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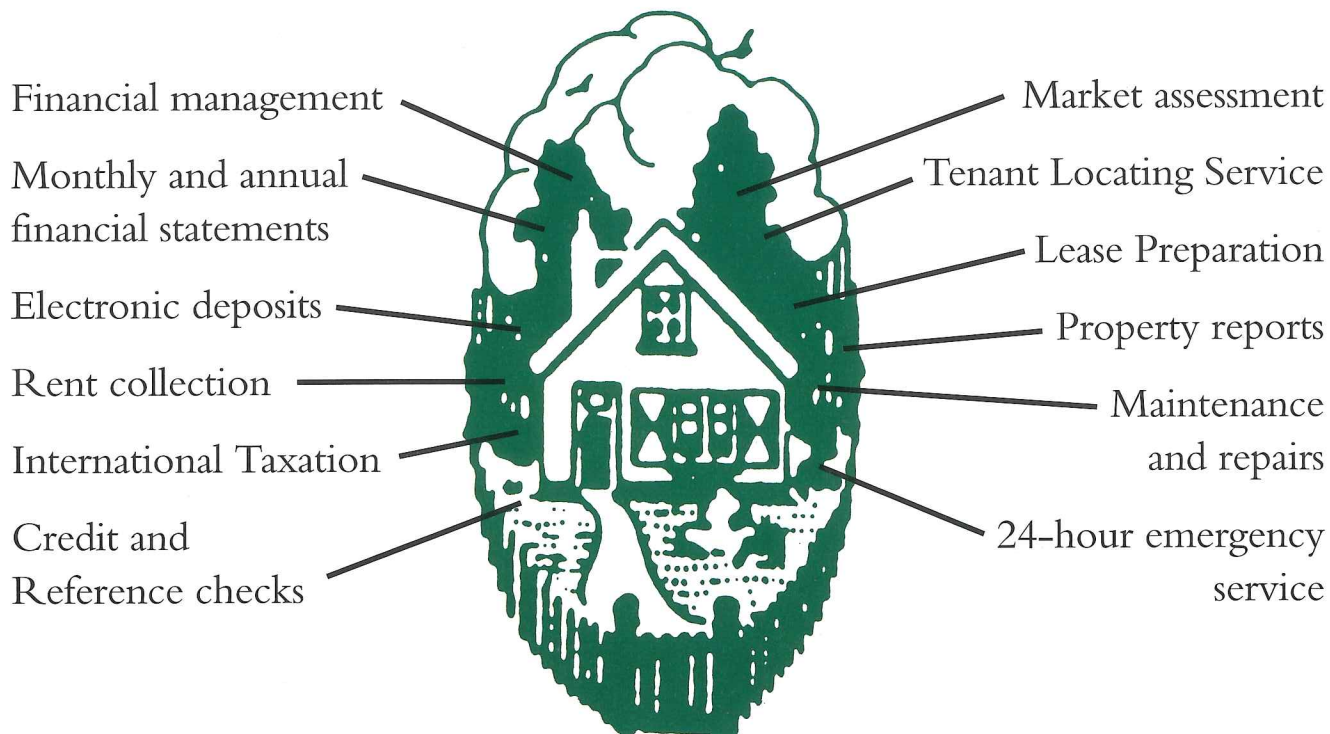
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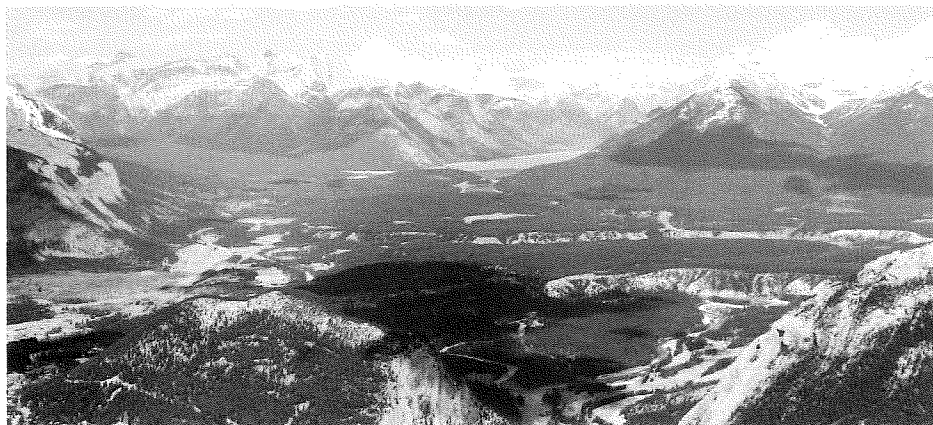
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Canada's Magazine of Diplomacy and Foreign Service
Le magazine canadien de la diplomatie et du service extérieur

WINTER / HIVER 1999-2000 Vol. 16 No. 4



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La nouvelle SMA des Ressources humaines au MAECI est bien déterminée à devenir un catalyseur de changement. / The new ADM for Human Resources is determined to be a catalyst for change.

Heading for the Hinterland: Cross Canada Study Tour 1999

Foreign service recruits discover the country they will represent abroad and learn some lessons about working as part of a team. / Les recrues du service extérieur découvrent le pays qu'ils représenteront à l'étranger et apprennent quelques leçons sur la façon de travailler comme membre d'une équipe.

Latvia in Transition: The Price of Freedom

After the euphoria came the realization that independence had costs which proved to be far greater than anyone had expected. / Après l'euphorie vint la prise de conscience que l'indépendance avait des coûts beaucoup plus élevés que ceux que l'on avait prévus.
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Illustrating the Perils of AIDS: A profile of Neill McKee & Sara

A Canadian's work may do as much as any other development project to encourage attitudinal changes in Africa. / Le travail d'un Canadien peut accomplir autant que tout autre projet de développement visant à encourager des changements d'attitude en Afrique.
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Canadians in the Congo 1887-1892

A Nova Scotian connection to the Scramble for Africa. / La filière néo-écossaise dans la ruée vers l'Afrique.
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Our cover image is a stamp from The Millennium Collection: Canada's Historic Role in Banning Land Mines, reproduced courtesy of Canada Post.

Au moment d'envoyer ce premier numéro de l'an 2000 de **bout de papier** sous presse, nous lançons un appel aux lecteurs et aux collaborateurs éventuels du magazine : il nous faut des articles originaux en français! Nous voulons que le contenu de **bout** reflète davantage la dualité linguistique du service extérieur, un souhait que nous nous engageons à réaliser. Pour y parvenir, nous rechercherons activement plus d'articles en français. Quant à la qualité de la langue, nous avons retenu les services d'un réviseur bilingue qui assurera la qualité des textes publiés dans chacune des langues vous à des changements éditoriaux intéressants.

Le présent numéro se penche sur quelques questions d'actualité pour le service extérieur du Canada, et ce sous trois perspectives différentes. La sous-ministre adjointe aux Ressources humaines, Suzanne Laporte, reconnaît d'emblée que l'un de ses principaux défis consistera à vaincre le cynisme enraciné aux Affaires étrangères, et, pour cette raison, elle se fait catalyseur de changement. La tâche qui l'attend est très lourde. La réaction à l'offre salariale initiale de l'employeur, de Washington à Beijing, a été instantanée et a suscité des lettres aux ministres Lloyd Axworthy, Pierre Pettigrew et Elinor Caplan. La lettre du Comité exécutif de l'APASE aux ministres est reproduite dans le présent numéro. M. Ian Mackenzie souligne, dans «Forum de l'APASE», que le récent sondage dans la fonction publique a révélé que près de 50 % des répondants (61 % des répondants aux Affaires étrangères et 50 % à Citoyenneté et Immigration) estiment qu'ils sont mal classifiés par rapport aux autres ministères. Il soutient que si la classification a pour principal objet d'établir la rémunération, par conséquent les niveaux de traitements suscitent un mécontentement généralisé.

Dans la rubrique «Commentaire», Hector Mackenzie brosse un tableau historique des difficultés que les services diplomatiques aux États-Unis et au Canada éprouvent à attirer et à garder les meilleurs candidats. Le délégué commercial David Steurman relate sa première affectation — au Canada — à titre de coordonnateur de voyage organisé pour le Voyage d'études pancanadien, et il dépeint l'enthousiasme qui caractérise les nouveaux venus au service extérieur.

Clyde Sanger profiles the work of Canadian Neill McKee, who has made a singular contribution in presenting the AIDS issue to African families. Canada's High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, Roy MacLaren, highlights a Nova Scotian connection to the "Scramble for Africa." And Peter Zalite describes the difficult transition

in Latvia from a centrally-planned command economy to an open market economy.

In "From the Archives," Hector Mackenzie captures Mackenzie King's version of how Canada decided to join the Second World War.

bout remembers four distinguished Foreign Service officers in this issue. Arthur Irwin was the driving force behind Maclean's magazine before joining the Foreign Service. Anthony Vincent, Canada's Ambassador to Spain until his untimely death, brought honor to Canada and the entire Foreign Service during the hostage crisis in Lima. Charles McGaughey's dispatches while serving as High Commissioner to Ghana are legendary. Eldon Black's account of Canada-France relations during the sixties and early seventies offered a front-row seat in the struggle between Paris and Ottawa. On January 9, as **bout** was going to press, former Ambassador to Guyana and Korea, John Stiles, passed away. We extend condolences to his family and to his niece, Nancy Stiles, a Foreign Service officer and former Ambassador to Brazil.

We also mourn the untimely death of a distinguished American diplomat — Julius L. Katz — who negotiated some of the most important U.S.-Canadian trade agreements, from the Canada-U.S. Auto Pact in 1965, to the expansion of the North American Free Trade Agreement to include Mexico. Generations of Canadian trade officials knew him as a formidable, fair and a superbly professional negotiator.

The ever-prolific John Starnes reviews "The Mitrokhin Archive: The KGB in Europe and the West," an extraordinary historical record of Soviet espionage activities over a period of several decades directed against countries in the west, including Canada. Greg Donaghy reviews "Aid and Ebb Tide: A History of CIDA and Canadian Development Assistance" which traces the evolution of Canadian aid, starting in 1950. Secretary of State (Latin America and Africa) David Kilgour has reviewed "Dispatches From a Borderless World" by Satya Das. Roger Lucy looks at "De Administrando Imperio" which gives us a snapshot of Byzantine foreign policy at the end of their first millennium.

In "Public Diplomacy," a new feature of **bout**, we salute outstanding achievement in the Foreign Service.

Finally, no issue of **bout de papier** would be complete without our regular entertainment feature, Aalto. And our poet in residence, Terry Jones, stretches the definition of middle age.



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Articles

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

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The Canadian and locally-engaged staff at the Canadian High Commission in Nairobi, Kenya, won a Public Service Award for their highly professional response, under extremely stressful conditions, in the aftermath of the terrorist bombing of the US Embassy in Nairobi. High Commission personnel worked tirelessly to assist international partners who were dealing with the psychological and ongoing physical threats, helped local authorities and provided nursing assistance during the crisis.

H.G. Pardy, Director General of Consular Affairs, was given the Public Service Award for his leadership, vision and commitment in his service to Canadians living and traveling abroad. Under his direction, the Consular Affairs Bureau became a 24-hour-a-day, 7-day-a-week response center for service to Canadians around the world.

Newly appointed to the Order of Canada, Geoffrey Murray had a distinguished career as a federal public servant. In the 1950s, he worked alongside then-future prime minister Lester B. Pearson

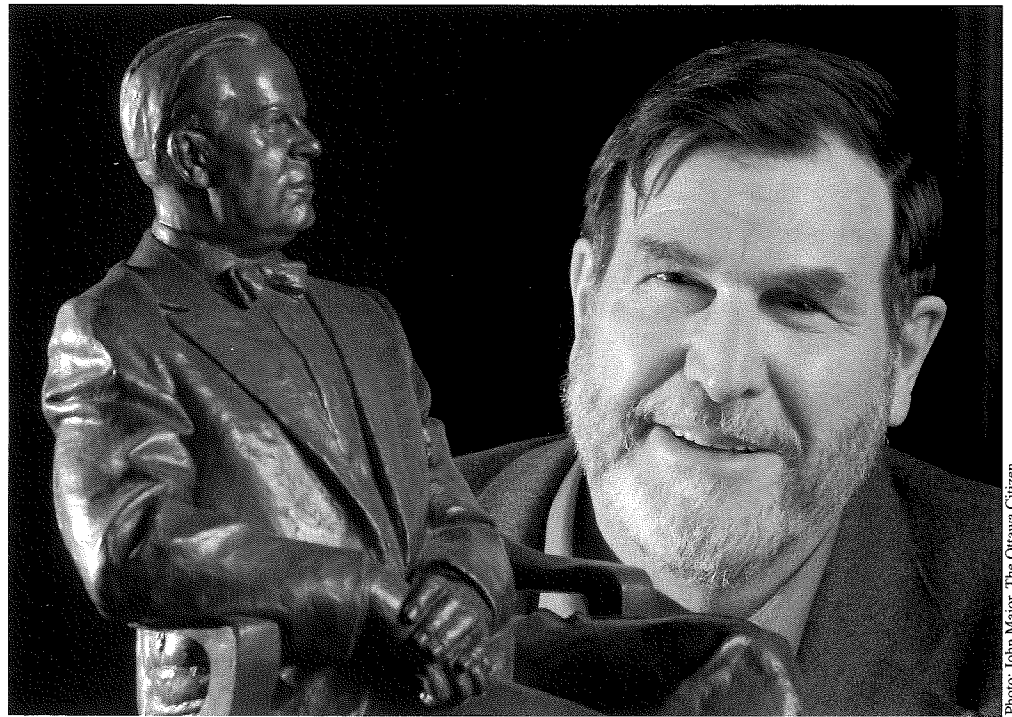


Photo: John Major, The Ottawa Citizen

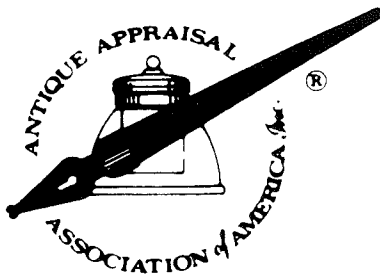
H.G. Pardy: Working in the tradition of a helpful fixer in Pearson's shadow.

at the United Nations to help create the first international peacekeeping force. Later, he drafted policies that would have a lasting

impact on Canada's approach to foreign affairs and on government negotiations with Canada's indigenous peoples. ☺

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KEEPING THE BEST AND THE BRIGHTEST?

An Historical Perspective on Recruitment and Retention in the Foreign Service

by Hector Mackenzie

When asked by the *Foreign Service Journal* recently whether he would recommend a Foreign Service career to young people today, former American Ambassador George Kennan replied "No," except as "a prolongation of your education." Kennan cited, among other factors, the slow pace of promotions for the "fiercely ambitious," the career-limiting effects of political appointments, and the difficulty of maintaining two-career marriages.

Less than two years earlier, the retiring deputy minister of foreign affairs, Gordon Smith, was asked much the same question by *bout de papier*. "Yes, unequivocally," Smith answered. Smith acknowledged that for junior officers, "the issue of the careers of spouses," was "very difficult to resolve." And he observed that "the youth of today" contemplated "career changes with a much greater degree of equanimity than was the case with my cohorts." To Smith, however, these were problems for managers to address, not insuperable obstacles.

Overall, Smith declared, the foreign service still offered "enormous opportunities" and "fascinating career prospects" for new entrants, much as it did when he joined 31 years before. Though advancement had been a persistent problem, Smith's assessment was that "there are real opportunities coming up" simply as a result of what he called the "demographics" of the department, presumably the upcoming retirement of the generation that entered in the 1960s.

Though the conclusions of these two elder statesmen differed, the issues raised in their responses demonstrated some of the common problems confronted by the foreign services of the United States and Canada. Not the least of these difficulties will be attracting and keeping the best candidates to renew the profession of diplomacy.

From my perspective as a historian of Canada's foreign affairs who has observed our diplomatic profession at close range, I believe a look at the origins and development of Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) will help in understanding the situation of the Foreign Service today.

It was not until 1909 that legislation established Canada's Department of External Affairs (DEA), thus creating the basis for a distinct Canadian foreign policy as well as a Canadian Foreign Service. Throughout the 19th century, the British government had devised imperial foreign policy and conducted international relations on behalf of Canada and the rest of the British Empire. That approach was anachronistic in the 20th century, but an independent foreign policy for Canada evolved uncertainly and incompletely until the Second World War.

Development of a Canadian Foreign Service in the 1920s was the work, in large part, of the second under-secretary of state for external affairs, O.D. Skelton. Skelton had been a senior academic and distinguished scholar before he was lured to Ottawa by the prime minister and secretary of state for external affairs, William Lyon Mackenzie King. To Skelton, a separate Foreign Service was essential for Canada to assert its autonomy.

Skelton firmly believed in competitive entry and advancement by merit. With King's support, Skelton recruited eight young men (women were not eligible), most with some experience teaching in university, in demanding examinations and interviews which Skelton designed and conducted in 1927-28. This ordeal favored articulate "generalists" and those who succeeded usually came from a background of history or political economy. For more than 30 years, lengthy essay questions were the hallmark of the Foreign Service examination. Among this group were Skelton's successors, Norman Robertson and Lester Pearson. Pearson would go on to be Canada's foreign minister and then its prime minister.

This initial recruitment coincided with the opening of Canada's first diplomatic missions — legations in Washington, Tokyo and Paris. With the enhancement of the work of Canada's high commission in London and the eventual establishment of a permanent office at the League of Nations in Geneva, there were overseas opportunities for these new diplomats. However, the first heads of post were selected by the

prime minister, with prosperous former political colleagues predominating. Not until the eve of the Second World War was a "career officer" named to head a Canadian diplomatic mission.

By then, the Foreign Service had survived the Great Depression and, perhaps more significantly for its future, a change in government. While in opposition, the Conservatives had mocked the political appointments and regretted the obvious break with imperial diplomatic unity. When the Conservatives came to power in 1930, the Foreign Service was still a recent development and one closely associated with the former Liberal regime. Skelton and his recruits kept their jobs, thereby confirming the nonpartisan nature of the new institution. King's successor as prime minister, R.B. Bennett, even retained two of King's envoys. The growth of the Foreign Service was modest and its pay was cut, neither development surprising in those lean years. Arguably more damaging to the morale of the talented individuals that Skelton had recruited was the often complacent and usually non-committal foreign policy pursued by the Canadian government in the 1930s.

Canada's international relations and its Foreign Service were transformed by the Second World War and its aftermath. One participant, Escott Reid, later recalled the 1940s as a "golden decade" of positive involvement in world affairs and exceptional opportunity for members of Canada's Foreign Service. Reid and his colleagues had become responsible for framing and articulating Canada's foreign policy and their efforts were sustained by broad support from the Canadian public. In addition to the remarkable growth in the international agenda, there was an exponential expansion of Canada's representation abroad (now more often at the rank of ambassador). Even with accelerated recruitment, the Foreign Service could not keep pace with the growing demands. Its numbers were bolstered by academics and women, the latter classified as clerks though they performed the work of officers.

With the postwar influx of veterans and the acceptance of women as officers in

1947, the composition of the Foreign Service was altered considerably. Back in power since 1935, King still exercised his prerogative to appoint heads of post, but the opening of new missions ensured that there were ample opportunities for career officers as well. Indeed, by the time King retired as prime minister in 1948, most of Skelton's recruits were ambassadors or deputy ministers, while one, Pearson, who had made the jump to politics to join the Liberal cabinet, was serving as secretary of state for external affairs under the new prime minister, Louis St. Laurent. Not surprisingly, this heady mixture of expansion, advancement and engagement in the major issues of international affairs fostered a positive outlook for most members of the Foreign Service in the early years of the Cold War.

That is not to say that there were not problems, in the "golden decade" and after. The consensus surrounding Canada's international relations began to break down in the late 1950s; the election of a Progressive Conservative government under John Diefenbaker in 1957 put many in the Foreign Service who were closely identified with past policies on the defensive. The process for recruitment still favored excellence in policy formulation, but not necessarily in administration. That shortcoming left the Department of External Affairs vulnerable to criticism from elsewhere in government. Senior managers worried that the quality of entrants had declined and that francophones especially were under-represented.

Those concerns would be magnified in the 1960s as attrition from the ranks was more pronounced than before. As government and other public institutions, most notably universities and colleges, expanded, the competition for new recruits became more acute. More than half of the successful candidates in the early 1960s turned down offers of employment. No longer was the Foreign Service the only, or necessarily the most attractive, way for Canadians to see the rest of the world. Officers left its ranks in unprecedented numbers.

Some, including senior officials, did so involuntarily as victims of a "gay purge" in Canada's public service in the 1960s (gays were depicted as suffering from "character weaknesses" and branded as "security risks" thus rendering them unemployable in the Foreign Service). As for women diplomats, DEA did little to attract them and still less to keep them. Even the continued overall growth in Canadian representation abroad, and consequently in job opportunities, was less comforting than before, as new posts were opened in less prosperous and often less secure locations in the Third World. To

fill these needs, recruiting accelerated, but that simply swelled the lower ranks without necessarily making sufficient provision for advancement.

Despite the comforting presence of a former colleague, Pearson, as prime minister from 1963 to 1968, these problems contributed to a relative decline in morale for the Foreign Service. By the late 1960s, that had led to the formation of the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers (PAFSO), whose role as the bargaining agent for the Foreign Service was formalized when collective bargaining was introduced in the Canadian government in 1967-68.

Yet the most emphatic challenges to the work of the Foreign Service — and to the rationale for its existence — came from Pearson's successor as prime minister, Pierre Trudeau, who held that office, except for a brief interruption, from 1968 to 1984. Though a former member of Pearson's cabinet, Trudeau expressed disdain for the avowedly internationalist policies that Canada had pursued in the post-war period as well as for "quiet diplomacy" and the diplomats who had practiced it. Trudeau followed through on his rhetoric, trimming the budget for DEA at headquarters and abroad. Later in his administration, Trudeau commented that the image and self-image of the Foreign Service "are based on a concept of diplomatic practice grounded in an age which has disappeared. ... Traditional concepts of Foreign Service have diminished relevance in an era of instantaneous, world-wide communications, in which there is increasing reliance on personal contacts between senior members of governments, and in which international relations are concerned with progressively more complex and technical questions." Needless to say, Trudeau's ruminations did not boost morale in the Foreign Service.

As well, there was a questioning of the persistent recruiting preference for "generalists," with one of Trudeau's foreign ministers, Don Jamieson, suggesting that DEA lacked strength "on the economic side." Commentaries and surveys of new entrants detected a decline in idealism in the Foreign Service, as "a more hard-nosed approach to international affairs" took hold. Canadians generally were more inward-looking and wary as a result of rising unemployment and inflation as well as faltering national unity. That made them, and those who represented them, less disposed to take bold initiatives in world affairs. Whether or not it had earlier been as prevalent as legend and memoirs would have it, the missionary zeal of Canada's Foreign Service officers had apparently abated. More than

their predecessors, recruits worried about working conditions and career prospects. These anxieties had been compounded by a move announced at the end of 1971, to reduce the number of levels in the Foreign Service (from ten to five), to bring it into line with other job categories. Thus, promotion became a rarer event.

