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The Future of the Foreign
Service in Jeopardy

Albania 1999

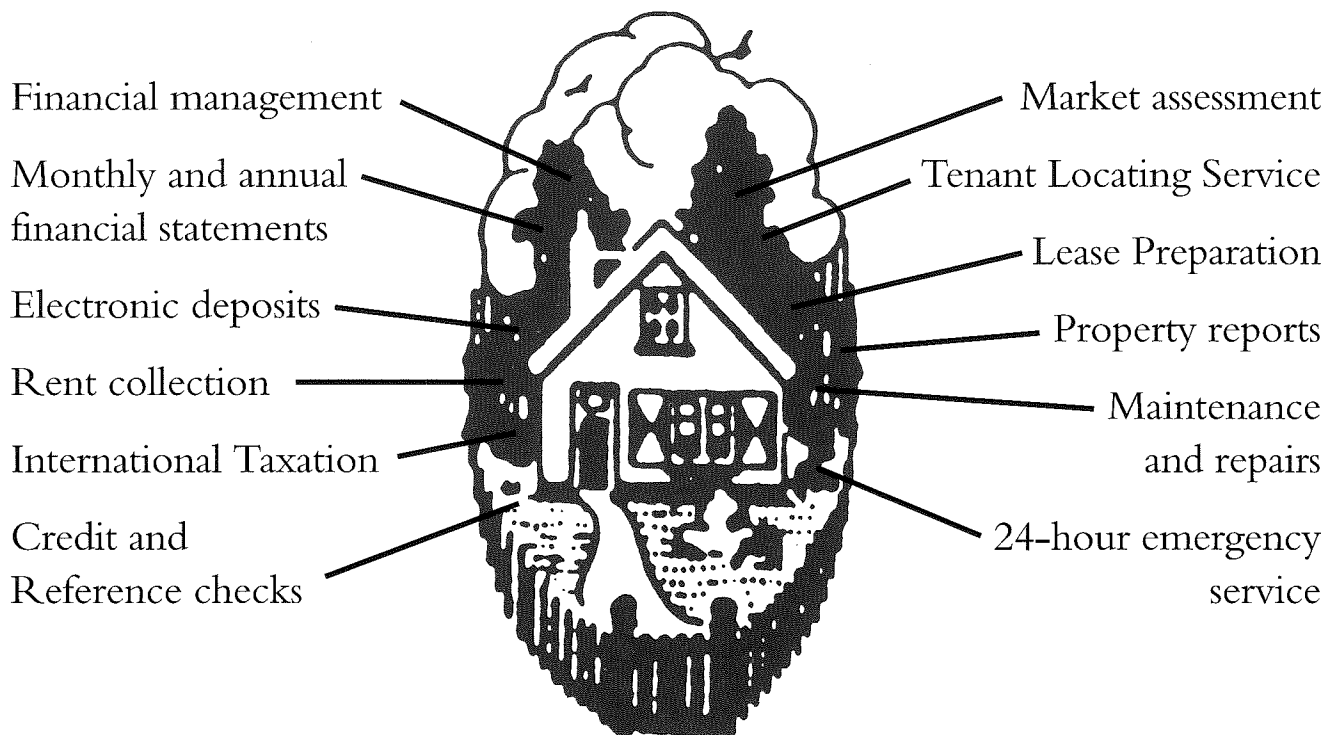
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Canada's Magazine of Diplomacy and Foreign Service
Le magazine canadien de la diplomatie et du service extérieur

SPRING/PRINTEMPS 2000 Vol. 17 No. 1

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At the Crossroads / À la croisée

by/par Daniel George, PAFSO President/Président de l'APASE

bout de papier readers may well have seen recent media coverage of the Foreign Service contract impasse and wondered what it is really all about.

It's a bright spring Sunday noon and they're lining up to enter Fort Pearson for overtime: two cars, a pedestrian and a motorcycle. They must be nuts. They must be Foreign Service officers (FS). Still as keen as ever, apparently.... Mais il suffit d'une goutte d'eau pour faire déborder le vase, one straw to break the camel's back, one more fishing season for the cod stocks to collapse, and everyone wonders why.

We FS are the professionals of globalization. Our thin red line of a thousand covers over 200 countries and international organizations for the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Immigration. We are proud to serve our country and pour ourselves into our work. We are Canada's eyes, ears and hands abroad, Canada's competitive edge in the commercial, political and other marketplaces of the planet. We are on the line for Canada around the world and around the clock, in more ways than ever before. We screen immigrants and visitors, negotiate international agreements, assist Canadian companies, provinces and Ministers in their international endeavours, manage media and public affairs — and help Canadians in trouble. From Team Canada to the Security Council, from "brain gain" to "soft power" — we make it happen and we deliver.

In recent years our dedication was tested as never before: growing demands in the face of shrinking resources, a six-year pay freeze, three failed restructurings in a decade. It was tough but we made it. Now the career professional foreign service, that has served Canadians well in securing our economic and political place in the world, is at risk.

The key issue in our contract impasse is simple: moving towards pay parity. We earn substantially less than directly-comparable professionals in the public service whom we work alongside and often supervise, and whose salaries we used to match. Our purchasing power has also fallen well behind not only our colleagues, but the Canadian public (not to mention G-7 foreign services, the UN or the World Bank). We were proud to do our part to tame the deficit, but now we see no reason not to be compensated as the professionals we are. As a result, our members around the world wrote to and met with Ministers, then voted 85% against

Treasury Board's 2% offer — for the first time in our 32-year history — because it did nothing to solve the pay parity issue.

La disparité actuelle incite les FS à quitter la profession et, souvent, le gouvernement. La moitié de nos agents partent dans les 10 ans — emportant avec eux leur talent, leur énergie et des millions de dollars en « capital humain », soit beaucoup plus qu'il n'en coûterait pour les garder en emploi. Le remplacement au moyen du recrutement de novices ou d'autres groupes n'est pas la solution. Cette attrition sape le rendement du Canada sur la scène internationale, et constitue un énorme gaspillage de l'investissement des contribuables en formation qui se solde en pure perte. Les choses vont de mal en pis, et le Canada ne peut plus se le permettre.

C'est vrai qu'une carrière de permutant nous offre bien des possibilités intéressantes. Elle nous impose aussi des privations et de lourdes pertes de revenu familial. Alors que la famille à deux revenus est devenue la norme sociale et une nécessité économique au Canada, les familles du service extérieur sont contraintes à un seul revenu et nos conjoints doivent renoncer à toute véritable carrière ou pension. Ils n'obtiennent même pas d'assurance-emploi durant leur recherche d'emploi lors de leur retour à Ottawa.

La reclassification annoncée à l'échelle du gouvernement appelée Norme générale de classification (NGC) pourrait s'avérer une partie de la solution. Toutefois, elle change constamment et accuse beaucoup de retard sur l'échéancier, et les négociations ne commenceront qu'en janvier au plus tôt. Nous avons appris officiellement que le groupe FS sera converti encore plus tard que les autres (à cause de la permutableté) et que le plan d'action pour ce faire « n'est pas encore élaboré ». De toute évidence, nous ne saurions nous fier à une issue aussi lointaine qu'incertaine — après les échecs répétés de tentatives antérieures de restructuration du service extérieur — pour régler nos préoccupations immédiates et de longue date. Il nous faut à tout le moins des progrès marqués dans l'actuelle ronde de négociation. C'est en réglant dès aujourd'hui les problèmes d'actualité qu'on parviendra à faciliter la difficile transition à la NGC, le moment venu.

Depuis quelque temps déjà, l'APASE demande à retourner à la table de négociation. Rien ne s'y oppose plus. Nous espérons que le Conseil du Trésor s'entendra pour le

des chemins

faire dans les plus brefs délais, et que nous pourrions travailler de concert afin d'en arriver à un règlement juste envers tous.

À terme, les Canadiens devront décider s'ils veulent faire protéger et avancer leurs intérêts dans un monde dur par un service extérieur composé de professionnels de carrière triés sur le volet, qu'on a mis des décennies à créer, ou par un service porte-tambour composé d'agents de passage. C'est là où nous nous dirigeons à l'heure actuelle. J'invite les lecteurs de **bout** à trouver bientôt une occasion propice pour faire valoir leur opinion dans les cercles qui s'imposent.

....Eh oui! le type sur la moto, c'était moi. J'aime peut-être faire les choses un peu différemment, sortir des sentiers battus. Je crois que c'est ce qu'il faut pour assurer l'avenir de notre service extérieur — et je crois que c'est encore possible. ☺

Editor's Notebook will return in the summer issue of **bout de papier**.

House of Commons Lauds Work of Immigration Foreign Service Officers

Question Period —
March 15th, 2000

STATEMENT

Mr. Steve Mahoney — Liberal Member of Parliament for Mississauga West

Mr. Speaker, last week I travelled with the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration and the Member from Compton-Stanstead to Nairobi, Kenya to meet with staff working with refugees and visa applicants.

These people work long emotionally-draining hours. They risk their lives. This is a very dangerous part of the world. Kate O'Brien interviews refugees in a camp in the Sahara desert. Security requirements

are very serious. Kate is at risk every day. Michel DuPuis interviewed one woman who had seen her husband and son murdered, and endured two months in prison where she was tortured and raped.

Keith Swinton, Christopher Hazel, Lynda Bowler, Michel Dupuis and Kate O'Brien give hope and new life to people who could be dead. Our High Commissioner, Gerry Campbell, leads a team of true heroes, along with Bob Orr and Dr. Jeremy Brown. On behalf of all Canadians I want to thank them for their dedication and their bravery.

Question Period —
March 13th, 2000

Refugee Camps

STATEMENT

Mr. David Price — Progressive Conservative Member of Parliament for Compton-Stanstead

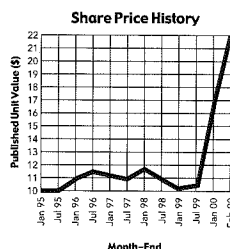
Mr. Speaker, I have just returned from a refugee camp in the northern part of Kenya. The camp has over a hundred and twenty thousand refugees, mostly Somalians, placed there for over nine years, living in conditions that we could not even dream of. Mr. Speaker, I have to commend the people working in these camps. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees and all the NGOs such as Docteurs sans frontières, world food organizations and all the dedicated church groups. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the Canadian High Commissioner in Nairobi and all of his staff for setting up the details of this very important visit. I want to thank our immigration officers and staff in Kenya and London for letting our group sit in on interviews which included the Minister of Immigration and the Member for Mississauga West.

Last but not less I want to thank the Minister's staff for setting up this on the ground experience and look at how we determine refugees, immigrants and visitors. ☺

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No Exaggeration

The **Future** of the Canadian Foreign Service **in Jeopardy**

by John Hadwen

With the largest majority ever recorded, 85 per cent, and for the first time in 32 years, foreign service officers have rejected the Government of Canada's latest pay offer. All efforts should now be directed to achieving a mutually agreed settlement but why did this crisis develop and how can it be dissipated?

The Why

Ministers, departmental management and the Treasury Board did not appreciate the depths of the resentment arising from:

1. a series of financial reductions over the years (wage freezes, and inflation consequences) which produced the loss of salary comparability even to other elements of the Canadian Public Service;
2. arbitrarily lowered staffing levels accompanied in the same period by increased demands to meet additional commitments
 - (a) the latest geographic ones are the Sudan, Central Asia and African [again],
 - (b) fresh demands for a series of Team Canada endeavours requiring unprecedented preparations,
 - (c) urgent servicing of new levels of activity for six ministers in Foreign Affairs (The Hon. L. Axworthy), International Trade (The Hon. P. Pettigrew), International Cooperation (The Hon. M. Minna) Secretary of State-Latin America and Africa (The Hon. D. Kilgour), Secretary of State-Asia Pacific (The Hon. R. Chan), Secretary of State — Franco-phonie & Western Economic Diversification (The Hon. R. Duhamel),
 - (d) additional thematic urgencies Human Security, International summits (Hemispheric meetings approach).

DFAIT (and External before it) is now renowned as "The department that is not permitted or cannot bring itself to say no" and is forced to do "more with less" for changing masters over the years;

3. failure to reform the foreign service classification system which has become rigid and unable to meet changing needs;

4. prejudiced attitudes, passed on to the press and the public, towards the Canadian Foreign Service. These come from resentment that much of the work takes place outside Canada and is thought to involve luxury and privilege. No one believes now — but they did — that all that Canadians need to understand world affairs is to read the *New York Times*. Some still believe that all staff abroad live like foreign ambassadors in Ottawa.

At the same time that these elements applied, the dangers and complexities of world affairs grew. Not in order, refugee and immigration movements, concerns for the protection of Canadians travelling, civil wars, the claims of the environment, of population growth, fresh agricultural issues, drug threats, nuclear and conventional arms control problems, national cultural concerns, world market fluctuations, international crime — the list goes on and all over the world. We need to revisit Europe. Unpredictable disasters are everywhere. The Security Council and even the IMF and the IBRD need to be reformed. Defence and foreign policy linkages have to be reconsidered. Evolving legal issues create fresh international pressures.

To meet these and many other challenges which Canadians, and their foreign service cannot ignore, while facing prejudice, reduced resources, and falling comparative pay scales, was too much even for carefully chosen, trained and motivated professionals. (Thousands of well prepared and qualified Canadians apply yearly often for less than 100 posts.)

No one has questioned the quality, the political impartiality and the energy of the foreign service members. This includes their families. However, as a group they have been abused beyond reason. We have lost many. We will lose more. The central agencies must recognize and accept this fact.

The requirement now is for:

1. substantially increased salary levels justified by unique programme demands;
2. classification and promotion procedures to be revised and made more generous;
3. additional staffing resources including the reinstatement of the junior political officer positions abroad;

4. the public service as a whole and the foreign service in particular to be defended. Antiquated attitudes should be rejected. The political leadership should play a role.

The dangers in failure to maintain the foreign service at the levels required by vital national interests have never really been assessed, but they are real.

Canada is not a great enough power to enforce our needs in world affairs. Who is going to employ our "soft power" unless it is the foreign service? ☹

John Hadwen, a foreign service officer from 1950-1987. He was High Commissioner for Canada in Malaysia and in Singapore (1967-1971); Ambassador of Canada to Pakistan and to Afghanistan 1972-1974; High Commissioner for Canada to India (1979-1983) and Ambassador to Nepal (1980-1983).

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BACK TO THE FUTURE

What Aspiring Foreign Service Officers Need to Know About Recruitment Changes

by Barry Yeates

As happens every year, last fall's Public Service Commission Post-Secondary Recruitment Campaign for government jobs introduced significant changes without notice. These changes affected candidates applying for Foreign Service (FS), Management/Consular (AS) and Development Officer (PM) positions.

While the changes were billed as "new," and were perceived to be so by almost all candidates, the campaign was really — from the vantage point of one who has followed it closely for over twenty years — a "back-to-the-future" exercise. A look at how and why that's true may help future test-takers — as well as those they approach for advice.

Academic Criteria: The shift to requiring only a Bachelor's degree for FS candi-

dates surprised many. Historically, however, this has been the norm, not the exception. From 1928 to 1992 a Bachelor's was the FS entry ticket, although aspiring diplomats often had advanced degrees, plus languages. The 1993 to 1998 interregnum, when either two degrees or one degree plus an exotic foreign language were mandatory, reflected two contextual issues: a buyer's market approach by government, which took advantage of the situation where many people with multiple degrees were chasing few jobs, and the federal deficit, which dictated a reduction in the number of candidates to limit the per capita cost of processing them.

As for PM eligibility criteria, the proliferation of degree specialties identified this past year simply verifies the continuing con-

fusion shown in recruiting by the Canadian International Development Agency. For the record, AS academic criteria changed only marginally this year.

An unpublicized purpose for lowering the FS entry bar was to combat increasingly high attrition rates among officers hired over the last five years with advanced academic degrees, specialized language skills, and considerable real-life experience. The presumption underlying the change was that younger, less highly-educated people would be happier with the FS job, its potential and salary, than those longer in the tooth. In fact, the notion is misguided because abundant numbers of older candidates still emerged and will succeed in the competition. Foreign Affairs interviewers traditionally select the brightest, most mature and best-performing candidates for the eligibility list, which often — though not always — disadvantages applicants with little experience. This is especially true when younger applicants assume incorrectly that their academic work is relevant to the exams and interviews, and that they need not prepare for a competition in which, typically, one-and-a-half to two per cent of candidates are successful.

One final important note about academic criteria: despite what government literature and recruiters say to FS, AS, and perhaps PM candidates, neither degrees nor scholarly achievements are relevant in selection for an interview, a job, or for assignments and promotion after hiring. First, test scores (plus an affirmative action formula in some cases) and then interview performance determine hiring success. It was always thus.

Candidate Volume: The government's 1999 campaign goal was to double the number of candidates from last year in the FS, AS, and PM groups. This meant about eight thousand or more were expected to apply for FS jobs, and about three to four thousand each for PM and AS positions. Lowering or broadening the academic criteria was intended to increase the numbers of applicants. The back-to-the-future benchmark for setting anticipated numbers: about 6500



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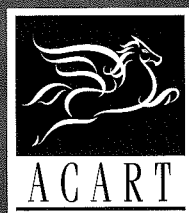


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applied for FS jobs in 1992, when the "Bachelor's only" criterion was last used.

Why the volume push? More people stepping up to the hiring plate makes government work look attractive again, and makes the Public Service Commission look effective as a recruiter in a time when the job market for grads is hot. Also, the higher the volume of candidates and the broader the range of acceptable academic disciplines, the greater the likelihood of increased participation by under-represented social groups; the changes were therefore designed as an attempt to address concerns about diversity in government employment statistics.

Test Changes: More back-to-the-future was evident in alterations to two of the three tests in 1999 (the Written Communication Test — or WCT — remained the same). The cognitive Graduate Recruitment Test (GRT) required for FS, AS, and PM candidates was tinkered with as usual. Instead of comprising five types of exercises in 80 questions as in 1998, the "new" version had four types of exercises in 55 questions, with a disproportionately small reduction in test time. Not only were many of the questions the same as in 1998, several were the same as in 1989 and the years following, when the Entry Level Officer Selection Test (ELOST) was used.

Why the changes? Very few finished the long, more varied 1998 exam, resulting in the lowest cut-off scores in recent memory, and possibly ever. Higher scores, and particularly the higher passing scores that are inevitable with a pool of four to eight thousand test-takers (depending on the career stream), will result from the 1999 GRT.

The Foreign Service test required only for FS candidates underwent the biggest alteration, but again it was not as radical as uninformed test-takers thought. The main change was that the old knowledge-type geopolitical and policy questions were eliminated. (These had been used in one form or another — essay or multiple-choice or both — since Lester Pearson was the first successful national test recruit in 1928.) Instead, the "new" Foreign Service Written Simulation Test (FSWST) provided four detailed, heavily nuanced, hypothetical situations which diplomats could encounter and asked candidates to respond, in point form, as to how they would deal with the scenarios.

Though new to the exam, these questions were fundamentally the same as, and bore a marked similarity to, the verbal situational and role-play questions used for decades in the Foreign Service interview. Also, they resembled the old "judgement questions" which accompanied the former FS knowledge test in the 1970s and 1980s. Result? Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.

What prompted these changes? Three factors. Government recruiters decided, although many current and former diplomats might argue, that competency testing is a better indication of job aptitude than knowledge testing for prospective FS officers. Indeed, the government has been downgrading for years the importance of international geopolitical and policy knowledge in candidates' cumulative (cognitive/writing/Foreign Service) test score, to the point where the FS exam was worth only 10% of the final total in 1998.

A second reason for change was the belief that candidates from presumed non-traditional academic backgrounds for the Foreign Service would have a better chance of passing the new exam. This is not so, but another article would be needed to demonstrate why. The third reason for test changes was to avoid the prospect that — horror of horrors — candidates could "study" for the exam. While ingestion of knowledge was neither possible nor necessary to prepare for the new exam, training on how to approach the situational questions, sample answers, and evaluation advice raises scores dramatically, as repeatedly proven from my analysis of interview reports and hiring results in the past.

Conclusion: For the benefit of those attracted to FS, AS, or PM careers and

who plan to compete in next year's Post-Secondary Campaign, a few words of advice. All detailed questions about tests should be directed not to local government offices/spokespersons or to hastily assembled and badly briefed campus information teams, but rather to informed Ottawa-based coordinators of the campaign at the Public Service Commission and the Department of Foreign Affairs, where there is a modicum of institutional memory about the process and how it really works. Comments about the tests and interviews with former diplomats and, occasionally, with faculty can be helpful, but bear in mind that people will likely talk about their own test experience, which was long ago, far away, and evaluated differently. On a positive note, conferring with serving and ex-diplomats or their family members can help candidates understand the milieu they aspire to work in once the arcane vicissitudes of the exam, interview, eligibility and hiring process are successfully negotiated. ☺

Barry Yeates, a former diplomat and senior university administrator, provides preparatory seminars and study materials to help candidates across Canada and internationally prepare for the FS, AS, and PM exams and interviews. Well over 200 of his clients serve in all branches of the Foreign Service.

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1 FS Denied Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value

- ✗ FS, at all levels, used to earn more than similar categories; now FS earn less.
- ✗ With a difference of \$7,463 (after the new contract) at the top of the FS2 salary band CO3s earn 11 per cent more for doing the same job.
- ✗ 380 FS2s at the top of the pay ladder are immediately denied this equality; another 345 FS2s soon will be; all 1,050 members are affected.

2 FS Denied Salary Overlap With EX Level Unlike Rest of Public Service

- ✗ CO3s earn 4.6 per cent more than EX1s; FS2s earn five per cent less (after the new contract).
- ✗ Benchmark dating from 1970s was broken in 1998 when TB raised EX-1 floor 17 per cent, leaving FS-2 as lowest-paid of all EX feeder groups.

3 FS Purchasing Power Declines

- ✗ Purchasing power has declined 22 per cent for FS2 and 18 per cent for FS1 since 1976 peak (assuming a two per cent increase in salaries).

