all strung out in a vertical line, ten feet apart, with the leader only feet from the rim of the volcano. We are roped up and crampons allow us to stand with some degree of security on the hard-packed snow slope; we've just carefully negotiated our way around the final crevasse. There is no sense of anticipation, no excitement: those at the top of the line wait dully while the stragglers inch their way up. Five steps. Rest. Three steps. Rest. The rests get longer and longer, the steps shorter.

Camping below Ixtaccíhuatl

Ixta — the sleeping princess

Ixtaccíhuatl, according to Aztec legend, is a sleeping princess, jealously guarded by her prince (Popocatepetl) fifteen kilometres to the South. The mountain is elongated in shape, not conical, and it does indeed resemble a reclining woman, with her knees pulled up. The several snow-capped summits are known as the Knees, the Breasts and the Nose, with the left breast (from the Princess's point of view) reaching the highest point (5286m).

Although Ixta is not as high as either Popo or Orizaba, it's a more complicated and technically challenging climb, and weather conditions on top can change with treacherous speed. Most years, two or three climbers are killed in snow and wind storms: Ixta deserves a good measure of respect.

The obligatory axle-scraping dirt track leads from the saddle between Popo and Ixta — the Pass of Cortés, for it was from here that the Spanish conquistador first sighted the fabulous Mexico-Tenochtitlan in 1517 — to a litter-strewn parking area. From here, it's a varied walk/climb, for some six or seven hours, to the tiny geodesic-dome refuge that, when the sun glints, can just be made out on the skyline.

Here, at 4900 metres, with the great metropolis of Mexico City spread out far below us like a glittering jewel-box and the stars above as brilliant as you will ever see, I spent one of the most unpleasant nights of my life: one after the other, I seemed to be hit by waves of nausea, diarrhoea, intense thirst and shivering fits, these in spite of the piles of down garments that I had heaped upon myself. My trudge to Ixta's left nipple, on a morning of brilliant sunshine and icy deep blue skies, was a re-run of the nightmare on Orizaba, although when I look at the pictures today I try to convince myself I enjoyed it...

Popo — into the abyss

At the Paso de Cortés there used to be a statue of the Spanish conquistador. He is not greatly admired in Mexico, to put it mildly, but even his worst enemies should admire his daring and fortitude. His arrival at this windswept place is one of the defining moments of modern history, on a par with Balboa's sighting of the Pacific from "a peak in Darien". The spectacle the Spaniards beheld is described by a common footsoldier, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, writing fifty years after the event:

"...when we saw all those cities and villages built in the water, and other great towns on dry land, and that straight and level causeway leading to Mexico, we were astounded. These great towns and temples and buildings rising from the water, all made of stone, seemed like an enchanted vision from the tale of Amadis of Gaul. Indeed, some of our soldiers asked whether it was not all a dream. It was all so wonderful that I do not know how to describe this first glimpse of things never heard of, seen or dreamed of before".

Months later, as he lay siege to Mexico City, Cortés would regularly send his soldiers back to the pass and up Popo itself. Their mission was to descend deep into the crater to gather sulphur for the making of gunpowder. This they did so often that it became a routine (a sobering thought for would-be climbers of today).

Some vandal — or was it the government in some fit of supreme nationalist zeal? — has long since removed the statue of Cortés, and all that remains today is a crumbling plinth.

*It's too windy to hear
anything this morning
but you're sure that,
if the wind died, you'd
hear Popo bubbling
and spurting.*

As is the case for Orizaba, the ascent of Popo is best begun before dawn — leave much later and you will find yourself approaching the summit when the snow is at its mushiest and forward progress becomes impossible. This time, I had a new strategy: coca. Coca, in the form of teabags and made from raw, green coca leaves, is entirely legal in Mexico, and is supposed to be a particularly good remedy for those who suffer from altitude sickness. I don't know about this, but I can now vouch for its emetic qualities.

The approach to the cone of Popo, from the usual campsites or the refuge at Tlamacas, is a long and skirting one through shale and fields of black volcanic dust: hard going in that, for every two steps up, you slide back one. It's about two and a half hours to a rocky platform ("Las Cruces") just below the usual snowline. From here you can see straight up to the rim: as the guidebook says, "proceed to the summit".

It's a deceptively long trudge to the top: an unremitting 40 degree slope on hard snow with a dirty crust of volcanic dust. But as you rise further and further above the morning mist and clouds that still fill the valleys far below, as the air thins and the morning stars fade in the deep blue sky, the awareness of just where you are begins to sink in. The immediate horizon is the same right and left: the perfectly straight, 40 degree angle. Looking beyond it to the right, 110 km away, you can clearly see the Nevado de Toluca, the first rays of the sun just catching patches of snow on its black

flanks. To the left, at 140 km, is the cone of Orizaba: behind, the clouds merge faintly into the pale blue of the Gulf of Mexico. At your back, and already on the same level, the summit of Ixtaccíhuatl. At this moment, barring aeroplane passengers and expeditions to the relatively unfrequented Orizaba, you're the highest person in North America.