In January 1982, as part of a reorganization of government departments dealing with economic development, Trudeau announced the "restructuring" of DEA, which would henceforth include the Trade Commissioner Service. The government stated the department's "primary purpose was to pursue aggressively international export markets and to give greater priority to economic matters in the development of foreign policy." With the addition of immigration and aid officers, the Foreign Service was integrated within the expanded department (though the immigration service would depart a decade later and the principal instrument for aid would remain the Canadian International Development Agency).

In the 1980s, the growing number of political appointments to head diplomatic missions became a controversial issue in national politics. Trudeau's tally had been 17 appointments in 16 years. When the Conservative Brian Mulroney took over as prime minister in 1984 he affirmed his commitment to "the standard of professionalism so characteristic of our Foreign Service." But the Mulroney government soon lapsed from its professed faith. With 19 diplomatic appointments in his first three years in office, Mulroney and his foreign minister, Joe Clark, soon eclipsed the record of their predecessors. Clark suggested to PAFSO that one purpose of such patronage was to compensate for the inability of DEA to reflect "national priorities" in selection and recruitment (that is, the under-representation of women, those from non-professional backgrounds and Canadians from minority communities).

More galling still for members of the Foreign Service was that this activity took place against a backdrop of budget cuts and post closures. In February 1987, when six posts were closed, the only head to be reassigned at a comparable level was a political appointee. Later that year, the acrimony between PAFSO and the minister over the issue of political appointments to diplomatic positions received considerable attention in the national media. One academic lamented "the decline in the status of Canada's professional diplomatic corps" from its earlier exalted position as "a high calling for the best and brightest young Canadians of the day."

To compound the frustrations in the ranks, DEA had encouraged "lateral entries"

(often at higher salaries than their counterparts in the Foreign Service) to improve its policy-making capacity as well as its relationship with other government departments. In addition, the number of non-executive levels in the Foreign Service had by then been reduced to two, reducing the FS's opportunities for promotion. In 1986, PAFSO noted the negative impact of lack of promotions, loss of positions and programs at headquarters and abroad, and "a freeze on recruitment to the Foreign Service" imposed for reasons of "economic restraint." With justification, recruitment also bore the burden of making the Foreign Service a more accurate reflection of Canadian society — that is, bringing in more women, aboriginal Canadians, minorities and disabled persons.

Successive budget cuts and reorganizations certainly did not improve the situation. DEA was seen as less "connected" to the rest of government, an impression reinforced by the location of its headquarters away from the center of power near Parliament Hill. Attempts to redefine DEA as a "central agency" of government had failed. Other than trade promotion, its work was viewed as marginal to the basic needs and concerns of Canadians. In the early 1990s, the reputation of the Foreign Service for integrity was damaged as well by allegations of fraudulent travel claims. Meanwhile, for fiscal reasons, recruitment had become intermittent and consequently even more unpredictable, thereby discouraging potential applicants.

The specific problem of unpredictability was solved with the resumption of annual recruiting in the early 1990s; but other implications of recruitment policy have required more fine tuning. In an effort to cut the costs of the ritual, the focus of the competition was narrowed a few years ago to favor those with degrees in business or economics or with facility in a few specific languages. That move provoked considerable controversy among academics who specialized in international relations, whose students were among those excluded from consideration. Stung by that criticism, DFAIT moved first to raise the bar, transforming its past preference for graduate training into a qualification, then more recently to lower it. The latter change, last year, prompted the *National Post* to headline its article, "Ottawa lowers standards to fill Foreign Service jobs," not exactly the positive message that DFAIT wished to convey about casting a broader and more inclusive net.

At the same time, the "Foreign Service Knowledge Test" was dropped from the entrance examination. That multiple-choice test had become little more than a form of

Trivial Pursuit for Canadians interested in international affairs, and it was widely seen as having little relevance to the actual work of FSSs.

In its "Human Resources Strategy" in 1998, DFAIT acknowledged that a higher standard for recruitment may have contributed to the department's most acute personnel problem, the rate of attrition in the Foreign Service. "The number of officers leaving after their first posting has been rising steadily since 1986," the study noted, "with approximately 25 per cent resigning within seven or eight years of joining DFAIT." With a continuation of the upward trend, DFAIT "would face a serious staffing problem." The same document identified the main reasons "given by our departing officers" as:

1. Low, non-competitive salaries;
2. Poor promotion prospects;
3. Spousal employment issues (single income, single pension);
4. Family related issues (ageing parents/ children's education);
5. Devaluation of benefits;
6. Low morale (perception that the department's senior management simply doesn't care about the plight of over-worked and underpaid officers); and
7. Decreasing job satisfaction."

By aiming for individuals with more education, experience and skills, DFAIT recruited and trained people who expected "professional pay-offs" within a "shorter time horizon." Ultimately, DFAIT "cannot compete" with the "compensation packages" available from the private sector.

A consultation paper in 1997 had similarly warned about the significant increase in the attrition rate of junior officers after five years. "The bottom line is that the primary feeder group for our management cadre will be at risk unless we take action now." In other words, the best candidates would not stay to reap the benefits of the "demographic" trend mentioned by Smith (that is, the depletion of the executive ranks through retirements).

As part of its comprehensive personnel reform, DFAIT in 1998 adopted an approach of "up or out" for Foreign Service recruits after five years. With the reintroduction of additional levels in the Foreign Service, likely in the near future, promotions will be more frequent. Salaries could be raised, as they have been lower than the equivalent professional groups in the public service, let alone the private sector. However, the 1997 study conceded that there were other factors, such as "family situation" or "recognition that Foreign Service life is not the career of choice," that

"cannot be satisfactorily addressed by the Department."

While the prime minister retains the right exercised by his predecessors to name heads of post, PAFSO maintains its vigilance about whether this notion has been broadened to include missions formerly assigned to career officers. Of course, the list of assignments is also scrutinized by colleagues, government agencies and the media to assess whether it meets other objectives, including, for example, representation of women.

What does this brief glance at the historical record imply for career prospects for new recruits? Certainly, it demonstrates that the Foreign Service operates within a political, economic and social context. Not surprisingly, there is a strong correspondence between Canadian and American experiences. In both countries, Foreign Service leaders must take into account the values, interests and aspirations of new prospective entrants.

As recent editions of DFAIT's "Human Resources Strategy" indicate, senior managers are acutely aware of the difficulties of adjusting policies to take account of current circumstances and contemporary attitudes to employment. As Gordon Smith stated, current demographics may favor the entrants who decide now, for personal and professional reasons, to continue as Foreign Service officers, in spite of the problems that George Kennan cited and the complaints that PAFSO and its membership articulate. Adoption by DFAIT of a personnel policy of "up or out" after five years will certainly have an impact on the Foreign Service — but that impact may not be any greater than the cumulative effect of individual decisions to stay or not after a comparable trial.

To develop solutions to longstanding problems such as advancement, compensation and spousal employment is no less a challenge for Smith's successors as it was for his predecessors — or indeed for their international counterparts. But it would be a serious mistake, in Canada or elsewhere, to contrast the situation now with an imagined past — whether depicted as a "golden age" or not — in which such problems supposedly did not exist. ☺

*Hector Mackenzie is the Senior Departmental Historian of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and a member of the editorial board of **bout de papier**. This article originally appeared in the December 1999 issue of Foreign Service Journal, published by the American Foreign Service Association, and it is reproduced here with kind permission from the editor of that publication, Bob Guldin.*

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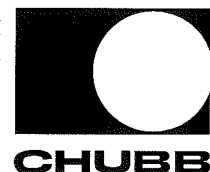
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PS Survey Data Show Significant Dissatisfaction

by Ian R. Mackenzie

Many public service employees were left shaking their heads on November 10, 1999 when they saw the headline on the results of the public service employee survey: "Public servants love their jobs." The comments of Peter Harder, Secretary of the Treasury Board, that the "public service of today is in good health" left them even more perplexed. According to Treasury Board, 96 percent "love their work" and 88 percent say their job is "a good fit." So, since everybody is happy, what's the big problem with the public service, and why are so many people leaving?

A closer look at the survey data show that there is significant dissatisfaction in the workplace and a pervasive feeling that nothing is going to change. The 96 percent that "love their job" are the ones that either strongly or mostly agreed with the statement that the work they do is important. Overall, 88 percent liked their job, although almost a third were dissatisfied with their career in the public service.

Although there was no direct question on whether employees felt they were being paid fairly for the work they were performing, there was a question which gives us an insight into concerns about pay. When asked if they felt they were fairly classified relative to other departments and other occupational groups, close to 50 percent (61 percent responded at Foreign Affairs and International Trade and 51 percent at Citizenship and Immigration) felt they were not fairly classified. Since the primary purpose of classification is to determine pay, it is clear that there is widespread dissatisfaction with compensation.

A major criticism of the survey from employees was the lack of questions about senior management. Many employees felt that their immediate supervisor did the best they could given the poor management at the top of many organizations. There are a few questions which hint at the lack of confidence in senior management and at the failure of senior managers to lead. Over half of all employees had no faith that senior management would do anything to resolve concerns identified in the survey. Close to half (48 percent) did not think that management does a good job of sharing information and 30 percent of employees could not clearly explain the direction (the vision, values or mission) of their department.

Leaving aside the possibility that these employees work for Departments without direction, this means that there has been a significant failure by senior management to clearly communicate a direction or vision.

Concerns about workload and the management of that workload are high. Almost half did not think that their workload was reasonable. Forty percent could generally not complete their work within regular working hours. 68 percent thought that their work suffered because of unreasonable deadlines and 79 percent thought that the quality of work suffered because of having to do the same or more work with fewer resources. As a result, 65 percent thought that for their current job or career development they needed to improve their time management skills.

A direct consequence of increased workload is increased overtime. Although 58 percent felt they could claim for overtime hours, 43 percent reported that they had to work unpaid overtime. Unpaid overtime is a clear breach of collective agreements and yet is routinely expected of employees by supervisors and managers. This "free" labour is increasingly necessary because of downsizing and the ever-present requirement to do more with less, otherwise known as "doing more with more (unpaid) overtime."

Recognition and feedback are important parts of determining morale. While Treasury Board took great pride in the percentage of employees that felt that their supervisor treated them with respect, the fact that 12 percent (or over 12,000 employees) do not feel they are treated with respect should be viewed as troubling. Almost a third of employees feel they do not get adequate recognition from their supervisor when they do a good job, while 35 percent do not receive useful feedback on their job performance. Thirty eight percent either don't have their work assessed against identified goals and objectives or don't know if it is.

Career development and training are recognized as critical requirements for attracting and retaining employee. The picture is far from rosy... Close to 50 percent felt that their supervisor did not do a good job of helping them develop their careers. Forty-four percent felt that their departments do not do a good job of supporting employee career development. A third of employees would be reluctant to ask for a developmental opportunity, such as a secondment. Of the 37 percent of employees

that asked for developmental assignments within the past three years, 41 percent had their requests denied.

There is little confidence that the process for appointments is fair: Forty-seven percent do not think they have a fair chance of getting a promotion. Although 43 percent mostly agree that the process for selection in their work unit is done fairly, 30 percent disagree and a further 7 percent don't know if it is done fairly.

Yes, the most comprehensive survey of federal public service employees ever done is deficient because of what it doesn't ask. But it also confirms what many critics have been saying for some time — the work done in the public service is rewarding but the conditions under which that work is performed are demoralizing and demotivating. Mel Cappe, the Head of the Public Service has said he wants the federal government to be "the employer of choice". Without significant improvements in pay, recognition and career development, a career in the federal government will never be the first choice for employees. ☹

Ian R. Mackenzie is Executive Director of PAFSO.

Lettre de l'APASE aux ministres — le 20 janvier 2000

L'honorable Lloyd Axworthy, Ministre des Affaires étrangères

L'honorable Pierre Pettigrew, Ministre du Commerce international

L'honorable Elinor Caplan, Ministre de la Citoyenneté et de l'Immigration

Madame et Messieurs les Ministres,

Ces dernières semaines, vous avez reçu des lettres d'agents du service extérieur dans les missions partout dans le monde, des Centres de commerce international au Canada, ainsi que des administrations centrales du MAECI et de CIC ici à Ottawa, qui exprimaient tous leur consternation devant l'offre du Conseil du Trésor dans le cadre de nos négociations collectives. En notre qualité de membres du Comité exécutif de l'Association professionnelle des agents du service extérieur (l'APASE), nous vous écrivons aujourd'hui pour vous exposer les préoccupations de nos membres et vous demander de bien vouloir vous pencher sans délai sur cette question de grand intérêt pour vos deux ministères.

Comme vous le savez, les négociations entre le Conseil du Trésor et notre Association ont été rompues le 15 décembre. L'offre d'une hausse de traitements de 1 percent du Conseil du Trésor au bout de quatre mois à la table de négociation était, selon nous, insultante pour nos membres. Le Conseil du Trésor a aussi rejeté une revendication de l'APASE visant une amélioration des dispositions actuelles relatives à la rémunération d'interim, qui aurait permis aux agents du service extérieur d'obtenir une rémunération d'interim lorsqu'ils sont affectés à des postes de niveau supérieur à celui de leur classification; il s'agit là d'un droit déjà acquis pour toutes les autres catégories de la fonction publique, y compris les autres catégories d'employés permutants, comme celle du soutien administratif (AS).

À l'administration centrale et partout dans le monde, les agents du service extérieur côtoient au travail un nombre croissant de collègues d'autres groupes professionnels qui reçoivent des traitements plus élevés pour l'exécution du même travail. Les agents FS sont constamment beaucoup moins bien rémunérés pour l'exécution des mêmes fonctions — plus des fonctions de gestion dans bien des cas.

Le Conseil du Trésor a insinué que nous obtenions du caractère permutant de notre travail des avantages qui compensent pour nos traitements inférieurs, mais c'est absurde. Ces indemnités visent à compenser pour les fardeaux personnels et financiers que les agents et leurs familles doivent assumer lorsqu'ils sont affectés à l'étranger; elles n'ont jamais eu pour objet de remplacer quelque aspect que ce soit de notre convention collective et elles sont bien loin de dédommager nos conjoints pour la perte de revenu et de carrière. De plus, ces avantages ne sont pas réservés au groupe FS : les collègues d'autres groupes professionnels obtiennent des avantages plus élevés lorsqu'ils sont affectés à l'étranger, car ces avantages sont liés aux niveaux de traitements. Ils sont donc plus avantagés que nous, tant au pays qu'à l'étranger. Les 500 agents FS à l'administration centrale ne reçoivent pas ces avantages et, compte tenu du nombre sans cesse décroissant d'affectations à l'étranger, de moins en moins d'agents y auront accès.

We represent a talented and dedicated group of professionals, with a keenly developed sense of service to Canada. We pour our own expertise, experience and intellectual energy into policy development on very sensitive issues, be it immigration policy, multilateral negotiations, trade promotion, human rights concerns or bilateral relations with key international partners. We help Canadians in trouble all over the world. The decisions we

make daily affect Canada's ethnic mix, trade performance, and profile in the international community. We organize your overseas visits, provide you and your advisors with policy advice both domestically and abroad, and ensure that you are well-prepared to represent the government's policies to other countries, to the media, and in Parliament. We are proud of what we do for Canada and for you.

But it seems clear to us that our loyalty and performance are not appreciated. The growing malaise among the Foreign Service group is evident in the unprecedented and spontaneous letters to you from around the world, and in the attrition over the last few years. The sense of professionalism and dedication which has sustained us has been seriously undermined by the continued erosion of the real value of our salaries, the continued and growing inequity of our treatment as compared with other professionals in the public service, and the apparent contempt with which Treasury Board seems to regard us. As a result, our Departments are already losing their pool of talent and experience as officers leave the FS group for jobs elsewhere that are becoming increasingly plentiful. Our Departments, along with the Foreign Service itself, cannot afford to let this brain drain continue.

Ministers: you, your predecessors and the senior management of your departments have

often expressed appreciation for both the work and commitment of the Foreign Service. Senior management has professed, many times, an understanding of and concern for our situation. But there have been no tangible results for years, and without active and direct intervention on your parts there will not be any change now. We urge you to take up this issue with Minister Robillard, or face the possibility of accelerated erosion and decline in the Canadian Foreign Service.

Yours sincerely,

PAFSO Executive Committee
c.c. The Honourable Raymond Chan,
Secretary of State, Asia Pacific
The Honourable David Kilgour, Secretary
of State, Latin America and Africa
The Honourable Ronald Duhamel,
Secretary of State, La Francophonie
Don Campbell, Deputy Minister of Foreign
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Entrevue avec Mme Suzanne Laporte, sous-ministre adjoint responsable pour les ressources humaines

In November of last year, Foreign Affairs' new Assistant Deputy Minister for Human Resources, Suzanne Laporte, presented to Executive Committee a road map for the implementation of a three-year human resources strategy. Since then, "Putting People First" has been launched. In this interview, Mme Laporte acknowledges that expectations among employees are as high as the level of frustration, and that only concrete action can begin to overcome the ingrained cynicism. She underscored that human resources management is a collective responsibility of senior management, and that her role is to be a catalyst for change. All of this will require a significant shift in the culture of the department.

*Mme Laporte sat down with **bout de papier** editor Robert Peck and editorial board member Bernie Etzinger before the Christmas holidays to discuss her agenda for change and the challenges ahead.*

bout de papier: Madame Laporte, quels sont les plus grands défis pour vous en tant que nouveau sous-ministre adjointe responsable pour les ressources humaines?

Mme Suzanne Laporte: En matière de ressources humaines, les défis sont toujours complexes et souvent longs à relever. Je les regrouperais en 3 grandes catégories, soit systémiques, structurels et culturels. Laissez-moi vous citer que quelques exemples parmi les plus patents. Nous avons beaucoup à faire pour rationaliser et simplifier les transactions en matière de personnel, ne serait-ce que pour la classification et la dotation des postes. Ce sont des défis d'ordre systémique. Un groupe de travail s'est activé depuis le printemps dernier à développer un processus plus efficient et je suis confiante que nous pourrons passer

vers la fin de l'année fiscale à une version électronique. Par ailleurs, nous avons également à faire face à une structure organisationnelle au Ministère qui ne facilite pas aisément la mobilité entre les groupes. Heureusement que la Stratégie sur les ressources humaines prévoit des passerelles professionnelles afin d'augmenter les perspectives de carrière. Déjà cet été, des premières barrières artificielles ont été levées avec le concours de recrutement interne pour le service extérieur. Dix excellents candidats et candidates ont été retenus. Nous sommes à revoir d'autres opportu-

nités. Avec la mise en oeuvre de la Norme générale de classification, nous souhaitons que la structure puisse faciliter encore plus les perspectives de progression de carrière. La structure actuelle de votre groupe, FS, si elle permet d'accéder à une large bande salariale à l'intérieur d'un seul niveau, elle ne répond plus aux aspirations de ses membres. Nous devons chercher à redresser cela. Cependant, ce qui me préoccupe au plus haut point, c'est le triste constat révélé par le sondage au plan culturel, à savoir le manque de confiance entre les employés et la haute gestion. Pour qu'une organisation s'épanouisse, il est impératif que ses membres se sentent valorisés et qu'ils travaillent dans un climat de confiance, je dirais de solidarité. Une sorte d'attentisme semble s'être enlisé que je voudrais enrayer en mettant tout simplement en oeuvre les éléments de la stratégie et en continuant à identifier avec vous les autres points d'action possible.

bout de papier: Comment est-ce que vous jugez le moral des employés au ministère des Affaires étrangères? Qu'est-ce que vous avez trouvé en arrivant ici?



Photo: Gordon King

Mme Laporte: Je vais être très candide dans ma réponse. Lorsque j'étais chef de mission à Abidjan de 1994 à 1998 et que mes collaborateurs me demandaient où j'allais à la fin de mon affectation, je répondais, «Je vais rentrer à la centrale» et puis leur réaction première était de dire, «Mais j'espère que tu sais vers quoi tu te diriges. Le moral est très bas, c'est négatif» — en anglais, "Anything but Ottawa".

Alors je crois qu'il y a un espèce de mythe autour du moral, du pouls de l'organisation, comme si on devait se complaire dans un marasme. Et je comprends qu'il y a énormément de frustrations et qu'il y a peut-être des endroits ou des groupes se sentent particulièrement lésés.

La question en fait est complexe parce qu'elle n'est pas univoque. J'estime qu'on doit mesurer le moral d'une organisation à la qualité des services que l'organisation rend, à la qualité du personnel qui la compose, et au sentiment d'engagement

des employés envers les mandats de l'organisation.

Dans ce contexte, je dirais que le moral est excellent parce que nous avons des employés qui sont fermement engagés dans le processus de livrer l'agenda politique et commercial du Ministère. Toutefois, je ne sousstime par le prix de cet engagement. On le voit à toutes sortes d'indicateurs, que ce soit au niveau des heures de travail, du surtemps qui est très important dans ce Ministère et qui parfois n'est même pas réclamé alors que les employés sont tout à fait en droit de le faire.

Parallèlement — et c'est contradictoire — le sondage nous démontre que les employés se sentent surmenés tout en voulant donner un rendement élevé. On a toujours le défaut de ses qualités; c'est l'envers de la médaille.

Ce qui me préoccupe c'est de s'assurer que l'on réponde effectivement aux points de pression en terme de mobilité, en terme de développement de la carrière, en terme d'opportunités d'apprentissage et d'équilibre entre sa vie professionnelle et sa vie familiale.

La question était simple, mais la réponse est plus complexe.

bout de papier: Over the last decade there have been a number of corporate reviews and moves to change DFAIT's personnel structure. What makes the new human resources strategy different?

Mme Laporte: Certainly there have been a number of different reviews over the years looking at managing different occupational groups, the foreign service of the future and career issues. A number of recommendations have been implemented throughout the years. The difference this time — and the process of reviewing human resources is a very dynamic process — is that we have an integrated approach to adapt to changing times.

A striking feature of the human resources strategy is that it recognizes explicitly that we need to broaden our talent pool, to make it more diversified, in order to reflect Canadian society, which is a very diverse, multicultural society. It also reflects that traditional diplomacy must adapt to new realities.

When you consider that in the public service there are more employees outside DFAIT Headquarters that spend 50 percent of their time or more on international issues, that is very significant. It means that in our department we don't have a monopoly on the foreign service. We lead, we initiate and we have the broad conceptual framework, but new partners have emerged in other

federal departments, in the provinces and very strong partners in civil society. If we use, as an example, the landmines issue, with the obtention of a treaty, civil society had a tremendous influence to achieve that huge success. If we look at the recent round of negotiations at the World Trade Organization, civil society was also a major stakeholder and influenced significantly the outcome.