4 FS Pay Denies Experience —

Does It Really Take 17 Years To Be Of Value?

- ✗ Average entry age has been 29, starting salary for a FSDP non-bilingual entrant in the ab initio period is \$28,961 (\$30,278 after new contract).

"Morale is damaged by glaring examples of internal pay inequity (in some cases FSs work in Headquarters side-by-side with LAs, COs and ESs who are doing exactly the same work for substantially more money)."

Page 35 DFAIT Human Resources Strategy,
October 2, 1998

- ✗ FSDPs joined in 1998 and 1999, their average entry age is 30, salary after ab initio period begins at \$36,201 (\$37,848 after new contract) and should rise after another four years to \$47,990 (\$49,676 after new contract).
- ✗ FS1s average age is 30 to 38; salaries rarely if ever now reach the FS1 maximum of \$49,266 (\$50,251 after new contract) due to denial of in-range increases.
- ✗ FS2s begin to be promoted to their current level at age 35, salary begins at \$48,278 (\$49,244 after new contract); by age 46, salary has finally reached \$68,931 (\$70,309 after new contract).
- ✗ Public service and private enterprise salary progression is generally much faster than for the FS group, and tends to reward employees with large salary increases around the five-year and ten-year marks in recognition for their valuable experience. DFAIT refuses to do the same.

5 Rotationality — Who Can Afford It?

- ✗ The foreign service is a primary income lifestyle with secondary income earning power — FS are expected to be rotational, but their professional spouses earn higher salaries, when they can work.
- ✗ Rotationality generally prevents spouses from systematically earning income and contributing to a pension plan.
- ✗ Despite a 74 per cent participation rate of spouses in the Canadian workforce, the FS salary contains no recognition of the dual income nature of Canadian society.
- ✗ The average FS salary is \$55,000; less than the average family income in Ottawa, and much less than the average professional public service family income.

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10 raisons derrière le reject des offres



6 On empêche les agents FS-01 de toucher l'augmentation d'échelon

- ✗ Les FS-01 n'auraient pu obtenir l'augmentation de 4,4 % à laquelle ils avaient droit en vertu de la précédente convention.
- ✗ On aurait également nié aux FS-01 la possibilité d'obtenir une échelle révisée pour refléter les nouvelles échelles PDSE.

7 Les agents FS-01 dans le PDSE n'ont pas l'égalité avec le PSG

- ✗ Les recrues du Programme des Stagiaires en Gestion touchent quelque 6 % de plus que les recrues du PDSE, et leur période de probation est de quatre ans plutôt que cinq.
- ✗ On nie aux agents du PDSE l'augmentation de 2 % contenue dans la dernière offre du CT et toute augmentation à être octroyée aux agents du PSG.

8 On nie aux FS les promotions et les concours basés sur le mérite

- ✗ Le MAECI n'a pas tenu sa promesse d'assurer la parité entre les PDSE et les FS-01. 39 agents FS-01 éligibles n'ont pas reçu la promotion promise lors du processus élargi de promotion de 1998; combien des 169 FS-01 qui seront bientôt éligibles connaîtront-ils le même sort?
- ✗ Les agents CO reçoivent des promotions après avoir fait leurs preuves dans des postes plus élevés avec rémunération d'intérim. Le système de nomination du MAECI nie cette possibilité aux FS. Il n'y a pas de justification pour que l'on oblige les agents FS-01 à passer 5 ou 6 ans au même niveau avant de considérer la possibilité de leur octroyer une promotion.
- ✗ Les agents FS sont sceptiques face à la bonne volonté du MAECI à leur endroit, comme en témoignent les nombreux records d'appels lors des derniers exercices de promotion aux échelles FS-02 et EX-01.



9 Le niveau d'attrition devient alarmant... Près de 40 %

- ✗ Le roulement des FS, et particulièrement parmi le groupe ayant moins de 10 ans d'expérience, atteint un fort taux (de 25 à 40 % selon les sources).
- ✗ La pratique du CT est de recruter de nouveaux employés et de dire qu'il n'y a pas de problème car on trouve facilement beaucoup de candidats pour l'examen du Service extérieur — qui est en fait ouvert à tous les candidats inscrits au concours général de la fonction publique.
- ✗ La politique du MAECI est de combler certaines postes par des entrées latérales de personnes n'ayant pas d'expérience permutante. Chose intéressante, on ne permet pas aux anciens FS de ré-intégrer le groupe par voie latérale.

10 La gestion du MAECI — la solution du problème FS n'est pas une priorité

- ✗ La restructuration du groupe FS fut promise déjà en 1990 dans le rapport final de l'examen ministériel du MAECI dans les termes suivants : « nous allons restructurer, d'ici 1991, le service extérieur en trois catégories [incluant]... un groupe de FS avec un plus grand nombre de paliers, lesquels iront au-delà de la catégorie FS-02 actuelle, comme

« Lorsqu'un agent a accumulé cinq années ou plus de services, il représente un investissement considérable pour le ministère, surtout s'il a reçu une formation linguistique intensive. Fait tout aussi important, voire plus important encore, ce sont là les agents qui devraient être au cœur de la planification du ministère pour la Relève. »

Stratégie de gestion des ressources humaines du MAECI,
14 octobre 1998

solution de rechange à l'entrée dans le groupe des gestionnaires. » page 11

- ✗ Le MAECI a trouvé les fonds pour augmenter substantiellement les salaires des employés locaux en poste, de même que ceux des EX (dont le minimum a été augmenté de 17 %), mais pas ceux des FS.
- ✗ Il n'y a pas de Champion pour les FS, car ils ne sont pas une priorité. ☹

Letter from RHOMA

February 29, 2000

The Rt. Hon. Jean Chrétien, P.C., M.P.
Langevin Block
80 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0A2

Dear Prime Minister,

I am writing as Chair of the Directing Group of the Retired Heads of Mission Association (RHOMA) to raise an issue that is vital to Canada's economic and political place in the world, the continuing vigour and dynamism of Canada's Foreign Service.

More than ever before, today's foreign service officers serve Canada in a growing number of ways and in every corner of the world. They work the corridors of power in Washington as well as the streets of Kigali. They negotiate agreements on land mines, resolve refugee crises and pursue global business opportunities. They are our country's front-line troops in conflict resolution and peace-building. Their families share in the burdens these officers face, often at considerable personal cost.

Over the past decade the dedication of the Foreign Service has been put severely to the test. Demand for services has continued to grow despite cuts to resources. There is also a deep concern among foreign service officers about the increasing salary gap between them and comparable groups in the Public Service including many working alongside them in their Departments. This point is vividly made in the front-page story of the February 26 Ottawa Citizen.

The Foreign Service attracts high-quality candidates. However, the failure to compensate and motivate these professionals adequately has led to a corrosive rate of attrition. An increasing number of officers are leaving. Many more will be driven to leave. For Canada, gaining or losing, whether in the political, economic, trade or cultural market place, is a function of competitive edge. Through neglect of our Foreign Service, we are beginning to lose that edge. As a nation we cannot afford such losses any more than we can afford them in health care or education.

The government prides itself on an enlightened approach to the new challenges of the information age. I would suggest, Prime Minister, that such an approach is sorely needed in dealing with the economic future of foreign service officers and their families. I would ask you to direct the President of the Treasury Board to seek a solution with the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers that will strengthen rather than diminish Canada's Foreign Service.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Ministers concerned.

A. Douglas Small
Chair
RHOMA Directing Group

Dealing with the Reality of Elder Care in the FS

by Alan Bones

While the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade is beginning to accommodate the shift in demographic realities taking place within the Department's rotational workforce, there is still some unexploded ordnance out in this field. As a cautionary tale, rotational employees of the Department looking at bringing elderly parents to post, or having them join at a later date, might want to bear some of the following practices in mind.

A Interpretation of "dependent"

At the time of writing (April 18), the Department's interpretation of "dependent," FSD 2.01j(iii) notwithstanding, is that described in Annex A of FSD 2 - that is, a person who has been living at the same address as a rotational employee for a year before posting. This is often not made clear when an employee is investigating the feasibility of a posting with elderly parents: a simple reading of FSD 2.01 j (iii) implies more flexibility than the Foreign Service

Directives Division is prepared to display on its own initiative.

One of the important implications of this interpretation is that if your parent(s) are not deemed to be "dependents," they will not receive health care benefits until the end of their first year at post with you (i.e. at the point at which they've lived with you for a year). Being elderly, it would be a risk for them to be at post with no coverage at all; private insurance alternatives can be prohibitively expensive. If your parents are financially dependent on you, they can be covered under your public service health care plan, but financial dependence is the only recognized criterion.

The Foreign Service Directives Division can shepherd you through an appeals process through a coordinating committee, but this is a time-consuming process (the committees meet only at set intervals, and this can be a two-step procedure, taking a couple of months at least). This is less of a problem if you know of the strict interpretation of "dependent" early enough in the process, so that you can seek either alternative parent care, or a headquarters assignment, should the ruling go against you. But if you do not learn of it until the posting cycle is well along, you run the risk of having to decide between putting your parents at risk, or having to scramble for what is left of headquarters' assignments.

B Having your parents on your posting confirmation form

If your parent(s) are not joining you immediately at post, but intend to follow at a later date, it will smooth the process at post considerably to have your parent(s) listed as dependents to follow on your posting confirmation form. Without being on your posting confirmation form, it is complicated for them to obtain diplomatic passports. Without a diplomatic passport, it will be difficult for them to obtain residence visas so that they can actually live with you at post.

The Department is moving in the right direction in dealing with the realities of larger numbers of rotational employees having to care for elderly parents, but the process remains cumbersome and frequently insensitive. Forewarned is forearmed - starting the process early can help reduce the level of frustration and anxiety in dealing with a process that is not yet as smooth as it could be.

Alan Bones has served in Kuala Lumpur and Mexico City. He is currently in the Regional Security and Peacekeeping Division at DFAIT.

Diplomacy on the Cheap

Reprinted with permission from *Maclean's* — April 10, 2000

by Andrew Phillips, Bureau Chief of *Maclean's* in Washington

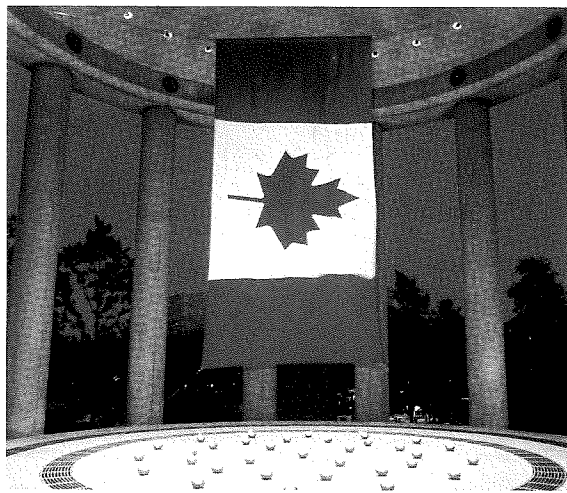
It's not exactly at the top of national concerns, but spare a thought for the plight of Canada's diplomats, the (mostly quite young) men and women who negotiate treaties, stick-handle disputes with other countries, generally manage relations with the rest of the world. These days they are not happy campers, not at all.

The problem, simply put, is money. Their pay is lousy, not only compared with what people with similar qualifications make in the private sector, but with what other government departments pay for the same kind of work. For a few years, the foreign-service types mostly suffered in silence.

Lately, though, they've been speaking out in ways that are, well, less than diplomatic. Whenever ministers have visited Canadian missions abroad in the past few weeks, they've been handed polite but pointed letters condemning working conditions for foreign service officers as "absurd" and "unfair." The campaign began in January at the Canadian Embassy here in Washington, where staff lobbied International Trade Minister Pierre Pettigrew and Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy. It's since spread far afield, to Beijing, Kuala Lumpur, Nairobi, Vienna — several dozen locations in all.

A few youngish embassy staffers gathered last week to air their beefs. This being Washington and they being diplomats, the revolution took place over lattes at a Starbucks a couple of blocks from the embassy. They were an impressive bunch, and (the foggy reputation of diplomats notwithstanding) there was not a pinstripe among them. All have advanced degrees — in law, economics, international relations and languages. Two of them have two graduate degrees apiece. Perceptions of canapenibbling international bureaucrats aside, a lot of the work they do is important to the livelihood of regular Canadians: one was off to Geneva the next day to defend the Auto Pact before the World Trade Organization.

All insist they love their work, but they worry that they can't keep on doing it on salaries that start at \$36,210, about as much as a rookie firefighter. They top out at just under \$69,000 a year, and it can take a decade or more to get there. Other benefits and perks are supposed to compensate, but



they don't make up for the currency difference in, for example, the United States, or for the loss of one income in a two-career family. "There's a lot of satisfaction in working for your country," said one, "but it's becoming a luxury we can't afford." Another ventured that the department is trying to follow the "Catholic church model — you take a vow of poverty and assume a lifelong vocation. That doesn't cut it any more."

The fortunate few who make it into the executive ranks of Foreign Affairs earn more. But for a decade or so, budget cuts and a glut of entrenched managers have made promotions increasingly difficult. Like all federal employees, foreign service staff endured five years of pay freezes in the mid-'90s. What really riled them, though, was a salary offer just before Christmas — a measly one per cent. That has since been doubled to two per cent; the 1,050 foreign service officers rejected it in early March and are still in contract talks.

What galls them most is that others, even in government, make substantially more. A justice department lawyer assigned to an embassy can make 20 per cent more than a lawyer in the foreign service. Even worse, locally hired staff supervised by Canadian diplomats often earn more. In a letter to ministers that quickly became public, former prime minister Kim Campbell, now consul-general in Los Angeles, notes that the receptionist there is paid more than the second-in-command of the consulate's immigration section. Campbell told the minister she was "frankly shocked" that the Canadians are paid so little. Other heads of missions — including Ambassador Raymond Chrétien

in Washington, diplomats here confide — are also backing the protest, though more discreetly. Several have written to deputy ministers.

Why care? Partly because you get what you pay for — and right now Ottawa isn't paying much for the people who represent it abroad. More important, because foreign service officers are, predictably, quitting in droves. Attrition rates are at record levels as they find better-paying jobs at law firms, banks, trade associations and such. These people have been trained, often at great expense, by the Canadian taxpayer. One bright young man who left the service last week to take a job in Asia with an international financial company put it this way: "Do taxpayers really want to pay to train people for American Express? Right now, the government is investing in us and letting us go without much of a fight. Is that what we want?" Good question. ☺

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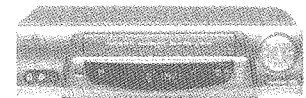
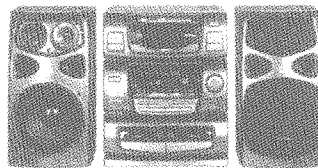
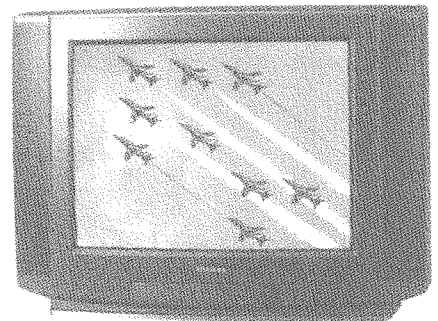
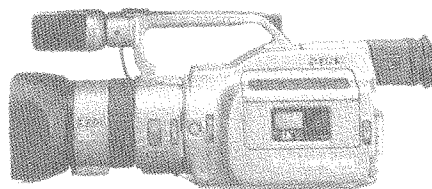
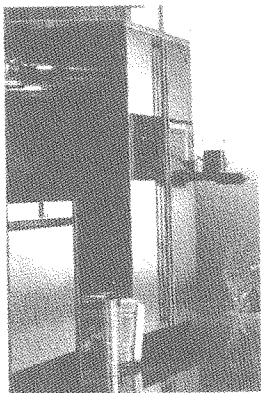
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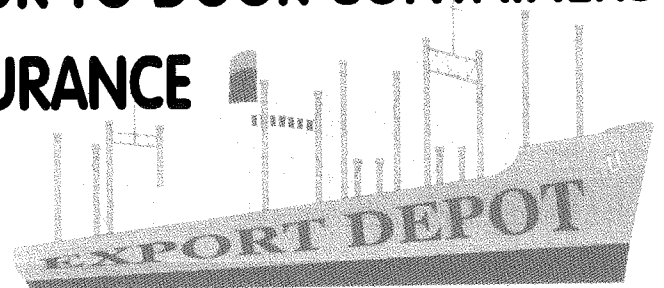
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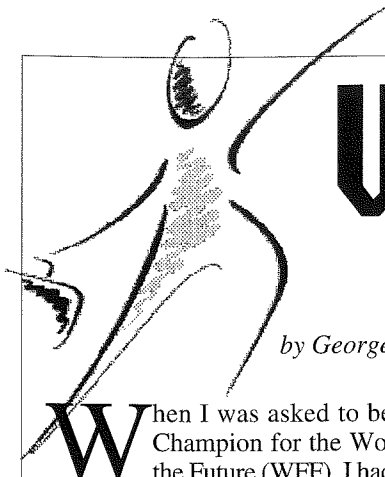
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Workforce of the Future

by George Haynal

When I was asked to become the Champion for the Workforce of the Future (WFF), I had little idea of the intellectual journey that I would take in producing my report (most easily accessed on the DFAIT intranet). The process, which lasted almost a year, allowed me to talk with colleagues in the Department in Ottawa and at posts, with our families as well as people in business, academia, media and culture, and with those concerned with change in other ministries in other countries. Distilling all that I heard and read was probably one of the toughest things I have done. It also made me question some of our fundamental assumptions about the way we manage.

The report I produced was a very personal one, and this created another challenge: how could I, as a member of the Departmental Executive, take an independent view of the institution? All I can say is that I tried, and that I had the Deputies' encouragement to do so.

So what is there in the report that makes it worth reading? It is not a management document. It is not the record of a consensus inside or outside DFAIT with which everyone will agree. It is an attempt to stir reflection and to stimulate all of us to take charge of our collective future before the future takes charge of us.

What I Heard as I was Collecting Ideas

The world is changing so rapidly that all institutions are under the gun. Information technology, in the hands of individuals as well as organisations, business and finance, is reshaping the role of governments, media, banks, retailers and every organisation that earns its keep as an intermediary. DFAIT is a classic example of such an institution.

Our reason for being is to provide Canadians with representation in the world and to translate global realities for Canadians. Doing this in such a way as to add value that others cannot add is our central challenge, and one that will have an impact on our recruitment, our training, the way we organise ourselves, the way we deploy ourselves around the world, and the way we relate both to our clients and amongst ourselves.

The second challenge is to ensure that the way we manage ourselves is the best for the pool of talented people we recruit and hope will spend their careers (and

often, their lives) with us. The relationship between workers and institutions is changing very rapidly, as people with valued skills become more mobile, less prepared to work in hierarchical structures, more insistent on treating information as a common good rather than something that can be compartmentalised and parcelled out according to some notion of a need to know. We have to address shaping a work environment that is in harmony with this culture. We also have to redefine what constitutes our system of rewards in an environment where the personal costs associated with international life are increasingly telling.

What the Report Proposes:

There is no way that a paper can capture everything a complex institution needs to do to meet the kinds of epochal changes that will continue to shape our work environment. The WFF report is an attempt at a start. It challenges others to come into the discourse, propose and champion change, and build a vision that will allow DFAIT to survive as a vital contributor into the new century.

Proposal for Change (shorthand edition):

- Organise our people in a way that motivates by values, and encourages judgement, responsibility and initiative;
- Unleash information, and empower people to manage it;
- Deploy our resources in a way that fits the wired universe and addresses Canada's core interests rather than old patterns of power;
- Create one FS stream;
- Create a management career that encourages lifetime learning, specialization and advancement in finance, human resources, property management, information technology and management as well as consular services;
- Structure a satisfying career for our headquarters experts in policy and regulatory affairs;
- Manage our international staff (those engaged outside Canada) in a strategic manner, as an integral and valued part of our institution;

- Build a new approach to our families that makes them partners in the management of the Foreign Service.

If you are interested in any of these proposals, whether for or against, please contribute your thoughts to the WFF Web site. DFAIT personnel can access the report from the departmental intranet. I look forward to round tables (both physical and virtual) to discuss our future later this spring, and invite everyone who has the interest to join in. ☺

George Haynal was appointed Assistant Deputy Minister for the Americas at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in September 1998. Before his current appointment, he was Consul General in New York and Commissioner to Bermuda from August 1995 to September 1998.

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From **Far Formosa** Revisited

Reminiscences of Taiwan's 9/21 Earthquake

by David Mulroney

All photos courtesy of the Canadian Trade Office in Taipei

In the week before Christmas, three months to the day of the devastating '9/21' earthquake, I stood with colleague Mark McDowell and my son Aidan in the classroom of an aboriginal school high in the hills of Nantou county in the mountainous central part of Taiwan. We had waited some time to make the trip. Landslide damage was evident as we climbed, and only recently had it been dry enough to trust the roads in the high country. But it was dry this day, and sunny. The hills, where not scarred by landslides, were mainly given over to tea cultivation, and the roadside was bright with poinsettia, called "red Christmas flower" in Chinese.