The crater is everything a volcanic crater should be: clouds of foul-smelling steam waft up as you peer in, wary of coming too close to the sheer edge. Somewhere on the floor, 400m below, you can make out patches of bright yellow and orange: it's too windy to hear anything this morning but you're sure that, if the wind died, you'd hear Popo bubbling and spurting. It's sinister, menacing, and you start to feel a little uneasy. The rim of Popo isn't the kind of place where you want to hang around.

Next time you're sitting on the starboard side of the early morning flight to Oaxaca, and the plane banks around the mountain, you can't help feeling just a little smug, even possessive: you have stood just down there, and you looked scornfully over your shoulder as this very same flight laboured past, below you. ☺

Nicholas Coghlan is now on his second high-altitude posting, to Bogotá, Colombia.

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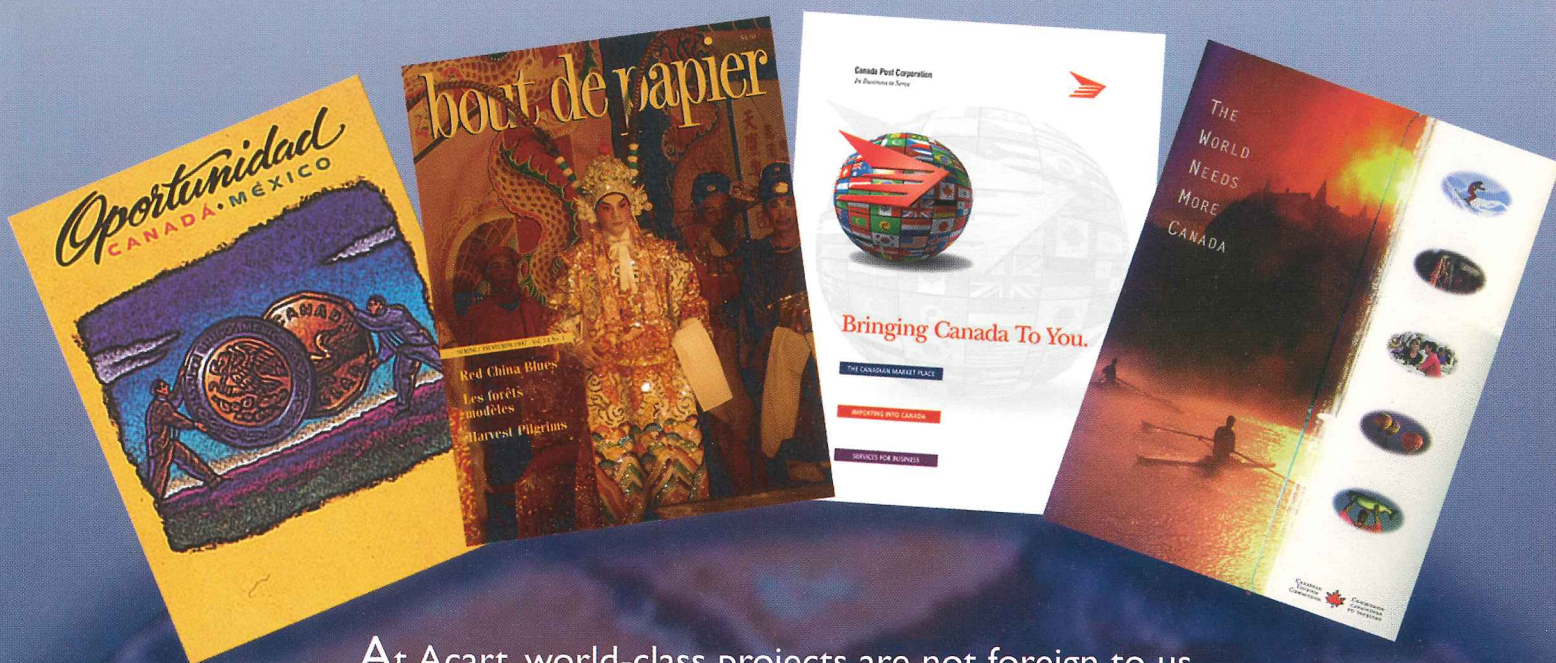


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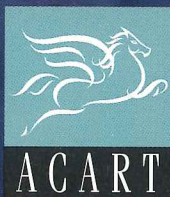
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Bohemian Tragedies

"Who is master of Bohemia," the Iron Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, once remarked, "is master of Europe". That strategic importance was a mixed blessing in the history of the republic of Czechoslovakia, as it had been in the thousand years after Great Moravia first briefly united Czech and Slovak groups. That others shared Bismarck's assessment has been amply and unfortunately demonstrated in the twentieth century. The republic of Czechoslovakia that was proclaimed so proudly in the final days of one world war, in October 1918, was dismembered on the eve of another, at Munich in September 1938 (with its neighbours hacking away until virtually nothing was left six months later). After subjection to Nazi Germany, what had been Czechoslovakia was liberated by the Red Army in 1945. Its consequently precarious independence was abruptly terminated when the Communists seized power in a coup in February 1948. Twenty years later, the Soviet Union and its allies in the Warsaw Pact perceived the "Prague Spring" as a sufficient threat to their regimes that they invaded Czechoslovakia in August 1968, thereby reimposing more orthodox Communist rule. More recently, the end of the Cold War, perhaps appropriately, had ambiguous effects for Czechoslovakia: the rebirth of democracy and the end of the often troubled history of the republic of Czechoslovakia.