Our strategy recognizes that the kind of competencies that are required to move on our foreign policy agenda have to build on networking, alliance-building, and the broadening of relationships. It also recognizes that we have to be much more open to the use of technology and that this has an impact on the relationships between officer and support staff.

Our support staff are no longer the typists of the past. They are very much office managers and information managers and the link between functions is closer than ever. This will certainly be reflected in revised position descriptions as we move into the Universal Classification System (UCS).

The strategy also is predicated on the fact that while we recognize the requirements for expertise and therefore streams in the recruitment process, there will be greater and greater mobility across streams. The need for broad experience will be reflected further at senior management levels, where we have started to de-stream.

bout de papier: With information technology and the loss of monopoly on international relations that has happened over the last 20 years, what will this mean for the foreign service as we know it?

Mme Laporte: I still believe that there will always be a need for a very strong core foreign service, which would include a broad-based cadre of diplomats who understand the realities of different cultures, of different government structures, of different networks abroad and who have the ability to integrate a variety of viewpoints, stemming both from the countries in which they are based, and Canadian policies.

The strength of the foreign service is its ability to integrate and to adopt a broad horizontal approach to issues, while maintaining linkages to the domestic and international agendas. The value-added of other government departments comes from the specificity of the knowledge and the policy issues that they manage sectorally. This department has the unique ability to integrate all of the sectors.

Je crois que le Ministère va changer dans sa configuration en maintenant un noyau de personnel permanent tout en faisant appel de plus en plus à des expertises pointues,

soit sous forme de contractuels ou de consultants qui viennent travailler au sein d'équipes ou qui viennent gérer un certain nombre d'événements comme les sommets hémisphériques. Une fois que ces événements sont terminés, ils repartent.

bout de papier: We don't have control over salaries, we don't have control over promotions but we do have control over internal bureaucracy. What changes are coming? How will we be looking at the issues of managing our own existence within the department — beyond career development?

Mme Laporte: Let me get back to the words that you used — we have no control over salaries and promotions. I am not sure I quite agree with that. Certainly as individuals we do not have absolute control. In the government, occupational groups and associations do negotiate their conditions of employment with the employee, the Treasury Board. The Foreign Service group is currently in that process now. But we can certainly influence the outcomes within a broad set of parameters. Perhaps the private sector has greater freedom to allocate bonuses, for example, and reward systems that are less transparent than we have in the public service because they are not accountable to a Parliament, but we do have some room to manoeuvre.

Promotions are very much based on merit. Their numbers are predicated on attrition rates and the demographics in our organization.

A number of times, I have used the analogy that our demographic structure is like Mr. Michelin. We all suffer from a midriff bulge, not only at the middle manager level but at the senior executive level. I have enormous sensitivity to the fact that many of our middle managers are feeling blocked. But four years from now, in 2004, we are going to see huge attrition rates so the younger generations will have enormous opportunities for promotions. It is not that far on the horizon. We are looking at three or four years from now.

On the issue of changing the way we operate, I am very pleased to see that so many of the DGs and directors are currently using the outcome of the Public Service survey results to identify within their own work units what is within their own control and therefore their own purview to ease the burden in terms of bureaucracy. For example, how many people need to vet a briefing note or a letter that goes out to another department? How can we empower staff? Move through delegation of authority? We are moving more and more towards a horizontal structure. This is a trend that we are going to encourage.

bout de papier: Est-ce que vous pouvez commenter sur certaines doléances, si vous voulez, de la communauté FS en terme du système de rapports d'appréciation, du système de promotions.

Mme Laporte: La communauté FS est une communauté extrêmement importante dans ce Ministère; elle représente environ 920 personnes — dans un Ministère qui emploie plus de 8 000 employés, dont 4 300, approximativement, sont des employés locaux. Bien qu'il faille la mettre en perspective par rapport à l'ensemble du Ministère, elle reste une communauté très importante parce qu'elle représente effectivement l'image, et encore plus que l'image, un des piliers fondamentaux de capacité de livraison de notre politique étrangère et commerciale. Au fil des ans cette communauté a beaucoup évolué.

J'en ai fait partie au début des années 80 dans une filière qui n'existe plus maintenant. J'ai connu une époque où il y avait plus que deux niveaux de promotion. Je crois qu'il y a un problème structurel et de perception d'absence de promotion parce qu'on n'a que deux niveaux avec une bande de salaires qui est très large. Même si les agents reçoivent des augmentations économiques au fil des ans, certains ne sont promus qu'une ou deux fois dans leur carrière, ce qui symboliquement n'est pas très satisfaisant.

Je suis persuadée qu'avec la mise en oeuvre de la Norme générale de classification, nous aurons une structure de carrière qui va représenter plus que les 2 niveaux existants. Ce que nous souhaitons c'est que l'enveloppe salariale puisse recouper le niveau EX-1 pour reconnaître un degré d'expertise, de compétences en livraison de programmes et de développement de politiques, sans nécessairement avoir des fonctions de gestion. C'est très important et je crois que ça va répondre aux énormes insatisfactions avec le blocage structurel au niveau FS-2 et cette pyramide d'âge qui ne permet pas d'accéder rapidement à un niveau supérieur.

Une autre source de doléances provient du fait que tout changement est toujours déstabilisant, et apporte un certain degré d'inquiétudes sur sa propre définition en terme de son image de soi et en terme de la perception que l'on a de ses compétences. Les derniers processus de promotions (personnellement, je considère que c'était de très bons exercices) ont donné lieu à des doléances peut-être parce qu'ils ont été introduits avec une certaine rapidité sans que le groupe FS ne soit suffisamment informé et qu'il ait suffisamment compris la nature des changements.

Nous espérons qu'avec une communication accrue, le processus compétitif sera encore plus transparent. D'ailleurs pour les mesures correctives de FS-1 à FS-2, pour la première fois, nous avons mis à l'avance sur le système électronique la grille d'analyse avec le système de pointage. Outre donner les réponses, je ne vois pas ce qu'on aurait pu faire de plus dans la transparence.

Cependant, je reconnais que le processus d'appréciation de rendement au fil des ans a perdu de son objectivité dans la mesure où c'était, jusqu'à tout récemment, le seul instrument de promotion. On a vu une surenchère dans la façon de décrire les appréciations de rendement. Alors ceci a peut-être banalisé la relativité des résultats et pour ceux et celles qui ont participé à des jurys de promotions, ils sauront vous dire combien c'est difficile de lire entre les lignes. Il est très important que l'on revoit comment nous faisons nos appréciations de rendement et quelle est la part que doit jouer l'appréciation de rendement dans un processus de promotion.

Nous avons au personnel initié un travail des leçons apprises et en janvier nous allons lancer un processus consultatif sur les derniers exercices de promotion dans le but d'arriver au comité exécutif avec des recommandations pour des approches nouvelles.

bout de papier: DFAIT has had a new program for recruits (FSDP) since 1998. Where do you see this program going in the future?

Mme Laporte: It is too early to say whether or not we need to make significant changes in terms of the program at this point simply because our young recruits have not yet had an opportunity to go abroad. My own sense is that the program is an excellent one. We have introduced modular training for the young recruits and the ones I have met — and I have met over 50 of them so far — seem to be very energetic, enthusiastic and top-quality individuals. What we must do during the next assignment cycle in the summer, is to start offering opportunities for some of them to go abroad.

We also must ensure that managers who receive the young recruits do make the time available for them to go on training. In discussing with my managers here we will come up in the new year with some sort of a letter of agreement between the manager hosting the young recruits to outline the objectives and ensure that they will make the time available for them to go on training.

And we might want to revisit whether these young recruits for the next two years should be as a free resource to the divisions who are receiving them. Currently, we are

paying them out of the corporate salary base, but they are doing real work and they are in real positions. Perhaps we might want to adjust that.

In terms of new directions, we are doing some "lessons learned" on the official language training front. The quality of official language training is uneven and we will be coming up with recommendations for change probably by the end of January. We have already started a pilot program at the Canadian Foreign Service Institute (CFSI) where we are running the training. Therefore, we are in a position to demonstrate that by selecting our own teachers and managing the process itself, we can demonstrate to the Public Service Commission that we can do it better and in a more timely way.

bout de papier: What support are you finding throughout the department for dealing with the very real problem of a lack of first posting opportunities for new officers abroad?

Mme Laporte: There are very few junior positions abroad and, in fact, our own analysis demonstrates that if we maintain the system of recruiting 60 young recruits per year, we need to create over time 80 new positions abroad in order for them to have assignments over the next five-year process. We know we cannot ensure the creation of new positions to that extent. So we are working with the geographics and we will try to identify those positions where we can actually find an assignment for those recruits in existing positions that are not necessarily at the FS-1 level.

By doing this, we also are very conscious that we don't want to limit opportunities for our current FS-2s. It should be said that the FS community is less mobile than is generally understood. There are many family obligations. People have less flexibility to accept far away or difficult postings where the educational system does not meet the requirements of teenaged high school students, for example.

bout de papier: Pourquoi le Ministère a-t-il changé le niveau académique des candidats au service extérieur?

Mme Laporte: Dans le passé, on a mis des critères exigeant plusieurs diplômes universitaires ou certaines compétences en langues étrangères. C'était une façon très efficace de restreindre le bassin de candidats possibles puisqu'on recrutait un nombre moins important, tout en répondant aux exigences opérationnelles de l'heure.

Maintenant nous sommes dans une situation heureuse où on recrute davantage de personnes. En ayant des critères universitaires au niveau du baccalauréat, ça nous permet d'élargir le bassin potentiel pour avoir une représentativité plus large en terme de régions du Canada et pour refléter la diversité de notre société qui est fortement multiculturelle. On souhaiterait pouvoir rejoindre les minorités visibles; intégrer un plus grand nombre de premières nations au sein du Ministère et établir une meilleure équité.

Ça serait une erreur de penser qu'en réduisant les degrés universitaires on réduit le calibre de nos candidats. Je sais que certains employés estiment que c'est un niveau par la base. Je suis absolument contre cette interprétation. C'est plutôt un élargissement de notre bassin de ressources potentielles.

Un degré universitaire ne mesure pas nécessairement les compétences. Ça mesure des capacités intellectuelles et des connaissances spécialisées dans un domaine. Posséder cela est insuffisant pour devenir un agent du service extérieur. Nous voulons que nos agents soient dotés de larges compétences et c'est pour cette raison que le prochain exercice de recrutement verra des exercices de simulation qui vont permettre

de déceler des capacités de négociation, de jugement, de communication, de persuasion, par exemple. Ce sont quelques exemples qui illustrent que nous recherchons des compétences ajoutées aux connaissances.

bout de papier: Madame Laporte, merci beaucoup. ☺

M^{me} Suzanne Laporte a amorcé sa carrière à titre d'agent de la filière Aide à l'Agence canadienne de développement international (ACDI) et elle a siégé au Comité exécutif de l'APASE. Elle a été ambassadrice du Canada en Côte d'Ivoire, au Bénin et au Niger, de 1994 à 1998, pour ensuite revenir occuper le poste de directrice générale à la Direction générale des enjeux humains et mondiaux au ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Commerce international (MAECI). L'automne dernier, M^{me} Laporte a été nommée Sous-ministre adjointe des Ressources humaines au MAECI.

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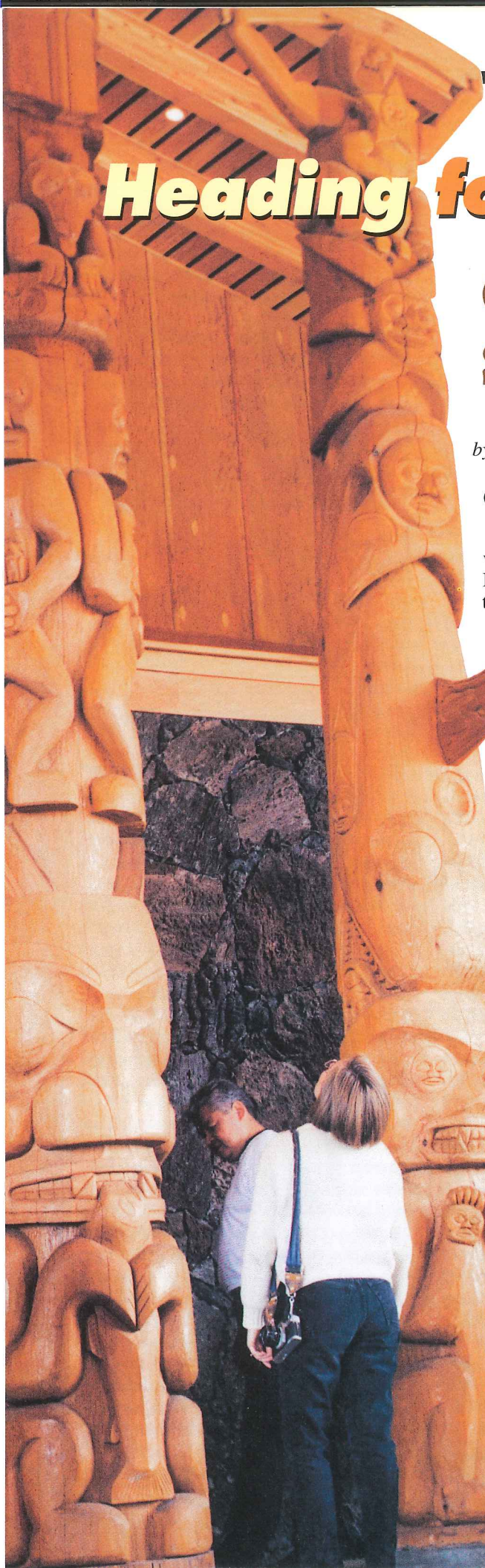


Photo: David Steuerman

Heading for the Hinterland:

CROSS-CANADA STUDY TOUR 1999

by David Steuerman

“So, why did you join the Foreign Service?” “Well, I really wanted to travel and work overseas.” Sound familiar?

Most of us never realized that our first tour of duty would be right here at home — a three-week “study tour” of Canada. In keeping with the Canadian Foreign Service Institute (CFSI) tradition, a group of bright and shiny new FSs and ASs (one of whom was admittedly not so new, but still very bright and shiny) naively set out, expecting a long series of meetings interspersed with interesting new hotel rooms and flight cabins. It turned out that we were partially correct: there were many hotel rooms, some more interesting than others, and lots and lots of airplane cabins. As to the rest, well, we were in for many surprises....

The first surprise occurred during the planning stages. Although many of us have planned visits and prepared briefing books for our colleagues and superiors, having our fate in our own hands was somewhat daunting. Part of the CFSI mantra is that the planning stage is at least as important as the trip itself, and perhaps even more so, as we spent several months under threat that the trip might be cancelled due to possible budgetary problems, negative press or simple displeasure with our preoccupation with said trip during other segments

of CFSI training. We quickly realized that the purpose of the cross-Canada study tour was to expose us to as many facets of Canada as possible in a three-week period, which made our first challenge to figure out what (and whom) to see and where to see it (or them). With this in mind, we set out to design a varied, sometimes eclectic, often exhausting, programme that would permit us to “experience” Canada. With a diverse group of ten members, this task was akin to “herding cats,” as an unnamed participant was overheard to say, but it was, in the end, successful and educational. There was, however, a general air of relief when everyone arrived at the Ottawa airport at the correct time, with luggage and briefing books in hand, ready to face the unknown.

Our successful arrival in Newfoundland was celebrated by a late night jaunt on George Street, followed by waking up the next morning (OK, afternoon) to discover our first “Canadiana” fact — it rains horizontally in Newfoundland. Several in the group weren’t convinced by simple dry observation, and decided to experience horizontal rain by going hiking in it. Their conclusion: horizontal rain is as wet as the vertical stuff. In all fairness, most of us did eventually venture out because the pull of Newfoundland’s stunning scenery is simply too great to resist. We spent the rest of our stay going about our meetings, discovering that icebergs are carbonated, eating wonderful fish dinners and getting an interesting feel for the flavour of the province. One example of this was our being “screeched in,” a venerable Newfoundland tradition involving a particular type of rum and a wooden puffin. Enough said.

Moving along, our group found itself in Quebec. Although this was one part of the country that most of us were relatively familiar with, we found our experiences eye-opening. For example, we met Tran Trieu Quan, who discussed his time as a

Left: The Nisga’s Community Centre (New Aiyansh, Northern British Columbia)



Left to right (back row): Christopher Hull; Peter Baird (from Indian and Northern Affairs); Robert Gaulin; Eric Grandison (the Nisga's Tribal Council's Communications Co-ordinator); John Roxburgh; Allison Phillips; Joshua Hodgson; (front row): Stephen Goddard; David Steurman; Karen Garner; Amanda McNaughton; Kathy Bunka.

prisoner in Vietnam. We also went to, among other places, Hydro-Quebec, Archambault prison, and had a 5 à 7 with Les Deux Mondes, an extremely talented, but quite eclectic, theatrical troupe. If you can find a logical correlation among these, then you are either quite brilliant or have a

particularly vivid imagination. This mixture of events, though, is representative of the study tour. The very diversity that makes these meetings seem rather discordant, is what increased the value of the tour as a whole. We were seeking an overview of Canadian society, and while we could have

made literally a million other selections in a city like Montreal, these events gave us the chance to see a unique cross-section of the population in a very short period of time.

Quebec was the only location where we took ground transportation in order to cover any significant distance, from Quebec City to Montreal. Now it is true that Via Rail on the Quebec City-Windsor corridor is not exactly the most exciting mode of transport in the world, but one major advantage of trains (or buses or cars or even horses) is that you can get a true sense of the size of the country. By simply flying from point to

point, we felt that the vastness of Canada was somewhat diminished — although we did become intimately familiar with the Canadian in-flight magazine for April 1999.

Below: A part of St. John's (Newfoundland)



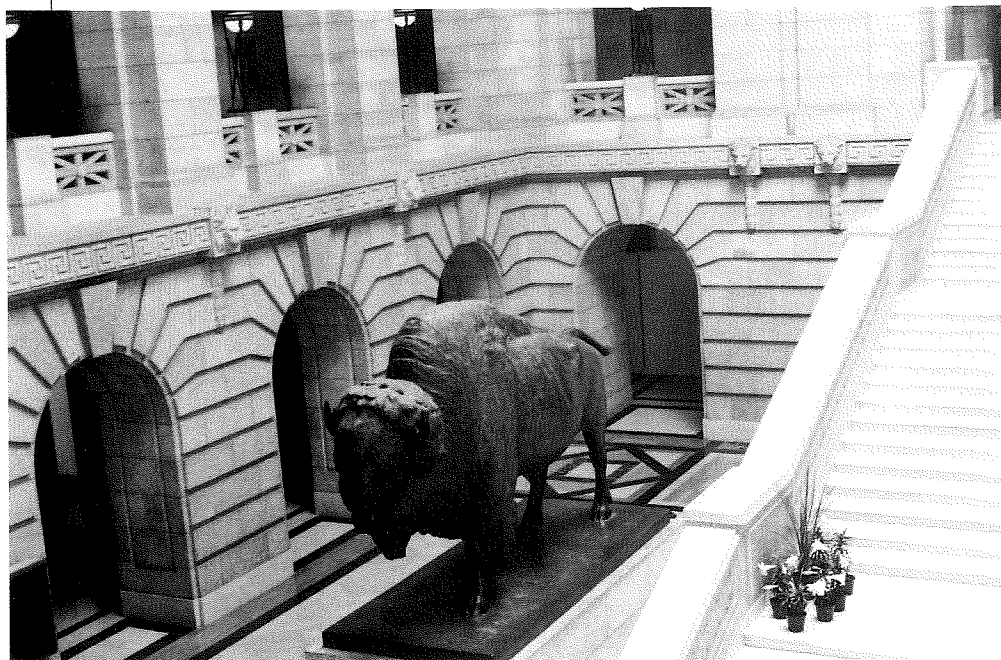


Photo: David Steuerman

The Manitoba Legislature (Winnipeg, Manitoba)

Our next major destination was the geographic heart of the country, Winnipeg. En route, we stopped briefly in Toronto for an unusual look at an otherwise very familiar airport. As part of our visit, we were allowed to go "airside" — onto the tarmac at Pearson International Airport. Have you ever had to yield to a plane?

I don't think any of us, except our one native Manitoban, was quite sure what we would find in Winnipeg. The contrast with Toronto and Montreal was rather

Below: Being released from Archambault Prison (Ste. Anne-des-Plaines, Québec)

startling, and for that reason it is possible that some of us were a trifle harsh in our judgements of the city, which we found very illustrative of the differences existing among Canada's urban centres. Once again, the mix of meetings was varied, ranging from the Laboratory Centre for Disease Control's new Level IV bio-containment facility to an intense debate on journalistic (and general) ethics with the CBC's Ross Rutherford.

One other event deserves special mention. On our last night in Winnipeg, we visited the Stony Mountain prison in order to take part in an aboriginal Healing Circle. Admittedly, a few of us were a bit apprehensive about the whole scene, and there was a slightly surreal air to the experience.

As one member of our group put it, "there was our group, fifty muscled prisoners, one locked door, and no guards." Despite that original reaction, the atmosphere was oddly relaxing and definitely the most powerful experience that I think any of us had during the tour. The idea behind the Healing Circle (or Sacred Circle) is that a feather is passed from person to person, and whoever holds the feather at that moment has the right to speak his or her mind, uninterrupted. Listening to some of the stories of what these men have gone through was more than enough to put any of our small concerns into perspective. We were allowed to introduce ourselves and found everyone to be very typically Canadian in their politeness. Nevertheless, I was very aware of the fact that I was in the middle of a different culture just as surely as when I had been in Japan or China. I realized something else when the members of the circle gave us the chance to hear a couple of their songs. In this prison, a place most of us would do anything to avoid, these people, who had lived in many cases truly horrendous lives, both in terms of what was done to them and what they had done in turn, had come to realize who they were. This says something about our country and society, something we should not, perhaps, be particularly proud of. But this is another value of the tour — it allowed us to see this magnificent, beautiful, and sometimes troubled country through the eyes of others.

From Winnipeg, we went west and north to Yellowknife. One stipulation for the tour was that, among the three groups formed out of our class of thirty, we would touch every province and territory. The other



Photo: David Steuerman

two groups, therefore, went to Whitehorse and Iqaluit respectively, while we drew the Northwest Territories. Like a number of the places we visited during the trip, Yellowknife had the feeling of being an outpost in the middle of nowhere. I began to get the feeling — reinforced by observations from our Manitoban — that, outside of the biggest cities, Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal and perhaps Calgary, the “outpost” feeling is probably the norm for most Canadians, contributing to the sensation of being left out of the decision-making loop. This may help to explain the extremely positive receptions that we received throughout the trip, not least in Yellowknife. Again, the meetings were with an interesting mix of companies and people working in cultural affairs or government. An example of the former was a company called Coynet which specializes in making coin-operated Internet providers. An example of the latter was a meeting that was held with BHP/Community Mobilization, which provided an insight into how business and social development can work together for the benefit of all.