Our business was the presentation of a cheque for \$50,000, Canada's contribution to the restoration of the school's library. Although the main portion of the school had escaped serious earthquake damage, the library existed only as a faint outline on a cracked concrete pad. Standing in that sunny school room, drinking tea and exchanging greetings with teachers and

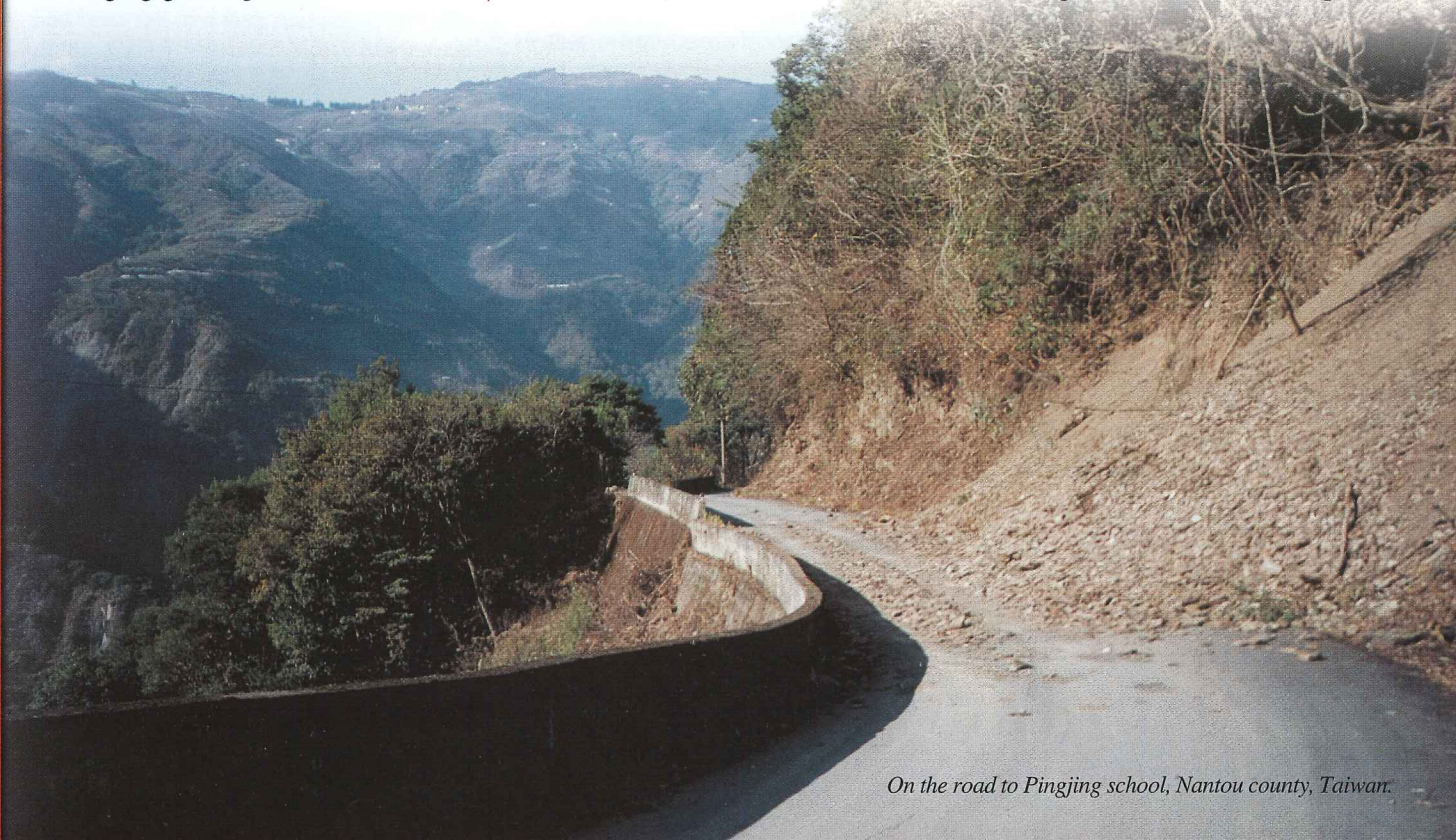
their high-energy students, it was hard to imagine what this place, and the rest of central Taiwan, must have been like just three months earlier.

Given the size of Taiwan — slightly larger than Vancouver Island — almost everyone felt the 9/21 quake to some degree. In all, a chunk of earth 100 kilometres long, 40 kilometres wide and 25 kilometres deep was repositioned. In Taipei, the arrival of the quake just before 2.00 a.m. on September 21 (hence '9/21') woke even the deepest sleeper. As buildings rocked and swayed, power failed, plunging the city's neon-lit skyline into true darkness. A downtown apartment hotel collapsed, and many other structures were damaged. The building that houses the Canadian Trade Office (CTOT) also suffered obvious surface cracking. Inside, bookcases were down, heavy furniture had repositioned itself and the stairwells were thick with dust, plaster and fallen masonry.

But the real devastation had occurred in central Taiwan, a little over 100 kilometres

away. The 9/21 quake was distinctive in a number of ways. First, it was big, registering 7.6 on the Richter scale. It was also relatively shallow, erupting just a half kilometre below the earth's surface, a phenomenon that was evident in the violence at the epicentre. Mountains moved, lakes were drained, and entire towns were transformed into jumbles of tilted buildings, creating a disorienting, almost dizzying landscape that mocked the natural order of things. In all, some 2,400 people lost their lives, 11,000 were injured, and another 100,000 were left homeless.

For those of us arriving at the CTOT that September morning, there were many pressing challenges, but the first was to provide assistance to any injured or destitute Canadians. Here we had the distinct advantage of working from a recently updated emergency plan, complete with a fresh listing of resident Canadians and a contingent of newly appointed wardens. But the disadvantages were far more extensive, starting with the virtual collapse of all



On the road to Pingjing school, Nantou county, Taiwan.

electronic systems, except for two phone lines in the office. Added to that was the fact that central Taiwan is home to a significant number of young Canadians working as language teachers. As it happens, many of them were recent arrivals or short-term visitors, and had therefore not registered with us. This became evident as we worked through the list of people to contact, and found that worried relatives in Canada were adding so many names that our list was, hour by hour, getting longer, not shorter.

We quickly set to work patching together a communications system, relying on phones at staff quarters and in a room in a nearby hotel. Newly-arrived Trade Commissioner Josh Hodgson, nominal occupant of the room, obligingly showed up for work carrying his personal effects in a backpack. He wouldn't see much of his room, or of Taipei, in the days ahead. Josh formed part of the emergency consular team that we sent down to Taichung, the major city closest to the quake's epicentre. This was to prove absolutely critical to our success in finding and assisting Canadians.

Our Taichung team, headed by Senior Trade Commissioner Scott Fraser, worked out of a temporary office that they set up in their hotel. We got their contact numbers into print and radio bulletins, and the team was immediately in business. By day, team members travelled to the quake-ravaged towns of Nantou and Taichung counties. By night, working in concert with

British and Australian colleagues, they visited the tent cities that had sprung up throughout Taichung, and searched other places where young Canadians could be expected to congregate. Many language teachers, now homeless and at least temporarily out of work, had begun to collect in Taichung, hoping to re-connect with friends and colleagues.

In three days, Scott, Josh and colleagues had located more than 400 Canadians, provided consular assistance to those in need, put people in touch with worried families back home and reported extensively on local recovery efforts. The addition to the team of Betty Mak, a consular officer from Hong Kong, and David Bennett, a CTOT staff member who is himself a former language teacher, provided us with additional expertise in terms of emergency consular operations, and a particular insight into the needs of our local Canadian population.

It isn't often that managers have to ask staff to endure real hardship, even danger, but the Taichung team dealt with this on a daily basis. Aftershocks, dramatic in Taipei, were far more severe in central Taiwan, and landslides and collapsed roadbeds were a daily menace on trips to outlying towns for our Taichung team.

Back in Taipei, work continued on a number of fronts. The consular group was headed by Roger Chen, who, just a few weeks after his own arrival in Taipei, found himself leading his new team through the kind of crisis we normally only see in

training exercises. Fortunately, he and Tim Bowman, who works in the Visa Section, had already led CTOT staff through a variety of emergency scenarios, allowing us to think through "what ifs" like being confronted in the middle of the night by an earthquake. Thus, we had already updated our emergency phone lists and reminded ourselves of the need to keep on hand bottled water, transistor radios, flashlights and plenty of batteries. And a good thing, too: Taipei's ubiquitous 7-Eleven stores had been cleaned out of much of the above within 24 hours.

For his part, Mark McDowell, who works in our General Relations section, helped to establish priorities for Canadian assistance. Others, like Trade Commissioners Martin Charron and Ping Kitnikone, helped to reprofile the visits and events of our busy fall program. Virtually everything was cancelled in the immediate aftermath of the quake, and most non-essential events were postponed for about a month.

Often, during the course of the day, staff would note a regular, almost rhythmic cadence emerging in the incessant creaking and popping that had begun to emanate from the walls of our office. This was the sign that a major aftershock was in process, something that would build in intensity, making our building rock and sway, and us with it. Fortunately, this didn't do any major damage to the structure, and local engineers assured us that the building would need only cosmetic repairs.

With students at Pingjing school. Mark McDowell is on the left, David Mulroney on the right.



More problematic was the onset of strict power rationing. This was an effort to keep Taiwan's huge electronics industry functioning in the face of quake-related damage to power distribution (and down time for the semiconductor industry was actually remarkably short), but it left us in the dark for at least half of each day for roughly two weeks following the quake. We scrambled to reschedule operations, paying particular attention to the need to maintain our visa services (we issued more than 150,000 in 1999). This led to split shifts for some, and saw Mark McDowell, definitely not a morning person, briefly nominated as CTOT's "Night Manager." After several instances of people being trapped in darkened stairwells or, worse, elevators, nobody on after-hours duty ventured far without cell phone and flashlight.

I am very proud of the fact that more than 30 members of the CTOT team received merit awards for their work in the weeks following 9/21.

We also worked very closely with a range of colleagues in Ottawa in shaping a Canadian response to the crisis, with a view to achieving a number of objectives: first, to provide assistance that would be meaningful long after world attention had turned elsewhere; second, to work with the most capable of the non-governmental organizations active in the relief effort; and third, to try to find partners of particular relevance for Canada and Canadians.

It was in fact clear to us that the quake had been felt in a very real sense by Canadians. CIDA Minister Maria Minna and Secretary of State Asia-Pacific Raymond Chan announced that Canada would be contributing \$500,000 for earthquake relief. Meanwhile, in cities like Vancouver and Toronto, charitable organizations and community groups were launching fund-raising activities of their own. Noting this, we felt that it would be very useful to find opportunities for synergy, using the funds available to us to leverage and enhance other activities.

We therefore suggested creating something like a Canada Fund to disburse the funds through the CTOT. This is essentially what happened, although a major portion of the funding was sent directly from CIDA to support the activities of the local Red Cross in Taiwan. The remaining \$200,000 was sent to the CTOT, and we distributed it among four local recipients, with the equivalent of \$50,000 going to each.

The final determination of recipients was made easier thanks to a special fact-finding visit that Raymond Chan made less than two weeks after the quake. He travelled to Taiwan at the head of a group of doctors and nurses from Richmond, B.C.,



The audience from the aboriginal television special. Seated on my left is a representative of Japan's Ainu people, on the right a Tzu Chi leader. I am wearing a vest from Taiwan's Paiwan people.

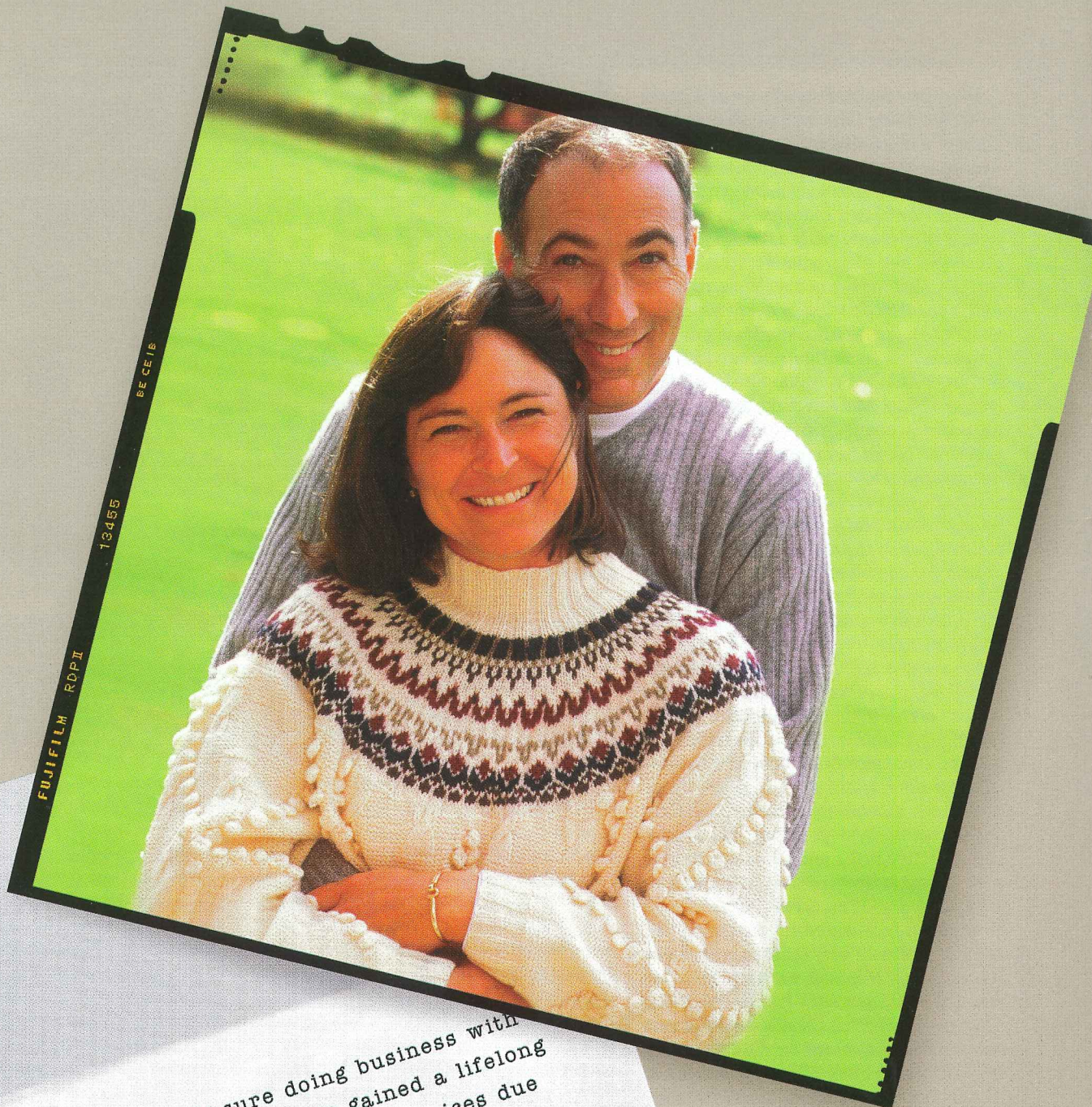
whose trip he had helped to organize. This was truly a hands-on project. On arrival, Mr. Chan formed part of the bucket brigade that shifted boxes of medical equipment from the carousel to waiting baggage trucks. He then drove straight from the airport to the quake zone, where he met with leaders of the relief effort, visited stricken communities, and thanked local Canadian volunteers who had assisted out Taichung team. This special gesture of support was deeply appreciated. The doctors and nurses from Richmond were immediately effective, tramping in to remote locations, and providing counselling for young victims, a keenly-felt need.

Two of the groups we chose to work with are Buddhist charities that have won wide acclaim for their swift and efficient benevolence. Both are also active internationally, and, significantly, both have many members in Canada. Fo Guang Shan, or Buddha's Light, used part of their funds to support the visiting medical team from Richmond. Tzu Chi is using funds from Canada to help support their program to supply housing to the homeless — whose plight is one of the major legacies of the earthquake.

We also wanted to assist Taiwan's aboriginal people, many of whom live in the high mountain areas of central Taiwan. Over the past year, promoting cooperation

between aboriginal groups in Taiwan and Canada has been a priority for our office, so this part of the relief effort reunited us with some good friends. Among the most important is the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan, which has been helping local aboriginal peoples since the late 19th century, when pioneering teacher and medical missionary George Leslie Mackay of Oxford County, Ontario, began his ministry here. (Mackay, who enjoys a local reputation for unstinting humanitarianism that is akin to the legacy of Norman Bethune on the mainland, is an inspiration for us. We have borrowed the title of Mackay's account of those days, *From Far Formosa*, for our own electronic newsletter.) The Presbyterians are using their funds to provide relief to aboriginal communities in Renai township. Much of this will be delivered from a church community centre just up the road from the school library we are planning to rebuild, a project that represents the fourth and final destination for the locally-delivered Canadian funds.

We also made sure that we stayed in close touch with wider Canadian relief efforts. The National Research Council dispatched to Taiwan a team of engineers and construction experts. In fact, over the past 20 years, NRC engineers have travelled to major earthquake sites worldwide to study how structures perform under extreme stress,



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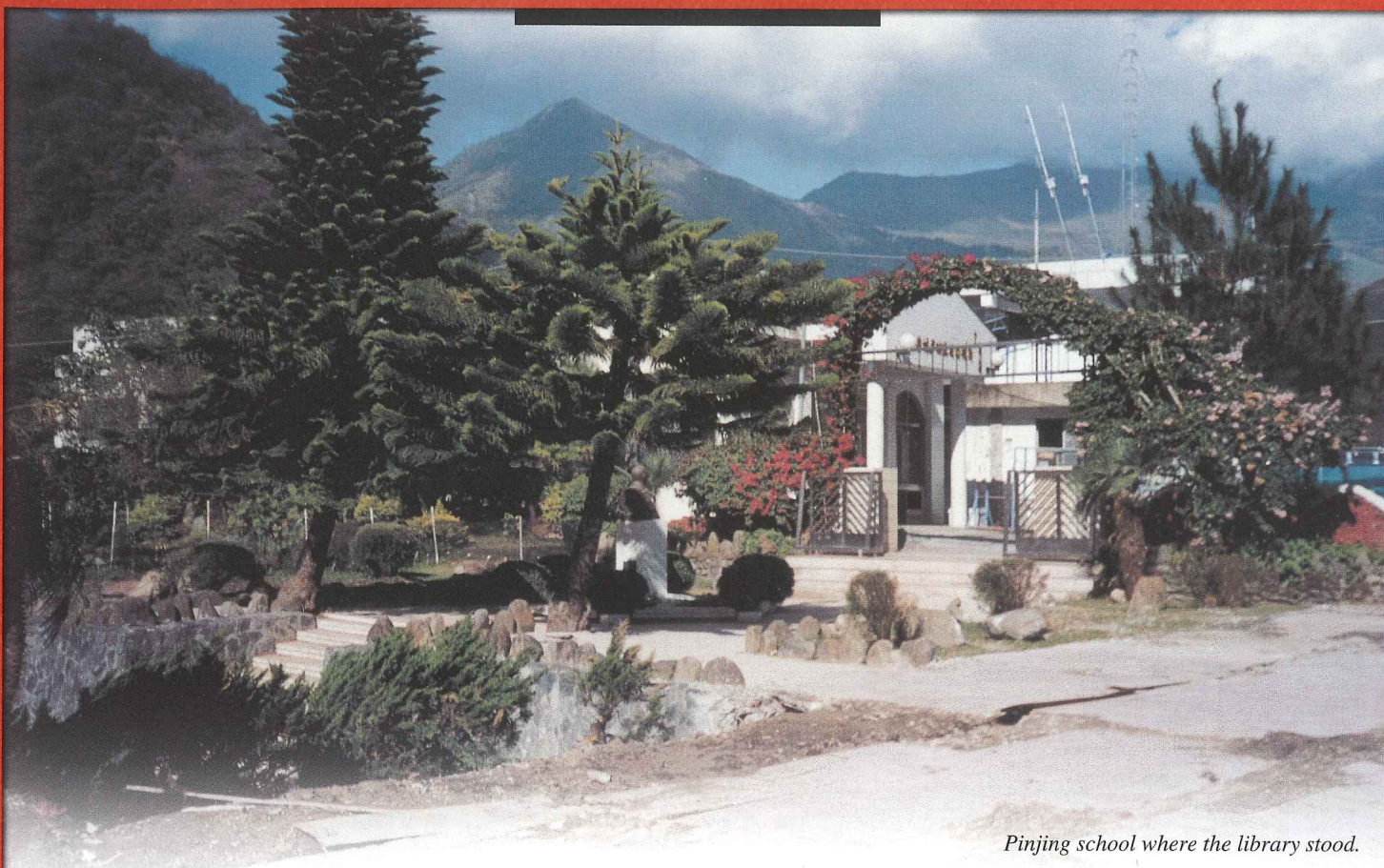
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Pinjing school where the library stood.

contributing to an organic body of work that helps to improve building codes in places like Canada, the USA, Japan and, now, Taiwan. I should note that the NRC trip was made much easier thanks to the cooperation of Robert Perrault, General Manager Asia & Pacific for Air Canada, who consistently lived up to his standard response: "whatever you need, just let me know."

Meanwhile, community groups across Canada raised something like \$6 million, and the money keeps coming in. Individuals did some exceptional things, too. Matthew Lien is a Yukon-based musician whose environmental themes are tremendously popular in Taiwan. A previous CD sold more than 130,000 copies. In the wake of the 9/21 quake, Lien launched a *Rebuilding Formosa* tour whose proceeds were directed to relief and recovery. Matthew's first concert, an open-air fund raiser in Taipei, drew 30,000 fans. Other individuals, like Dr. Andrew Szanajda, a Canadian resident in Taichung, simply showed up at our emergency office in that city and started working.

People in Taiwan have been quick to recognize this spontaneous reaction from Canada and Canadians. Groups like the NRC team and the doctors and nurses from Richmond were welcomed on the street, in airports, everywhere, like celebrities. Matthew Lien's concerts were widely covered in the press. Each of the local partners

that we worked with organized public events during which Canada and Canadians were singled out for special mention. The highlight was a televised 'Thanksgiving' concert organized by Taiwan's Aboriginal Affairs Commission and featuring some of Taiwan's top pop music stars (many of them from the aboriginal community). During the show, I was presented, on behalf of the CTOT, with a ceremonial bowl made by an aboriginal artisan, a work of art that now has a place of honour in our office.