This year marks numerous anniversaries for Czechoslovakia, including the formation of the state, appeasement at Munich, the coup and the invasion. Two of these events are depicted here from reports sent to Ottawa from Prague by R.M. Macdonnell, who was Chargé d'Affaires in 1948, and by Charles V. Cole, who was Chargé d'Affaires in 1968. As seen from the post, the Communist coup has been depicted in volume 14 (1948) of the series Documents on Canadian External Relations. But we have published here instead a despatch about an associated event, the "suicide" of Jan Masaryk, son of the republic's first president and foreign minister under the old and new regimes. The tragic death of Masaryk, who personified the identification and association of many Czechs with the West, shocked international opinion even more than the political machinations which prompted it. Possibly more jarring still for a later generation was the invasion of Czechoslovakia by its neighbours and nominal allies on the night of 21-22 August 1968. The communications reproduced here convey the plight of the Czechoslovakian people and the courageous but futile defiance which was their initial response to the armed intervention.

For providing copies of the messages about the Warsaw pact invasion, we would like to thank Paul Anderson of the Historical Section, as well as the co-authors of volume 3 of the departmental history, John Hilliker and Mary Halloran. Our thanks as well to Peter McKellar, Director of the Central Europe Division, who declassified the documents promptly in response to our request.

Chargé d'Affaires (Prague) to Secretary of State for External Affairs, No. 59, 15 March 1948

The state funeral for the late Jan Masaryk [Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia at his death] provided the only opportunity that the people of this unhappy country have had, or are likely to have (barring a similar tragedy involving President [Edvard] Benes), to show their real feelings about the events that have overwhelmed them. Enormous crowds turned out to pay their final tribute to the man who was the most

articulate and colourful supporter in Czechoslovakia of those democratic liberties which are fast disappearing, and the display of grief was most moving.

2. March 12th: the body lay in state at the Foreign Ministry. From the early hours of dawn until late in the evening all the approaches to the building were filled for half a mile or more with long lines of people, patiently waiting for the few moments when they could have a last glimpse of their departed friend and perhaps touch him, as many did. There must have been at least

two hundred thousand representing all strata of life. Men and women, young and old, simple peasants and sophisticated urbanites, rich and poor, all moved forward slowly together in the seemingly endless procession of mourners. The sobs and tears of men and women alike showed that this was no mere perfunctory duty.

3. The next day the state funeral began at 2 p.m., and by 11 a.m. the crowds were beginning to form along the route. The opening ceremonies were held in a rather small "pantheon" in the National Museum, and were attended by the President, Members of the Government and the Assembly, Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions and service attachés, senior army officers and officials and representatives of national organisations. The President looked very ill and almost dazed. The ceremonies themselves were short and simple, consisting of vocal and instrumental music and two speeches, one by [Klement] Gottwald, the Prime Minister, and the other by an elderly legionary of the First World War. In Gottwald's speech, as in all official references to Masaryk, great stress was laid on the way in which the late Foreign Minister had identified himself with the new government because it represented the will of the people. During the two weeks between the coup d'état and his suicide, Masaryk made a number of statements, no doubt for tactical reasons, in which he eulogised the new government, and this has given the regime a wonderful body of source material from which to quote. The general line is that Masaryk was happy to be serving the people in this most democratic of governments, and was driven to suicide by the vile reproaches of those in the West whom he thought to be his friends but who revealed themselves in this crisis as imperialists, warmongers and Fascists. The Communists are doing their best to establish a legend that Masaryk was hounded to death by the West.

4. When the brief ceremonies in the National Museum were concluded, the body was mounted on a gun-carriage and the funeral procession moved off with a large military and police escort. The route led through the heart of the business and shopping district, across the Vltava and up the hill to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a distance of about three miles. Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions walked in the procession, and this provided an otherwise unobtainable opportunity to witness the size

and emotion of the crowds. Every inch of standing room from curb to buildings along the route was occupied, and there must have been something like half a million people on hand. The sobs and tears of the previous day were repeated by men and women, young and old. One can imagine the variety of emotions that reinforced one another to produce a sense of desolation — grief for a magnetic and popular leader, pity for the mental turmoil which found in suicide the only release from an unbearable situation, anger on the part of those who believed in murder rather than suicide, and a poignant feeling that the flag-covered casket carried with it to burial not only the body of a staunch democrat, but the liberties of the Czechoslovak people as well. The breaking of a link with the elder Masaryk must have made many people vividly aware of the contrast between today's gloomy outlook and the hopeful days of the First Republic under the President-Liberator [Tomas Masaryk].