Right: Part of the group looking very wet at Cape Spear (St. John's, Newfoundland)

Below: The Nisga'a lands (near New Aiyansh, Northern British Columbia)



Photo: David Steuerman

It all showed us that pre-existing notions of Canada's regions do not always hold true, even among Canadians who should know better.

A number of us were also able to get out of Yellowknife for at least part of one day. Along the upper portion of Great Slave Lake there is a road called the Ingraham Trail. John Diefenbaker's dream had been that this route would “link the north”, providing ground access between Churchill, Manitoba and Yellowknife. Unfortunately, like so many other dreams, this did not get translated into reality, and the trail terminates rather abruptly some 75 km outside of Yellowknife. Nevertheless, it did give us the chance to see the real Great White North, which was well worth the effort. After a fairly icy hike, not recommended in trench coats, and a couple of impromptu luges, we found a small but stunning waterfall coming through a sheet of ice and snow. We didn't really encounter any significant wildlife while up north, but we more than made up for that with our imaginations. Virtually every bird, squirrel or faint rustle in the bush had the possibility of being a bear!

Calgary was the next stop, an extremely lively and vigorous city. I was surprised at how dynamic the city was, although I imagine that the old cycle of boom/bust must

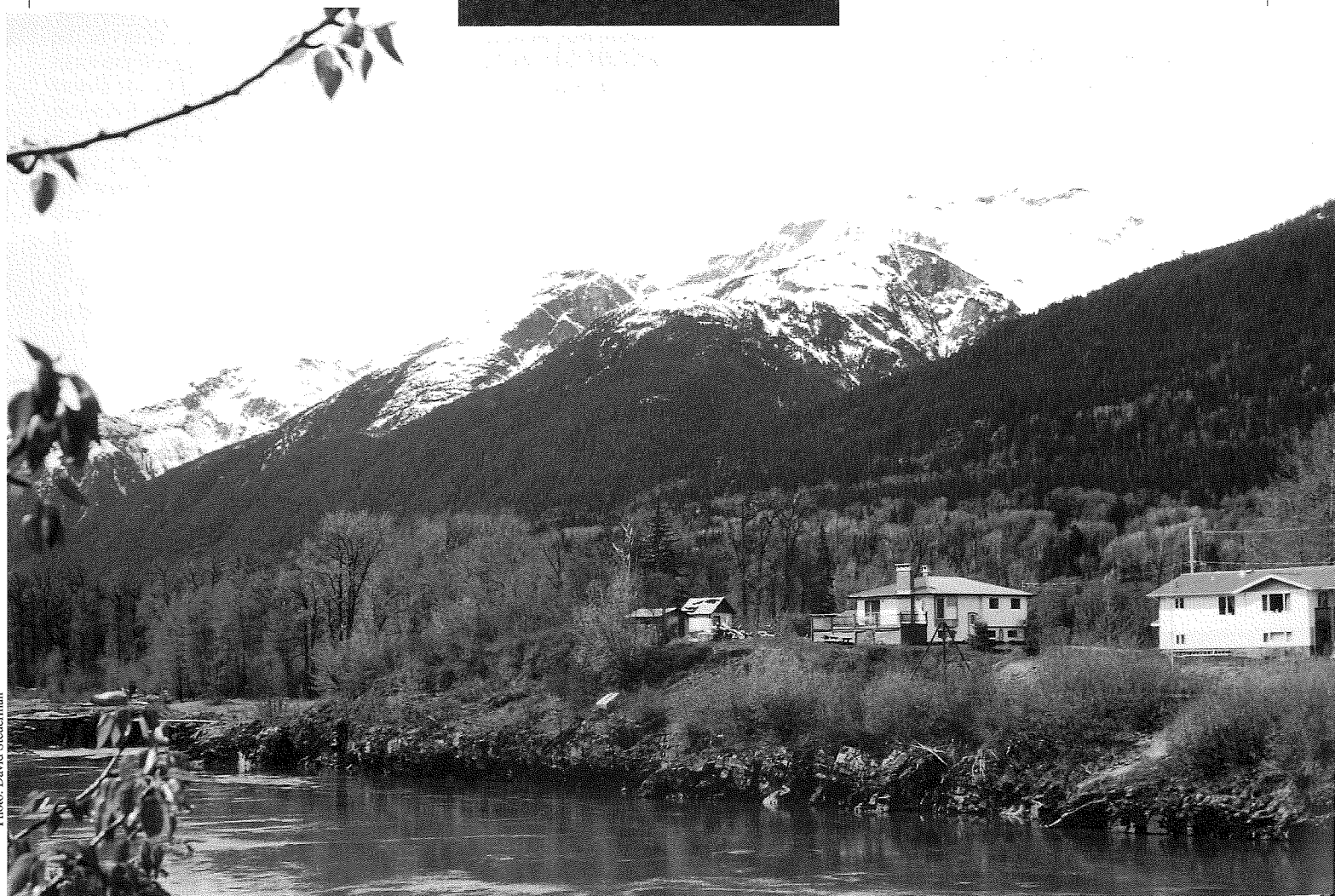
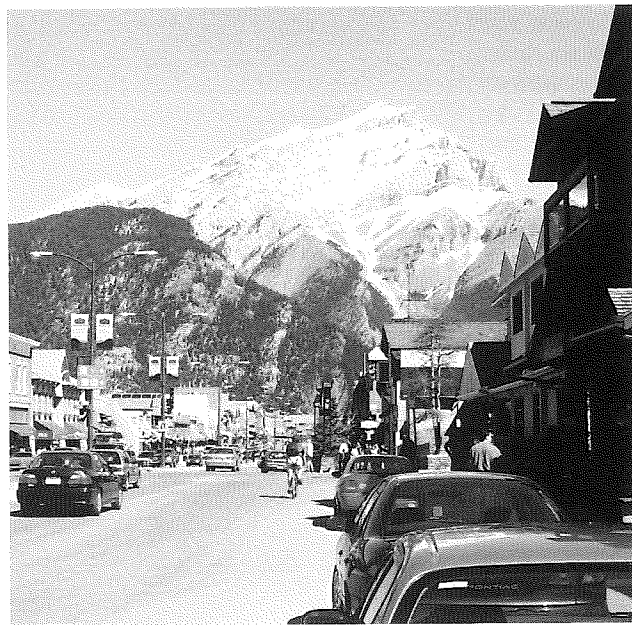


Photo: David Steuerman

have been quite hard on the average Calgarian. A number of the meetings held in Calgary indicated that the city is trying to refocus and get away from its traditional dependence on resources. Our impression was that it is definitely succeeding. One eye-opener for the non-sports fanatics in the group was a meeting with Harley Hotchkiss, owner of the Calgary Flames, which provided a glimpse of how deeply ingrained hockey is into the culture and social fabric of thousands of Canadians, a timely discussion considering the recent debates on hockey's future in Canada.

Perhaps the most unusual portion of our tour was Terrace and the Nisga'a territory. The Nisga'a were made famous because of their recent success in concluding a land-claims deal with the BC provincial government, the first of its kind in Canada. Upon arrival, we had the chance to drive around their territory (some 2000 km², a large area, but only a fraction of what had been claimed as their traditional lands). Once again, the scenery was absolutely breathtaking, particularly an extensive lava flow, the result of a large volcanic eruption some two centuries ago. One distressing note was the level of forestry activity that was taking place. On our way to New Aiyansh, the main Nisga'a village, we passed a large number of fully-laden logging trucks. It was also possible to see vast swaths of white snow, seemingly like bandages, on otherwise heavily treed mountains. Although as Foreign Service officers we all appreciate the importance of the forestry industry, both to B.C. and to Canada as a whole, the evidence of this kind of clear-cutting was still rather disturbing. The

Below: Looking out over the Rocky Mountains



Seeing the mountains from town (Banff, Alberta)

Nisga'a were not thrilled either by these logging practices. Their hope is that by regaining control of their lands they can regulate the extent and to some degree mitigate the effects of the logging. Nonetheless, they struck us as being economically savvy enough to realize that logging represents development, and that their resources are eminently usable.

The Nisga'a celebration was wonderful to see and participate in, not only because of the honour of being allowed access to this somewhat isolated world, but also because it showed evidence of a people rediscovering themselves on their own terms. This is not to say that what we saw was perfect. The Nisga'a were the first to admit that much needs to be done in order

to improve their situation, but what we saw was a start.

Vancouver was our final stop, another day of meetings and yet another perspective on the enigma that is Canada. At this point we found that we had run out of country and it was time to come home. For a lot of us, it will take some time to digest fully what we saw, learned and experienced. Three weeks to see a country of this size is a huge challenge, even for a determined tourist. Add in the necessity of attending an average of four or five meetings per day, and the result is an

exhilarating, but totally exhausting trip. Nevertheless, without any doubt, it was worth every minute and every penny to the department. It has made all of us realize that there is life outside our own personal neck of the woods/acre of prairie/stretch of beach/city block/mountain, and that every region of this country has a tremendous amount to offer. What better representation can a country have than an FS or AS abroad, going misty-eyed as he or she recalls running away from imaginary bears in the NWT, or nearly getting swept off the rocks in Cape Spear, Newfoundland, or almost falling off a mountain in the Rockies, or being tongue-tied when handed a "talking feather" in a native healing ceremony, or wandering through the imposing legislature halls in Winnipeg, or watching an experimental piece of theatre while

drinking wine with the artists in Montreal, or ... well, you get the idea. Some say it's a junket, some say it's a waste of taxpayers' money and our time, some say it's more trouble than it's worth. In response, I would ask what we, as Canadians and as employees of DFAIT, want and expect from our officers abroad. If the answer is someone who knows and truly appreciates his or her country, and can well represent *all* Canadians from *all* regions, then the value of the cross-Canada study tour cannot be in doubt. Now about that puffin.... ☺

Photo: David Steuerman

Photo: David Steuerman





Photo: David Steuerman

Above: Celebrating with the Nisga'a (Terrace, Northern British Columbia)

David Steuerman (Trade Commissioner currently in Japanese training) was the tour travel coordinator and Toronto coordinator with **Amanda McNaughton** (Trade Commissioner currently posted in Washington) who was the Manitoba provincial coordinator and put together the final trip report; **Christopher Hull** (Political Officer posted in Algiers) was the overall

trip coordinator and NWT territorial coordinator); **Allison Phillips** (Political Officer working in Toronto at the International Trade Centre) put together the briefing materials used during the trip); **Stephen Goddard** (Management and Consular Officer currently working in IAM) managed the group's finances); **John Roxburgh** (Trade Commissioner working in URT) was the Newfoundland provincial coordinator); **Kathy Bunka** (Political Officer posted in Accra) was the Quebec

provincial coordinator); **Karen Garner** (Trade Commissioner currently stationed in Johannesburg) was the Alberta provincial coordinator); **Robert Gaulin** (Agent, Gestion et service consulaire qui est en affectation à Harare) s'est occupé du territoire Nisga'a); and, last but not least, **Joshua Hodgson** (Trade Commissioner working in Taipei) was the coordinator for the Vancouver area.

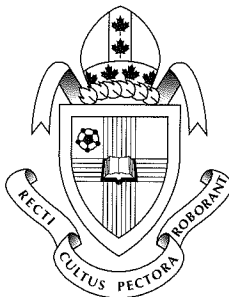


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Latvia in Transition: the Price of Freedom

by Peter Zalite

Eleven years ago, on the 23rd of August 1989, over one million Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians of all ages stood hand-in-hand to form a human chain stretching from Tallinn in the north, through Riga, to Vilnius in the south. The occasion for the demonstration was the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact which resulted in the loss of freedom for the three Baltic Republics for the next fifty years; the demand, renewed freedom, freedom from occupation, freedom at all costs.

The dreams of the million participants in the Baltic Way as well as of millions of other residents of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were eventually realized a short two years later after the sudden collapse of the Soviet Union in August 1991 and the rebirth of these once independent nations on the eastern shores of the Sea of Dreams. The renewed freedom, however, came at a cost, a cost which no one had calculated and which in the end proved to be far greater than anyone had expected. It is only now, eleven years later, that such international organizations as the United Nations are starting to question the policies that led to the immense suffering and hardships that have been, and are continuing to be, borne by the populations at large of the economies in "transition". And there can be no doubt, of all the nations of Central and Eastern Europe including the three Baltic Republics, no nation paid as dearly for its freedom as the Republic of Latvia.

Although precise measures of the actual wealth of the individual republics of the former Soviet Union are not available, most analysts agree that until the end of the 1980s, the Soviet Socialist Republic of Latvia enjoyed the highest standard of living of all the former republics. On a relative scale, leading European authorities have estimated that the GNP of the Latvian SSR was still 30 percent above the Soviet average about the time of the Baltic Way at the end of 1989, while that of the Estonian SSR was 20 percent above the average, and that the GNP's of the Lithuanian SSR, the Belorussian SSR and the Russian SSR itself were 15 percent above the average. Nevertheless, by 1995, at the time of the submission of the accession documentation to the EU, Latvia ranked last of all eleven candidate countries, including Estonia and Lithuania, in terms of GNP per inhabitant, and had also fallen behind Russia and

Belarus in these same terms. In the 1999 Human Development Report of the United Nations, released in July 1999 and based on 1997 GNP figures, Latvia continued to lag not only the other two Baltic states but also Russia and Belarus. What went wrong in Latvia? Was it simply the "transition" from a centrally-planned command economy to an open market economy that was the cause for the exceptional reversal in the standard of living of the average resident of Latvia or were there fundamental mistakes in the choice of policies?

One simplistic approach to understanding "what hit" Latvia is to think in terms of foreign investment in the broadest sense. Stripping away layer after layer of "foreign" funding that flowed into the economy of the Latvian SSR from central allocations and expenditures, one begins to gain a sense of the reasons for the relative wealth of Latvia under Soviet occupation and to comprehend the tremendous economic collapse that came after independence. The external investments in the economies of the Baltic republics included not only such obvious categories as infrastructure, plant and equipment, and social expenditures. They also included the hidden flow of funds resulting from a significant military presence in the region, the gains from a substantial inflow of tourists, and the disproportionately high levels of funding, relative to the size of the individual economies of the three republics, allocated to a broad spectrum of other categories such as culture, sports and recreation.

The importance of "foreign" investment to the individual republics of the former Soviet Union is best described by Algirdas Brazauskas (the former President of the Republic of Lithuania and the last head of the Communist Party in Lithuania prior to the renewal of independence) in a June 1999 interview when he recounts how he regularly lobbied the authorities in Moscow for increased investment in Lithuania: "When it came to the turn of Lithuania to present its plans, we commenced a veritable litany of complaints and to calm our nerves, we were offered money.... We were able to realize 1.9 percent (of the total budget of the Soviet Union although the population of Lithuania was only 1.3 percent of the total population of the Union) and that was not at all a small sum." The results of this lobbying effort by Brazauskas in the latter half of the 80s are still evident today. New highways, new housing developments, and relatively modern factories are to be seen

throughout Lithuania, and Palanga, the summer beach resort community just north of the Port of Klaipeda is indistinguishable from equivalent summer holiday centres in Germany, Holland or Scandinavia. While no former Communist leader in Latvia has yet stood up to make similar claims on behalf of Latvia, judging by the sparse statistics that are available, one can be almost certain that Latvia too fared relatively well in the Moscow boardroom presentations process which determined the allocation of scarce resources in the former Soviet Union.

Another approach to understanding the collapse is to throw out the concept of a state in peaceful transition from one phase of development to another and to think instead, much more realistically, in terms of a large multinational corporation (head office Moscow) whose former foreign cost-center subsidiaries (the individual republics and their institutions) suddenly are totally abandoned and have to start fending for themselves. With no experience whatsoever in top level management, either of government or of corporate organizations, the new leaders were immediately faced with the prospect of managing economies and plants whose accustomed source of funds, and of funding and supply and distribution decisions, had abruptly disappeared. Neither their education nor their experience had prepared the politicians, the officials and the plant managers for the unexpected task of leadership without recourse to a higher level of authority.

Undoubtedly another reason for the relatively favourable position of the Latvian SSR in the former Soviet Union was its image as the most European of all the former Soviet republics. Tourism thrived, the seaside resort community of Jurmala just outside Riga having been a favourite summer destination of the elite (as former colleagues at the Canadian Embassy in Moscow have attested) and especially of the cultural elite who descended on Riga en masse every year. When setting up another new factory to service the needs of the Union, why not set it up in a location in which the best managers and key specialists will be glad to work, rather than in an isolated outpost of the empire? The senior military officers in Riga, too, outranked the senior officers in the neighbouring republics, which surely also influenced the allocation of military spending. In the "good old days," the economy of Latvia was obviously a net beneficiary of a wide range of financial flows from the centre, flows that ceased the

moment that independence was renewed. Even at the plant level, who can now say, ten years later, which party was the beneficiary and which the loser, in the intra-firm transfer pricing process practiced in the Soviet Union? Latvia was greatly subject to this process, owing to the large number of Soviet-scale plants in its territory, all of which were directly and intimately linked to many other centrally controlled plants and distribution centres in other regions of the Union.

With the renewal of independence in 1991, Latvia, as all the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union, faced extremely difficult decisions. With no recent experience either of democracy and market economies or of statesmanship, the newly-elected policy makers in Latvia and their immediate advisers were hardly in a position to make sound judgments based on extensive experience and a thorough knowledge of the functions of the state and its management. This was particularly the case for economic questions, the political questions being far more visible and "human" and therefore easier to understand and to cope with. At the same time, the multinational organizations which were trying their best to provide the necessary support for the "transition" process in so many suddenly new countries were simply overloaded. As a consequence, they were only able to offer very general, simplistic advice to the "transition" economies — what is best for country "X" is also best for country "Y" type of advice. There was no time for more detailed, country specific advice, in situations in which in fact there were very considerable differences among the different nations!

The ensuing dilemma starts with the broadly accepted usage of the word "transition" itself. To the average ear, "transition" would imply a gradual serene transformation from one phase to another. There is nothing violent or abrupt about the term "transition," nothing to lead one to think that it implies human suffering and hardships. For national economies, the term appears to have been adopted to describe the changes occurring in the economies of Central and Eastern Europe these last twenty years, and, when speaking of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania, "transition" correctly describes the more or less gradual state of change within these more or less sovereign nations from one set of conditions to another. The term should hardly apply, however, to those economies which faced abrupt and immediate changes to a totally new set of political and economic circumstances. The concept of "transition" does not do justice

to the severity and immediacy of the dramatic changes which occurred in those newly-founded nations which had been totally controlled by central authorities in Moscow for decades. Nevertheless, world opinion leaders chose to recommend the same policy advice for all economies in "transition" and developed a "Washington Consensus" as the prescription for all the economies of Central and Eastern Europe and of the former Soviet Union. (For the sake of argument, in the inconceivable event of the abrupt unfriendly secession of the Maritime Provinces, or the Western Provinces, from the rest of Canada, the support of much of the rest of the world and of leading multinational institutions, it is just as inconceivable that economists would term the change a "transition" and recommend policies of minimal government involvement in the economic adjustment phase to follow independence.)

The demand, renewed freedom, freedom from occupation, freedom at all costs.

Researching the economics of transition it becomes clear that both Latvia and Estonia provided fertile ground for the multinational experts advocating the "Washington Consensus." Both countries, each in its own way, almost fully adopted the neoliberal monetarist policies in vogue at the end of the 80s — macroeconomic stabilization, microeconomic liberalization, privatization and creation of a market-conforming institutional and legal framework. Drastically limiting government involvement in the economy in order to let the market do the job of economic adjustment while maintaining a sound currency were to be the keys to a new level of prosperity in the now free and independent nations, so said the experts. There was no one at the receiving end of this advice willing, or perhaps more correctly, able, to provide counter arguments for a more gradualist approach, with greater government involvement in the process.

The results are to be seen today. In the case of Estonia, the layers of "foreign investment" in the economy were thinner on the one hand and on the other were rather quickly replaced by real foreign investment from the West, in particular from its sister nation of Finland. In the case of Latvia, the process has proven far more difficult, the

initial losses having been far greater and the foreign investment gaps not being filled as rapidly. In both nations, however, a narrow privileged elite quickly emerged to control the economy, while the economic circumstances of the majority of the population grew progressively worse. In both nations, the creation of an economic environment which will nurture the growth and rapid expansion of the still far too small middle class is crucial to their aspirations to once again attain the European standards of living that Estonia and Latvia enjoyed prior to occupation.

Eleven years after Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians stood hand-in-hand in a human chain to draw the attention of the world to their hunger for freedom, and a short eight years after regaining the independence of their homelands, the peoples of the Baltic States have come a long way. Ignoring the question of the severity of the collapse and the ensuing hardships that resulted, the macroeconomic progress of all three nations since the turnaround has been remarkably steady and is often cited as evidence for the success of the consensus policies. The vision of the future held by the majority of the population, and most importantly, the vast majority of the younger generation, is a vision of being a part of modern Europe, enjoying all the privileges and freedoms that such a status implies. More experienced national leaders, backed up by better educated advisers, coupled with greater sensitivity to the particular circumstances of each individual nation on the part of multinational institutions which have now progressed to a post-Washington consensus phase, provide assurance that reform will continue and more appropriate policies will be adopted. Most importantly, the people and their dreams and needs will become central to the government decision-making process in all three nations. ☺

The Russian financial crisis has done much to alter the economic picture of the region described in this article written last August. The statistical indicators for 1998 of each of the candidate countries incorporated in the European Commission's October 13, 1999 Report on Progress towards Accession show that the relative rankings of the GDP per inhabitant of the three Baltic States remain unchanged. Russia and Belarus too have seen a dramatic decrease in the relative economic well-being of their inhabitants following the exceptional devaluation of the Russian ruble since August 1998.

Peter Zalite is a former Trade Commissioner who now lives in Latvia and teaches at Latvia's newest regional university.

A World of Ideas

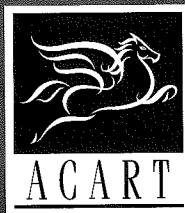


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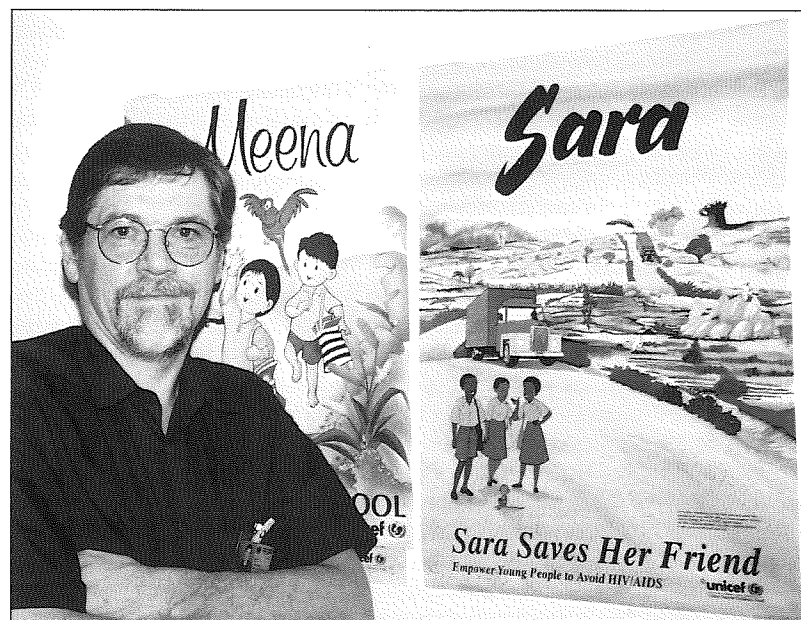
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Illustrating the Perils of AIDS



Neill McKee stands beside two book cover posters.