Quite apart from the immediate good that has been done, our involvement in the recovery process has led to a better understanding of just who Canadians are. We have been able to challenge some assumptions and encourage people to think of Canada and Canadians in new ways. People are more likely now, for example, to think of Fo Guang Shan and Tzu Chi as Canadian organizations, too. They are more aware of the fact that Canada has its own aboriginal peoples, that they have also faced and overcome many challenges — and that we therefore have much to share. Groups like the NRC, who are already active in Taiwan, reinforce the notion of Canada as a source of technology. And our links to the Presbyterian Church underline the message that none of this is new. Canadians have been making a contribution here since the days of Mackay.

Nor have we lost sight of the fact that earthquake recovery efforts will continue for a long time. A relief worker from Tzu Chi summed it up for us just days after the quake: "The rescue work is over, but the caring work continues." This has been very true for Canadians. Earthquake specialists from Taiwan have already visited Canada to share information on building technologies. Our program for cooperation in aboriginal affairs this year includes a focus on entrepreneurship and assistance to small business, something that recognizes the economic hardship faced by many shattered communities. We continue to stay in touch with friends in Tzu Chi and Fo Guang Shan, tracking, among other things, their continuing efforts to re-house quake victims. Matthew Lien has been back to raise awareness for Earth Day, and we are talking with him about doing a free concert in Nantou County this September. We have, of course, made several trips back to that school room high in the hills, dropping off books that we have been collecting for the library, visiting old friends, and helping to nurture a new awareness of Canada in Far Formosa. ☺

David Mulroney is Executive Director of the Canadian Trade Office in Taipei, which represents Canadian interests in Taiwan in the absence of full diplomatic relations.



In Tribute to Mwalimu Julius Nyerere

A Personal Reflection on Canada's Role in the Maintenance of Tanzania's Railways

by Christopher M. Brown

The founding President of Tanzania, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, died on October 14, 1999. His memory has occasioned this article. Since the days of early missionary activity in the region, including that of the White Fathers, who ran the school Nyerere attended, and later through CUSO involvement, which began shortly after independence, Canadians and Tanzanians have built strong bonds. As President, Julius Nyerere welcomed Shirley Baker, the regional CUSO coordinator, to State House in 1969; Canadian High Commissioner Karl Johansen (1980-84), who had been born in East Africa and served until 1968 as a senior civil servant in Tanzania, was also an esteemed friend of the country. Tanzania's current President, Benjamin Mkapa served as High Commissioner to Canada in 1983. I offer this article

as a tribute to Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, a leader who deserves abiding respect and honour.

As High Commissioner Fadhil Mbaga remarked to me, "Mwalimu Nyerere's visit to Canada in August 1998 was a farewell to his Canadian friends." When Julius Nyerere visited Canada in 1998 as keynote speaker at the Roundtable on Peace Negotiations in Burundi, of which he was the facilitator, and to receive an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Ottawa, I had the opportunity to reflect on Canada's twenty-year involvement as the major donor with the Tanzania Railway Corporation, the TRC.

This project has been one of the largest and longest of CIDA's involvements in a sustained development program. In fact, Canadian involvement in the railways began before 1977 with assistance to the East

African Railways Corporation. In 1970, 35 locomotives were provided to EARC under a CIDA loan. Canadian assistance to EARC had benefited the three East African Community members, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. The demise of the East African Community in 1976 led to the breakup of the EARC. The regional office in Dar es Salaam, EAR(T), which shortly after became TRC, took full responsibility for the railways in Tanzania. The situation required the expansion of the regional railway workshop in Morogoro and investment in upgrading the railway infrastructure. The World Bank decided it could not respond separately to the individual country requirements of the former EARC as the assets were distributed to the regional offices. Therefore, Tanzania sought assistance from a willing donor country.

Picture taken at TRC Workshop with some 125 of the TRC staff on 88 Class Bombardier locomotive provided under the CIDA loan in 1970. The sign reads "Locomotive 8806 first to complete 1,000,000 kms with original engine on 24.12.78."

Why Canada, one may ask. One reason was that Canada had a proven capability in the railway sector at home and abroad as well as considerable profile through a well-established CIDA program. In addition, Canada had responded with military assistance to train the Tanzania Peoples' Defence Force in 1965 following the attempted coup d'état in Zanzibar in 1964. And thirdly, the friendship of President Julius Kambarage Nyerere and Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau encouraged TRC to look to Canada for assistance.

High Commissioner Robert McLaren put the challenge to CIDA in 1977. My experience as the CIDA senior planning officer who had previously been Second Secretary (Development) in the Canadian High Commission in Dar es Salaam from 1972 to 1975 enabled me to grasp and assess the situation outlined in the well-documented TRC request. To look at the railway sector needs in Tanzania, a planning mission was set up comprising Keith Bezanson, who led the mission and was the chief planning officer in the Africa division, Jim Kritsch, the project officer, and myself as the planning officer. Technical backup came from two railway consultants, Bill Jackson and Leslie McGregor, both of whom had long careers with Canadian National Railways, combined with international experience.

From the outset we noted that the railway central line from Dar es Salaam through to Kigoma served a vital role both for Tanzania and in the region for the Congo-DRC, Rwanda and Burundi. These states depended on the railways for the import and export of goods, and for regional development.

Our meetings in April 1977 with General Manager Janguo, and the dedicated team of railway officials including Juma Leweno, chief mechanical engineer, E. Makoi, his successor as chief mechanical engineer, N. Kitemari, manager finance and planning, R. Ottini, district mechanical engineer, and M. Kabipe, in charge of the railway workshops in Morogoro, were interspersed with trips around Dar es Salaam and Morogoro to identify the areas where Canada could assist the TRC. It would take massive investment. TRC's development plan for 1977-82 budgeted Tanzanian shillings 1,440,945,000, equivalent to \$171,541,190 in 1977 Canadian dollars. The TRC railway plan included capital investment for the track bed and track renewal, repair of railway bridges, locomotive and rolling stock requirements, signalling and telecommunications equipment and the railway workshop facilities. The plan was well developed. It outlined each component we selected to undertake and provided sufficient infor-

mation to justify Canadian/CIDA involvement. Clearly, it was beyond Canadian capacity to respond to all the requirements. However, we were in a good position to make a significant intervention and that is what we did.

We were careful to inform TRC that we could not meet all their needs and that other donors would be welcome. However, with the hands of the World Bank tied, Canada was definitely stepping into the role of lead donor. We consulted with World Bank officials in Washington, D.C. before proceeding to put financing in place and gained their full support. I maintained contact with the consultants as I developed the railway project proposal to be sure that both the facts and the arguments were watertight.

The project was expeditiously handled, from the program proposal for a planning mission in mid-March, to the final approval in early August. President Nyerere's intended unofficial visit to see Prime Minister Trudeau, en route to meet President Jimmy Carter in Washington, D.C., added incentive to develop the project as promptly as possible, which Don Jamieson, Secretary of State for External Affairs responsible for development assistance, endorsed. The railway program needed the approval of Treasury Board, given its size of \$60 million, and we were able to obtain TB approval prior to Nyerere's visit in August. Despite the compressed time period, the project included a full technical and financial assessment. All seven components were costed and kept within their budgets.

The railway program was deemed to be one of the best interventions CIDA has made in response to an obvious need. Since we viewed this as the first stage of an intervention that would have a twenty-year horizon, we insisted on including a sector study to establish priorities over that time frame. We broke new ground with untied Canadian financing for construction of the workshop, which had been awarded by TRC on an open tender to a Brazilian construction contractor, under supervision of a German consulting firm. The untied finance was approved both for the mechanical equipment sourced from Europe and for local costs. The workshop was essential to repair and service Canadian and other locomotives. Except for overhead cranes, the equipment required was not manufactured in Canada. Likewise the railway track ties (sleeper component) were sourced from India. We justified the 20 per cent untied portion as the appropriate investment required to ensure the railway would be viable. The steel rails, the telecommunications equipment, the quarrying equipment, 15 additional locomotives and spare parts,

the consulting services for managerial backup and the technical assistance for instructors at the training centre in Tabora and most of the training attachments of TRC personnel, were goods and services that were available and sourced in Canada. (In addition, 205 railway wagons made in the Maritimes had just been provided under a separate \$12 million grant by CIDA to TRC.)

At the outset we put a Canadian railway advisor into TRC headquarters to monitor CIDA's investment and consult with TRC's management. This position was filled by Joe Broadbent who had been General Manager of BC Rail in British Columbia. He did an excellent job, which was necessary to build mutual confidence as the railway program was launched. The subsequent stages of the railway program included a large grant in 1983 and other component specific grants in later years. These grants sustained the CIDA railway program over 23 years from the initial 1977 involvement with TRC — and 30 years from the first commitment to EARC.

It is not surprising that there have been many problems with the CIDA projects implemented under the railway program. Since the mid-80s other donors have re-engaged to provide assistance to TRC. This has made the process more complicated and it has been difficult for TRC to comply with the conditions imposed by the various donors. Over the past decade there has been increased evidence of donor fatigue. Calls for TRC privatization, with a view to making it function more efficiently, seem to have prevailed. TRC will lease out the use of track to competing interests.

CIDA is due to complete its involvement with TRC within a short time, marking the end of an undertaking which represents an investment of some \$175 million since 1970. The nature of CIDA projects has changed; CIDA no longer supports the large infrastructure projects that were a significant thrust of the development program in the late 60s and 70s when the TRC program was initiated.

The commitment CIDA made to TRC for more than twenty years has been one of the beacons of Canada's contribution to development in Tanzania. Each of the three Presidents, consecutive Tanzanian High Commissioners and Tanzanian government officials have on many occasions said that it is the sort of development they would want to see CIDA continue. That CIDA can no longer do so is the result of changing priorities in budget allocations that must be respected. However, as the TRC is privatized, we should ensure the CIDA departure is graceful. We should also do everything we can to foster the continued

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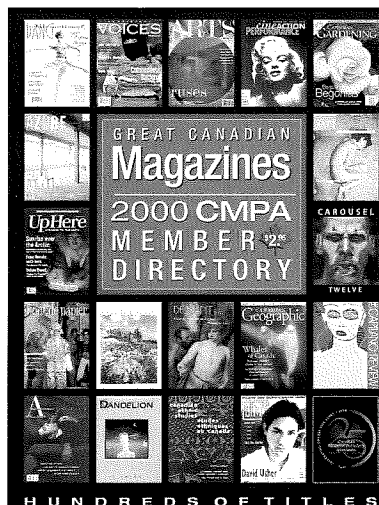
involvement of the private sector and maintain the Canada-Tanzania bond forged through the railway program.

It is worth noting the CIDA staff who have been involved at various times during the life of the project — a few served in both Ottawa and Dar es Salaam, and I apologize if any others have been overlooked. At headquarters: Chris Brown, Jim Krisch, Kevin Smith, Irene Mathias, George Saibel, Susan Ross, Steve Hallihan, Jo-Anne Doherty, Rod Haney, Norman Willoughby, Jan Sheltinga, David Cross, Melanie Alton, Micheline Kingsbury, Roy Weston, Alan Wheatley, Lew Hayashi, Jorge Acosta, Roy Waddington, Mike Vigrass, Edmond Carpentier and long-time consultant Geoffrey Allsebrook. The diplomatic field staff in Dar es Salaam have included Robert Calderisi, Emil Baran, Paul Hitchfeld, Ron Audette, Alan Culham, Rod Haney, Jack Adams, John Lobsinger (a former PAFSO president 1987-88), Wayne McKee, Bruce Wilson, Adrian Poplawski and Bill Mitchell. Joe Broadbent, Mike Vigras, Bill Jackson and Ray Rowe were railway project field co-ordinators. Gord Alliston, Andre Gravelle, Ron Maughan and Roy Waddington were other railway specialists that assisted the project. The railway program has spanned the tenure of eight High Commissioners and many more

CIDA directors and country program managers who have each contributed to the role it has played in Canada-Tanzania relations.

I would add that Canada has an excellent friend in the recently departed High Commissioner Fadhil Mbaga. In 1998, High Commissioner Mbaga and I visited Joe Broadbent, resident at an elderly persons home, to express the abiding appreciation for his role in the Canadian effort to respond to Tanzanian railway requirements. Mr. Mbaga has worked diligently to enhance the Tanzania-Canada relationship, as did High Commissioner Chief Lukumbuza when the TRC railway project was inaugurated in 1977. Tanzanians at TRC should be proud of their dedicated work, just as Canadians are rightfully proud of their association with the Tanzania railway program. ☺

*Christopher Brown is a political officer who worked with CIDA as Second Secretary (Development) in Dar es Salaam and Counsellor (Development) in Harare. He has worked in Africa and Asia divisions in DFAIT and CIDA and is currently in Ottawa assisting the Special Representative for Reconstruction in the Balkans. This article follows "Mwalimu and Me" in **bout de papier**, Vol. 16, No. 4, 1998.*



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A Skelton Legacy: Diplomats, Scholars and the Canadian Foreign Service

by Louis A. Delvoie

The history of Canada's Department of External Affairs is one of uneven but nevertheless sustained growth over a period of nine decades. Created by act of parliament in 1909, the Department started life as little more than a small secretariat with a staff of five. The modern Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade is a major institution of government with a staff of over 8,000, deployed in centres across Canada and in some 160 missions and offices in 104 countries abroad. The Department's growth closely paralleled Canada's constitutional evolution, the diversification of its national interests and its ever increasing involvement in world affairs. In the history of the Department's evolution, there are relatively few notable landmarks. One such landmark was Prime Minister Mackenzie King's appointment of Dr. O. D. Skelton as undersecretary of state for external affairs in 1925.

By the time of his appointment, Dr. Skelton already enjoyed a formidable reputation in Canadian university and government circles. As professor of politics and economics, dean of arts and honorary president of the Alma Mater Society, he was a highly respected figure at Queen's University. He was also a renowned writer and scholar, having to his credit a critical study of socialism and full-length biographies of Sir Alexander Galt and Sir Wilfrid Laurier. This academic background and stature were to prove of immense value as he went about one of the first tasks he set himself at the Department of External Affairs: the creation of a professional foreign service, and by extension a far more professional civil service for the government of Canada as a whole. The scope and importance of his achievements in this regard are aptly summed up by Professor Jack Granatstein in these terms:

"The modern civil service had its creator in Oscar Douglas Skelton. When he left Queen's University in 1925 and became undersecretary of state for external affairs, Skelton brought with him the conviction that the government of Canada could be improved only by regular infusions of bright, talented

young university graduates. Over the course of the next fifteen years Skelton used his contacts with the universities to recruit staff and did this with great skill and success. His efforts made his own department into a pool of talent and, equally important, he attracted able men to other departments and encouraged some of the more hesitant deputy ministers to experiment and to recruit from the universities. Skelton changed Ottawa; he and his recruits changed Canada."

In the creation of the new Canadian foreign service, Skelton took a hand in every aspect of the process. Through his contacts with university professors he made sure that the foreign service competition was brought to the attention of their best students. In the first few years, he personally drafted the examination questions and marked the examination papers. He often chaired the boards set up to select candidates from among those who had successfully completed the two days of written examinations. And while he clearly recognized the importance of personal suitability in selecting candidates for a career involving a distinct set of challenges at home and abroad, Skelton also placed heavy emphasis on academic achievement and excellence. It was no coincidence that a majority of those who joined the service in the late 1920s had post-graduate degrees from prestigious universities and had experience teaching at the university level.

In thus establishing the foreign service, Skelton did not mould it for all time; the process of recruitment has undergone profound changes in the intervening years. What does persist from his work is a strong tradition of links between the foreign service and the university world, and an enduring tradition of foreign service officers with academic interests and scholarly leanings. These were epitomized in the early years by Herbert Norman, a pioneer in the study of modern Japan, whose scholarly work was influential in the drafting of the Japanese constitution after the Second World War.

The links between the foreign service and the university world were to persist for decades in many guises. No one embodied

them better than John Holmes, who was not only one of the most illustrious practitioners of the so called "golden age" of Canadian diplomacy but was also a remarkable scholar. His wise guidance of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and his teaching at the University of Toronto did much to stimulate public interest in Canadian foreign policy. His writings reached an even wider audience of students and teachers throughout the country and abroad. His major work, the two-volume *Canada and the Search for World Order 1943-1957*, remains one of the best and most used treatises on Canadian foreign policy to this day.

But if John Holmes was one of the best known of Canada's scholar-diplomats, he was certainly not alone in this category. Many others left the service in the midst of promising careers to devote themselves to academic pursuits. Peyton Lyon, as both teacher and writer, became one of the pillars of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University. Jean Ethier Blais became one of the founding members of the Centre for the Study of French Canada at McGill University, as well as literary critic for *Le Devoir*. Of more recent vintage is Robert Wolfe, who took up a teaching and research appointment at the school of policy studies at Queen's, where he is establishing for himself a solid reputation as one of Canada's leading experts on international economic relations and trade policy. Wolfe recently turned a searching spotlight on his former profession in his book entitled *Diplomatic Missions: The Ambassador in Canadian Foreign Policy*.

Other foreign service officers chose to complete full and distinguished careers before succumbing to the lure of academic life. Particularly notable among these was John Halstead, who served as deputy undersecretary and as ambassador to Germany and to NATO. On retiring from the service, he taught at Georgetown University, Carleton University and Queen's, and published numerous articles on Canada's international security policy and on trans-Atlantic relations.

At least three former undersecretaries of state for external affairs have made

significant contributions to the literature on Canadian foreign policy and international relations. Marcel Cadieux, who was for many years a professor of law at the University of Ottawa, not only produced a pioneering little book entitled *The Canadian Diplomat*, but also published numerous scholarly articles in the field of international law. Similarly, Allan Gotlieb has written extensively on issues in international law and produced a light-hearted but invaluable book on the practice of diplomacy in the Washington of the 1980s, *I'll Be With You in a Minute, Mr. Ambassador*. Finally, Basil Robinson's *Diefenbaker's World* is an astute and thoughtful assessment of a particularly tumultuous period in Canada's external relations.

All undergraduates taking courses in Canadian foreign policy owe a special debt of gratitude to two former members of the foreign service who undertook the arduous task of collating, editing and annotating four volumes of documents and speeches in Canadian foreign policy. The first volume, covering the period 1945-1954, was the work of R.A. McKay. The next three volumes, covering the period 1955-1992, were produced by Arthur Blanchette, who not only held senior positions abroad in Athens, Tunis and Washington but was also a particularly gifted and dedicated director of the Department's Historical Division, where he did much to make the Department's records more readily accessible to scholars.

Two volumes published in 1996 by the Carleton University Press indicate that the tradition of scholarly or semi-scholarly writing by former members of the foreign service is alive and well. The first, *Direct Intervention*, is an incisive and fascinating account of Canada-France relations in the period 1968-1974, written by Pat Black, who served as Minister in Paris and head of the European Bureau in Ottawa during those especially trying times in the bilateral relationship. The second, *Special Trust and Confidence*, is a collection of some 15 essays by former heads of mission, edited by David Reece. Although rather uneven in quality, as many such collections are, this book casts some interesting light on Canadian diplomacy as it is actually practiced in the field. Another vehicle for the scholarly output of serving or retired members of the foreign service has been the annual series *Canada Among Nations*, produced by the Norman Paterson School at Carleton University. Recent volumes in this series have included chapters by Michael Shenstone on population and immigration issues, by John Graham on Latin America, by John Fraser on Central Europe and the Balkans and by Michael Hart and William Dymond on international economic relations.

At least two very senior members of the foreign service were also highly gifted writers, whose contributions to Canadian literature were recognized with the attribution of Governor General's awards. Charles Ritchie, who served as high commissioner to the United Kingdom and ambassador to the United States, published four volumes of diaries, which were full of grace and wit and evoked in reviewers comparisons to Samuel Pepys. Robert Ford, who served as ambassador in Moscow for sixteen years, became well known not only for the craftsmanship of his diplomatic dispatches and memoirs, but also for several volumes of poetry, including *A Window on the North*.

*In the creation of the
new Canadian foreign
service, Skelton took
a hand in every aspect
of the process.*

But the contributions of members of the foreign service are also to be found beyond the realms of teaching, research and writing. Several senior officers went on to assume positions of leadership in Canadian universities. In addition to his published work on the foundations of the United Nations and NATO, Escott Reid became principal of Glendon College at York University. For many years, Douglas Le Pan served as principal of University College, Toronto. George Ignatieff, who gained fame as a diplomat and a peace activist, became provost of Trinity College and then chancellor of the University of Toronto. William Warden, who served as high commissioner to both Pakistan and India, was director of the International Centre at the University of Calgary for over a decade. James Taylor, after having served as undersecretary and ambassador to NATO and to Japan, became chancellor of McMaster University. In 1996, Thomas Delworth, a former ambassador to Germany and one of the Foreign Service's leading experts on European affairs, was installed as provost of Trinity College at the University of Toronto. And most recently, Gordon Smith, a former deputy minister and ambassador to NATO and to the European Union, became director of the Centre for Global Studies at the University of Victoria.

The linkages which have developed between the Canadian Foreign Service and the university world have been, however, more than the sum of the achievements, interests and inclinations of individual offi-

cers. They have also been fostered institutionally by the Department in a number of ways. First and foremost was the creation of the Department's Academic Relations Division in the late 1960s. This division's primary responsibility was to encourage and promote academic exchanges and the development of Canadian studies abroad as part of the government's programme of international cultural relations. In this it has been highly successful, and Canadian studies networks involving hundreds of foreign academics represent one of the most enduring and valuable assets available to Canadian diplomats serving in the United States, Europe and certain parts of Asia. (This success was in large measure due to the drive and imagination of the division's long serving director, Brian Long, also a former foreign service officer.)