5. At the Foreign Ministry the casket was transferred from the gun-carriage to a motor hearse and taken to the country for burial beside the elder Masaryk [in the town of Lany]. Only the family and a limited number of Ministers and officials took part in the final ceremonies, and diplomatic

representatives were not invited to attend. In connection with diplomatic representation, there was one bizarre note which may be worth recording. Attendance had been strictly limited by the Foreign Ministry to Chiefs of Mission, who formed one group, and service attachés who marched in another. A notable exception to the rule was observed in the Chiefs of Mission group, where the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires was accompanied by five unknown and tough-looking individuals whose rumpled business dress made them stand out conspicuously from the morning coats and top hats of those who preceded and followed them. One can do no more than speculate on the motives which prompted the inclusion of these individuals in the procession.

6. The Legation flag was half-masted until after the funeral, and, in addition to attending the latter, I signed a condolence book in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, paid my respects at the lying-in-state and sent a wreath on behalf of the Canadian Government.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
R.M. Macdonnell
Chargé d'Affaires

**Canadian Embassy, Prague, to
Department of External Affairs,
Telegram 752, 21 August 1968
(Confidential)**

With dawn enormity of situation is being fully appreciated by Czechoslovaks. The country is reportedly under occupation by troops of five Warsaw Pact summiters [the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and East Germany]. Public shock is extremely pronounced. Many young Czech motorcyclists have gone by embassy with large Czechoslovak flags on their machines.

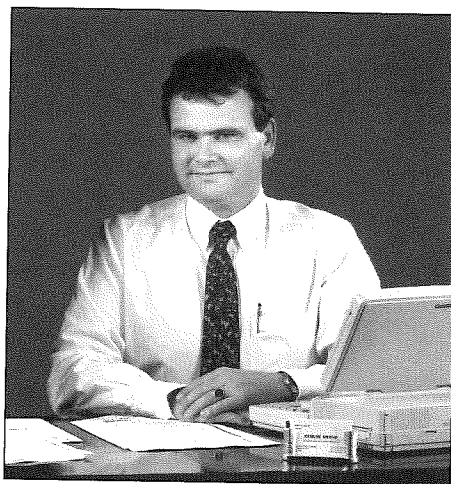
2. There are distressing reports, which we have no/no means of confirming, by local staff members who have come through centre of city of Czechoslovaks offering their bodies in opposition to invading tanks and Czechoslovaks in Prague approaching tanks with Czechoslovak flags in their hands. Scattered machine gunfire echoes through city and several loud explosions. Quantity of armour supports belief that they came both by road and air. Many aircraft still overhead but difficult to see them in early morning overcast. Long lines of people at stores and gas stations.

3. We are receiving many phone calls from Canadians including those at geological congress [the International Geological Congress met in Prague]. We are taking

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particulars and advising them to remain at their hotels for time being. We have been informed that phone lines outside Prague have been cut.

4. Following message has just been issued by Presidium of the National Assembly quote The President [sic: text read "The Presidium"] of the National Assembly expresses a deep and entire disagreement with the occupation of CSSR by the allied armies. This act has outrageously interfered into the sovereignty of the state. We demand an immediate departure of your troops from our country unquote.

5. Second secretary [J.E.M.] Bryson who has just returned to embassy estimates he saw 3000 troops mainly Soviet but some Poles around city mainly on airport road and vicinity of palace.

6. Prague Radio and TV are still on the air and are against invaders. Reports of Czechs being shot defending radio station. [Charles V.] Cole

**Canadian Embassy, Prague, to
Department of External Affairs,
Telegram 754, 21 August 1968
(Confidential)**

At 11 a.m. local time heavy machine gun firing can be heard at embassy coming from various quarters of city. Prague Radio went off about 8:15 a.m. but there is reception from Pilsen and Ceske Budevice which is against occupation. There are indications that moral resistance to invading forces is growing and it is difficult to predict size and duration of resistance and whether it will continue but machine gun fire is continuing intermittently.

2. Dr. Albright who was in Moscow on NRC exchange and is passing through Prague told me he witnessed 10:45 a.m. local time crowd he estimates at 200-300 of Czechoslovak demonstrators near Hradcany Castle approaching troops he was told were Soviet. Troops fired machine guns over heads of Czechoslovaks who then jeered. Albright started to run away from firing with some Czechs. He is certain that troops at this point began firing at lower level and he and Czechoslovaks took cover. However, he did not/not actually see any person struck by bullets which were flying in all directions and he heard no/no cries.

3. Unconfirmed reports are that three persons have been shot in one area and local staff member claims she witnessed shooting of one Czech in front of radio station. I am told that last round of firing has come from top of Wenceslas Square.

Cole

**Canadian Embassy, Prague, to
Department of External Affairs,
Telegram 755, 21 August 1968
(Confidential)**

Following is preliminary estimate of sequence of events which we have compiled from various reports some of which may not/not be reliable.