A profile of Neill McKee and Sara

*The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade has initiated an educational Web site aimed principally at teachers and students at the secondary school level in Canada, though much of the content will also be of interest to a wider audience. Canadians in the World / Les Canadiens dans le monde includes a diverse menu of topics, with original content developed for the Internet and Web versions of print and audiovisual materials. As part of this project, journalist and author Clyde Sanger was asked to update his 1988 book Canadians and the United Nations / Les Canadiens et les Nations Unies. Sanger not only revised the editorial apparatus but also interviewed additional individuals for profiles of their lives and work for the Web version (which will eventually include audio and video clips as well as other enhancements of the text). In light of the time required for translation, preparation and posting of the material, and with the co-operation of Clyde Sanger, **bout de papier** has been given an exceptional opportunity to scoop a Web site. The profile of Neill McKee will be posted at *Canadians in the World* (<http://www.canschool.org>) and *Les Canadiens dans le monde* (<http://www.canecole.org>).*

Hector Mackenzie

by Clyde Sanger

After the UN World Summit for Children in 1990 James Grant, then the executive director of UNICEF, set down some 40 "Goals for the 1990s" which the summit had fostered. The goals included everything from promoting universal primary education to curing iodine deficiency in children. But they did not include any mention of HIV/AIDS. Soon after Neill McKee arrived in Nairobi in January 1994 with the title of UNICEF's 'senior programme communication officer for Eastern and Southern Africa,' he was

worried by this omission. He read the World Bank statistics for AIDS in various countries of his region, which were published in 1995, and thought them "pretty devastating". But these statistics at first "didn't seem to make a difference ... because UNICEF and the whole UN system was in a state of denial that [AIDS] would have a huge effect on everything they were doing for child survival and their development in future."

This situation is now turned around, says McKee; and AIDS, along with malaria, are recognized as "the two main killers of children, as well as the fact that AIDS caused the orphaning of millions of children" in

sub-Saharan Africa. McKee used his position as communications specialist and some 25 years' experience as a film-maker with Canadian development agencies to help bring about this change of official attitudes. He also tackled the job of presenting the AIDS issue to African families in an imaginative way that would not run up against a wall of cultural behaviour. His thesis has been (and still is) that "AIDS is a gender inequality crisis in Africa." This is the message behind what he calls "the Sara communication initiative," the invention of an attractive group of self-reliant young characters that are becoming famous throughout much of sub-Saharan Africa in comic-books, videos and radio soaps.

Fittingly, Neill had wanted to become a clinical psychologist when he was in his first year of university and, when he moved on to the University of Calgary after a year at Western Ontario, his B.A. was in psychology with philosophy as minor subject. This was a break from the family line. His grandfather had died in a farm accident, leaving nine young children; and his father had to quit school at 13 to look after the farm and with his twin brother eventually set up a farm equipment business, based in Elmira, Ontario. Neill was born in Kitchener in November 1945.

Influenced by this pair of entrepreneurs, he first thought of heading towards engineering and spent what he calls "a rebellious youth, fixing cars, chasing girls and not being academic at all." By Grade 13, though, he wanted to do social oriented work. He says:

"In my last year in high school, I was sent to a United Nations schools conference in

Waterloo. I had thought of doing political science but, in my first year of university, the political science professor I had was so boring that I didn't pursue it." However, he was drawn toward international affairs. "At Western in 1965, I became friends with Nathan Mwanda, son of an Ndebele chief, who was doing a Master's in Business, and we talked a lot about the Rhodesian UDI (unilateral declaration of independence) and the future Zimbabwe. Then at Calgary I chose as my roommate Wasfi Yusef, an Egyptian Ph.D. engineering student. After Calgary, influenced by my grandfather Neill's background as a minister, I applied to go with the United Church of Canada to Japan — but I was rejected as unsuitable to go overseas — apparently they didn't like my universal terms of religion for their church."

Instead, CUSO accepted him and sent him as a teacher to Sabah, in Borneo, Malaysia. "There I met a Peace Corps guy making a film. I had done some theatre and some scriptwriting at Calgary and a little filmmaking; so I borrowed his 16 mm camera, which he'd bought from a Chinese tailor, and made a film I called 'Manaulu?' or 'Where is the jungle?' The camera ran too fast, so the movie was a bit slower than reality — which is what life is like in Borneo! In any case, CUSO saw it as too controversial to use — it talked about cheap volunteer labour and it questioned some basic development policies which discriminated against the non-Malays. But CUSO's information section saw strong camera work and wanted more, and I made five or six films for CUSO." These were essentially recruiting films, like "Tanga man" showing what the life of a CUSO volunteer was like in Tanzania.

In turn, he was recruited in 1974 from his field staff post in Malaysia to become the head of the audio-visual unit at the Ottawa-based International Development Research Centre. In truth, he was the unit. In making 35 films for IDRC he did everything: operated a basic camera, worked the sound equipment and a still camera — and did his own troubleshooting. "Today one could do it all on video, but not in the 1970s." From his family background, he was interested in agricultural machinery, so making "An End to Pounding" about a village-level dehuller came easily. He made films on health, education, agriculture, fisheries and aquaculture, forestry and the environment, and received many international awards for such films as "Trees of Hope" and "Prescription for Health."

In 1990 he joined UNICEF in Bangladesh as chief of programme communication and information. He developed comprehensive communication strategies,

working on such subjects as sanitation, basic education, immunization and others of James Grant's "goals." Just as importantly, he was the co-creator (with Hermann Tillmann from Germany and Maruja Salas from Peru) of the VIPP method of working with partners in government departments and in civil society. Here is how he explains VIPP, or Visualization in Participatory Programmes, which is now widely used in UNICEF and other organizations for program planning:

"The idea was to get a participatory method going, for planning or to put ideas across that would have widespread ownership at the middle level — some at senior government level, and below — so that the participants would carry out the plan thereafter, implemented by a wide group of partners, instead of its being owned by a single ministry." He came to this idea because "when I first went to Bangladesh, I sat through so many seminars, so many symposiums, so many meetings all virtually similar, with people lecturing on the same things with so much overlap. Such a waste of time. I had to do a lot of public speaking when I first went there, and I got so frustrated sitting there. At one meeting a guy speaking in Bangla ended up speaking faster and faster because the chairperson was timing him with a wristwatch and everyone in the audience was laughing!"

There were, he says, a lot of participatory programs at village level, but not above. On a trip to Germany he found they had evolved a method, after the 1968 riots, of getting people in industry and in government to plan together, work together and train together. "But it became too engineered, too regimented — you always had to follow the same planning framework. With VIPP there is no particular framework. There are a set of tools, and basic rules for using them — and you can use it for what you want. One rule is that individuals don't take notes. Ideas are synthesized on different coloured cards — one idea per card — and stuck on pinboards or walls. People don't privatize the proceedings, saying 'This idea is mine.' They may work in buzz groups, but everything is visualized. Ideas go up and down, many cards are clustered and titled as ideas are put in a patterned way. It takes less time in many ways than an ordinary workshop where people go in circles, get fixed ideas early and are repetitive. Success with VIPP depends on having a good facilitator, who can bring out everybody's ideas without putting anyone down, without ridiculing anybody.

"It was my idea to call it VIPP and apply it in this particular way, but I invited Tillmann and Salas to Dhaka and we wrote

the manual together." As for its success, McKee says modestly: "I think it was instrumental in devising the major plans for implementing many programs in Bangladesh, including universal primary education. After the Jomtien conference of 'Education for All,' nothing had happened in a year and a half. Ministries and academics differed on how to do it. We had an event to put everything together — and it worked. Then VIPP was applied to water and sanitation, nutrition and health programs, as well as an overall framework for child rights — and we tied in NGOs and many ministries.

"In a number of African countries, too, it has been quite successful in breaking down communication barriers. Often discussions there are formalized and top-down, with the chief or leader deciding. VIPP breaks down this hierarchy. It is sometimes difficult for leaders to see the importance of this method for leadership. But if the process empowers people to make decisions and offer recommendations to the leader, then it puts them behind it and makes the leader stronger. It is often better for the leader to sit back as an ordinary participant, not try to be the facilitator." One can see the psychology graduate coming out in McKee's words.

His work in Bangladesh began to focus on the difficulties of the girl-child. Political leaders in South Asia had named the 1990s as the 'Decade of the Girl-Child,' and Neill dreamed up the notion of some animated films in which a smart girl of about nine years old made her way in the world around traditional obstacles. The psychologist in him led to his team's portraying Meena as admirably resourceful, rather than as a pitiable victim of prejudice. A pet parrot Mithu was added, which could say and do things that would be disapproved of in a young girl. Together, they manage to ensure that Meena gets a place in primary school ("Count your Chickens"), is given a fair share of family food ("Dividing the Mango") alongside her brother Raju — and saves her father from the village moneylender.

His team included Nuzhat Shahzadi, who had a background in public health in Bangladesh, and Dr Mira Aghi of India with experience on 'Sesame Street,' as well as his first scriptwriter and manager, Rachel Carnegie, who had worked in Bhutan as a VSO teacher from Britain. The stories were illustrated by Ram Mohan of Bombay, but he had to go outside the region for writers. "We tried South Asian writers for the Meena stories and they failed. We got Bombay scriptwriters involved, and they couldn't write anything that would suit all the cultures. They would write more of a Bombay generic melodrama, and they couldn't take

account of all the possibilities of Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan. Rachel is an excellent facilitator, always trying to involve more people. The main thing with her, and in our approach in Africa, has been listening to the voices of young people themselves in an extensive research process; and in the process of evolving the story the writer has to be open to criticism in a very broad way". When Neill moved on to East Africa, another Canadian in UNICEF — Christian Clark from Montreal — took over as executive producer for the series. He has called Meena "an historic breakthrough for using media and popular culture for children's rights."

Soon after reaching Nairobi, he had a meeting with the Ministers of Gender from Tanzania, Ethiopia and Uganda. "I was pushed by them — especially Uganda's Dr Specioza Kazibwe (now the Vice-President who is also a surgeon who had had her own childhood struggles, as the only girl in a family of eight brothers) to do something about the girl-child. The ministers were not specifically talking about AIDS. I knew that, in general, women in Eastern and Southern Africa are less empowered than, say, West African market women; and I asked whether this lack of empowerment wasn't underlying the spread of the AIDS pandemic in the region, compared with West Africa. My thesis was — and it still stands — that AIDS is a gender inequality crisis in Africa. The ministers agreed, but they didn't have the statistics to support this view until later."

McKee did research to check his thesis, and found several factors to explain the high incidence of AIDS in East Africa and Uganda in particular. "There is wife inheritance among the Luo people — that is, if a man dies, you take the wife. Younger people don't do that, now. But there are customs, not documented too well, to do with purifying the widow, sometimes with a professional purifier (who may be HIV-positive himself) to cleanse her with sex before she marries the brother. Another interesting fact which I learnt from the 1995 World Bank report was that the AIDS belt overlapped with areas where there was no male circumcision — in other words, uncircumcised boys have a greater risk of STDs. Then there are the trucking routes up from Mombasa through Uganda to Rwanda and the Congo. The truckers had the habit of sleeping at Kampala or thereabouts. Another factor for prevention was the early recognition of the problem by the government of Uganda, and its openness on the subject."

But the main factors had to do with unsafe sexual practices — coercive sex, older men tempting young girls through gifts (sugar daddies), recreational sex by

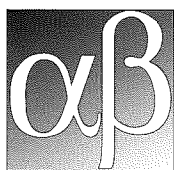
adolescents, early marriage, polygamy and multiple sexual partners. The family planning organizations, he found, were targeting the married couples and the 17 to 19 age-bracket. "But that's too late, as sexual behaviour is fixed by then, especially for a girl who may be exposed to AIDS at 13. The churches' influence in sex education in the region has been behind the concept that adolescents should *not* be exposed to the idea of using condoms. Yet 13 to 15 is easily the average for a first sexual experience. People are afraid to talk about the use of condoms as men find it unmanly, not the 'real experience.' This makes difficulties in husband-wife relationships, because if a wife suggests it she'll be screamed at for being like a prostitute and possibly unfaithful — whereas the reality is that he's likely to have several relationships. Being a wife in East and Southern Africa today is a very high-risk job!"

Statistics published in mid-1998 for HIV/AIDS put a figure of 25 percent among the sexually active adult population in Zimbabwe and Botswana, 20 percent in Zambia, 17 percent in South Africa, 12 percent in Kenya and about 10 percent in Ethiopia and Uganda. Figures for the Congo and Angola, says McKee, "have been low until now, partly due to bad roads preventing movement. But the war in the Congo will have had an effect."

McKee's main concern is children and, in this case, young girls. "The incidence of AIDS among girls is six times higher than among boys at age 16. By that time they will probably have a relationship with an older boy or man, and maybe with a sugar-daddy who can provide cosmetics or pay for university fees. In the University of Zambia up to 50 percent of the girls are HIV-positive. In this region, a girl is brought up to be a quiet observer and a workhorse in the household, to obey and not to express herself. I figured there were lots of problems for girls. It's somewhat surprising, because you see a lot of empowered women around — the Decade for Women ended with the Nairobi conference — but they are an anomaly, and many of them are unhelpful at bringing up their sisters. I had a feeling from the outset that this lack of empowerment would be a major issue for HIV/AIDS. I wanted to see if we could empower the girl-child quickly through developing psycho-social skills: negotiation, communication, problem solving, creative thinking, coping with stress, developing a self-concept. These are the issues underlying the Sara initiative. It is a long-term way of dealing with HIV."

So Sara, a spirited girl of about 13 or 14, was created. She is surrounded by school friends like Amina and an array of relatives including a wicked uncle who pockets her school fees and a grandmother with

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traditional views. She also has a pet girl-monkey called Zingo who several times saves the situation, as when truck drivers abduct Amina and she lets the air out of their tires, which allows Sara and other pursuers to catch up. Some researchers and writers were first opposed to introducing a pet animal as a main actor but research with children changed their minds. As a UNICEF leaflet about Sara carefully explains, "Zingo's antics are humorous expressions of Sara's inner feelings; feelings she could not express and remain respectful and acceptable to her elders."

The general theme of the comic books and videos is resourcefulness and self-reliance of young people in dealing with the discrimination that persists against girls. In the first episode Sara proves she is worth her school fees by building with her friends a fuel-saving smokeless stove (shades of IDRC projects!). In a later book ("The Trap") she turns the tables on an elderly and lecherous businessman, Mbuta, who has blackmailed her into meeting him after dusk in the woods. Of course, the tale about the truck drivers in "Sara Saves her Friend" carries a clear, if indirect, message about AIDS, while the third episode "Daughter of a Lioness" tackles the hot subject of female circumcision —

and a girl's right to choose — and the fifth is about teenage pregnancy.

McKee elaborates: "The third episode, on female genital mutilation (FGM), is related to the pandemic in that the custom does increase the risk of HIV/AIDS, but it also about the whole issue of rights of the girl. I don't think any of these episodes mention AIDS directly, the idea being that we don't need to hit people over the head with the AIDS message. That will come in the introduction or use of the comic book and videos in various groups, and it will inevitably come out in discussion. FGM is a big issue in the Horn of Africa, Kenya, bits of Tanzania and Uganda, and right across Central and West Africa, and the episode is starting to be used in Cameroon, and to some extent Nigeria.

"It is controversial, because in reacting to this film it can polarize issues in many people's minds, and communities can be polarized around it, for or against. We had meetings to consult with a group of African women from West Africa, Kenya and elsewhere, and some based in Europe who saw the film and the resource book, and we were pleased they said it was very valuable and, put in the proper context and used properly, it can be a very powerful tool. The resource book gives all the background to FGM,

describing experiences where positive solutions are occurring in a sensitive way. That's the hope, that Sara will be used in a way that's sensitive and less confrontational. Senegal recently outlawed FGM — that's fine, but my question is: Does that drive the practice underground? Senegal was admired internationally for doing it, but my question is: What's going on at the village level? It is better to get them to be saying 'Let's talk it over, and decide what parts of our ceremonies we should keep that are important to our culture'."

A great deal of consultation with focus groups — from villages and schools and health departments — and with researchers over every Sara episode has gone on (using the VIPP method, of course!) and artists and writers have been recruited from half a dozen countries, and bolstered by some of the Meena veterans. Neill McKee had led a remarkable team that has worked together for five years. The Sara initiative, now going commercial throughout sub-Saharan Africa, may do as much as any other development project to encourage attitudinal changes in Africa towards the adolescent girl — and have a lasting impact on those appalling statistics of AIDS. ☺

Clyde Sanger is a journalist and author of numerous books on international affairs.



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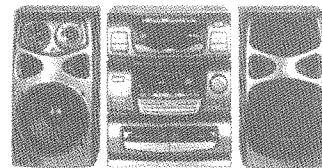
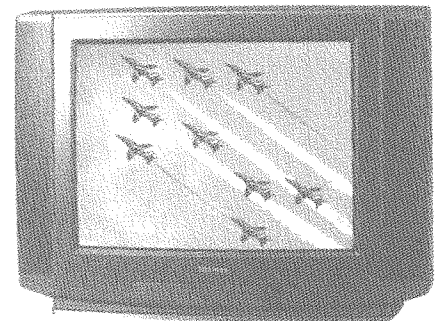
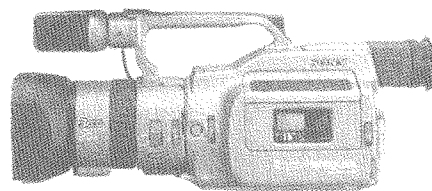
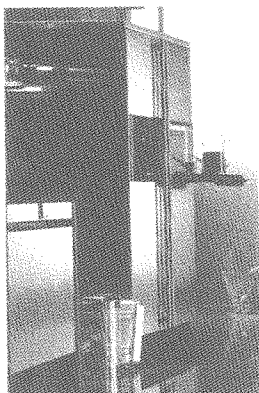
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by the Hon. Roy MacLaren

Recently when in Brussels for a farewell dinner for Sir Leon Brittan, I spent a few minutes at the Terveren Museum, King Leopold II's salute to himself for having created the notorious Congo Free State. Amidst the exhibits was a 1890 table game of Congo exploration, complete with counters, looking a little like Monopoly. One of the counters was not surprisingly of H.M. Stanley (of Livingston fame) who did much to open the Congo to European exploitation; a second counter — unidentified — was of Captain William Stairs of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Stairs was an early Canadian in the Congo (1887-1892), but he was certainly not the first. Canadian missionaries of *les pères blancs* and of several Protestant sects had preceded Stairs to the Congo and, for that matter, throughout much of black

Canadians in the Congo (1887-1892)

Africa. Many graduates of the Royal Military College at Kingston, Ontario, had accepted commissions in the British army — frequently in the Royal Engineers — and soon thereafter found themselves in either India or Africa. Those in Africa included Major Huntley Mackay of St. Vincent de Paul, Quebec, a RMC

graduate who earned the Distinguished Service Order for his border surveys in Bechuanaland (now Botswana) and for his later suppression of slavery in Sierra Leone. His engineering skills were utilized in the survey of the first railway to Lake Victoria, across what is now Uganda, where he died from recurrent malaria in 1891. The following year, another RMC graduate, Henry Robinson of St. John, New Brunswick, was killed

in the tribal wars of Sierra Leone, having also earned a DSO. Colonel Sir Percy Girouard of Montreal, another RMC graduate, constructed the railway that allowed Kitchener to fight the battle of Omdurman in the Sudan and later built several of the light railways at the front in the South African War. Girouard later became

Below: Brisk encounter in Majamboni's village. "In Darkest Africa": illustrated review of Mr. Stanley's New York.



Governor of Northern Nigeria (1907-1909) and Governor of Kenya (1909-1912). Yet another RMC graduate, Colonel Kenneth Campbell of Quebec, had already serviced as Acting Consul General in the Oil Rivers Protectorate of Nigeria (1891-1893).

Now back to Captain Stairs. A 1881 graduate of RMC who, like so many others, had accepted a commission in the Royal Engineers, William Stairs soon tired of peacetime soldiering in Britain. From among hundreds of applicants, Stanley accepted Stairs as a volunteer in the flamboyant explorer's third and final African expedition, this time to "rescue" the last of General Gordon's governors in the equatorial Sudan, Emin Pasha (actually a German, born Eduard Karl Oskar Theodor Schnitzer), who in fact did not want to leave the Congo. The three-year trek across central Africa with Stanley's caravan, following its ascent of the Congo, left Stairs brutalized. What Joseph Conrad was to describe in *Heart of Darkness* as happening to those Europeans who ventured into Africa had happened to Stairs: eventually he too was cutting off the hands or executing recalcitrant and rebellious porters in the brutal traditions of the Congo — and of King Leopold II.

The Congo Free State was (until 1908) Leopold's personal fiefdom; it was not a colony of Belgium. On the King's behalf, Stairs returned to the Congo soon after the

completion of the Emin Pasha relief expedition. His commission was to secure the remote region of Katanga for the Congo Free State. From Zanzibar, where both Arab slavers and Free State expeditions made their way into the eastern Congo, Stairs led a large expedition that eventually seized Katanga, but only at the price of killing the local chief and several of his bloody henchmen who had ruled Katanga with a reign of terror. Stairs himself died of recurrent malaria before he regained the coast at the mouth of the Zambesi (where a stone cross, erected later by a sister, still marks his neglected grave).

Adam Hochschild, in his *King Leopold's Ghost*, winner of this year's Gelber prize, recounts dramatically the mounting horror of Leopold's notorious regime in the Congo. My own recent book, *African Exploits; The Diaries of William Stairs 1887-1892* (published last year by McGill-Queen's Press) describes a Canadian dimension to the unhappy scramble for Africa and explains why Stairs was pictured on a counter in a table game in the Terveren Museum in Brussels. ☺

The Hon. Roy MacLaren, Canada's High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, is a former Minister of International Trade, Member of Parliament and career Foreign Service officer.