In carrying out its mission abroad, the Academic Relations Division has inevitably developed ever closer contacts with the Canadian university community from coast to coast. These have been put to good use by the Department whenever the need has arisen to seek policy advice from outside government, and when prestigious venues have been required for ministerial speeches. In addition, the division has also developed a visiting lecturers programme whereby serving officers speak before university audiences on issues of contemporary interest in foreign policy and international relations. This programme has proved remarkably successful in exposing officers to the views of students and professors, and in exposing the latter to reasoned explanations of government policies and actions. Much the same purposes have been served by the Department's foreign service visitors programme, whereby senior serving officers spend a year in residence at Canadian universities. Their presence in academic milieux from Victoria to Dalhousie, as well as their teaching and writing, has done a great deal to stimulate interest in careers in the foreign service and to develop understanding of Canadian foreign policy objectives; it has also done much to cement lasting contacts and friendships between academics and foreign service officers. The linkages were further strengthened in the mid-1990s when the Minister of Foreign Affairs created the Centre for Foreign Policy Development. Among the Centre's functions are consultations with academic experts on international relations and the commissioning of research on issues of current interest to the government.

The interaction between the foreign service and the Canadian university community has been very much a two-way street. Many of Canada's most eminent historians, political scientists and economists have participated

in panels, consultative committees and policy forums organized by the Department of External/Foreign Affairs. They have also taken leading roles in ongoing joint projects such as the Canadian Consortium on Asia-Pacific Security (operated by scholars and institutes at UBC, York and Toronto) and the annual Canada-United Kingdom colloquium (now run by the School of Policy Studies at Queen's). A number of scholars have spent sabbatical years in the Department's policy planning bureau, while others have been seconded to the staff of the Canadian embassy in Beijing. Yet other scholars have made a practice of inviting members of the foreign service to participate in the annual or semi-annual conferences and symposiums organized by the institutes and centres for international relations at universities such as Laval, Queen's, York and UBC.

It would, of course, be highly misleading to suggest that all of these contacts between diplomats and scholars have produced nothing but mutual understanding and admiration. Neither community has in the process shelved its critical faculties, nor for that matter totally abandoned cherished stereotypes. It is still possible to hear foreign service officers, confronted with what they regard as totally impractical academic policy proposals, exclaim with impatience

"when will these eggheads get out of their ivory towers and find out what the real world is all about?" Academics, for their part, have counted among their ranks some of the severest critics of the foreign service. Who can forget Professor James Eayrs, who in the late 1960s wrote that:

"All bureaucracy's conservative, but the conservatism of diplomatic bureaucracy is in a class by itself. The ethos of diplomacy is an ethos of suspicion — suspicion tempered by scepticism, snow tempered by ice. The foreign service officer is a nay-sayer in statecraft, the abominable no-man of diplomacy. His mission in life is to preserve the status quo from those who would propose to alter it."

Although contemporary academics appear to eschew such vitriolic eloquence, references to lack of imagination or intellectual constipation in "Fort Pearson" are not absolutely unheard of.

But such occasional bouts of criticism are to be expected, and are in some ways a tribute to the liveliness of the interaction between scholars and diplomats in Canada. They are certainly insufficient to obscure the fact that interactions between the university world and the foreign service have

proved mutually rewarding and enriching in the past. They could, indeed, well prove to be of even greater value in the future. At a time when both sets of institutions find themselves financially constrained due to budgetary cutbacks, the case for enhanced cooperation and joint ventures would seem self evident. And both can certainly benefit from the support of "outside constituencies" in justifying their missions and activities to the barbarians wielding the budgetary axes.

For the Canadian foreign service, the preservation of the Skelton legacy is of capital importance. In an era in which managers and the concept of management have come to occupy pride of place in the Canadian government system, the foreign service must continue to find a place in its ranks for "thinkers" if it is to properly discharge its duty to Canada and Canadians. ☉

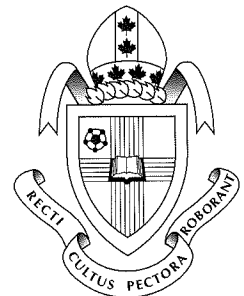
Louis Delvoie joined the Canadian Foreign Service in 1965. He served abroad as Ambassador to Algeria, Deputy High Commissioner to the United Kingdom and High Commissioner to Pakistan. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1995 and is now a senior fellow at the Centre for International Relations at Queen's University. He is also an Adjunct Professor at Queen's where he teaches Canadian foreign policy.

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The Security Council Then and Now

by William H. Barton

After 25 years of active involvement with The United Nations and associated agencies, and twenty years of retirement to reflect on what it all meant, it was suggested that it might be useful if I were to try to put on record some thoughts on the Security Council during the time when I was Canada's New York representative, in the late seventies, and what it seems to be today, judged by someone outside the net. The suggestion was a limited one, but I haven't been able to resist the temptation to go beyond the mandate and add some musings of my own.

An underlying verity is that just as succeeding generations of leopards keep their spots, so does the Security Council maintain its inborn characteristics — the influence of the great-power veto, even if not exercised, the realities of economic and military power, and the relationships between the Council and other organs of the UN. The more it changes the more it stays the same.

The composition of the Security Council is a decisive factor in determining the way the Security Council operates. The five permanent member-delegations, in addition to having the veto, are old hands at the game. The ten non-permanent members are relative neophytes. Even for delegations like Canada, which have been on the Council several times, the time-lapse between terms is so great that, in effect, they are starting all over again.

In my day most of the real work was done in small informal groups, or informal meetings of the Council, where no minutes were kept. Informality was encouraged by the fact that the "committee room" was not properly equipped with interpretation facilities. Formal meetings were held only if delegations wished to put positions on record, or when everyone was satisfied that the maximum level of agreement had been reached, and it was time to take formal action.

There were a variety of scenarios followed, depending on what was appropriate to the issue. In some cases there would be

a round of speeches, followed by the adoption of a resolution. If the problem merited special handling the President would read out a decision of the Council, followed by speeches to give evidence that some delegations had reservations about what had been decided. Sometimes the Council would adopt a resolution as its first item of business, with speeches to follow. And, of



Former United Nations' Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim with Ambassador Barton.

course, if it became evident that positions were irreconcilable, a meeting of the Council might be called to give delegations an opportunity to put their positions on the record. I assume that the Council operates in the same way today.

Shortly after our 1977-78 tour, the German Government contributed funds to enable the Council to construct a proper committee room, with interpretation facilities. I suspect that this addition has made the in-camera meetings more structured. Personally, I found the informality that was a characteristic of my day a good thing.

Then, as now, the Council was a reactive, rather than a proactive, body. It doesn't like to face up to problems until it has no options. A classic example occurred during the 1960s when George Ignatieff was ambassador. In the spring of 1967, he and his Danish colleague tried manfully to persuade the Council to grapple with the rapidly escalating Arab-Israeli crisis. The Council wouldn't face up to the impending danger, and the 1967 Arab-Israeli war broke out. Perhaps the war was inevitable, irrespective of what the Council was prepared to do, but at least it could have tried.

Another continuing characteristic is that Council involvement in situations calling for its intervention is almost always accompanied by the direct involvement of one or more of the great powers, plus any other parties to the dispute. Negotiations, as often as not, take place outside the UN. But their success depends on suitable international cover, and the Security Council then performs the important task of acting as an executing agent for what has been agreed upon.

In 1977, as a manifestation of Canadian activism, we tried to follow up on a previous initiative by the Finnish delegation, by floating the idea of having periodic informal meetings of the Council, to discuss the issues of the day, without attempting to reach conclusions. Our idea, which reflected an enthusiasm of the Foreign Minister of the day, the Hon. Paul Martin, was that if issues could be discussed before they

became crises, perhaps they could be defused. Our model was the discussions of the Heads of Government at Commonwealth Conferences. We got quick agreement from the members of the Council which were also members of the Commonwealth, and a somewhat less enthusiastic agreement from our Latin-American colleagues, who were unfamiliar with Commonwealth practices, but we got a flat turn-down from the USSR and China.

My Soviet colleague told me that participation in discussions of this sort was foreign to their way of operating. But even if they were willing to play, it wouldn't work vis-a-vis the Chinese. He revealed that Gromyko didn't even like to attend the Secretary-General's annual dinner with the Permanent Members of the Council. This was confirmed by the Chinese Ambassador, who said that they weren't prepared to give up any opportunity to slang the Russians.

Times have changed. It seems that it has become acceptable for the Council president, during his or her month in office, to put forward subjects for wide-ranging discussion. Presumably this has become possible because with the end of the cold

war, the main issues these days are concerned with internal or regional disputes of small nations, or the shortcomings of the UN itself. The airing of such matters, at least in some cases, may serve a useful purpose, but as a rule, I would guess that its main purpose will be to satisfy the government concerned that it is exercising suitable vigour in pursuing its efforts to make the world a better place.

In 1977-78, the problem of Lebanon became a critical issue, with the result that the Security Council approved the despatch of a peacekeeping force. Apart from that, and contrary to our expectations, the Middle East, so far as the UN was concerned, was relatively quiescent. Then, as today, African issues preoccupied us. The most contentious single issue facing the Council was apartheid and the associated problem of Namibia. The predominant view was that Chapter VII of the Charter should be invoked against South Africa. For a variety of reasons this was unacceptable to the Western Powers, which attempted to placate African opinion by trying to achieve a settlement of the Namibian issue. The negotiations proved to be long and complicated, and involved the Western delegations in a

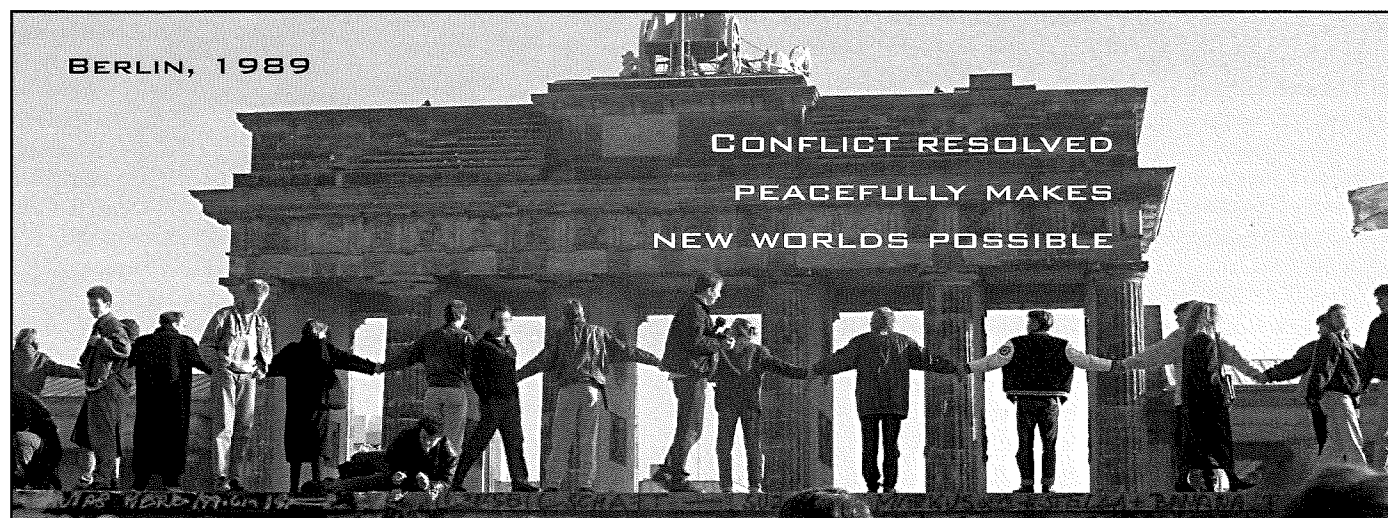
close collaboration that extended over many months. We were known among our colleagues as "the gang of five." As a side note the Chinese Foreign Minister told me that we should call ourselves the "gang of four plus one." Ten years passed by before Namibia finally attained its independence, but I was pleased to see that when the moment came, the plan of execution was the one we worked out.

The present-day Security Council has been confronted with an entirely different set of issues, again mainly concerned with African affairs, related to the internal problems of member states, and the call for UN intervention — all too often carried out inadequately. This is due to a combination of factors — timidity and inefficiencies within the UN Secretariat and troop contributors, lack of adequate political and financial backing by major contributors, failures in implementing sanctions, and fears of becoming involved in difficult internal disputes.

Undoubtedly, the most important single factor has been the action of the U.S. Government in withholding payment of its assessments, to the point where Article 19 of the Charter threatened to become applic-

able. Jesse Helms, in a recent visit to the United Nations Security Council, confronted its members with some unpleasant but realistic facts of life. He made it plain that the United States (and although he didn't say it, the other permanent members of the Council) regards the UN, and the Council in particular, as just one of the avenues at its disposal for carrying out its international goals. When it can convince a sufficient number of other governments to go along with it, the UN is doing a good job. When the UN, as dictated by the number of votes cast, is either diffident or opposed, then it doesn't merit support by the United States. It was evident that in his view the UN has only marginal value in achieving US aims.

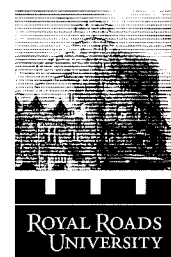
The United States has been laggard in paying its dues for many years, alleging that the Secretariat is in need of reform, and that the scale of assessment is unfair. It has also imposed unacceptable limitations on the use of funds it has made available. The UN has attempted to meet US demands for reform, and in fact, the Under-Secretary concerned with administrative matters has almost always been a US nominee, but this has not satisfied the Congress.



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The USA has taken stop-gap action by paying enough to avoid the possibility that it would lose its vote in the General Assembly, but the Congress is still set on insuring that its contribution is not used for programs of family planning, and it insists that its assessment must be reduced from the existing rate of 25 per cent of the total for the UN. Moreover, it wants its share of the special peacekeeping budget reduced from 30 per cent to 25 per cent.

Certainly, the U.S. Government attaches more importance to the UN, and is more supportive than Jesse Helms, but there is an essential element of truth in what he had to say.

All governments try to influence the UN in directions they feel it should go. The more important the government, the more weight must be given to its wishes. If it can't have its way it is inclined to say a plague on the UN.

Frustration over perceived shortcomings in what can be accomplished have, from time to time, led political leaders from all quarters to question the usefulness of the UN in general, and the Security Council in particular. This is surely a short-term view. The major issues dividing the peoples of the world are there because they defy easy

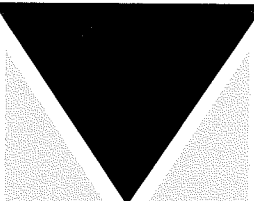
solution. The problems of the Middle East have been on the UN agenda from the beginning. They have yet to be solved, but the basis for an ultimate settlement is now foreseeable. Colonialism and the blot of apartheid seemed incapable of resolution, but in the end they came to an end. Progress in achieving progress in economic, social, humanitarian and legal affairs leaves much to be desired, but progress there is, and the UN does provide the incentive for advancement in these areas.

Thus it is, that over the years, the decision of every member-government has always been that with all its faults, and with all the compromises that must be made to meet the realities of world politics, the UN is an essential actor on the world stage. The UN Charter states that the Organization is to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of the common ends set out in that document. In the course of seeking that harmonization, channels of negotiation outside the UN are more often than not, called into use, but when final agreements are to be concluded, the UN, as the organization of reference and cooperation, usually proves to be the most generally acceptable.

When we criticize the UN, we should never forget that the achievements (and the failures) of the Organization are a direct reflection of the level of agreement between member-governments. Its failures are our failures. In the words of Pogo, "we have met the enemy and he is us."

In the days when I was making speeches about the UN I used to close by quoting from an address by the late Hume Wrong at the final meeting of the League of Nations, when it was passing the torch to the new UN. It should be required reading for every Foreign Minister on taking office. "Disillusion, in its literal sense of the absence of illusions, is a good thing. It should mean that we see more clearly, not that we have lost hope." In all my years at the UN, I never ceased being impressed by the fact that, almost without exception, every delegate believed in the Organization, and in his or her way, tried to make it better. I have no doubt that is still the case today. ☺

Now retired, William Barton was Canadian ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva from 1972 to 1976, and in New York from 1976 to 1980. He represented Canada on the UN Security Council 1977-78.



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Albania 1999 — An Unbelievable Memoire

by Ron Eales

Photos by Michael Boekhoven

A couple of weeks ago I had a bad case of déjà vu. While attending a conference sponsored by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) to identify means to promote Balkan Stability, I was about to drift into a state of terminal boredom. The delegate from the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia started a tortuous explanation of the special procedures that his Interior Ministry had enacted to ensure that every citizen of the Former Yugoslavia received protection. Then it happened. I had a mental flash back to the CNN images of kilometres-long line-ups, of grieving spouses, exhausted old men, aged babushkas and wide-eyed children inside the Kosovo-Macedonia frontier, desperately seeking safety from the Serbs. It all seemed light years away from the glitzy conference centre in Rome where delegates sat sanguinely talking about Balkan stability. A number of us, however, remember the Kosovo Crisis of 1999 first hand.

We had watched the coverage of the first groups of Kosovars arriving in Macedonia, and it had seemed like a replay of the Serbs' October '98 campaign against the Kosovo Liberation Army (the UCK — pronounced oo-chi-ka). Some Kosovar men took up arms to fight with the UCK, and their families found a temporary haven across the border. But as the numbers swelled, the TV coverage

of canvas tents, desperate people at wire fences and mud — mud everywhere — brought the tragedy home to every Canadian living room. Most of us had no idea how much our lives would become linked with the Kosovars over the next few months.

The dramatic scenes of the arrival of the 5,000 plus airlifted out of Macedonia captured media headlines and focussed public attention on the work of the team in Skopje. Rightly so. But there was another team plugging away in Tirana.

I had just returned three weeks earlier from a routine area visit to Tirana, the sixth in two years after Rome took over responsibility for the processing of Albanian cases. Belgrade was preoccupied with refugee cases from Milosevic's previous escalation in Bosnia and the anti-Kosovo-Albanian feeling rife in Belgrade deterred all but the most foolhardy Albanians from travelling there for service. Tirana had seemed quiet ... a few more people walking aimlessly down the dusty main drag or sitting in front of the Opera House on Skenderbeg Square or offering wads of greasy blue banknotes in front of the Central Bank building ... a few more dented Mercedes and BMWs with Albanian license plates but still bearing "D" or "P" nationality stickers. Business as usual in Tirana.

Over the unusually tense Easter long weekend, I volunteered to accompany Raph Girard, Canada's Special Envoy to the

Balkans, on his visit to Tirana. It was never clear if I was to accompany Raph as a "political" officer or to follow my calling and start processing refugees. In the early heady days of the crisis, precision was one of the first victims. Between our previous trip in March, and April 12, 1999, a dramatic change had occurred in Tirana: Christiane Amanpour of CNN and the rest of the cast of international reporters had arrived. With expense accounts not subject to bureaucratic fiscal restraint they had acquired every spare room in the two or three international category hotels in the city. As well, in the first days, Tirana was invaded not just by the Kosovar refugees but by the undisbanded rump of the Kosovo Verification Mission (KVM) of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, by the alphabet soup of international crisis groupies, and by other advance parties of diplomatic missions like myself. We all scrambled and bickered, with less presence than the Kosovars in the camps, for the few amenities available. There's nothing like a good crisis to bring out the best — or worst — in people.

On April 1, the Albanian Mobile Telephone launched the *sine qua non* of this Ruritania farce. Albania was cut off from the civilized world when they shut down the Italian-based cell phone system and replaced it with their own, non-compatible with any other system. To top it all off, there were not enough chips to go around. Prices officially escalated to over USD 1,000 and you had to know someone who knew someone, who knew someone, etc. We arrived on the inaugural World Food Program (WFP) flight to an airport now controlled by NATO to learn to our horror that our Telecom Italia chips were useless.

The Special Envoy's team was luckier than most. Contacts in the Albanian government lined up the official Albanian state guest house, Villa 31, as our home away from home. During the 50 long dark years of the workers' state, this building was home to the Great Leader, Enver Hoxha. Raph slept in Hoxha's bed, although he never



Tirana, Albania — Left to right: Ellen Yachnin, Stephane Larue, Renald Grégoire, Michel Gagné, Dennis Cole.



Kosovar refugees queue for water in refugee camp.

complained about being haunted. After meetings with the Prime Minister and Ministers of Finance and Foreign Affairs, and the departure of the Special Envoy on April 15 in what was supposed to be my WFP seat back to Rome, Tirana was a decidedly less cheery place. The management of the guest house wanted to kick me out to make room for other dignitaries coming to meet politicians and assess Albania's needs. Even the parting gift of a 20 lb. satellite phone, definitely a remnant of early 1980's technology, did not make me feel less isolated.

But all that rapidly changed for the better on April 20. At 11:30, Dennis Cole, the first of what later seemed a never-ending stream of undaunted Canadian adventurers, walked through the main doors of the Rinas airport. He announced that he recognized me from a photo he found while rifling through my desk drawers in Rome. But it was not a time to be bothered by such petty annoyances; I had a colleague, a fellow Canadian, here to "do the needful." Until then, my routine in Tirana had consisted of making a series of incomplete telephone calls to NHQ (the spring rains cut

off the land-based phone lines for hours and pre-arranged calls just never could take place), racing to the offices of United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to interview a family, in the hope that they were the family named by relatives in Canada rather than just persons who claimed they had relatives in Canada, and attending the daily Emergency Meeting Group (EMG) in the building that housed the Prime Minister's office, only to learn that the guard with a rifle barrel





Tent city set up to house refugees in transit.

pointed in my direction was illiterate as well as malodorous.

On April 22 the third of our crew, Stephan Larue, arrived from the Deputy Minister's office with the Mission Administration Officer from Rome. With them came our first care package: a 486 surplus desktop, three cell phones (chips having been miraculously acquired by our Balkan fixer), a fax machine that did not work because Rome had not sent the paper trays (but we could look at it and marvel) and a cash box with the two keys mysteriously locked inside (?). We had by then the kernel of the future Canadian Embassy Office (CEO) in Tirana. No sooner had the Rome MAO returned to *cappuccini al fresco*, than the first (but in no way the last) of a series of temporary duty Mission Administrative Officers (MAOs) arrived. Francine Beland was an experienced Balkan hand, having been evacuated from Belgrade. She quickly took charge of a series of administration functions — hiring local staff, negotiating leases, buying furniture and supplies, and changing money. That left me free to manage the Kosovo Family Reunification and Special Needs Movement (KOF).