1. Presidium of CC of CCP [Central Committee of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] in session last evening preparing for 14th party congress.

2. At 11:00 p.m. received report of border crossings from quote allied unquote countries.

3. Called emergency session of combined National Assembly and CC of CCP.

4. Unconfirmed reports that foreign aircraft over Ruzyně Airport shortly after 12:00 midnight. Control crew turned off lights. Paratroopers came in and seized control. By 2:30 a.m. Soviet AN12 heavy transports arriving every three to five minutes.

5. At 2:00 a.m. statement issued from emergency meeting that no/no resistance should be offered since quote we have no/no means of defence unquote. No/no order for mobilisation issued.

6. 4:15 a.m. large number of heavy tanks passed embassy en route to city centre.

7. 4:45 a.m. Prague Radio reported Austrian border controlled and closed by Soviet troops.

8. 5:00 a.m. tanks surround Prague Castle and disarmed security guards. Czech leaders taken into custody.

9. 6:00 a.m. tanks in old town square fire on group organising to defend radio station.

10. 7:30 a.m. Janicek, popular radio announcer said tanks were on way. Quote We will remain as long as possible. You know our voice. It may change Unquote. [Mlada Fronta soon after published the text of this message as "When you hear voices on the radio you are not familiar with, do not believe them."]

11. About 8:15 a.m. radio broadcast Czech anthem, shooting, heard final plea for freedom and democracy — radio dead. 10:30 a.m. TV reported arrival of high Soviet officials at airport.

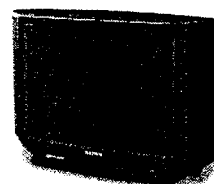
12. Noon. Radio still broadcasting protest reports on same frequency but from Pilsen and Ceske Budevice; i.e., we will only work for [Alexander] Dubcek [First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia]. TV still broadcasting defiance, despatches to stay calm and food industry to remain on job. Requests not/not to hoard. Czech tanks moving toward centre of city, obviously under Soviet control.

13. Reports of general strike to begin midday. ☺

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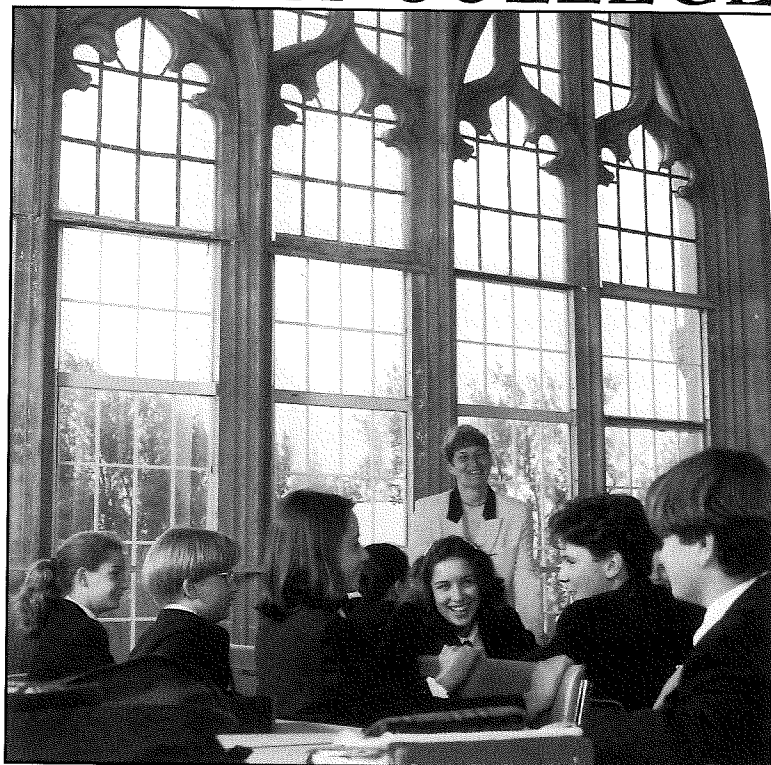


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Books in Review / Critiques de livres

Resistance & Revolution — Vaclav Havel's Czechoslovakia
reviewed by Rob McRae

RESISTANCE & REVOLUTION — VACLAV HAVEL'S CZECHOSLOVAKIA by Rob McRae, Carleton University Press, 331 p., \$27.95

Reviewed by David Kilgour

Vaclav Havel might well be remembered by historians for providing the best vision as a world leader in the final years of this century. His speeches, plays and essays have been read by diplomats, writers and legislators around the world. The author of this book is a prize-winning Canadian diplomat and former professor of political philosophy. His treatment of the Velvet Revolution of 1989 and its philosopher leader has lessons for virtually every foreign service official of any nation, but most especially our own.

Most noteworthy is the importance of McRae's spouse, Lynn. She supported his work, allowing him to maximise his involvement with the principal actors of the opposition at key moments. She also illustrated the heading on each of the 47 chapters. Clearly, there was a close partnership between the two of them throughout the events described in the book.