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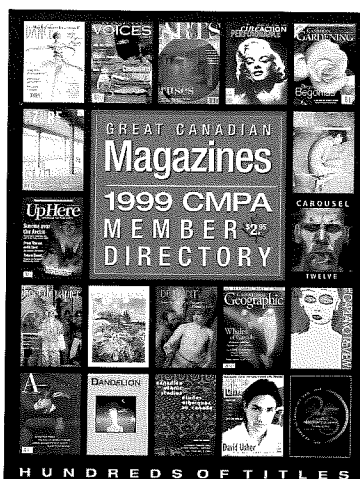
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Foreign Policy for Byzantines

by Roger Lucy

DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO
Constantine VII "Porphyrogenitus"
Greek text edited by Gy. Moravcsik
English Translation by R. J. H. Jenkins
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington
US \$15.00

For a state which, to a great degree, owed its 1000 years of survival in a very hostile world to the skill of its diplomats, we have precious little direct information about the East Roman ("Byzantine") Empire's foreign policy. What little we do have survives largely because in the late 940s, Emperor Constantine VII, a monarch of a scholarly bent but little hands-on experience, prepared a series of "Transition Briefs" for the benefit of his son, the future Romanus II. While never intended for publication, they were found a century later in the archives by some inquisitive official who had them copied out, happily preserving for posterity much of what has come down to us about Byzantine court ceremonial, provincial organization and diplomatic history and practice. Unfortunately little of this corpus is available in English, beyond a few excerpts from Constantine's collection of accounts of Byzantine diplomatic missions and this edition of *De Administrando Imperio* ("On the Administration of the Empire," the title given it when it surfaced in the West in the 16th century). Despite its name, *DAI* deals mostly with foreign policy, although at the end there are some notes on recent changes to provincial boundaries, a background on organization of the state barges and a rather legendary history of the Empire's remote, but strategically vital, listening-post at Cherson, in the Crimea.

The main portion of *DAI* consists of a series of profiles on the Empire's neighbours, outlining their history, their current status and attitude to the Empire, and advice to young Romanus on how the relationship with these peoples should be managed, or in modern terms: Background, Current Situation, Barbarian Position, Roman Position. Constantine even provides a detailed set of talking points to answer frequently received requests for Imperial insignia, Greek fire (the Empire's secret weapon) and marriage alliances with the Imperial family. In all three cases the recommended response is to claim that there

are divine sanctions forbidding such concessions.

Constantine saw no need for a business plan and nor were his diplomats required to outline their goals and objectives. Nonetheless, it is clear that his foreign policy was governed by certain fundamental principles, which stood the test of time:

- Wherever possible deflect attacks on the Empire by diplomatic means; use barbarians to fight barbarians;
- Never in any way or by any gesture (e.g., by the granting of insignia or marriage alliance) allow any foreign ruler to assume that any sort of parity exists between himself and the "God-protected" Emperor of the Romans;
- Never explicitly concede any territory that was ever once part of the Roman Empire;
- While those occupying what were once Roman territories do so on the sufferance of the Empire, reconquests should be undertaken cautiously so as not to endanger wider strategic interests.

Constantine's survey begins with the vital northern frontier. The nascent Russian principality and Bulgaria were the only powers which could directly threaten Constantinople, by sea or by land respectively. The key to peace and stability in this region was the Petchneps, a tribe of pagan Turks who controlled the steppes from the lower Danube to the Volga. The Petchneps could check any raid planned by the Russians, who had to portage their longships through Petchneg territory; likewise they could counterattack (with the help of the Imperial Navy) in the case of any Bulgarian incursion into Byzantine territory. The Petchneps could also be used to overawe the Hungarians, whom they had driven from the Azov coast to their present home some fifty years earlier; or in conjunction with the Alans (ancestors of today's Ossetians), make life very difficult for the Khazars (Arthur Koestler's Thirteenth Tribe) on the lower Don and Volga, thereby ensuring the safety of Cherson. It was a difficult

relationship, as the Petchneps did not undervalue their services, but a key one. Constantine describes the arrangements for sending annual diplomatic missions to the Petchneg Khan, using either Cherson or a naval flotilla as a base of operations. Before the Ambassador entered their territory, the Petchneps had to send hostages to ensure his safety. These hostages were entitled to compensation for "wear and tear" on their livestock.

Constantine's review of the Arabs is dated and full of disinformation (e.g., he claims *Allah Akbar* means "for God and Venus"). With the collapse of the Abbasid Caliphate, the Arabs no longer posed a major security threat, although their raids had considerable nuisance value, and bit by bit their strongholds in eastern Anatolia and northern Syria were falling into Roman hands. Far more attention is paid by Constantine to the very complex and delicate three-way relationships between the Empire and the Moslem and Christian principalities of



Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan. Constantine describes, as an object lesson, a failed attempt by his predecessor to subvert a strategic city in Georgia. This almost led to the wholesale defection of the other Christian princes to the Moslem camp.

The Balkans, even more Balkanized than today, are discussed at length. On one hand, the numerous principalities of Serbia and Croatia could be valuable allies against the Bulgarians; on the other, the Latin-speaking cities along the Dalmatian coast had to be protected against their inroads, as well as from Saracen raids. The official position was that Croats and Serbs had been invited into the Balkans by Emperor Heraclius, in the seventh century, to drive out the Avars (a particularly virulent nomad tribe), at which time they had nominally converted to Christianity and had been allowed to settle on Roman soil. They were therefore considered subjects of the Empire. The Byzantines were to continue to claim, and occasionally exercise, this suzerainty for the next four hundred years. The Albanians do not appear at all in Constantine's survey. They were still in a state of what anthropologists call "pre-state formation". *Plus ça change....*

The West gets very little attention. Aside from Venice, officially an Imperial vassal,

the main concern was southern Italy, to which the Roman Empire still clung by its fingernails. Constantine describes the management of a complex kaleidoscope of Imperial outposts, nominally Roman city states, Lombard dynasts, and the nascent Western Empire, which usually cooperated with the Byzantines against Saracen raiders.

At the remove of a thousand years, it is hard to assess the quality of *De Administrando Imperii*. Certainly the analysis of the situation in the Black Sea region is succinct and very practical, but discussions of some other regions often get lost in a stream of scholarly digressions. In general, the more immediate the concern, the more useful the analysis. For each region Constantine tries to provide an overall historical review of Roman interests, coupled with a snapshot of the conditions and concerns of his own day. Historical material ranges from quite good, to pure legend. His review of Spain degenerates into an etymological discussion on why it is called both Iberia and Hispania. Information available to him is so scanty that he even cites Herodotus, who wrote fifteen hundred years earlier.

Constantine can be a bit too fond of information for its own sake and often fails to discriminate between that which is of interest and what is actually useful. The reader

has the impression that he dictated any interesting morsel he found to a scribe, who then wrote it up without any further editing. The result is the frequent reduplication of material, often giving slightly different versions of events. We learn no less than three times that in the 670s the Arabs carted off the remains of the Colossus of Rhodes using either 900 or 980 camels.

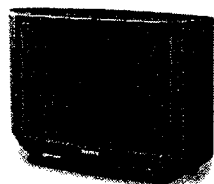
Considering the vast amount of archival material that would have been available to Constantine, compared to what survives today (museums hold tens of thousands of lead seals attached to now lost official documents), we are left with a sense of acute disappointment that he did not make better use of it, particularly when history shows that Byzantine diplomats were active, effective and very well informed. On the other hand, we must be thankful that at least his works — which too could easily have been lost — did survive, giving us a snapshot of Byzantine foreign policy at the end of the first millennium. ☺

Roger Lucy is a Political/Economic officer who has served in Chicago, Tehran, Oslo and Trinidad. He is currently in the Export Controls Division at DFAIT.

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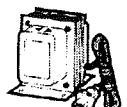
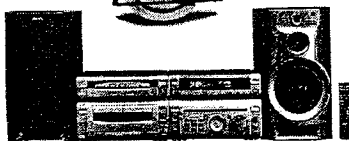
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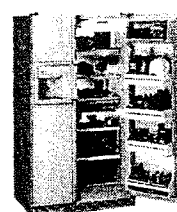
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Arthur Irwin 1898-1999

Arthur Irwin, who has died aged 101, was a journalist and diplomat. He was one of those who were turned into Canadian nationalists by the First World War, and he used this awareness to transform *Maclean's* magazine into a truly national magazine that would mirror, in his words, "all the drama and turmoil of a nation struggling to be."

Mr. Irwin became legendary in journalistic circles as a tough editor and brilliant talent scout.



As the driving force behind *Maclean's* from 1925 to 1950 — first as associate editor, then managing editor and finally editor — he assembled a staff that would become household names, including Pierre Berton, Ralph Allen, June Callwood, Trent Frayne and Blair Fraser.

"He could spot a weak sentence or an unqualified generalization and pounce on it like an owl with a rodent," Pierre Berton wrote in the forward to *Arthur Irwin: A Biography*, by David Mackenzie.

When Mr. Irwin joined the Foreign Service at age 55, he wrote stylish reports that read like travel narratives, all the while fearing that nobody in Ottawa was reading them. "Despite all one reads and hears about Australia's Empty North," begins one mischievous, "it is impossible to appreciate how empty — and how isolated — this particular emptiness can be without experiencing it." During an 11-year diplomatic career, he served as High Commissioner to Australia (1953-6), Ambassador to Brazil (1957-9), and Ambassador to Mexico and Guatemala (1960-4).

William Arthur Irwin was born on May 27, 1898, in Ayr, Ontario, the son of a Methodist minister. He served with the artillery in France, and then attended the University of Manitoba and the University of Toronto, where he received his BA in 1921. His first job was at the *Mail and Empire* in Toronto as a reporter, where he covered the hotels and rails beat (better known among staffers as "whorehouses and boxcars"), which involved scouting

downtown hotels and Union Station for the arrival of newsworthy individuals. Mr. Irwin was soon hired away by the *Globe*, where he wrote editorials. He resigned around the 1925 general election after he was told he could not write anti-tariff editorials. A few days later he received a congratulatory telegram from Prime Minister Mackenzie King, who offered financial help until the young reporter found another job. Mr. Irwin declined but kept the telegram as a souvenir, joining *Maclean's* almost immediately.

In 1950, the federal government asked Mr. Irwin to run the National Film Board, wrongly thought to be overrun with "Reds." As a reward, he was promised a foreign posting in External Affairs. At the NFB, he met his second wife, poet P. K. Page, whom he married in 1950. His first wife, Jean, had died in 1948 of asthma.

Mr. Irwin was well suited to diplomacy in many ways. For almost 20 years he had been a contributing member of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and had written extensively on foreign policy issues. He was a good listener and worked hard at establishing a positive relationship with the host country. Through his close friendship with Richard Casey, the Australian foreign minister, Mr. Irwin gained a firsthand look at the evolution of Australian policy towards the developing Suez Crisis in 1956. He passed on Mr. Casey's thoughts in private letters to Lester Pearson. Never given to small talk, Mr. Irwin recognized his shortcomings on the social side of the job, but his charming wife made up for them.

Mr. Irwin later mused with regret that he had started in External Affairs too late in life to get a senior post. He was disappointed when he was assigned to Brazil, wishing to be sent to a more influential capital. Yet, it would become their favourite post, a time recalled by P.K. Page in her 1988 book, *Brazilian Journal*, as "golden, perfect, complete." Mr. Irwin made a determined effort to speak Portuguese and the couple's frequent trips throughout the country included the obligatory tours, inspections and state dinners. Mr. Irwin was appointed a member of the Canadian delegation to the United Nations for two general assemblies in 1959 and 1960, where he witnessed Nikita Khrushchev yelling in Russian and slamming his shoe on his desk. In Mexico, Mr. Irwin became a staunch supporter of Canadian membership in the Organization of American States, although his goal was not realized until 1990.

From 1964 until he retired in 1971, Mr. Irwin was editor of the *Victoria Times*. He gave up driving only a few weeks before his 100th birthday. An officer of the Order of Canada, Mr. Irwin died last August at his

Victoria home. He is survived by his wife, two daughters and one son, 14 grandchildren and 14 great-grandchildren. ☹

Maria Bohuslawsky is a staff reporter with the Ottawa Citizen. She interviewed Arthur Irwin for the Citizen on the occasion of his 100th birthday.

Anthony (Tony) Gustav Vincent 1939-1999

Tony was one of a kind. From the first time you met him, it was easy to be captivated by his ebullience, gift with words and subtle humour. You learned early on that the cut and thrust of argument came as second nature to him. It was a skill he honed as an undergraduate at UBC, where he went on to establish a reputation as a formidable debater. He was not one for soothing platitudes when it came to expressing a deeply held point of view. You could have differences with him, but you were unlikely ever to be bored with his company. Great vitality, openness of manner, an audacious approach to life and a readiness to declaim on virtually any topic were his endearing trademarks. Few people had such a broad grasp of English history — idiosyncratic at times, mind you — or such a fine way with words. There were few more accomplished practitioners of the rhetorical arts than Tony.



After dabbling in local radio broadcasting in Ontario, doing a stint with the Canadian Government Travel Bureau and completing his studies at the University of Minnesota, Tony joined the Department of External Affairs in 1969. Postings in the Netherlands and India indicated early on that he was a natural for diplomacy. He even demonstrated some acting talent when he appeared as a British cavalry officer in a bit part in an Indian film while he was posted in Delhi. High Commissioner in Bangladesh, a sensitive assignment as director

of security operations at headquarters, Ambassador, successively, in Peru and Spain — by any measure his was an impressive record. True, there was a period of adversity when he was, unfairly in the minds of many, singled out for censure during the controversy surrounding the admission to Canada of the former Iraqi ambassador to Washington. It was typical of Tony that he was prepared to take full responsibility for the decision, and few who were in Ottawa at the time will forget the grace and forceful logic with which he endured and surmounted the rigours of a parliamentary enquiry. Ironically, it was at this low point in his career that Tony demonstrated his depth of character and fortitude. Colleagues and friends derived great satisfaction from his ultimate vindication and later accomplishments.

Tony also had a deep sense of tradition and professionalism. This was illustrated by his belief that the Foreign Service was at its zenith when diplomatic uniforms were worn — a tradition which he opined ought to be revived. It was also apparent in his views on the more mundane and practical ways in which foreign affairs should be practiced in the later part of the 20th century. There are perhaps not many working in the Pearson Building today who realize they owe a debt of gratitude to Tony for the fact that they work in enclosed offices and not behind the partitions so common in other government departments. Following the merger of the “old External” with the Trade Commissioner Service, Tony became a relentless advocate-cum-agitator for “walls”. For a man of otherwise such conservative views, he came very close to manning the barricades over the issue.

Tony married later than many of us, but in Lucie he found the support and constancy which sustained him. On becoming a father, he took great delight in Alexandra and was always enchanted by her.

He will, of course, best be remembered and honoured for his superb display of leadership, courage, compassion, sang-froid and, yes, humour, during the hostage crisis in Lima. Tony showed his true worth in those long weeks of challenge and unrelenting stress. His first priority was the care and safety of many colleagues and friends incarcerated in the Japanese Embassy. Selflessly he went back and forth to the Embassy, each time bringing words of encouragement to the hostages. We all saluted Tony for that bright and shining moment which earned him a high place of honour in the department’s pantheon and added lustre to the Canadian Foreign Service.

He was a complex, at times infuriating, and almost always delightful character. Tony

Vincent will be greatly missed as a friend and a colleague. ☹

Dwayne Wright is Deputy Consul General in New York. Barry Mawhinney, now retired, is former Canadian Ambassador to Ireland and the Czech Republic.

Charles Eustace McGaughey 1917-1999

Almost nobody in the Department knew who Charles Eustace McGaughey was, but everybody knew McGUFF!

He was a cheerful man with a warm, if somewhat earthy, sense of humour that hid a high degree of intelligence and shrewdness, just as his rather gruff manner disguised a soft heart.

He graduated from Queen’s University in 1939 and, after further studies at the University of Chicago, joined the Canadian Army as a private soldier in 1941. His wartime career in the armed forces was somewhat unusual. Shortly after enlisting, he was assigned to the Army’s Japanese Language School and during the War he had a number of postings in Southeast Asia. He was discharged in 1947 (Captain) and joined the Department that year.

With this background it was not surprising that in Ottawa he often found himself serving in some Far Eastern capacity or other and that subsequent postings took him to Japan and other Asian countries. He eventually became High Commissioner to Malaysia and Ambassador to Thailand. Later he served as High Commissioner to Ghana and concurrently to several other West African countries. His colourful despatches were legendary. He also worked for several years in the Department’s Personnel Branch.

A high point of his professional career occurred when, on his return from a posting to Tokyo, he was put in charge of the Korea Desk in the American and Far Eastern Division at a time when the Korean War was reaching its climax. There he faced a tense, complex and delicate situation, if ever there was one, and handled it with great skill.

McGuff always retained a close link with his roots. He was born in North Bay, Ontario, and before joining the Army had worked for a while as a reporter for the *Sudbury Star* and the *North Bay Nugget*. He would, whenever possible, spend his summer holidays with his family at his “camp” not too far from the railway line

running through Algonquin Park in Central Ontario. He would make arrangements in advance so that the freight trains would drop him off or pick him up virtually at his cabin doorstep. It is hard to imagine the railways providing such tailored service today!

He was also close to nature. He was into orchids on a grand scale and he also knew a great deal about tropical fish. Indeed, one had to manoeuvre very carefully in his house for fear of upsetting the fish tanks or the orchids. He once found a frog with a missing leg, brought it home and nursed it attentively. It eventually died of old age!

McGuff left the Department some 25 years ago. Those who knew him remember a good and reliable friend, admittedly something of a “character,” who was admired for his sensitivity in his relations with others and much respected for his professional skills.

He died in Prince George, B.C. He is survived by his wife Jessie and two sons. ☹

Arthur Blanchette is former Canadian Ambassador to the OAS, Tunisia and Libya.

Eldon (Pat) Black 1925-1999

The following is from the eulogy by Blair Seaborn at the service for Pat Black on November 6, 1999.

Many of us remember the good-looking, bright young Montrealer who came to Ottawa in 1949 to join the Department of External Affairs after serving two years with the Canadian Navy in the North Atlantic during the war, then getting his bachelor’s and law degrees at McGill. He was from a traditional Westmount family but, unusually for the time, he spoke good French; and he had spent a summer in Yugoslavia helping to build “Tito’s railway.” Better still, he arrived with a beautiful and lively wife, Francine, whom he met at law school and who was, intriguingly, Luxembourgoise. In the few months before he arrived in this town, he had passed his law exams at McGill, passed the bar ad, passed the External Affairs exams and been married. Impressive!

Pat was part of that wave of recruits to the Department in the few years after the war, many of them veterans. They came in excited by the challenge and promise of working for a Canada whose stature and self-confidence had grown greatly, and of working under Mike Pearson and the other early greats of the Department. They came

from every corner of the country, they shared interests and formed friendships and they were proud of what they were doing.

Pat, I think, had and maintained throughout his life particularly well-articulated and strong convictions about the essential nature of this country, about the importance of bilingualism for both its anglophone and francophone citizens, and about its unity. Those strong beliefs are perhaps symbolized by the flag which you see, by his choice, on his coffin today. It was the flag which flew over the Canadian Embassy to the Holy See while he was Ambassador there on his final assignment. It was presented to him, with a citation, on his retirement.

I would like to refer briefly to some of Pat's assignments which stand out, for him and his family, and for the Department. The first posting, as a Third Secretary, was to Moscow in the early fifties, in some of the darkest days of the dreadful Stalin era. That experience, I believe, had a strong and lasting effect on his thinking throughout his career.

Many years later, in the late sixties and early seventies, he served as Minister at the Embassy in Paris during what was undoubtedly the most difficult period in Canada-France relations. Our strained relations with France were intimately linked with a critical period for Canada's continuation as a bilingual and bicultural country. An account of the events of those stressful years has been documented by Pat Black in his book "Direct Intervention." And Pat's involvement in this drama continued when he returned from Paris to head the Bureau of European Affairs.

Less stressful, but fascinating for Pat at the end of his career, was his appointment as Ambassador to the Holy See where he could observe at first hand the inner workings of that unusual entity popularly referred to as the Vatican.

For all of us who knew and worked with Pat, however, his major and continuing contribution throughout his career was in the defence and intelligence fields, both abroad and in Ottawa: DL(II) Division, liaison officer to the Joint Intelligence committee in London, DL(I) Division, Assistant Deputy Minister (Policy) at National Defence, Assistant Deputy Minister (Security and Intelligence) back in External. In the defence assignments, we witnessed the hard-headedness and clarity of his thinking and writing, and his convictions about the essentiality of NATO and collective defence throughout the long years of the Cold War. In the intelligence assignments, we saw the importance he attached to cooperation with our close allies, his constant attention to the rigour and clarity of intelligence analysis,

and his determination to have the intelligence product relevant to, and used by, the decision-makers.

Bringing together all these varied assignments, a picture of the man himself is clear. Pat was a person of great integrity and of strong convictions based on moral values as well as intellectual rigour. He wrote clearly and forcefully, and with a certain economy of words which was the more welcome in a field which always has the temptation of verbosity. He never hesitated to put forward his well thought out views on events and policies and people, even when they were not always popular and even when they did not always endear him to his superiors.

Pat had a delightful sense of humour — sometimes a little biting, often related to the absurdities of life — which expressed itself with a smile or a chuckle rather than a guffaw. He loved good food and good wine and good parties, and he and Francine gave wonderful parties. He enjoyed literature and the arts, and somehow found time for both. He was very proud of his children and his grandchildren, in whom he instilled that devotion to Canada and that same sense of integrity and values and service which governed his life. And he loved the quiet communion with nature which he found at the Five Lakes Club. There in the long days of June, he and Francine could share that experience with visiting children and grandchildren, and expose them to the beauties of their natural surroundings, and take his sons-in-law Bill and Ron fishing.

Francine, Pat's beloved companion for fifty years, is a woman of deep faith, of intelligence, of strength, of convictions, of charm, of warmth and kindness. She has been a tower of strength to Pat and their family, and she has captivated us all. Their relationship was well summed up by Pat, with his usual succinctness yet completeness, in the dedication of his book: "To Francine, my partner in the Foreign Service."

Despite failing health in recent years, Pat pushed himself to do the needed research and to write his book, *Direct Intervention*, because he felt strongly that the events of those years must be recorded. For the sake of the country, they must not be forgotten. He was in a key position in the struggle between Paris and Ottawa over Quebec's relations with France. The book is written with a determination to report things as he lived them and understood them.

We give thanks for the way he touched and will continue to touch our lives. We give thanks that he is now at rest. ☺

Blair Seaborn is former Canadian Commissioner to Vietnam 1946-65.