Bodies were arriving in Tirana faster than I could locate accommodation. Stephan Larue spent his first night in Tirana in a dwarf-sized Italian sleeping bag on the cement floor of an empty office. Stephan, Francine and Dennis occupied bedrooms behind the kitchen in a quaint local Tiranesse trattoria, "La Valetta," until more appropriate accommodation was available. Rumour has it that the restaurant owner named her pet male pheasant "Stephan" in someone's

honour ... but I digress. Michael Boekhoven arrived on April 24 and brought his own unique structure to processing. Michael only submitted his claim for the literally hundreds of hours of overtime when forcibly pressed to do so. He thought the long hours, lack of sleep and exhaustion were all par for the course as an FS.

We routinely worked 12 to 16 hours daily trying to realize the Minister's commitment to 15 days' processing time, a challenging goal. Originally there were only three flights out of Tirana a week connecting with a flight to Canada, and Albanian airlines would only guarantee 20 out of 70 seats per flight. The Italians agreed to waive the visa requirement, but only if the Kosovars flew Tirana-Rome-Toronto. There was a regular ferry service but Kosovars needed Italian visas to transit by sea. The Italian Embassy had a fixed limit on visas to be issued daily and visas for our refugees would have to be subtracted from their total. On the other hand, we got great support from the International Committee of the Red Cross, IOM and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, our partners in this initiative, all of whom remarked positively that Canada was the only country taking refugees.

It wasn't just our Canadians who went the extra mile. We acquired a superb local staff through Dennis' "good offices" as a former member of KVM. Collectively they were extremely dedicated and professional, and represented a vulnerable component of the displaced Kosovar middle class. One LES had been walking along the road from Kosovo three days before we hired her. Our Kosovar LES put their hearts into their

work because they were doing something for their people, because Canada was the only country on the ground looking for UNHCR-defined special needs and family reunification cases, and because working in our office provided some space and some dignity which they did not have when packed 20 persons to a room in Tirana. A Kosovar-American employee could not get close enough to her own Consular Section to help her husband go to the USA, but worked for us because we were helping her countrymen get to Canada.

People can only work so hard for so long without burning out. In Ottawa, Catharine Bailey and Erica Usher scoured NHQ, other missions and offices in Canada for volunteers. Dr. George (Giovinnazzo) blew into Tirana, established an ingenious medical solution and then left to take up other challenges; Régnald Grégoire came all the way from Buenos Aires to work in a city he had seen in happier and less crowded times (... do you know in 1993 you never saw a car on the street!); Michel Dupuis came from Nairobi to revisit a country that he and his wife had seen in the early 1990s when it was a unique tourist destination; Marc Chaballier, a replacement DFAIT MAO, acquired more properties, more computers and finally the ability for us to communicate via the Internet; Ellen Yachnin used her skills to process victims of trauma, and gave me the luxury of spending some time at home in Rome; Michel Gagné brought his specialized knowledge of organized crime (... not all Kosovars are innocent victims), and a thoroughly professional, down-to-earth attitude toward refugee selection;

Bill Hawke asked some necessary questions about what we were doing; Wendy Bazett from Beijing showed us that no mission is so preoccupied with their caseload that they cannot help out in a crisis; Gordon Starr from VIA could not stand still unless you sent him out to the camps to find people; and Bob Barfaro from GTEC brought an entirely different dynamic to the process (... with so little information to go on, what are we getting into?). The extremely important roles of Len Knudsen (CIC Cranbrook), Madeleine Kiamah (Greater Toronto Enforcement Centre), Millie Morton (CIC alumna) and Dave Cave (replacement MAO) in closing down our Special Measures operation also deserve mention.

Teams of officers regularly left the relative luxury and safety of Tirana (where foreigners were only periodically robbed and mugged) to search for refugees in distant camps or private accommodation. They travelled the dusty back roads of Albania in a clapped-out green Mercedes to process wives, parents, children and siblings identified by Canadian residents. Back in Tirana they regaled us with thrilling descriptions of Lezhe, Durres, Pogradec, Elbasan, Shkoder and Kavaja, of the car careening dangerously close to the abyss on mountain roads without guard rails, or of nail-biting helicopter rides up steep mountain valleys to the no man's land called "Kukes" — Dodge City Albanian style.

Soup kitchen in Kosovo refugee camp.



Some wonderful Kosovars and incredibly dedicated Albanians worked and continue to work for Canada in Tirana. A few of the Kosovar LES took up our offer of resettlement in Canada; the rest returned home to start rebuilding their country and their personal and professional lives. CIC closed down our Special Measures operation in Tirana on August 13, 1999, but for the first time, we left the embryo of a real Canadian presence in Albania. The CEO is the lasting contribution of all the various individuals from DFAIT and CIC who worked so hard

together in the spring and summer of 1999 and gave meaning to Canada's commitment to the people of Kosovo. ☺

Ron Eales joined the Immigration Foreign Service in 1973 and had postings to Chicago, Birmingham, Manila, Vienna, Delhi and Bonn before becoming Chief of Cost Recovery and Revenue Generation (where he started his hobby of collecting small denomination bank notes from around the world). He is currently Immigration Program Manager in Rome.

The hospital outside of Tirana.



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Interview with Martha Nixon

Assistant Deputy Minister
of Operations for
Citizenship and
Immigration Canada



Photo credit: Gordon King

bout de papier Editor Robert Peck, and Lynda Joyce, member of the Editorial Board, interviewed Martha Nixon, Assistant Deputy Minister of Operations for Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), in February in her office at the Jean Edmonds Building. Her responsibilities involve the management of citizenship and immigration operations for both overseas and domestic delivery. This encompasses the International Region, with 78 points of service; five regional offices in Canada and ports of entry; and delivery carried out centrally through three call centres, and three processing centres. A key national headquarters' group handles case management and specific issues relating to litigation, war crimes and organized crime. Roughly two thirds of CIC staff are found in the Operations Sector.

bout de papier: What are the major challenges facing Citizenship and Immigration Canada today?

Ms. Martha Nixon: Our Minister's priority is to put client service first and to challenge us by asking, how are you going to serve clients better? The first part of this challenge was to attack the backlogs, both domestic and overseas, and to look at service standards. From an immigration perspective, this means working hard to meet the targeted levels set on an annual basis. This work will continue in different ways over the next couple of years.

The second part of this challenge was to manage this while ensuring that the integrity of the Immigration program would not be compromised — indeed the challenges of today's migration patterns demand increased vigilance. All of these issues have to be looked against our resource capability, which happily has just been increased in recognition of the pressures we face.

The third challenge for us is to look at some of the workforce issues that are very prevalent in many people's minds. There are so many of them. If you look at the demographics of the department, part of it is how to seed the groups that need to come up and replace our current line of managers, many of whom are going to retire soon. How do we attract to enter the service and keep youth — a very difficult problem for us. The past five years have been rocky and we need to continue efforts to get people back up to that energy level, and to ensure they believe that the department values the work they do.

I think the last challenge surrounds the whole area of partnerships because we work so closely with others in this business, whether it is with the RCMP, CCRA and CSIS, or working with DFAIT, who, through Heads of Missions abroad, are very much engaged in managing our programs abroad. Increasingly, we work with provinces, with other countries, and with those who represent clients, lawyers and immigration consultants. A lot of the relationships require nurturing, which means that much of my time is spent trying to make those relationships stronger.

bout de papier: What is the primary international role of CIC?

Ms. Nixon: The primary international vocation has to be our role on the immigration side in managing access to Canada and ensuring that the country benefits from the people who come here, while protecting Canada from the risks that exist. Immigration issues worldwide have taken on an increasingly critical role in foreign policy. Our role is

increasingly important from an intelligence and enforcement perspective. I think that this is recognized increasingly by other government departments and by other countries.

Immigration reporting, and linkages with other countries, often through intelligence functions, add to the thinking being done on foreign policy. Today, a key foreign policy issue is the movement of people and the pressures around the world from irregular movements. Many countries are rushing to change their laws so that they can respond. We can point to the role immigration plays when you have a real crisis in the political world, such as Kosovo. Our ability to move people is a critical part of the response to a crisis. I think that we also play an important role through the decisions about visas and how that impacts on the relationship that we have with a given country. We also contribute multilaterally through agencies such as the UNHCR, IATA-CAWG, and many of the other agencies dealing with protocols on the trafficking of human beings.

bout de papier: What does having a foreign service in your department contribute overall to CIC?

Ms. Nixon: Having a rotational foreign service contributes a huge amount. There has always been an ongoing discussion between the domestic and the foreign service side of the operation, and I think we have to look at both of them as valued-added, both sides. And in talking about one, it need not take away from the other.

Foreign service personnel have been chosen because of their stated desire to work in a rotational environment, to be flexible, to learn from situations that they are going to face in another country. They start off with a willingness to put themselves in a continuous learning environment. So they offer all kinds of really positive learning attributes right from the start.

Once they have served abroad and gained understanding of a different culture, and have worked in different cultures making selection decisions, they gain a perspective which they contribute as they rotate back into Ottawa or into other assignments. Increasingly I hope that will include rotations to many domestic assignments.

But FSOs offer a perspective that is unique and very important, because they will make choices about future Canadians, and what will be the "face" of Canada as a result of their decisions. Foreign service officers really offer a unique view of both what other countries have to offer and what Canada could become. This is useful background for roles in policy development and operational practice.

It is important to mention the flexibility of foreign service officers. Many have spent whole careers shifting from one country to another, and from one assignment to another. This can ultimately enrich policy development and other important operational jobs here in headquarters. They make a huge contribution and it is good to see the recent Auditor General's Report make particular praiseworthy mention of how impressive was their dedication and professionalism.

bout de papier: As you know, many foreign service officers have publicly expressed their concerns about their conditions of work and the future of their profession. How is senior management at CIC responding to these issues?

Ms. Nixon: There are a number of issues that appear to be very serious and very deeply felt. Some of these have been dealt with in this department through the middle managers' process we have been engaged in which, although a difficult process, has been a healthy one. And it's not over. We have been working at the senior management level to put in place a human resource plan for the department, which is looking at the demographics and the issues of recruitment and retention. The Auditor General has certainly told us that we haven't been sufficiently focussed on the training that we need, and I think that increased training on an as-needed basis is increasingly important. We have to put in place the resources that we need to do that. Technology again will help in resolving some of the issues and we are moving to build a new technology foundation.

As far as the foreign service is concerned, these include making sure that the foreign service feels valued, that we are taking into account the real demands of a rotational lifestyle, and working with DFAIT on foreign service directives. But I think there is a fairly complex web of issues and we need to be sure that we are working with PAFSO and working with DFAIT and our own working groups to put the issues on the table and make sure we are prioritizing those adequately.

bout de papier: Increasingly, foreign service officers are starting to question their commitment to the rotational lifestyle. What words of encouragement could you offer to them?

Ms. Nixon: I marvel that people continue to do this. In fact, I have had grown men begging me to leave them out on a posting, as opposed to bringing them back. So you

have, as always, a kind of a mixed reaction to today's realities. It's true that there is a lot more pressure in today's world, in terms of lifestyle, and what people are willing to put up with. There is just a lot less security in many of the posts overseas. Frankly, I think that people with young families are going to just start saying, I don't want to go to that place because it's not safe. I think some of them have already and that is a valid concern. Increasingly, I think we have to allow people to have some time out, to have longer times in Canada, perhaps when their children are at critical stages.

But I think that no matter how you look at it, we have to help people who choose the foreign service deal with the reality. I think some of this involves looking at where are the less secure postings, and ensuring that the people going there are prepared to deal with the situations they find. We need to be sure that we are properly counselling people when they first join.

Some of it is probably being a bit more flexible in how we look at the foreign service directives. We are working with DFAIT, for instance, on the spousal task force to look at the kinds of things that need to be adjusted to make today's reality more manageable for people.

There is a need to work with DFAIT and our foreign service cadre to wrestle through some of these issues, and to make sure that we are listening to the people who are out there who have suggestions. To me it's an ongoing process.

bout de papier: The immigration foreign service still is responsible for the majority of overseas processing, with assistance from officers in the domestic service. There have been various initiatives to increase processing in Canada, for example, the single portal concept, which establishes a central processing office in Canada. Do you see a continued role for FSOs in delivering the program overseas?

Ms. Nixon: I definitely see a continuing, very critical role for foreign service officers. I think it is important that FSOs recognize that their role is one which will not easily be replaced, no matter how the job may shift or change. And I'm not sure that it's going to change immediately. There will be a need to have Canadian officers abroad who can give us the intelligence, the perspective and the ability to know what local conditions are, and how that affects our selection of people. I really believe this role will continue.

I think that we have to recognize that we have a professional and dedicated cadre of people who we have trained carefully, who

have shown extreme flexibility in how they do their jobs, and we don't want to lose that.

I believe, however, that if we want to maintain public confidence in our service, we are going to have to make some changes and we are going to have to be able to reassure the Canadian public that we care about service. We have found ourselves in a challenging position, with downsizing and with changing world situations. I don't think that anyone has found it easy to produce increased numbers, both on the immigrant and the non-immigrant side. At the same time, we have had to work in a context of dramatically increased organized crime and fraudulent activity in the immigration business. Yet, we have responded well to humanitarian crises, such as Kosovo.

It is easy to see why there has been some discouragement and some questioning of what the future holds. We have engaged many of our Immigration Program Managers and officers in discussions about client service in the past year. We will try to increase our capability to work productively through a variety of changes and pilot projects. The "single portal" concept is certainly one that people have been very concerned about, but I think it is only one of many things that we need to try. We have engaged many experienced FSOs in the design phase of a centralized processing pilot and expect to see this in action soon.

We have to be very serious about fitting an evaluation framework around the project and giving it as good and as fair an assessment as we possibly can, to see if this will be part of our direction for the future.

I think equally important will be client service initiatives. For instance, to deal with many unanswered representations, the call centre business will expand to include international calls on a limited basis. We need to be able to deal with representations and examine the usefulness of "government-on-line" projects to allow people to access the information they need.

We are launched to achieve overall client service improvement. We will evaluate and assess, so that we can make informed decisions about how to go forward. We are involving foreign service officers to do this; they must design the change. I would like to think that our FSOs will feel that their role is indeed valued and will continue. No matter how many changes, there will be a role for them.

bout de papier: What can be done to bridge the distinct cultures of the foreign service at CIC and the domestic service?

Ms. Nixon: I guess there is only so much you can do because there are cultures and

there are cultures, but I think that there is increasingly movement between them. Canada-based officers have a lot of opportunity to serve abroad in single assignments. This really helps. If you talk to someone who has done a single assignment, he/she will come back with all kinds of insights about what that job really is, both the really positive sides of it and also the negative sides of it. We more and more need people who have had both experiences. We can point to a few examples of FS Managers who have moved into regional positions in Canada. Our manager in the processing centre in Vegreville is a senior FS manager. As well, a senior domestic manager is assistant manager in New Delhi.

Discussion of the "tensions" must happen. Since the 1998 Cornwall Conference of Middle Managers, we have had a middle managers working group, a PM-FS group, to have this discussion. They are trying to work through how can we bridge the double reality, how can we broaden the understanding, and what are the kinds of things that they can do at the middle managers' level that will help.

Some of it is mapping out a little bit of the reality here. How are people assigned on the domestic side compared to how employees are staffed on the foreign side? How easy is it to advance on the foreign

service side, and is it really all that easy on the domestic side? Some of it is breaking down myths.

There is a need to create a management climate that encourages those discussions and celebrates both cultures. The more you get people who have worked on both sides, the more I think you can pass the message that like everything in life, there are pluses and minuses.

bout de papier: There are some perceived barriers to foreign service officers' career development at CIC that appear not to apply to other categories, namely that foreign service officers are not able to participate fully in opportunities that are available in the department. Would you care to comment?

Ms. Nixon: To my way of thinking, the barriers, whether real or perceived, have to be dealt with. Foreign service officers have chosen a rotational career and have, in my view, a greater opportunity to discuss their careers with an assignment officer, who takes them on as a kind of personal charge and speaks to them on a fairly regular basis; certainly, if they are in the throes of decision-making, or if they are having any difficulties.

You certainly don't get that on the domestic side in terms of your career development.

Foreign service officers don't necessarily have a whole lot of choices as to where they go next, but certainly do have a chance to have a discussion with someone about what would be helpful or what wouldn't be helpful to their career.

Hopefully, the opportunities that we are offering increasingly in CIC are going to be ones that will be open to foreign service officers, as well as to domestic personnel. But I think that when I look at the future, we certainly don't want people to feel that there are barriers that are specific to the foreign service personnel as opposed to others.

We would have to spend a little bit more time talking about the perceived barriers. We get more complaints on the domestic side that foreign service officers take assignments that to them would be promotional opportunities, and they think foreign service officers have greater access to those positions. So you have the perspective from both sides. Until we sit down and do a real analysis of a few years' experience of who actually got what positions, it's hard to know which perception is actually right. But if there are barriers there, I think it is something we should pursue.

bout de papier: Many thanks for your time. ☺

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Lessons of the 20th Century *for Canadian Foreign Policy*

by Georg Birgelen

It may be quite audacious for a non-Canadian to try to come up with something worthwhile reading after having spent just a few months as a guest in this country. The one real advantage a foreigner has, though, is a chance to take an “unspoiled” view from the outside. Quite naturally, his approach will be influenced by his own background, but unlike Canadian observers, he may be in a better position to refrain from mixing too many personal convictions and experiences into an evaluation of what has been and what might be the focus of the foreign policy of this country in the years to come.

Imperialism, isolationism, internationalism: dominant ideas throughout the decades

It is generally accepted that around the beginning of the 20th century up to World War I, Canada's foreign policy behaviour was clearly dominated by the “imperial” phase of the country's relations with the outside world, a mixture of cultural, economic and legal attachments to the British Empire. Particularly on matters of foreign policy, Canada was — at least in theory — subject to the authority of the imperial government in London. That dependence was not static, but varied in intensity as far as the practical consequences were concerned.

Decision-makers in Canada did not feel obliged to follow every single British dictate as early as 1885, when Canada, unlike Australia, strictly rejected the idea of sending its own troops to the Sudan to assist the British. Only 14 years later in 1899, however, the reluctant government

of Sir Wilfred Laurier was pushed by the overwhelming public mood to dispatch troops to South Africa to support the British in the Boer War. One editor told Laurier at the time that the government's choice was simple: send troops or get out of office. However, enthusiasm in favour of undifferentiated support for the Empire suffered a blow when the Crown awarded the Pearce and Wales Islands to the United States in the Alaska border dispute in 1903. Furthermore, French Canadians have always had less sentimental attachment to the Crown and therefore did not see their participation in Canadian support missions for Britain as being automatic. The underlying contradiction — unconditional assistance to and sacrifices for the Empire on the one hand, no participation in foreign policy decisions on the other — also fuelled a general social urge towards greater Canadian autonomy and eventually led to the Statute of Westminster in 1931.

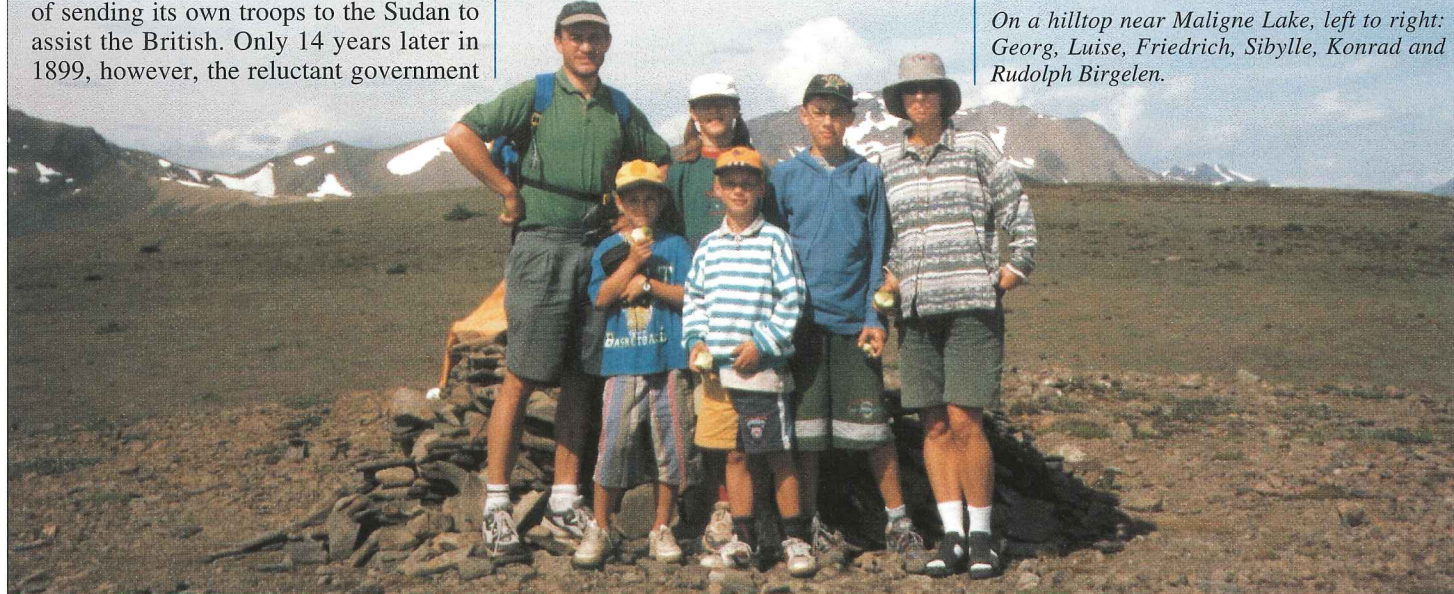
Although the strong emotional links to Britain continued to play a significant role in politics as late as 1956, when during the Suez Crisis Prime Minister St. Laurent was loudly criticized for “knifing our best friends in the back,” the phase of imperialism in Canadian foreign policy gave way to a growing “isolationism” between the two World Wars. During that period, politicians and the public alike, tired of paying for European “statesmanship” with the lives of Canadian soldiers, believed it was right to act unilaterally, avoid prior commitments in future conflicts and

engage in international institutions. The one notable exception was that of supporting Canada's membership in the League of Nations, mainly because, at that time, membership represented a distinct symbol of its autonomy from the United Kingdom. With the rise of Nazi Germany and the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, that interwar isolationism came to an abrupt end, again with majority support, both from the Anglophone and the Francophone parts of the country. (The latter had different views on the question of military conscription, but not on the overriding principle of joining the allied forces to fight Hitler).