McRae's unorthodox diplomacy was based on monitoring the regime's compliance with the Helsinki and other international human rights accords which it had freely entered into presumably expecting that Western governments would ignore what was happening on its streets. Fortunately for McRae, his ambassador, the now-retired Barry Mawhinney, colleagues in Prague (particularly Pierre Guimond), and his headquarters in Ottawa allowed him to pursue human rights concerns to the limit throughout 1988-89. His inside view of events provides fascinating reading.

In passing, we learn much of interest about the fall of the Soviet Union. For example, Alexander Yakovlev (the long-time Russian Ambassador to Canada and Gorbachev's key reform thinker) came to Prague in the fall of 1988 to criticise the regime's brutal crushing of civilian protests. The hard-line apparatchiks in the capital fumed.

Havel was clearly the dominant figure throughout, notwithstanding that he failed

on their first meeting to make much of an impression on McRae. The more the author got to know Havel and the other dissidents, fortunately, the more his commitment to the defence of human rights appears to have grown. More than once, McRae was almost expelled by the Prague Foreign Ministry.

By mid-1989, just after the massacre in Tiananmen Square, Havel and Alexander Dubcek (of the short-lived Prague Spring of 1968) were calling separately on Cardinal Tomasek to celebrate his 90th birthday. A petition circulated at about this time, demanding religious freedom in Czechoslovakia, obtained fully 600,000 signatures.

A decisive moment described in the book was the decision of the Hungarian government in August 1989 to permit its citizens to enter Austria. A gaping hole in the iron curtain quickly emerged. Thousands of East Germans flooded into Czechoslovakia. The Berlin Wall soon fell, but in mid-November events moved in the opposite direction in Prague with a brutal crackdown on protesters.

We see the birth of Havel's Civic Forum, a coalition of groups calling for respect for human rights and the restoration of democracy in Czechoslovakia. The Velvet Revolution was over when 200,000 people filled Wenceslas Square in Prague in late November '89. Havel, the former jail inmate, was soon assuring the population that "history is coming back to our country". When Dubcek addressed the same crowd, it was as if the Prague Spring of two decades earlier had returned.

The remaining half of the book is devoted to Havel's route to the presidency of his country. One episode here involved the triumphant return of the Canadian Thomas Bata, then 70, to Prague for the first time since 1946 to offer his support for Havel. The successful campaign by Civic Forum to marshal support for Havel in the Federal Assembly is sketched. Communism was quickly dismantled across Czechoslovakia.

There is much more of interest to Canadians: the late John Hasek of Toronto organised hundreds of Canadians from many walks of life to teach English across the new democracy. Our two populations

shared the same political culture based, McRae concludes, on principle-centred leadership. We observe Havel's ultimately unsuccessful effort to position Civic Forum as a political home for all high-minded Czechs and Slovaks.

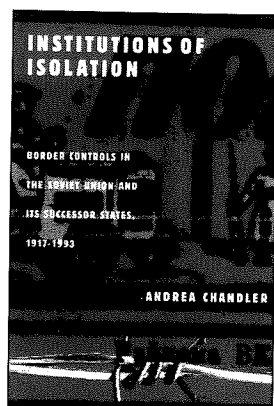
The subsequent break-up of Czechoslovakia is presented in detail against the background of the USSR and Yugoslav experiences. Slovaks deeply resented being a puppet republic of the Czechs for decades. McRae concludes that all the parties competing for seats in the Federal Assembly in 1990 were essentially Czech and Slovak republic parties running federally, with much less interest in attempting to serve Czechoslovakia as a whole. Defending the honour of their respective constituencies became a new fault-line in the absence of the former authoritarian glue which held the country together. The chasm grew. When the Slovaks insisted on decentralisation, many Czechs who opposed this demand resolved to "go it alone". Havel himself opposed separation, but his advocacy of staying together was simply not strong enough to hold the two republics together.

In a few short years, Havel went from being public enemy number one in a totalitarian state to one of the most revered statesmen of our planet. McRae's book on how he did it will certainly interest readers of *bout de papier*.

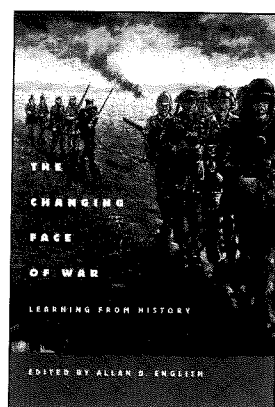
David Kilgour is Secretary of State (Latin America and Africa), Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. He was deputy speaker of the House of Commons (1994-1997) and has been an MP since 1979. He is the author of three books, most recently Betrayal: the Spy Canada Abandoned (1994).