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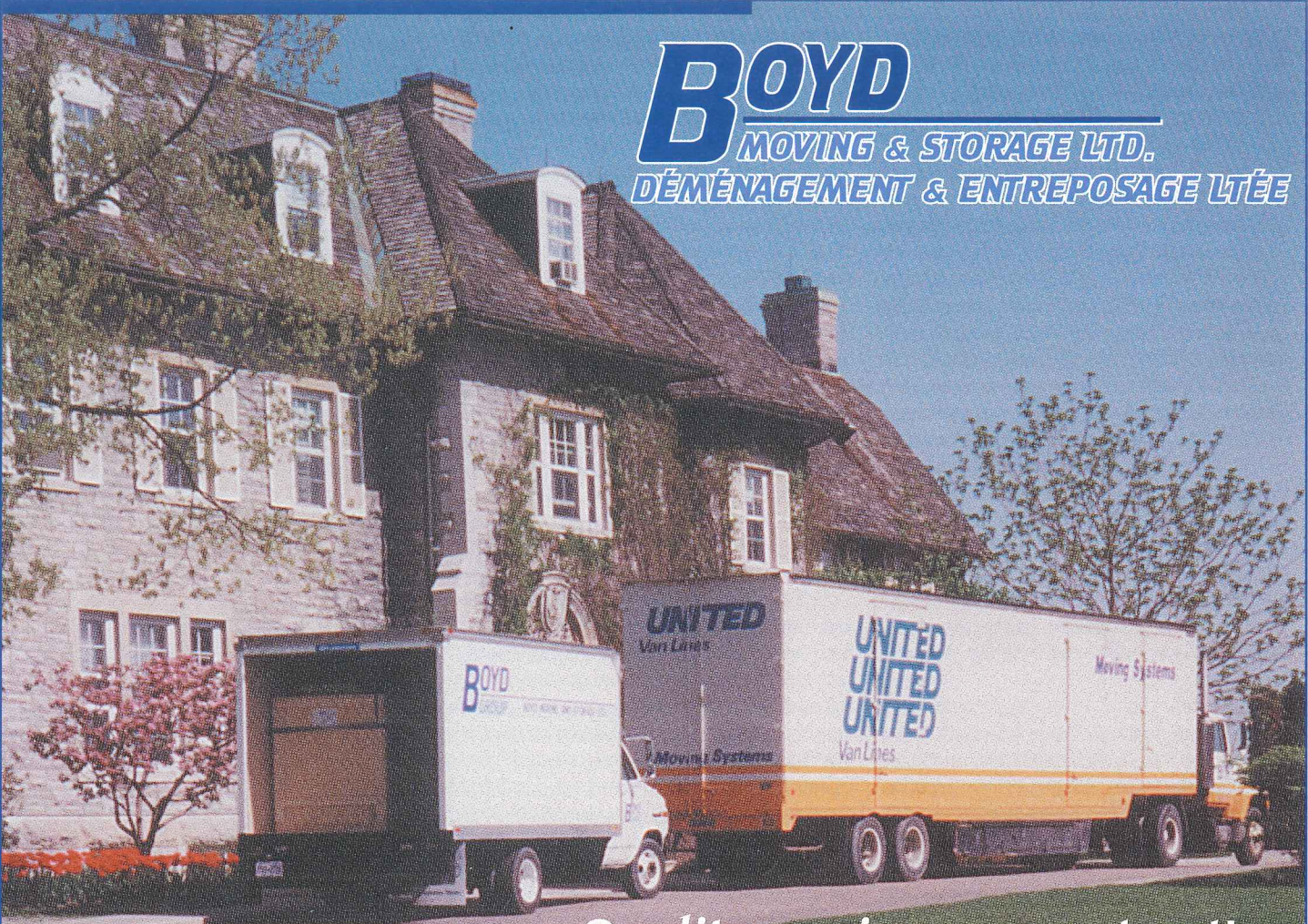
by Terry Jones

I am stretching the definition of Middle Age. My middle is stretching too.
Time to mortify my flesh in the gym.
And I have so much flesh to mortify!

Gym is full of bright young people in good shape
sent specifically to show me up.
So it seems. Ignore humiliation
of lightening weights after that young female colleague, before I can lift them at all;
pretend I can't see my stomach wobble each time I bend. At least I can now bend.
"Oh that this too too solid flesh would melt,
thaw, or dissolve itself into a dew..."
as Bill would have it, in another context.
Sweat yes, melt no, or so the scale informs.
Keep up the mantra "mortify and sweat",
pant if you must but "mortify the flesh",
and bye and bye that elegant, svelte frame
of yesteryear will re-appear again.

You dream, my boy, you dream!
But show some zing
and the spring in your step will remain
this Spring. ☺

In his thirty-fifth year at DFAIT, Terry Jones has developed his waistband with postings in Sydney, Australia, Port of Spain, Copenhagen, Accra, Dar es Salaam and Kingston, Jamaica, as well as in various assignments at headquarters. He is now honing his cynicism in the fertile fields of DFAIT's Africa Bureau.



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for King and Country?

Perhaps the most momentous decision by a Canadian government in the twentieth century was the declaration of war on Germany that was signed on behalf of Canada by King George VI on September 10, 1939. That followed by one week the British government's announcement that, as a result of the failure of the Nazi regime to withdraw its armed forces from Poland and as a consequence of Britain's commitment to defend Poland, a state of war existed between the United Kingdom and Germany. Canada's Parliament had been reassembled on September 7, 1939, and the course of action proposed by the government was effectively endorsed by the House of Commons when it approved the Speech from the Throne. Formally, then, this process upheld Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King's oft-repeated assurance to the public that "Parliament will decide" the critical issue of entry into war.

For King, that pledge had been a way to evade commitments in advance in foreign and defence policy. King had not shown his own hand and insisted that his Cabinet colleagues follow his lead. Especially before the Second World War, international disputes tended to divide Canadians. In this realm, King's legendary caution reinforced his disinclination to undermine national unity in Canada. After the announcement of the Nazi-Soviet Pact on August 21, 1939, both war and the issue of Canadian involvement seemed unavoidable. In its wake, King put the question before the Cabinet as a matter of principle on August 24, 1939. Thus it was that meeting that decided that Canada would fight, as King later put it, "at the side of Britain."

Formal minutes of Cabinet meetings were not kept until 1944 and even those later records are often vague or misleading. Though the deliberations of the Emergency Council (later the Cabinet War Committee) were more carefully documented, that body did not meet until after the decision in principle to go to war had been taken by the Cabinet. However, we do have a remarkably complete account of the views of Canadian ministers, thanks to that extraordinary private chronicle of Canada's public life, King's diary. There are only four members of the Cabinet who are not mentioned by King: Charles A. Dunning (the Minister of Finance, who had been absent ill for some months); James G. Gardiner (the Minister of Agriculture); Thomas A. Crerar (the Minister of Mines and Resources); and, Senator Raoul Dandurand (Minister without Portfolio). It seems appropriate, as we pass the 125th anniversary of the birth and approach the 50th anniversary of the death of Canada's greatest Prime Minister — and for so long also its Secretary of State for External Affairs — that we print King's version of how his government decided to go to war. The originals and typescripts of the Diary of W.L. M. King are part of the King Papers at the National Archives of Canada.

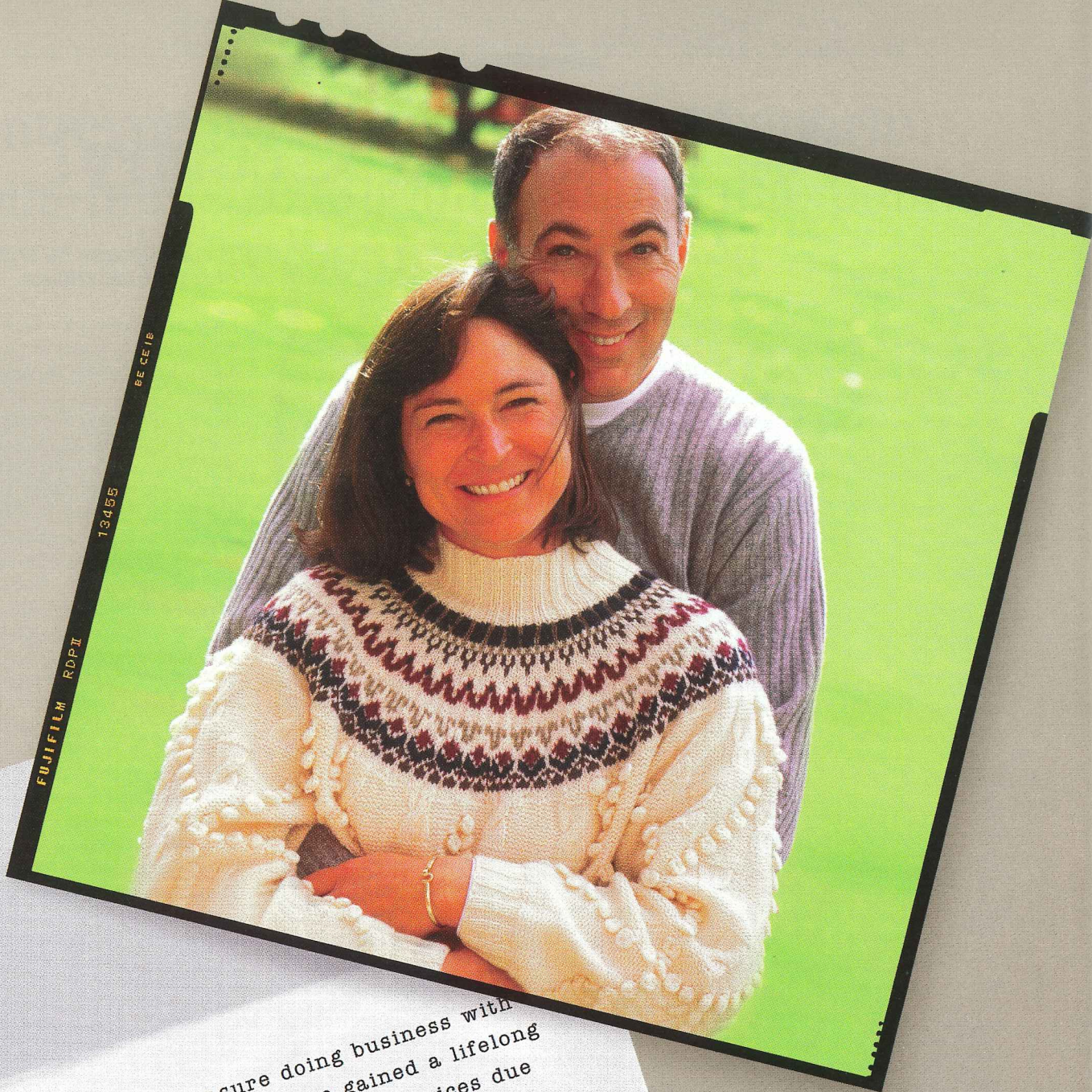
Hector Mackenzie

Thursday, August 24, 1939
Kingsmere and Ottawa

I was at the office by 11. On the way in, thought a good deal of the steps to be immediately taken by way of preparation for war. At the office, I indicated anew to [Arnold] Heeney [Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister] and [O.D.] S[kelton]. [Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs] the importance of our getting a proper staff to handle matters day by day, each being specially assigned to some duty.

I was appalled to learn from S[kelton]. that the Agreement which has been made between Russia and Germany has no "escape" clauses in it such as have been in other non-aggression pacts. It goes the length of binding Germany and Russia alike not to attack each other where either is helping some other country, or to ally themselves to any group of which another country — which is their enemy — may be a member. Thus it is proved beyond all question that Russia has completely deceived the British. The Russian Ambassador in London has been lying, and the negotiations in Moscow, doing the same; playing the most treacherous game that has every [sic] been played, I believe, by any nation. It bears out pretty much what I gave as my opinion as to what would happen, at the time I spoke to Skelton, the G[overnor] G[eneral], Lord Tweedsmuir, and Sir Gerald Campbell [the British High Commissioner in Ottawa].

I did not go into Council [Cabinet] till about 11.30; then went through a large volume of orders, waiting for [Ernest] Lapointe [Minister of Justice and Acting Secretary of State of Canada] to arrive on the noon train. Shortly after twelve, began to outline to the Cabinet happenings of the last two days. Began with my interview with the G.G., subsequent word with S[kelton]. over the 'phone, cancellation of the trip to Toronto; reasons which prompted me to issue the statement which I did in the morning. Asked the members to be critical of it if any of them felt I had assumed too much in making it without conferring with others. No one took any exception when I pointed out how much greater the effect was, coming yesterday, to what possibly would have been the case today, revealing, as it did, that we had anticipated the action of the British Parliament instead of following it, [Ian A.] Mackenzie [Minister of National



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Defence] and one or two others nodded approval. There was not, however, the out-spoken approval that I would have liked to have had. Everyone being so afraid of the situation seems to be unable to utter a word.

I then read the despatches that have come within the last three days, and concluding by stating the position as being that of England having pledged her word to Poland to fight, though it is now clear that she will not have Russia as an ally, and may even have her as an enemy in a conflict. It is by [no] means clear that Italy will remain neutral but will probably fight both France and England. I then read the summary we received of the proceedings in the Commons in England, of [British Prime Minister Neville] Chamberlain's speech and a despatch which indicates that in all probability the zero-hour might come tonight.

It was then half past one when I suggested Council should adjourn till three. I was kept a little at the office. Came to Laurier House [King's residence]; had 20 minutes' rest, and then lunch, and left at 3.30 for the Cabinet.

At the Council table, I said that while we were still in a calm frame of mind, it was advisable we should decide upon our policy in the event of war breaking out. That I

had a clear idea in my own mind as to what it should be, but would like my colleagues to express their views first of all.

I then began going around the Council table and asked Lapointe first of all if he would express his views. He said he would prefer to hear what others had to say first. I told Council I thought that, being the oldest members, we were entitled to that privilege.

I then asked [Joseph-Enoil] Michaud [Minister of Fisheries] his views, which were that we should stand by the statement I had made in Parliament. Abide by that, at all events, until we see what the situation further might demand.

[Norman McLeod] Rogers [Minister of Labour] thought that we should take all measures to meet the situation, as it develops, from hour to hour, and to be prepared to meet every eventuality. That if Britain became involved, there was no question as to what our position would be. All our resources, man power, etc., should immediately be brought to assist Britain. He agreed that the important thing was to keep the country united meanwhile. Personally, he would like an announcement made immediately, that Canada was prepared to give support to Britain in every effort she was making for peace; that, if these efforts

were not effective, we would immediately go into the war on Britain's behalf.

[Charles Gavan] Power [Minister of Pensions and National Health] was not prepared to go as far as Rogers in issuing a blank cheque to Great Britain. He agreed that we would have to go into war but, meanwhile, should be careful not to state that view before the meeting of Parliament.

[Pierre Joseph Arthur] Cardin [Minister of Public Works] said he agreed with the view expressed by Power, that we should prepare, above everything else, for the safety of our own people and not enlarge on the declaration of yesterday.

There could be only one policy ... to participate in the defence of Europe.

[James Lorimer] Ilsley [Minister of National Revenue and Acting Minister of Finance] did not see how we could avoid a statement of our policy as to what we would do if war were declared; that we would stand with Great Britain. Would like to see a statement issued at once that Canada would participate if Great Britain found it necessary to go to war with [sic] Poland. He thought it was apparent that, under those circumstances, there could be only one policy, and that was to participate in the defence of Europe in the name of decency, etc. That the people wanted the government to say now what the country would do.

Mackenzie said he agreed with Ilsley, that Democracy was at stake, and that there should be an immediate declaration of policy. It was not the fact of participation that there could be any question about, but the extent of participation. These were matters which the government and Parliament would have to decide, e.g., the nature of co-operation, assistance to be given by air-pilots, supplies, munitions, financial support. He thought steps should be taken at once to safeguard vulnerable points in Canada and the coast, bridges, railway centres, etc. That this should be voluntary and not compulsory.

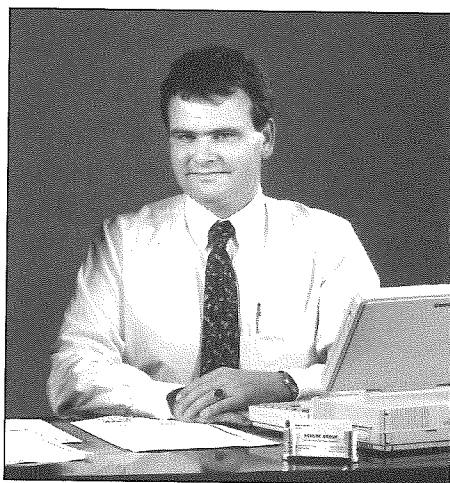
Lapointe broke in at the time Ilsley was speaking and said that he saw no purpose in making any preliminary statement as to our participation in the event of war. He disagreed with the view expressed by Rogers and Ilsley in that regard.

[William Daum] Euler [Minister of Trade and Commerce] said that he agreed with

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Lapointe's view, that there was no purpose in issuing any preliminary statement; that it would not prevent war. He would be prepared to do anything for the defence of Canada. Did not feel it was our business to be too much concerned about what was taking place in Europe. He honestly held that view. He thought we should make clear there would be no conscription; that he detested war. Thought Danzig was a bad issue and that if there was no greater issue he would oppose sacrificing life for that purpose. He did not think there should be any public statement today.

[Norman Alexander] McLarty [Postmaster General] was of the view that we were going to participate. He felt, however, that if we would come out with that statement today it would put sections of Canada into a bad position.

[Clarence Decatur] Howe [Minister of Transport] was of the view that Canada would have to participate and that we should have everything in readiness. As Lapointe had indicated, in replying to Ilsley, that he felt we should certainly go to the assistance of England and France if they became engaged in war, and that we would have to do so to the limit of our resources, but that, meanwhile we should say and do nothing that would divide the country. I did not ask

him further as to his views, but said, in summing up the situation, that I was immensely relieved to find that on the all-important matter of Canada's participation in the event of Britain being drawn into war, we were of one mind and united. I said there appeared to be a difference of view as to the time at which we should state our policy. Some were for stating it immediately; others to await developments. I have been criticized for saying that Parliament would decide, impression having gained ground that I meant by that we would leave it to a sort of general discussion in Parliament, when Parliament was assembled, to see what the majority felt. That I had not meant anything of the kind, as they knew; that I thought the position to take lay between these two extremes and it was that we would not wait until Parliament assembled to announce our policy, but would, when summoning Parliament, let the country know what the policy was on the matter of participation, leaving to Parliament to decide the details of nature, extent of, etc. etc. Our views on these would be given to Parliament immediately it assembled and the government would stand or fall by its policy as stated.

I got general agreement and unanimity on this position. In the event of war we had

now decided that Canada would participate. We had further decided that we would summon Parliament at the moment war was declared, or that it appeared that efforts for peace were certain to fail. At the same time, we would announce our policy with respect to Canada being at war; that Parliament could be brought together in at least a week, possibly less. If war was declared on Saturday, we would try to have Parliament meet at least the next Friday; if not on Saturday or Sunday, then on Monday next week. Parliament would decide on this.

The most difficult of the questions was what should now be said to the press. I thought it was well to let the public know that the Cabinet was united as to how we should proceed. Also, that we were proceeding with caution and taking every precaution to meet any and every eventuality. That the important thing in our minds was to keep Canada united and to trust the government, in the matter of seeing that all possible precautionary measures were being taken, and that we were pursuing the wisest and the best course in the light of the information we were receiving.

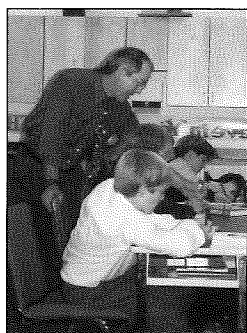
In the meantime, Departments concerned were taking all necessary precautionary steps; that, beyond this, I did not wish to enlarge on yesterday's statement. ☺

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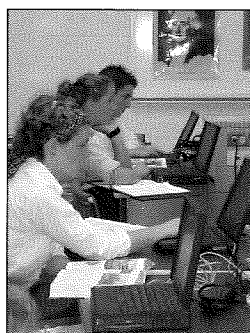
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Books in Review / Critiques de livres

The Mitrokhin Archive: The KGB in Europe and the West
reviewed by John Starnes

Aid and Ebb Tide: A History of CIDA and Canadian Development Assistance
reviewed by Greg Donaghy

Dispatches From a Borderless World
reviewed by David Kilgour

THE MITROKHIN ARCHIVE: THE KGB IN EUROPE AND THE WEST by Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, Penguin Books Ltd. England, 1999, Vol. I, 996 pp. \$45.00

Reviewed by John Starnes

John Starnes is a former Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs who later became the first civilian Director-General of the RCMP Security Service from 1970 until 1973. He has published five works of fiction. In 1998 his memoir Closely Guarded: A Life in Canadian Security and Intelligence was published by University of Toronto Press.

The book is a quite extraordinary historical record of Soviet espionage activities over a period of several decades directed against countries in the west, including Canada. Based on secret KGB archives it represents an authentic, unique work of reference which historians, foreign policy analysts, espionage buffs, journalists and many others will find invaluable. As one of the authors puts it, 'he believes that the KGB's worldwide foreign operations form an essential, though often neglected, part of the history of twentieth-century international relations.'

The very massiveness of this first volume (over nine hundred pages) could be daunting for the average reader; however, it is so well researched, documented, illustrated, written and organized that many readers will find it instructive as well as entertaining. Some of the stories, based as they are upon extracts from the hitherto top secret files of the KGB and the SVR (the organization which replaced it), are far more exciting reading than most of the best spy fiction written in the last century. Even readers with little interest in the minutiae of espionage will find the book interesting, if for no other reason than the stark manner in which it sheds light on the East-West conflict and its impact on international relations in the twentieth century.

The story of how all this sensational information came into British hands in 1992, eventually enabling Christopher

Andrew in consultation with Vasili Mitrokhin to write the book, is no less interesting and exciting than some of the stories of Soviet espionage it reveals. In 1956 Mitrokhin became the KGB officer placed in charge of the archives of the First Chief Directorate (FCD), the foreign intelligence arm of the KGB. As such he had unrestricted access to all the files and, over a period of about twelve years, proceeded at great personal risk to copy material from these files which he successfully managed to smuggle out of the buildings of the First Chief Directorate in Moscow, undetected. Among the copious notes he was able to transcribe was material from directorate S responsible for running 'illegals' — KGB officers and agents, mainly of Soviet nationality, working under deep cover disguised as foreign nationals. These KGB records are among the most closely guarded in the country.

Mitrokhin's principal motive for his dangerous actions stemmed from his complete disillusionment with what the files revealed about the leadership of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party and most particularly the KGB's activities in Afghanistan. Quite unknown to the various leaders of the KGB and their senior associates Mitrokhin became a secret dissident, a fact he managed to hide successfully over a number of years.

After retiring in 1984 Mitrokhin continued to work on his notes and began thinking of ways in which he might transport his secret archive to the West and publish it there. Towards the end of 1991, when the Soviet Union was beginning to break-up and frontier controls at the new borders of the Russian Federation were unusually lax, he saw a possible way of getting his material out of the country. He boarded an overnight train from Moscow to the capital of one of the newly independent Baltic republics. In a bag he hid samples of his notes underneath clothing, food and drink, ostensibly intended for friends. The day following his arrival he made his way to the British Embassy unannounced asking to speak with 'someone in authority.' Lady

luck was with him; he found himself received by a 'young, attractive and sympathetic female diplomat' fluent in Russian.