That fight cost the lives of 42,000 Canadian soldiers, but unlike after World War I, the reaction this time was not to try to isolate the country from the potential crisis spots around the world. On the contrary, key figures like Louis St. Laurent or Lester B. Pearson were convinced that the fate of any one state and the peace of the international system as a whole were inextricably interconnected. Such interconnectedness and vulnerability, in their view, demanded engagement in world politics, not withdrawal.

For many years to come, the idea of Canadian activism on behalf of the larger community of states led to participation in every major UN peacekeeping operation and to the personal involvement of Cana-

*On a hilltop near Maligne Lake, left to right:
Georg, Luise, Friedrich, Sibylle, Konrad and
Rudolph Birgelen.*



dian politicians in the resolution of interstate conflicts. An example was Pearson's diplomacy in the Suez crisis in 1956, for which he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace. The public came to appreciate the role their governments had been taking over voluntarily and saw no reason to castigate it for its foreign policy behaviour — quite the opposite.

Alternative concepts, therefore, never really got off the ground. Neither Pierre Trudeau's White Paper in 1968 nor the New Democratic or Parti Quebecois policies calling into question many of the traditional manifestations of internationalism were ultimately successful. In the Trudeau years, though, a number of more sophisticated questions were put forward, going beyond the somewhat simplistic internationalism-isolation argument. These included the relative importance of defence alliances (NATO, NORAD) for Canada, national vs. international interests, and ways to cope with the dominance of the US.

Apart from the public's fatigue with 15 years of Liberal government, Brian Mulroney's election victory in 1984 was in large part due to his pledge to improve Canada-US relations, which had not been overly harmonious in the beginning of the '80s. Quite obviously, a majority of Canadians felt that this sort of tension around subjects such as the National Energy Program, acid rain or a number of global policy questions did not serve their interests in the long run.

Ironically, in spite of the apparent popular support, Mulroney silently threw many of his campaign pledges on foreign policy overboard once he entered office as Prime Minister. In practice, he proved to be neither as pro-American nor as anti-Soviet as his earlier rhetoric suggested. While it is true that the climate between Canada and the US improved drastically — the US, especially the Reagan administration, had never really ceased regarding Trudeau as a somewhat idealistic dreamer — Mulroney frequently distanced his government from the Reagan administration on a variety of issues, such as SALT, SDI, Central America or South Africa.

Despite or maybe because of their pragmatic approach, after nine years in office the Conservatives were accused by the Liberals of having contributed to a slow erosion of Canada's proud foreign policy tradition. The Liberal "Red Book" in 1993 proclaimed a change of focus from Cold War ideological and political rivalry to adapting the country's role to a rapidly changing post-Cold War environment. It pledged a more critical approach to relations with the US (including renewed nego-

tiations on NAFTA), new directions in peacekeeping, foreign aid, multilateral fora and a more democratic process for foreign policy-making.

Measured against their initial promises, the foreign policy balance of the Liberal governments since 1993 seems mixed. The idea of renegotiating NAFTA was quickly abandoned. Peacekeeping has put ever more strains on the budget and the capability of the Armed Forces to deliver. Foreign aid has, in terms of percentage of GDP, slipped further down from the 0.7 per cent goal. On the other hand, Canada's presence and role in multilateral fora such as the UN, the G8 or NATO has been reinforced, mainly because of its continuous efforts to promote its agenda of "soft power" issues, ranging from the Land Mines Convention to the more recent emphasis on "Human Security" issues. The government has also lived up to its promises regarding stronger involvement of the public in foreign policy through a number of institutional arrangements and activities.

Multilateralism and Canada-US relations after World War II: a horizontal view

Canada is widely characterized as a classic middle power, whose primary national interest lies in an orderly and predictable world environment that embodies some limits to the ambition and the reach of dominant powers. Middle powers always feel the need for international institutions and international law and regulation more acutely than stronger powers. It is through international institutions that they can hope, by consolidating their interests with those of other countries, to have some impact on the great powers.

Canada's approach to international politics in the second half of the 20th century has been greatly influenced by its location to and relationship with the United States. Much of Canada's foreign policy since World War II has been designed to adjust to the conditions resulting from its geographic proximity to the US, the asymmetrical distribution of power that exists between these two countries and the emergence of the US as a global superpower. The differing concepts of shaping relations with the US have been, if not the major decisive factors in Canadian elections, among the most decisive. This was obvious in 1963, where Pearson defeated Diefenbaker not least because of his support for Canadian nuclear armament as asked for by the US, and again in 1984, when Mulroney campaigned in favour of improving bilateral relations.

Given Canada's geographical proximity to the US and the extensive transnational links in everything from trade to defence

to sports, multilateralism has not only been an objective in itself, but also a vitally important mechanism to constrain the superpower, a counterweight to an exclusively continental foreign policy, in which, looking at the uneven relations in economic and military resources, Canada was bound to be the weaker, dependent partner.

A particularly vivid reflection of this dependency can be found in the development of trade flows in recent decades, with the US having an ever-growing share of Canada's total foreign trade. While exports to the US already accounted for some 58 per cent of total Canadian exports in 1951, the figure had risen to close to 90 per cent by 1999. In the same period, the share of Canadian exports to Europe dropped from 25 per cent to well under 10 per cent. By the end of the 1990s, Canada was earning 40 per cent of its GDP from exports, the highest figure of the G7 countries. Given the importance of foreign trade for jobs at home, the need for a system of international rules to provide the stability and security in which trade, including and especially with the US, would be conducted is obvious. The Canadian government had neither the will nor the capability to impose such a system bilaterally. The only viable option was to establish multilateral institutions and procedures that would bring about such an order, be it within the UN or through regional cooperation in organizations like the Commonwealth, la Francophonie, the OAS or APEC.

Some have celebrated Canadian participatory activities in multilateral fora as indicative of the country's commitment to a constructive global order. Others have discounted it as a façade for close collaboration with the Americans for the pursuit of narrow self-interest. It is probably fair to say that there is some truth in both assessments. Canada has tried to maintain its high international profile to counterbalance the ever stronger embrace of the US, both politically and economically.

Quite naturally, this international, multilateral dimension of Canadian foreign policy has often created tensions and conflicts with the US. Such tensions cannot only be seen as unavoidable, but rather as necessary in order to make the remaining superpower feel that its closest neighbour and biggest trading partner does have the right to be heard, to be respected and to have its own decisions taken into account, just like other international partners. This dialogue with the US can be seen as a very welcome counterweight against the sort of inward-looking paranoia the US, especially Congress, seems to be falling into ever more

often since the end of the Cold War. It seems highly desirable to tell the Americans that instead of dividing the world up into "good" and "bad", into allies on the one hand and so-called rogue-states like North Korea or Sudan on the other, they may be serving their own interests far better by taking a subtler view of historical, cultural or other roots of international conflicts.

Given Canada's unique position vis-à-vis the US on anything concerning the American foreign agenda, from international trade to security policy, it seems fair to conclude that it has become one of Canada's main tasks on the international scene to act as the correcting factor, the "teaser," to the US. Fulfilling this role serves two broad objectives closely linked to each other: protecting Canada's own economic and political interests as well as tying the giant into an international system of rules and regulations, the establishment of which in itself, again, serves Canada's interest.

For most of the post-war period, a core element of Canadian multilateral activity to support an international order that would facilitate Canadian interests has been Europe, largely motivated and sustained by security considerations. Today, while European security concerns remain important, they no longer dominate the internal

agenda the way they did until 1989. The transatlantic economic bonds, which were never as strong as the defence priority, have been drastically loosened, mostly by stronger ties within the American continent, not least through NAFTA. In political terms, one of the most acute issues is whether and how Canada can secure an autonomous role in transatlantic security between the US on the one hand, and a Europe developing its own defence capacities on the other.

Staying or even getting on the EU's radar screen is not an easy task, due to the general perception of Canada in Europe. While the European public widely sees Canada as a large nature park and Canadians overall enjoy a more positive image than their American neighbours, governmental and executive circles do take a more businesslike view, dominated by the high regard Canada has gained largely as a consequence of the NATO connection. Large segments of European governments, however, all too often do not distinguish between the US and Canada as far as security and other issues are concerned. Although it is not given a lot of thought, Canada is frequently seen as the natural ally of the US, regardless of whether a more differentiated analysis of differing Canadian views and potential

leverage vis-à-vis the US might be helpful in Europe's own dealings with the one remaining superpower.

Some thoughts on the future direction of Canada's foreign policy

At the turn of the millennium it is hard to see how the present geopolitical setting with its two main interconnected determinants of Canada's foreign policy — relations with the US, and multilateral ties as control and counterbalance — could possibly undergo fundamental, rapid changes. The main general framework of action for Canada will remain fairly stable: how can bilateral relations with the US be nurtured and at the same time how can the one superpower on earth be made to refrain from unilateral action with considerable collateral damage to any other country in the world, including and particularly Canada?

The question of just how to achieve this double objective and which fields of politics on the international level should get particular emphasis will have to remain the choice of the executive. In making these choices, the government will try to take into account the opinion and the interests of an ever better informed public, simply because the next elections are always around the corner. Lately, the government seems to have been quite successful, both in the eyes of the Canadian public as well as measured by the amount of support from international partners, in the pursuit of ideas around the concept of "soft power", starting from the remarkable role it played in getting an international ban on land mines and continued in its high profile Human Security Agenda.

One question frequently asked in this context is that of resources and credibility. The resurgence in the 1990s of peace operations, in which Canada has traditionally felt obliged to participate, has stretched the country's military resources to their limit at a time when the defence budget was cut by a third in real terms between 1991 and 1999. Critics doubt that Canada will be able to maintain its high profile on the international and multilateral scene, if it does not match its words with deeds, if the country does not, for example, provide additional financing for its armed forces to maintain its peace-keeping capacity, or for development aid. Surely, the government has to take this critique seriously. On the other hand, if one accepts that the most important objectives for Canadian foreign policy are directing the remaining superpower with its resources in the right direction and mobilizing international support for causes considered by Canada to be just, then much more can be achieved by continuous, intelligent and imaginative political,

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diplomatic work. Of course, such additional diplomatic effort does not come without cost, either. Compared, however, to the amounts needed to modernize armed forces on a national and international scale, Canadian tax-payers' money seems better invested in strengthening diplomatic rather than military capacities. This is not to say that modernizing the armed forces is not necessary to improve interoperability with partners and cost-effectiveness in view of changed tasks. But the fruits of Canadian efforts would multiply many times more if the country managed, as it has done so successfully in the past, to get other actors on the international scene to follow along the same path.

From that point of view, trying to set agendas and promote single issues according to its self-imposed set of priorities, possibly together with a group of like-minded countries, in the United Nations, G8, NATO, OSCE, OAS or others should remain Canada's first priority. It may be worthwhile for Canada to remind other partners of its special status vis-à-vis the US, the bilateral (inter)dependence and the amount of leverage the country can have on its southern neighbour. Doing so would help prevent international partners from inadvertently excluding Canada from important decisions on the international scene. It would at the same time limit the scope for accusations that Canada is out of its depth.

Such tactics might for example be usefully applied in the emerging debate between NATO and the EU on the development of a European Defence and Security Identity and American concerns in this respect. Why not try to enhance cooperation with the EU beyond the bilateral disputes on fish or furs by telling the EU more openly that Canada shares some of its concerns with respect to tendencies in the US to monopolize decisions, while at the same time being in a better position than most of the allies to allay those fears in parts of the Washington establishment? Such a move might be welcomed by the EU as a counterweight to their own strong emphasis on eastern Europe in connection with the enlargement process and concerns about Russia's future. Why not make it clearer to partners in other regional organizations such as NAFTA, APEC or the Americas how valuable Canadian support can be for them in any discussion they are having in these fora where the US plays a dominant part? Such a strategy could help bring, for example, the US and China closer together not only in trade, but also in classic questions of security, some of which have the potential of growing into quite worrying dimensions.

Even if this sounds somewhat cynical to those who like to see Canadians as the boy

scouts always respecting the rules of the international game, Canada should continue to try to be where decisions are made, be it the UN or elsewhere: it is in the country's own interest to keep a watchful eye on the one remaining superpower that for the foreseeable future will have to take part in any decision with a larger impact in the world. Canada is in the special position of exercising at least some influence over this superpower and its unfortunately well-developed tendency towards unilateralism. From that point of view, it is of secondary importance whether such decision-making is taking place within or outside established multilateral fora. What is important is to have a voice at the table. Canada itself has opted to pursue its successful landmine initiative outside existing institutions. Since there are limits for all countries as to how many new initiatives can be technically managed by ever new institutions or conferences, there will be a tendency to lead these new tasks back into existing bureaucratic frameworks, such as the UN. If this leads to increased pressure within those bureaucracies for more efficiency, so much the better.

Canada has over the years acquired considerable bilateral expertise, taking into account the variety of forces creating new political contexts in Washington every day. Canada has to keep on trying to win friends on those questions of American domestic policy that are important for Canada.

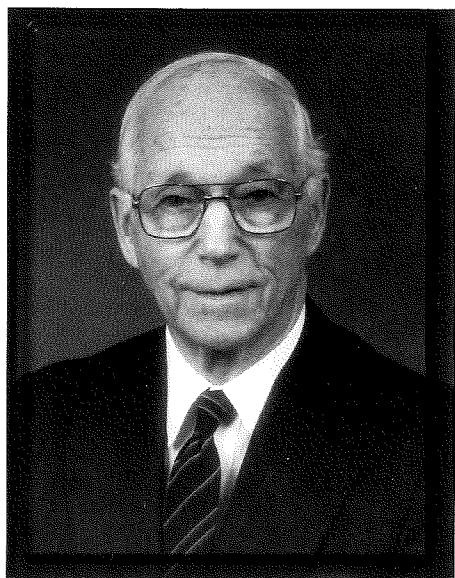
While untroubled relations with its southern neighbour are absolutely vital for Canada, they may not be seen as crucial for the US. Yet business and political links with Canada are still the single most important bilateral relationship the US has, with friends of Canada sprinkled throughout the diversified American political landscape. It is striking, though, that this fact seems to be far less openly discussed in the US than vice versa. All too often, Canada is just automatically assumed to be an ally. This then regularly leads to rather bitter US reactions if Canada "dares" to express a diverging view on issues ranging from trade to perimeter defence or the launching of radar satellites. A fair conclusion based on that sort of reaction from the American side is that it does make a difference for the United States if Canada is on their side on a given issue, even if they are in most cases able to live without such support and not suffer extensive commercial or political damage.

It could, therefore, also be worthwhile for Canada to keep the idea of enhanced cooperation on the American continent, analogous to the European integration model, under constant scrutiny. There are, indeed, certain similarities as far as some

of the underlying motives for the participating countries on both sides of the Atlantic are concerned. Pan-American cooperation, which has already started with NAFTA, does not necessarily have to lead to adopting the US dollar as its single most important objective, along the lines of the euro. However, the EC/EU has undoubtedly been extremely successful, especially from the point of view of its smaller members, in integrating the continent's big players, most prominently a reunified Germany, into a system of joint decision-making on a one-state one-vote basis on all fundamental questions. The US has, for example, manifested strong interest in cooperating in the field of policing and border security. The experience of the EU, where these issues are jointly tackled under the rubric of Justice and Home Affairs, could very well offer considerable scope for joint decision-making on the American continent, with benefits not only for the big fish in the pond, but also for countries like Canada or Mexico, providing them with some more reliable and fair rules on their direct borders, and reducing the risk of unilateral actions of their respective neighbours.

For Canada, the EU may finally serve as an interesting example for the prospects and limits of federalism, both within single countries and among sovereign states. The EU has been quite successful in resolving tensions arising from conflicts of competence at regional, national or European levels by applying what Europeans call the "principle of subsidiarity" (i.e. letting the lowest possible level of public administration deal with a specific matter) so that decisions are being taken as close to citizens as possible. National governments continue to have the important task of further developing the regulatory framework for common European policies, be it for national or regional implementation, and of jointly taking over classic executive functions such as security and defence. Openly advocating such a development might be in the long run far more satisfying for the Canadian federal government than constant constitutional arguments with provincial governments. ☺

After his doctorate in business administration, Georg Birgelen had postings in the German Foreign Service in Jakarta, Bonn, Panama and Brussels-EU. He is currently a German Exchange Officer with the Policy Planning Staff in the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. Mr. Birgelen will take up his assignment as Minister-Counsellor at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Ottawa this summer.



John Stiles
1918-2000

John Stiles, who died in Ottawa on January 9, just a few days short of his 82nd birthday, spent his entire adult life, one way or another, in the service of Canada, but still found time to be a devoted family man and a very generous friend and colleague. A native of Fredericton, John graduated from the University of Toronto in 1941 and took his new B. Comm. Degree into the Canadian Army for four years, spent mainly in Britain, Northwestern Europe and finally Germany.

On his discharge in 1945 he joined the Trade Commissioner Service and seven months later found himself in New York as Assistant Trade Commissioner and Vice Consul. There is no record of whether he was instrumental in landing any fat New York contracts for Canadian business but John obviously made a good impression at the other Canadian mission in town, the Delegation to the United Nations. He attracted the attention of a young lady named Margaret Buckley who was a member of Mr. Pearson's staff, and in due course she gave up her foreign service career to make his "theirs." That partnership endured for more than fifty years.

New York was followed by Caracas, an adventurous assignment in a country torn by political assassinations and revolution in the years after 1948 but also offering good business opportunities for Canada. John clearly made his mark because in 1954 he returned to Ottawa as Assistant Director of the Trade Commissioner Service. He is remembered during these years for the deep and abiding interest he showed in guiding "his" young officers, an interest he maintained throughout his and their careers. This key assignment was followed by succes-

sive postings as Commercial Counsellor in Bonn, Trade Commissioner in charge of the Office in Sydney and finally Minister (Commercial) in Tokyo.

I first met John in 1967 in Tokyo when he was already more than half way through his foreign service career and I was nearly half way through mine. In those days External Affairs and the Trade Commissioner Service were still separate organizations, separate departments in Ottawa and with an occasional touch of sibling rivalry abroad. My abiding recollection is that John was totally a team player who went out of his way to promote inter-departmental co-operation.

The Embassy in Tokyo was also accredited to Korea and John and I were both called upon to make regular visits to Seoul. Korea at that time was still a desperately poor country struggling to overcome the legacy of the past and the effects of a brutal three year war. John was quick to recognize that this was not just another Third World country mired in backwardness but one with real potential for economic development and hence a future important trading partner for Canada. He took great pride in the fact that together we were able to arrange a one million dollar loan from Canada for the purchase of Holstein cows, with the specification that they had to be pregnant! Canada and New Zealand co-operated in the training of Korean dairy men and advised on the conversion of rice fields into cow pastures, literally laying the foundations of today's flourishing dairy industry in Korea.

John and Margaret left Japan in 1970. He transferred to External Affairs and was soon posted to Guyana as High Commissioner. Canada has important political economic relations with the Commonwealth Caribbean and in Guyana the single most important Canadian investment was the Demerara Bauxite Company, an ALCAN subsidiary. The Guyanese held it as an article of faith that they were not getting a fair return from bauxite, their primary natural resource, and were determined to nationalize DEMBA. John's job was to persuade them not to or, if this was not possible, to ensure that there was no discrimination against Canada and that the owners received fair compensation. He failed on the first count but succeeded on the second and third; the matter was settled without acrimony and with no damage to bilateral relations.

There is no doubt that the crowning point of John's professional career was his appointment in 1974 as Canada's first resident Ambassador to the Republic of Korea. This was only four years after his previous non-resident assignment, during which he had devel-

oped a strong rapport with Korea and its people. During those four years the country's economic progress had begun to confirm all his earlier optimism, even though the political and human rights situation still left something to be desired. Firmly believing in the necessity for careful preparation for his new assignment he persuaded a somewhat sceptical personnel branch to authorize two months of language training and cultural acclimatization at the East-West Centre of the University of Hawaii. Two months does not a fluent Korean speaker make but it enabled John and Margaret to arrive with a good foundation and a sensitivity to Korean culture that ensured a friendly reception wherever they went. Arthur Perron, the present Ambassador in Seoul, recalls meeting John and Margaret in Manila en route to Korea and being struck by their knowledge and enthusiasm for their new post; he also told me that John, after 22 years, is still remembered fondly. Despite obvious cultural differences he had an extraordinary readiness and ability to relate to Koreans in varied walks of life — schoolteachers and farmers as well as businessmen and politicians and to be respected by all. Perhaps respect is the key word here, a very Confucian and hence Korean virtue: John was respected by Koreans even when, as inevitably happened sometimes, there was disagreement.

On their return to Canada John and Margaret spent a year at Mount Allison University and the Canada Korea Society has inherited some of his lecture notes from that period. As a former Foreign Service Visitor myself I am impressed by the sheer volume and quality of the work he produced, much of which found its way into his book *Developing Canada's Relations Abroad*. His final years in harness were spent with the Inspection Service of External Affairs and later with the Public Service Commission.