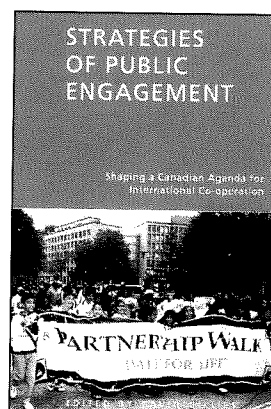
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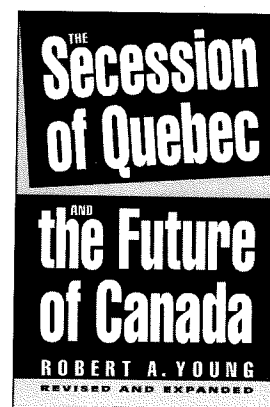
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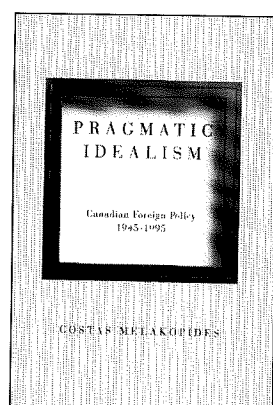
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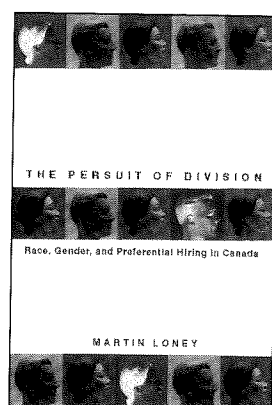
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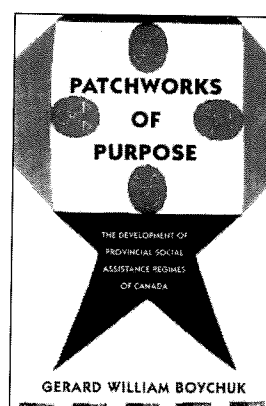
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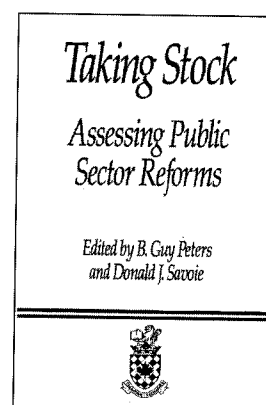
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Uncharted Waters

An Interrupted Enigma by A Aalto

Alert readers of the previous issue of **bout de papier** will have noted the striking absence of the necessary chart from the Aalto puzzle "Buenas tardes, Señor Liebnitz". We are now in a position to confirm that the chart was stolen by a six-foot shark with a pencil-thin moustache, wearing an Armani suit and a silk shirt monogrammed "RS". For further details, read on.....

Returning to the office after the PM's visit to Central America, Liebnitz was startled by the air of panic in the corridors, and even more startled by the root of the problem: the disappearance of the Business Plan drafted by the Embassy in Escorial. "But I just left there," he protested to Chief MacBannock. "Sure, Jimmy the Turk encrypted the plan, but Felix Africa and I

cracked it and it was faxed here before I got on the plane at Boca Grande. What's the problem now?"

MacBannock was keeping a tight hold on his composure (normally to be found in a small sandalwood box on his desk). "It's a lot more serious than we thought, Liebnitz. Jimmy was onto a major threat against our nation's political system, a terrorist strike

BUSINESS LINE	PRIORITY AREA	ACTIVITY	DESIRED OUTCOME	POTENTIAL PROBLEMS	ADDITIONAL RESOURCES
International Business Development	Bnvfchjehvd	Rfsfiedvfbj wfiwei	Fscvdbidm ibjd ga ehvqdk	Bccfmdsebj ibjd ga Rfsfiedvi	Sdgs sbrd-ebni agv wfiefns mdjdnbefgsi
Trade & Economic Policy	Ngwdvsrdse tvghvdrdse	Idrfsbv gs xdbtgsi dytge tgjfc	Fscvdbidm Cbsbmfb rfjfebv ibjdi	Xbv fs ghv efrd	Nggmxjij mgsbefgs eg Dj Tvdifmndsd'i vdefvdrdse ahs
International Security & Cooperation	Njglbj xbvfrsn	Tbvjfbdrsebv mdjdnbefgs	Dsobscdm bxbvdsdii ga nvddsoghid nbidi	Dsobscdm tvgmhcefgs ga nvddsoghid nbidi	Rgvd bfv cgsmfegfsn agv Cobscdvk bsm Vdifmndsd
Public Diplomacy	Bxbvdsdii ga Cbsbm	Brliibmgv'i itdbqfsn tvgnvbr (idcsm kdbv)	Fscvdbidm ibjd ga Cbsbmfb dbvtjhni	Eovdbei ga vfge hsjdii tvgnvbr objedm	Lvfldi agv Drlbiik iebaa sge eg vfge
Assistance to Canadians	Pbfj wfifei	Ihtjk Dmfljd Nvbsfed ebt eg tvfigsdvi	Fscvdbidm dytgihdv eg Cbsbmfb chjehvd	Cgrtjbfsei eg Brsdiek Fsedvsbefgsbj	Odbvfn bfm bsm tikcofbevfc cbvd agv cgsihjv idcefgs
Other Government Departments	Mdwjgtrdse biifiefsd (CFMB)	Ihtgve jgcbj bcefwfiei, avdd tvdi bsm jblghv nvghti	Dsobscdm avdd itddco bsm geodv ohrbs vfnoei	Gwdvcvgxmfsn ga tvfigs ikiedr	Vdjgcbefgs ga Drlbiik eg sdfnolghvfn cghsevk
Corporate Services	Ohrbs vdighvcdi ievbednk	Vdtjbcd bij A.I. gaafcdvi xfeo cbvmlgbvm cheghei	Adxdv cgrtjbfsei blghe tbk	Ofnodv tbk (cheghei hsfgsfzdm lk Edbriedvi)	Bvrghvdm cbvi agv idsfgv rbsbndrdse