From this fortuitous encounter began the delicate, dangerous business of having the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) arrange his eventual exfiltration and that of his family to Britain along with his precious secret archive. This was accomplished in 1992 after which, once in Britain, he was able to work steadily on his archive, sorting out and typing up his handwritten notes. In 1995 he had his first meeting with Christopher Andrew to discuss the preparation of the book.

Many of the stories deal with KGB espionage operations in Canada. Indeed, as the book makes clear, Canada was an important staging ground for Soviet plans to carry out sabotage and espionage against targets in the United States but, 'it also was an important target in its own right.' The book should be an eye-opener to the not inconsiderable number of Canadian politicians, senior officials and journalists who, even after the sensational revelations of Soviet espionage activities in Canada made by Igor Gousenko in 1945, remained sceptical about the reality of Soviet espionage activities. These misguided critics simply were unwilling to believe the scale and rapacity of Soviet intelligence operations in North America or to acknowledge their impact on international affairs.

In a chapter dealing with the 'Andropov era' the book mentions the defection in London in early 1971 of a KGB agent called Oleg Lyalin, a member of the KGB's Department V, who provided the British with hair-raising details of contingency sabotage plans for operations in Britain and elsewhere during periods of international crisis. The plans were to be implemented by illegals, local agents and intelligence groups who would infiltrate each target country. In the same context mention also is made of a decision by the British government to expel ninety KGB and GRU officers stationed in London under official cover and another fifteen on leave in the Soviet Union. The British gave effect to their

decision on 24 September 1971 when 105 Soviet intelligence officers were declared persona non grata.

I recall that on the morning of this event, shortly before a 2.30 p.m. scheduled meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security and Intelligence, the RCMP Security Service received an urgent top secret message, sent in high-grade cypher, giving us advance warning of the British government's intentions and the reasons thereof. Before the meeting began, with the Prime Minister's agreement, I told the committee of the startling development. There was little or no reaction from ministers or officials except an expression of concern that the British initiative might interfere with a long-planned visit to the Soviet Union by Trudeau!

I discovered that I was able under the provisions of the Access to Information legislation to obtain a completely unexpurgated copy of the minutes of the meeting (classified secret), the principal purpose of which was to consider a memorandum by the Solicitor General entitled 'Royal Canadian Mounted Police Activities on University Campuses' suggesting changes to the decision of Cabinet on this matter dated 23 December 1970. Given the provenance of the information about Soviet intelligence activities in Britain (M.I. 5 & M.I. 6) and the top secret classification given it by the British no mention is made of the matter in the minutes.



AID AND EBB TIDE: A HISTORY OF CIDA AND CANADIAN DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE by David R. Morrison (Wilfrid Laurier University Press in association with The North-South Institute/L'Institut Nord-Sud: 1998) p. xxi, 602 pp., \$65 (CDN)

Reviewed by Greg Donaghy

Greg Donaghy is a historian with the Historical Section, Communications Programs and Outreach Division, DFAIT.

David R. Morrison, a Professor in Development Studies at Trent University, sets out to tackle an especially complicated and unwieldy subject in this lengthy history of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and Canadian development assistance. Based on an extensive reading of the secondary literature and published sources, *Aid and Ebb Tide* traces the evolution of Canadian aid starting in 1950, when Canada joined its Commonwealth partners in the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia.

Motivated by political, commercial and humanitarian considerations — what Morrison dubs a "trinity of mixed motives" — this early aid program, which totalled only \$25 million in 1951, set the pattern for subsequent efforts. Much of *Aid and Ebb Tide* is the story of Ottawa's recurring efforts to frame a clear and lucid development assistance policy that appropriately balanced each element in Morrison's trinity.

For Morrison, who believes that aid should be concerned primarily with humanitarian objectives, that proper balance was only achieved between 1966 and 1976. An expanding domestic economy permitted two successive prime ministers, Lester B. Pearson and Pierre Trudeau, to support calls for increased development assistance. And in Maurice Strong, whom Pearson placed in charge of the External Aid Office in 1966, they had a tough and unorthodox administrator determined to place developmental considerations at the heart of Canada's aid operations. Strong and his successor, the Quebec politician Paul Gérin-Lajoie (whom Morrison refers to affectionately as PGL), are the principal heroes in this study. Indeed, with Marcel Massé and Margaret Catley-Carlson, two latter CIDA presidents, they are *Aid and Ebb Tide's* only heroes.

In Morrison's view, in 1968, Strong transformed a musty and slightly antique External Aid Office into CIDA — cool, modern and sophisticated. Aid policy went from being "a marginal operation into a central facet of Canadian external relations." The imaginative Gérin-Lajoie, who embraced every new aid problem and solution as they emerged, made CIDA a leader in international aid. Strong and Gérin-Lajoie worked hard to equip CIDA with the analytical tools and policy-making capacity it needed to challenge the bureaucrats in the Department of External Affairs, the Department of Trade and Commerce and other branches of government. Morrison argues that development assistance rather than political or trade considerations became the agency's primary focus, and as funding increased from \$122 million in 1966 to \$383 million in 1970-71 to \$963 million in 1976-77, CIDA developed more coherent policy priorities and better methods for delivering aid.

But Morrison's account is not uncritical. The progressive rhetoric of the 1970s eventually outran CIDA's performance. Bureaucratic inertia, lengthy project lead times, resource limitations and growing pressure to dispense funds conspired to limit the organization's ability to frame policy in a genuinely innovative fashion. CIDA's efforts to strengthen its control over the policy-making process invited the hostility of

other departments and diverted the organization's energies into bureaucratic squabbles. Finally, both Strong and Gérin-Lajoie failed to develop effective program evaluation mechanisms, leaving CIDA exposed to public criticism for waste and inefficiencies. By the time Gérin-Lajoie left office in 1977, CIDA's public image was badly tarnished.

By the late 1970s, CIDA was in trouble. Preoccupied with managing its financial resources and an endless series of management reviews, it was increasingly forced to subordinate aid policy to the government's overall objective of enhancing Canadian competitiveness. CIDA, especially under Massé and Catley-Carlson, and its allies in Parliament, the media and among non-governmental organizations, tried hard during the 1980s and early 1990s to re-focus the government's aid priorities on development and aid delivery but with little success. In any event, their efforts were rendered irrelevant by government cutbacks after the 1988 federal election. With the end of the Cold War, the competition for funds from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union complicated matters — and led to yet another strategic management review to discover "how to do more with less." As deficit reduction became a priority following the 1993 election, CIDA's position went from bad to worse; aid appropriations fell from .49 percent of GNP in 1991-92 to .34 percent in 1996-97 to a projected figure of .27 percent in 1998-99.

Aid and Ebb Tide gathers together in one place the most important statistics for almost 50 years of Canadian aid, places those figures in a comparative context and relates aid expenditures and programs to general statements of government policy. This is its strength and is no small accomplishment.

But densely written and burdened with unnecessary detail and jargon, *Aid and Ebb Tide* lacks a clear thematic focus. Part aid policy history, part CIDA administrative history, in the end, it is neither. Its policy discussions are too CIDA-centric to offer a full and compelling account of how aid policy was shaped in Canada; as an administrative history, Morrison's preoccupation with public statements of high policy leaves little room for the more mundane, yet important, task of describing exactly how Canadian aid was administered. This is especially important since the abstract policy statements carefully described and parsed in detail by Morrison were often overtaken by events or reflected innovations and policies already in place at the ground level. While ministers and presidents struggled again and again to articulate a sound and coherent aid policy,

Canadian aid flowed abroad. Unfortunately, *Aid and Ebb Tide* tells us little about how that aid was delivered and about the people who parcelled it out in Ottawa and overseas. For a work whose author hopes to re-focus our attention on the humanitarian impulses that should lie at the centre of any discussion of aid policy, the human element is sadly absent.



DISPATCHES FROM A BORDERLESS WORLD by Satya Das, Newest Press, 211 pp., \$22.95

Reviewed by David Kilgour

David Kilgour is Secretary of State (Latin America & Africa), Department of Foreign Affairs & International Trade.

The author is an eloquent voice for the international community, which today comprises much of Canada. He lived in India until adolescence, when his family relocated to Western Canada, and now reports on foreign affairs for the *Edmonton Journal*.

Following a decade of writing news and editorials at the newspaper, in 1987 Das won a Nuffield Foundation Fellowship to study at Cambridge University. There he encountered the Thatcher revolution in full flood and was clearly not impressed.

As he puts it, "Some of the by-products of the global economy — tribalism, racial tension, displacement, joblessness, a gap between rich and poor — were not particularly evident so long as the global boom of the 1990s came along." Yet in London's East End, he saw much that distressed him, including bigotry and race riots.

He points in contrast to the London office of Salomon Brothers, the stockbrokers, which after itself making a \$4 billion profit in 1993 opted to pay a bonus of one million American dollars to a thousand of its branch employees. At the other end, the number of British children living in "extreme" poverty or homeless, for example, was far too high; health and education problems also, to Das, shrieked for more public investment.

The book argues that the Asian collapse in 1998 occurred in large measure because of Western ignorance about how Asian societies function culturally. In the case of Russia, he thinks no one stopped to consider how difficult it is for a population to move from 72 years of totalitarianism to individualism without many being left "cold and hungry in the snow."

In the author's view, Canada provides an excellent model of cooperation and social responsibility for all peoples wishing to live

in peace. We are, for Das, the only Western country that makes Asians — and presumably everyone else, although the book only implies it — feel truly comfortable because Canadians treat others with respect.

On the domestic front, *Dispatches* sensibly rails against the labelling of a large number of Canadians — up to a third of the populations of Toronto and Vancouver — as "visible minorities." Why, the book asks, insult such communities by terming them officially as different from other Canadians. Why not a rainbow nation as in post-1994 South Africa?

If equality of opportunity for all is really important to Ottawa, moreover, why, asks the author, does our private sector continue to do much better in employment equity? Why do most federal government offices remain more monochrome than rainbow? Das clearly believes that showing real leadership internationally requires "walking one's talk at home."

The author's Canadianism includes Quebec so strongly that he's probably one of the only journalists for an English paper in Western Canada whose voice mail includes a greeting in French. Claude Ryan, the former leader of the Quebec Liberal

party, both endorses *Dispatches* enthusiastically and notes in doing so that our national squabbles are "somewhat minor when seen in the larger context of a rapidly emerging borderless world." Das notes with regret that the 1995 referendum experience appears to have induced indifference among many non-Quebecers. He would like a magical way of introducing the land and residents of Alberta to Quebecers — and Quebecers to Alberta.

Another subject he explores closely is Indonesia, which he visited at various intervals as the deeply corrupt regime of President Suharto was finally yielding to democracy. He also provides good analyses of Japan, Singapore, Malaysia, China and Taiwan in Asia. He focuses on France, Britain and Ukraine in Europe. His article on the late Mother Theresa is one of the most compelling in the entire book.

Overall, it is an excellent work which I would recommend to Foreign Service officers serving anywhere. Indeed, one might well give out copies as gifts in many of our missions abroad.



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The One Percent Solution

Another calculating conundrum from A Aalto

Gesturing out his office window, Chief MacBannock explained, "They're covered by the *Labour Relations Act*, so we have to let them picket. But the Centre is covered by the *Official Secrets Act*, so we can make them do it in code." Detective Chief Superintendent de Toombs (on detachment to the Federal Unit for Detecting Gratuitous Excess), looked down in some confusion. Tramping out a furrow in the snow by the main door of the building was a long line of men and women carrying signs with incomprehensible messages. "But how," said the man from FUDGE, "do you know what they're saying?"

"Easy," replied MacBannock. "Management and the union have a code book that covers all the phrases that might be needed. For example, the one out there that says DHFLV KCYND, I happen to remember, means 'Wage War on Wage Cuts'. And the one that says KKIIY UPOPO NMKDR means 'For a Change — Downsize Management' and so on."

"What's that one over there?" asked de Toombs, pointing at a tall abstracted-looking man with a sign saying GGGRS NOOIM. MacBannock consulted a thick metal-bound book, paled, looked sharply at the man, relaxed and said, "Well, the sign actually reads 'MacBannock is a toad', but that's old Jacoby carrying it. We had to retire him from the code room a few years ago when someone noticed he was dyslexic. He almost started a nuclear war with one little transposition. But I know he always reverses the last two letters of his groups. So what he actually meant to write was GGGRS NOOMI. That means...." He turned a page in the codebook, "'MacBannock is a Furbish Lousewort'."

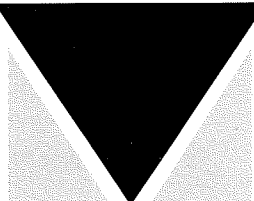
Turning an interesting shade of mauve, he threw open a window and yelled, "I am NOT a lousewort!" Just behind Jacoby, a woman stepped out of a car and hoisted a sign saying 'OH YES YOU ARE'. MacBannock gasped, "Hilda! In plaintext!" and rushed out of the office to confront his

wife, a large grey-haired lady with a taste for bombast and bombazine, considerable smarts and a caring heart.

Forgotten in the rush, de Toombs was joined a few minutes later by ace logician LDC Liebnitz and Chief Administrator Lydia Krantz. Seated around MacBannock's meeting table, they got down to business. "You'll remember," the Superintendent began, "that the talks over the new contract broke down when management offered an economic increase of only one percent and the union walked out." Liebnitz, whose union sympathies were barely tolerated, nodded glumly. Lydia, who thought unions barely tolerable, smiled.

"The unions then started lobbying Cabinet for a fair deal," de Toombs continued. "So the management negotiators, a cracked team from the Government Office for Treasury Hacks, decided to try pulling a fast one. GothCan drew up a revised offer that was so complicated, they figured no one would understand it. The offer looked good at first glance, but worked out so no one got any increase at all — some people even got cuts."

"Or at least, that's the way it was designed. But they'd goofed, and it turned out that one worker in the whole place would actually qualify for a raise under the



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proposed system — the same 1% they offered before. You'd think they'd let it go, but the loophole threw GothCan into a complete panic. They decided that the only way to avoid what they saw as a reckless squandering of taxpayers' money was to take out a contract on the unfortunate officer, a contract for \$50,000." Said Liebnitz, "Let me get this straight. They paid \$50,000 to avoid paying one worker a one-percent increase on a base salary of maybe \$30,000 — and justified it as saving money?"

"I know, I know," muttered de Toombs. "They said it wasn't the money, but the principle. Or maybe the interest. But the toughest thing was convincing them that murder was more than an accounting correction. And by the time I managed that, someone had slipped out and shredded all the records of the deal, so they couldn't even tell me who the prospective victim was, or how to find the killer."

"Which is where you come in, Liebnitz. If you can untangle the bargaining offer and work out the personal data that allowed one officer to slip through the net, then Ms. Krantz can run the result through the MindSoft People Program on her computers and tell us who it is. FUDGE can then see that the intended victim lives long enough to let us stop the hit. Although GothCan of course refuses to pay the cancellation clause in the killer's contract without an Order-in-Council."

Lydia passed the ace logician a sheet of paper with GothCan's revised offer. It read:

Calculate your pay increment using the following instructions.

1. *Start with 1 point for every 5 completed years of service (to a maximum of 6 points).*
2. *Add 1 point for every 5 completed years in current grade (to a maximum of 6 points).*
3. *Add 1 point for every full year past your sixtieth birthday.*
4. *Divide the total to date by 2 if you were born in Ontario, Manitoba or Nova Scotia OR if you are under 30 OR BOTH.*
5. *Subtract 5 points if you are not married OR if you were born in what is now Nunavut OR BOTH.*
6. *Add five 5 points if you are a member of a visible minority.*
7. *Divide the total to date by 2 if you were born in Saskatchewan OR if you are between 31 and 45 inclusive BUT NOT BOTH.*
8. *Subtract 7 points if you were born in 1950 or before.*
9. *Multiply the total to date by 2 if you are left-handed AND EITHER a native of Newfoundland OR between 46 and 49 inclusive BUT NOT BOTH.*
10. *Subtract 10 points if you were born in Alberta or the Yukon or New Brunswick OR if your age is a perfect square OR BOTH.*
11. *Subtract 10 if the combination of your age and your completed years in service is greater than 50 OR if your birthday*

THE CHIPS ARE DOWN: ANSWERS

ROOT ID: JERI RYAN

ROOT PASSWORD: RESISTANCE IS FUTILE

SHUT-DOWN COMMAND: SING DAISY

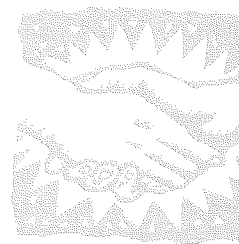
Jeri Ryan is the actress who plays Seven of Nine on Star Trek Voyager. "Resistance is futile" is the catch-phrase for the Borg, the alien culture that has partially assimilated her. "Daisy" is the song that the renegade computer HAL sings as he is shut down in the movie "2001: A Space Odyssey."

ROOT ID CLUES: (1) JOHNSTON (2) GROUP OF SEVEN (3) CARMICHAEL (4) LISMER (5) HARRIS (6) VARLEY (7) JACKSON (8) MacDONALD.

ROOT PASSWORD CLUES: (9) AVARICE (10) TEMPERANCE (11) LUST (12) HANGING GARDENS of Babylon (13) COLOSSUS of Rhodes (14) LIGHTHOUSE (Pharos) of Alexandria (15) CHARITY (16) ANGER (17) JUSTICE (18) ENVY (19) PRIDE (20) MAUSOLEUM at Halicarnassus (21) FAITH (22) PRUDENCE (23) SLOTH (24) PYRAMIDS of Giza (25) GLUTTONY (26) HOPE.

SHUT-DOWN COMMAND CLUES: (27) The SEVEN SAMURAI (28) The SEVEN LITTLE FOYS (29) The SEVEN PERCENT SOLUTION (30) The MAGNIFICENT SEVEN (31) Snow White and the SEVEN DWARFS (32) The SEVENTH SEAL (33) The SEVEN YEAR ITCH (34) SEVEN (35) SEVEN DAYS in May.

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is between April 1 and August 31 inclusive OR BOTH.

12. Add 10 points if your age is a prime number AND you were eligible to vote in the 1972 Canadian federal election BUT NOT if you were born between January 1 and February 28 inclusive.

Divide the total to date by 10 and subtract 2 points. The result is your percentage pay increase or decrease for FY 2000.

Notes: (a) Ages, years of service and years in grade are to be calculated as of January 1, 2000. (b) Step two does not apply if you were born in BC, PEI or Quebec. (c) Step six does not apply if you were born in March or between September 1 and December 31 inclusive. (d) Step nine does not apply if you were born in the first half of the fiscal year. (e) Step twelve does not apply if you were born in a British colony.

"Ingenious," noted Liebnitz. "We have to take into account the fact that all the officers in this bargaining unit were born in what is now Canada, started work on their 21st birthdays and have to retire on their 65th birthdays. Also that you have to have been in grade four years to be considered for promotion. Hmmm...."

Within a few minutes, he had cracked GothCan's fiendish enigma and spotted the loophole allowing a single officer a one-percent raise. As Lydia strode off to find the prospective victim's name, de Toombs added sombrely, "You know, top people in the Centre must have had some inkling of what was going on. But what kind of managers would put appeasing GothCan ahead of their workers' welfare?" Just then MacBannock bustled back into the office, querying querulously, "Why are you glaring at me like that?"

Can you duplicate Liebnitz's feat by determining where and on what date the intended victim was born, ascertaining his/her age, specifying when (if ever) he/she was last promoted, and listing the other three characteristics that entitled him/her to the one percent? **bout de papier** will decide the winner by drawing from a box containing all correct entries received by April 30. The winner will receive a book prize autographed by A Aalto.

Freelance prestidigitator and full-time Tuvan patriot A Aalto may have been raised by Patagonian missionaries on the Zambezi, but they were union missionaries.

The Chips are Down winner:
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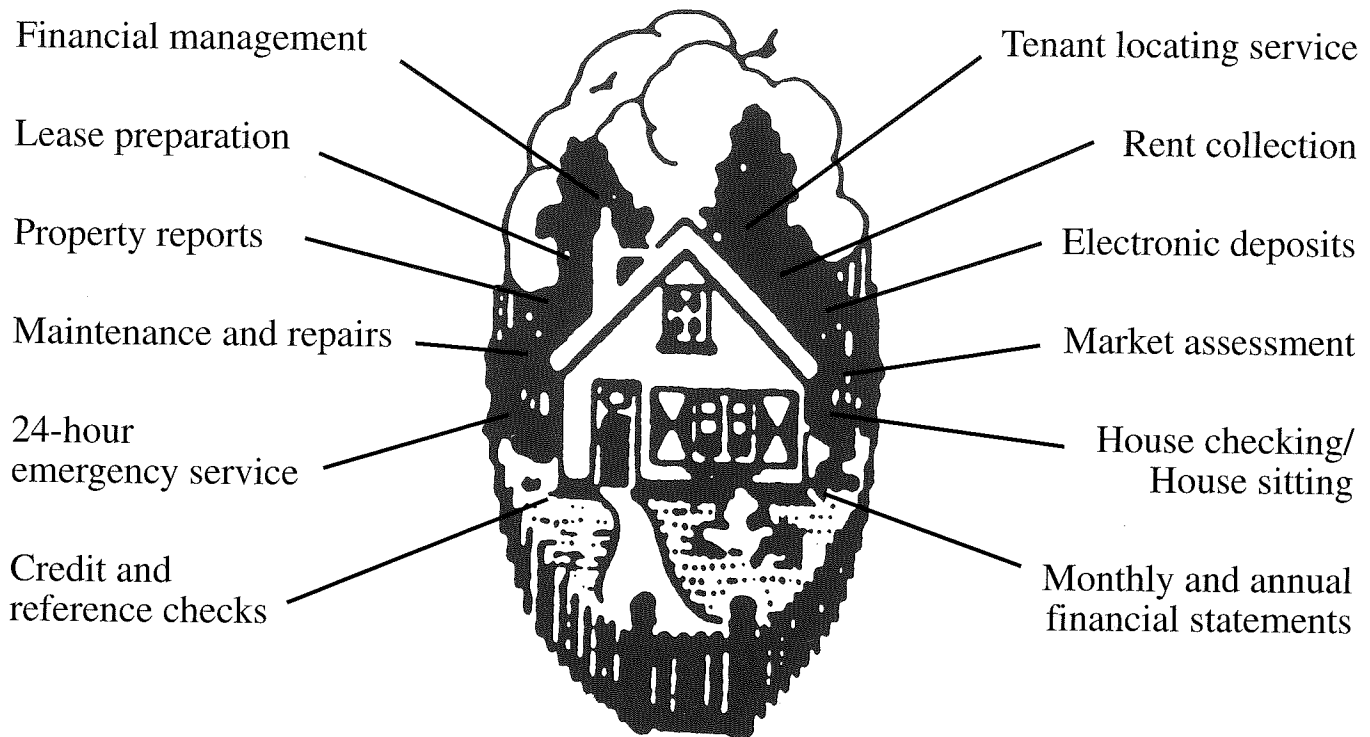
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