against Southern Ontario! Now Ludwig, don't look so sceptical. These things can happen anywhere. Anyway, Jimmy's report arrived this morning with the indication that it made use of the same cypher as the Escorial Business Plan. It reads like this."

The following five clues relate to two towns in Ontario west and south of Toronto. Four relate to the same town, which is being used as the terrorists' headquarters. The other clue identifies the town where they will strike.

- (a) LDEXDDS JGSMGS BSM TBVFI, IGHEOXDIE GA XOBH HIDM EG LD LDVJFS.
- (b) GS EOD BWGS ODVD BSM FS EOD HQ KDE SGE FS CGSSDCEFCHE.
- (c) KBINHV'I ABVR FS EOD IHRRDV GA 69.
- (d) TDBSHEI LFVM AVFDSM.
- (e) SDBVDIE EGXS EG COHVCOFJJ'I LFVEOTJBCE.

The following is the event the terrorists plan to disrupt. It is a 3-word anagram, enciphered with the same system: EVFAI RFI-IDVEFS DREFNDS.

The Chief continued: "With you on the PM's plane home, Liebnitz, we looked for the Business Plan to reconstruct the cypher. But although we had copies of Jimmy's original encrypted version, the solution you worked out with young Africa had disappeared! And not just the copy faxed to the Centre here, but every copy in town — even the one **bout de papier** was going to publish in its "worst practices" column. Apparently the terrorists got wind that Jimmy was onto them. They were too late to stop his report from getting to us, but tried to delay us by eliminating all trace of your solution to the cypher."

"I suspect this means the return of my old nemesis, Rialto Sleazewagon, after his fall into the piranha tank at SuWaNi," mused Liebnitz thoughtfully. "That would also explain the seven-ton tuna that leapt from the canal and nearly crushed the limo on our way in from the airport. I thought it was a bit early in the day for sushi. Someone just wanted to keep me from duplicating my work." So saying, he took the encrypted Business Plan in hand, solved it and used the same cypher to work out Jimmy the Turk's report. Handing the result over to MacBannock, he muttered, "I still don't believe terrorists threatening Southern Ontario. How could they stay awake long enough to do any damage?"

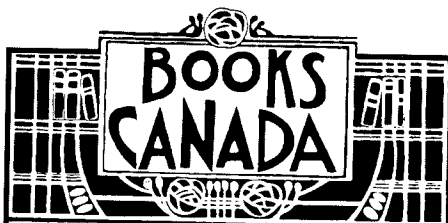
Can you duplicate Liebnitz's feat by:

- (a) providing the plaintext Business Plan;
- (b) naming the town that is the terrorists' headquarters; and
- (c) identifying the town and the event that are the terrorists' target.

bout de papier will decide the winner by drawing from a box containing all correct entries received by October 5, 1998. The winner will receive a book prize autographed by A Aalto. This contest replaces the one announced in the previous edition of **bout de papier**.

As a reminder, the cipher used by the Turk was a simple alphabetical substitution, with one letter in the cipher-text always replacing the same letter in the plain-text of the original message. These puzzles can generally be solved by doing a letter-count: E is usually the most common letter, with A/I/N/O/R/S/T next in some order. Jimmy also indicated that if you wrote out the cipher-text letters in a column in alphabetical order from A to Z and then wrote down the plain-text equivalent letter beside each cipher-text letter, the first 11 plain-text letters would spell out a word that contained all five vowels.

Free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto is packing up for a return to Canada, having been hounded out of Asia after a certain ASEAN Prime Minister blamed the current regional economic crisis on the negative productivity impacts from Aalto's recent series of APEC-related puzzles. Meanwhile, stay tuned for news on moves to thwart the terrorists.....



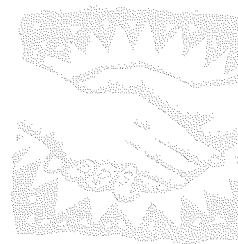
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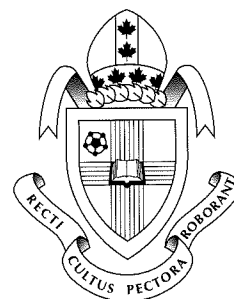
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