John Stiles' involvement in foreign relations did not end with his retirement from the public service in 1983, after 38 years' service. He was surely entitled to rest and play golf but when he was asked by the then Korean Ambassador, Kyoo Hyun Lee, to undertake the establishment of a Canada Korea Society in Ottawa he accepted cheerfully. As founding President he planned and organized meetings and recruited members while Margaret was drafted into service for typing minutes and licking envelopes. It is typical of John's thoroughness that this small organization applied for and received Letters Patent from the then Department of Consumer Affairs and is registered as a corporation with Industry Canada.

John was a very persuasive man. He was kind and generous to a fault and quite adept at getting people to do what he wanted them

to, usually for their own benefit or that of a third party. He served for nine years as President of the Canada Korea Society and had earned a second retirement but characteristically did not step down until he had found a replacement. Even then he was easily persuaded to stay on the executive as past president and continued to make a strong contribution until he finally withdrew at the end of last year

John Stiles was a man of many parts — soldier, trade commissioner, diplomat, scholar, academic and general fixer. It may not be fashionable nowadays to describe a man as a “boy scout” but I believe that John, who was deeply influenced by the boy scout movement in his youth, exemplified the finest aspects of scouting and practiced them and his Presbyterian Christian principles in his foreign service career and his private life. He was guided not only by the cautionary scout motto to “Be Prepared” but also by the broader injunction to “Do a good turn every day.” In his quiet and unassuming way he has left deep tracks and will be greatly missed. ☺

John Harrington served as Canadian High Commissioner to Jamaica, Bahamas and Belize 1972 to 1976 and as Ambassador to Norway and Iceland 1985 to 1988.

Louis D. Burke 1927-1999

Along with his other friends and colleagues I was very sorry to hear that Lou Burke had passed on at the end of many months of coping with cancer, on December 29, 1999. The Service was held at the Ascension of Our Lord Church in Montreal on the last day of the year.

Louis D. Burke joined the Trade Commissioner Service from British Columbia with a small group in 1955. We enjoyed his company during the year of training and the cross-Canada industry tour. He had an interesting and satisfying career. After postings in Ciudad Trujillo and Santiago he was sent to Lima where he met and then married Maria Ines Lamas, a dress designer from Buenos Aires. They went on to serve in Sydney, Kingston, Buenos Aires, Berne, Madrid, Atlanta, Rome and also in Ottawa. Along the way they had three children, John, Carla and Adrian, to all of whom Lou was, and Maria Ines is, deeply devoted.

Lou had a strong appreciation of Latin cultures as reflected in his postings. After

his retirement in 1988 he and Maria Ines formed the Canadian partner company of Interexpo Italy to organize export promotions abroad for Canadian industry in co-operation with the Canadian government.

He had a fine tenor voice and made a point of singing with at least one choir or musical society in each of his postings and in Montreal after he retired. He also recorded a Christmas CD for children. In the audience we enjoyed his singing and acting with the Ottawa Orpheus Society when we found ourselves serving together in Ottawa in mid-careers. His last public performance was in three roles in “Evita” in Montreal.

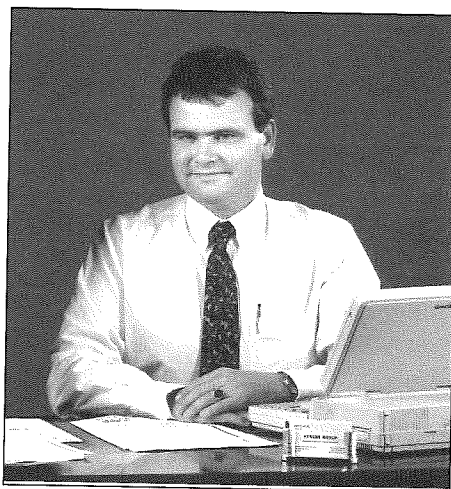
My strongest impressions of Lou are his innate and unfailing courtesy, his happiness, his optimism, and his loyalty, great qualities to take onward at the end of this life. We will miss him. ☺

Wes Huxtable served in Singapore, New York, Dublin, Sao Paulo, Detroit and Glasgow from whence he retired in 1985. He remained in Britain working in London first for the City University and then the Government of Quebec until 1996.

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Prime and Other Ministers

For a party in power, the timing of a change in leadership can be an awkward and vexatious question, particularly when the Prime Minister seems determined to use his discretion to choose the precise moment of his departure. Those contending for the succession must be careful not to alienate one who can still punish and reward the faithful (or otherwise). One of the more vivid demonstrations of the associated distinction between political and parliamentary leader was provided in 1948, when W.L. Mackenzie King stayed on as Prime Minister for three months after Louis St. Laurent had won the leadership of the Liberal Party. Since the last time the Liberals had chosen a leader had been in 1919, when the previous leader had died and the party was in opposition, some confusion about the handling of the transition may have been expected; however, the foibles and preferences of Canada's longest-serving Prime Minister undoubtedly complicated matters.

St. Laurent had first joined King's Cabinet in wartime out of a profound sense of duty and a similar motivation had prompted him to stay on in Ottawa at King's urging. Thus, his unwillingness to campaign for the leadership of the Liberal Party likely had deeper roots than simply a desire not to offend King. Whatever the cause, St. Laurent's calm attitude was not shared by others who were anxious to serve under someone

other than King — a mysterious and potentially delightful prospect for veterans and neophytes alike.

One of those who chafed under King's leadership in his last years in office was a senior public servant whom King had earlier presciently identified as a possible future Prime Minister, Lester B. "Mike" Pearson, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs. Pearson's return to Ottawa as deputy minister had coincided with King's transfer of the external affairs portfolio to St. Laurent in the autumn of 1946. Since then, Pearson had developed an effective partnership with St. Laurent and a wary mistrust of King's interventions on international questions. The prospect of continuing to work with St. Laurent undoubtedly swayed Pearson in favour of making the move to politics to which he alludes in the letter below.

Pearson's predecessor as senior official in the Department of External Affairs had been Norman Robertson, who was Canada's High Commissioner to the United Kingdom in 1948 (and who would himself return to Ottawa as Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet early the next year). Pearson and Robertson had been early recruits to the foreign service and their correspondence reflects that long and close association.

St. Laurent won the contest to succeed King as Leader of the Liberal Party at a convention in Ottawa on August 7, 1948,

with 843 votes to 323 for Gardiner and 56 for Charles G. "Chubby" Power. King was still Prime Minister when Lester B. Pearson was sworn in as Secretary of State for External Affairs on September 10, 1948 (St. Laurent had given up that portfolio to make room for his former deputy). However, Pearson spent most of the next few months away from Ottawa, first to fight a by-election in Algoma East and then to head the Canadian delegation at meetings of the United Nations in Paris. Pearson was in France when he was informed by telegram that St. Laurent had finally succeeded King as Prime Minister on November 15, 1948.

As for King, his farewell tour of Europe was cut short by illness, so that he was unable to attend a final meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London. Instead, his colleagues and King George VI paid their respects to the dean of Commonwealth leaders in his hotel suite. For the first week of that summit, King's place at the table was taken by High Commissioner Robertson. Perhaps appropriately, St. Laurent flew over to replace him for the second week.

Whether or not Robertson heeded Pearson's admonition about destroying the letter, Pearson kept a copy. It may be found in the Lester B. Pearson Papers at the National Archives of Canada.

Hector Mackenzie

L.B. Pearson to N.A. Robertson, Top Secret and Personal

Ottawa, June 1st, 1948

Dear Norman,

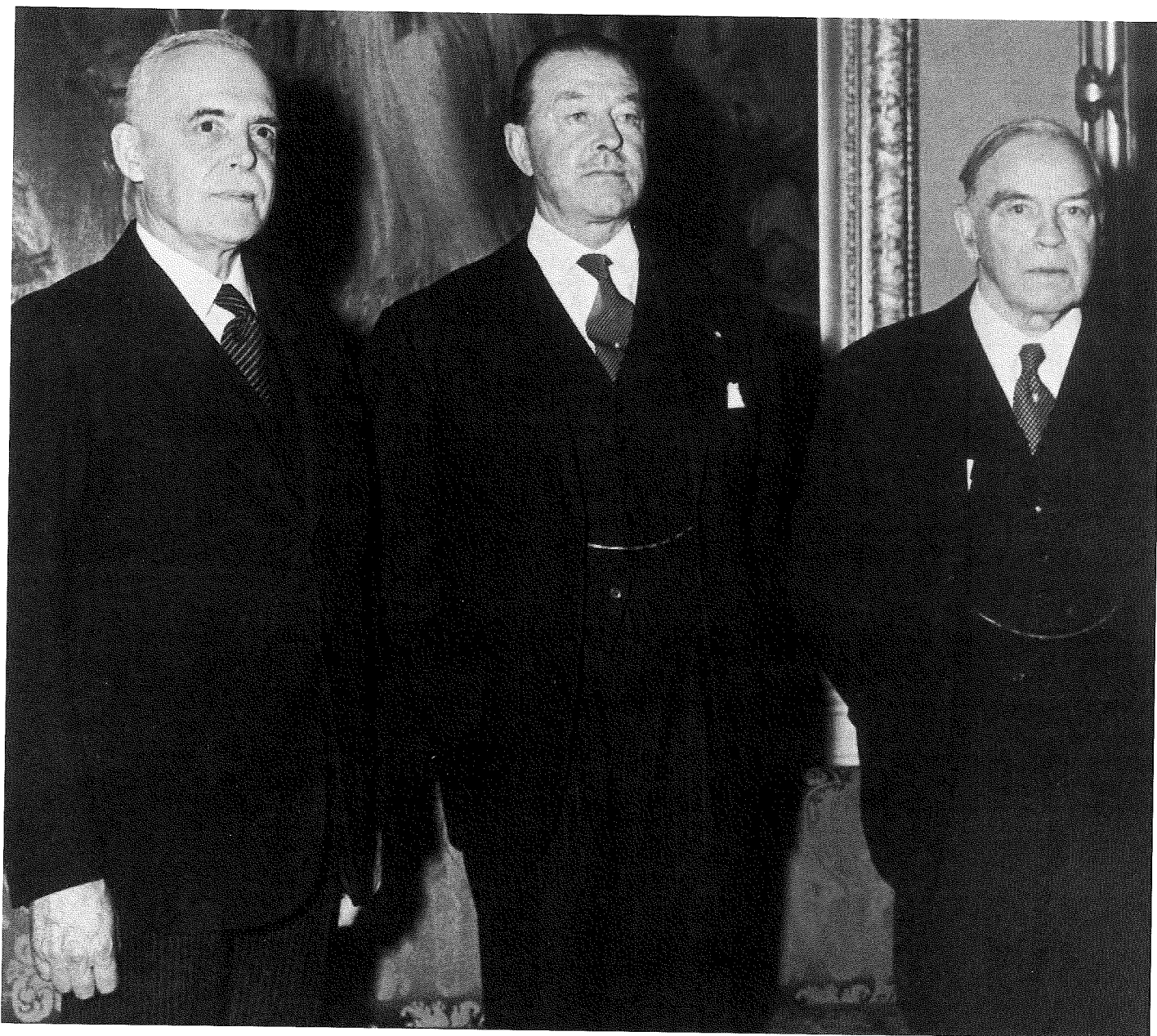
I am leaving today for the realization of my life's ambition, a visit to Vancouver [Robertson's birthplace], to say nothing of San Francisco and Los Angeles. It is a combination of business and pleasure, the business part consisting of five speeches and inspections of our Consulates at Chicago and San Francisco, and a consideration of the translation of the Trade Commissioner's office in Los Angeles into a Consulate. While in Vancouver, I will be attending the

annual meeting of the C[anadian].I[nstitute of].I[nternational].A[ffairs].

I am very anxious, of course, to get away, and I am a little ragged, but, on the other hand, regret leaving at this particular moment when all is so uncertain, not to say confused.

The Prime Minister [King] seems to blow hot and cold on many things, including a grand farewell tour of Europe and Canada. At one stage, as you know, he seemed to think he would like to go over in June [there had been a proposal from the British government for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers to meet then], and he has now come out strongly against that. My own view is that his normal indecisiveness in these matters is increased by the fact that he is in

some doubt as to what his own position will be in August [after the party leadership decision at the convention]. I don't mean to be unkind, but what I think he is doing is to create an atmosphere of general uncertainty about the immediate future which can be used later to get what he wants; whatever that is. The general view in "informed circles" (Jack [Pickersgill] and Arnold [Heeney]) in the East Block is that he is manoeuvring so that he will stay on for the maximum length of time as Prime Minister after the Convention, and then try to maintain a position in the Cabinet as President of the Council. This seems so impractical as to be almost fantastic, but I feel quite certain it is in his mind. Of course, it would put [Louis] St. Laurent [then Secretary of State



Left to Right: Louis St. Laurent, Governor General Lord Alexander and W.L. Mackenzie King.

for External Affairs], if he succeeds, in a quite impossible position. It would be, I should think, false and embarrassing for him to be chosen and then not enter into his kingdom at once. It would be equally so if he had the Prime Minister in his Cabinet, even in a nominal capacity. Mr. St. Laurent is, as you know, decent and generous almost to the point of naivete, and I do not think he has any idea what is developing. If he has, or when he has, he should certainly put his foot down and make it quite clear that once he is elected leader of the party, he takes over at once and alone. You can imagine, however, the difficulties that will be created to prevent such a clear-cut decision as that. Mr. St. Laurent himself is not gaining in the leadership race, though he is still very much

the favourite candidate. He is, however, doing absolutely nothing to secure support and, in fact, is leaning over backwards in this connection. This is all very admirable, but I think he is possibly carrying it a little too far. However, there is little doubt that, when the Convention is over, he will be the leader. He will not double as Secretary of State for External Affairs. There will be a separate Minister. If he is chosen from the present Cabinet, it will, I think, be Brooke Claxton [then Minister of National Defence], but there are other ideas, in which I am directly involved. However, in this regard at least, I am master of my own destiny, and feel that I should think, and think two or three times again, before abandoning bureaucracy for politics!

All this is, of course, highly personal and confidential, and, as we say in security circles, should be burnt after reading.

If, as is likely, I stay on here, I would be glad to go abroad after another year or so, but so much, of course, will depend on the new Minister and indeed the new Prime Minister. If, for instance, Jimmy Gardiner [the Minister of Agriculture, St. Laurent's principal rival for leadership of the Liberal Party and someone with whom Pearson had clashed before] became Prime Minister, I would certainly want to go abroad long before the end of the year. That, however, is, I hope a remote contingency.

[(signed: L.B.) "Mike" (Pearson)] ③

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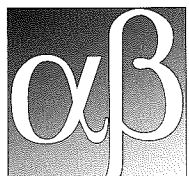
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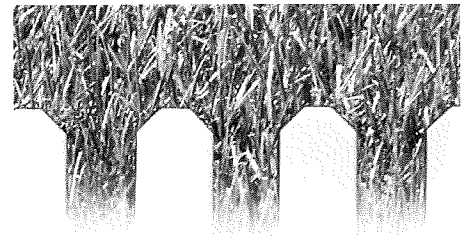
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Books in Review / Critiques de livres

The Boundary Hunters: Surveying the 141st Meridian and the Alaska Panhandle
reviewed by Eric Bergbusch

The Pity of War
reviewed by Bill Dymond

*British Security Coordination: The Secret History of
British Intelligence in the Americas, 1940-45*
reviewed by Kurt F. Jensen

THE BOUNDARY HUNTERS: SURVEYING THE 141ST MERIDIAN AND THE ALASKA PANHANDLE by Lewis Green. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982. 214 pp, illus.

Reviewed by Eric Bergbusch

Eric Bergbusch, a former member of External Affairs (Department of Foreign Affairs & International Trade), spent five, happy summers, in the 1950s, timber-cruising for the BC Forest Service.

What do most of us know of Canada's boundary with Alaska? Very little, perhaps, apart from schoolday memories of the "Alverstone Award" when a perfidious English lord evidently preferred Britain's relations with the United States to Canada's interest in the Alaska Panhandle. Lewis Green deals with that diplomatic transaction, among others, as he recounts how explorers, traders, politicians, diplomats, engineers and surveyors worked out the boundary on the ground. His story runs from the Anglo-Russian Treaty in 1825 to the completion of the survey in 1920. While Green focusses on the work of the field parties, both Canadian and American, who struggled up fjords, rivers and glaciers to identify and mark the line, his skillful presentation of the political, commercial and diplomatic backdrop provides a nice counterpoint to the surveyors' stalwart efforts on the ground.

Green remarks in a bibliographic note that the survey reports were generally dry reading. One would not guess that from his book. Some of the surveyors clearly wrote lively, even elegant, accounts of the dangers and difficulties they faced. Green draws on their reports to show their skill, tenacity and sense of humour. The book is well-made, too, with striking photographs and cartoons of the period, helpful maps, a comprehensive bibliography, and the full text of the Anglo-Russian Treaty. This material is aptly chosen and provides solid backing for

Green's account of the Alaska Boundary Tribunal's discussions and findings, as well as the surveyors' annual campaigns. Basing himself on contemporary sources as well as the historians who have written about the Tribunal, Green concludes that Lord Alverstone's finding was indeed a broadly fair one, and that he showed considerable skill in bringing the Americans along. The real problem was that President Teddy Roosevelt's crude and blustering tactics (as always, aimed at Congress) left the the impression that the Canadian representatives were being over-ridden and ignored. It did not help that King Edward VII and the British political class were fascinated by the American politicians on the tribunal, Henry Cabot Lodge and Elihu Root, but showed scant interest in the worthy Canadian representatives. (*Plus ça change*). Despite the clamour of the press in Canada, Laurier wisely saw that the finding was as balanced as one could expect it to be.

Against this background, Green points out that the Canadian and American surveyors, to whom much was left particularly in one un-delineated portion of the tribunal's map, worked together closely and harmoniously. The effort was in fact a joint one as data, logistics and even personnel were shared. The frontier and engineering adventures recounted will certainly ring true for anyone who has worked on a survey crew. One Canadian party chief, White-Fraser, wrote that his men had had to make their way through "that unpleasant member of the Fig family known as 'Devil's Club' whose malignant arms are ever stretched forth to assist the unwary climber, and whose poisoned bristles will make him wish he had never been born." It could hardly be better said.

Another party chief, Riggs, wrote of the venture as a whole: "It was with rather a lost feeling that we arrived at the shore of the Arctic Ocean and saw the practical completion of the work on which we had been engaged for so many years." A year later,

completing a southern link, he mused that "the years spent in the survey ... with all their hardships and almost-insurmountable difficulties have resulted in being the happiest years of my life.... I can do no more than repeat [as in my telegram]... 'Regret my work is completed'." Would that all jobs left such nostalgia.

For students of history this book is a quiet delight. In his spare, wry prose, Green gives a full account of how the Alaska boundary was drawn and, in doing so, reminds the reader that negotiating a treaty is often (usually?) the easiest part of the process. Nor is it complete in this case. As Green notes in an *Afterword*, the maritime boundary from Dixon Entrance outward across Hecate Sound is still not agreed. Just last year, an American ship was arrested fishing south of the famous 'A' - 'B' line!

Finally, the book may have a special interest for members of the foreign affairs community. Its author, a respected geological engineer who did field work along the Alaska boundary, is the son of a former Secretary of State for External Affairs (as the style then was).



THE PITY OF WAR, by Niall Ferguson, Basic Books, London, 1998, 559 pp. \$35.00

Reviewed by Bill Dymond

Bill Dymond has held a variety of assignments in Ottawa and abroad including Senior Advisor, Trade Negotiations Office, Ottawa and Deputy Head and Minister-Counsellor, Permanent Mission of Canada to the European Communities, Brussels, Minister Counsellor (Commercial) Embassy of Canada to the United States, Washington and Ambassador of Canada to Brazil. His most recent assignments were Chief Negotiator for the Multilateral Agreement on Investment and Chief Negotiator for Canada. Mr. Dymond's latest article "Post-Modern Trade Policy: Reflections on the

For a nation of scarce seven million souls, the military contribution was impressive. In September 1914, a month after the Declaration of War, 33,000 men from all corners of the country assembled in a field north of Quebec at the hastily built camp of Valcartier. A few weeks later, they sailed to England and by February, took position in the trenches alongside British and French regulars. They made their reputation as formidable troops in April, 1915, when they held the line against the German gas attacks. By 1917, 100,000 strong, they stormed and took Vimy Ridge. They finished the war under the command of Victoria native, Sir Arthur Currie, and played a crucial role as the shock troops of the Allied armies in breaking the German lines at Amiens in August 1918 and launching the 100 days of victory which ended with the Armistice in November 1918. As war progressed the sense of national unity of the Canadian corps became stronger and stronger.

The contribution to foreign policy independence was equally impressive. We transformed ourselves from a loyal, even sycophantic, daughter of the Empire to a free-minded, obstreperous, demanding member of the Imperial War Cabinet. The Canadian army was modest in scale but superb in quality. Canada had at its peak only four out of some 60 British and Empire divisions in the field. The Great War prime minister, Sir Robert Borden, the first practitioner of 'soft power,' levered this contribution to insist upon and acquire a distinct voice for Canada in the conduct of the war and the management of the peace. He rallied his reluctant Dominion colleagues of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa to make common cause against Lloyd George. "I have not come here to participate in any light comedy," he informed the British prime minister. At the Paris Peace Conference,

If the Great War was a good war for Canada, it was a disaster for Europe. "The lamps are going out all over Europe," the British foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, sadly and presciently observed in August 1914. The Great War began what the British historian, Hobsbawm (*Age Of Extremes*), has called the short 20th century. It was the anvil upon which the global power of Europe was irretrievably broken. It bankrupted the winners who fought a war beyond their means and destroyed the losers whose

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Empires and Emperors tumbled like nine pins. Its powers diminished, its confidence emasculated, no longer the arbiter of world politics, no more the leader in industrial growth, science or art, its new states carved from Imperial ruins descending into tribalism, a vigorous and ominous revolutionary power in the east, Europe plunged into a dark quarter-century from which the western half emerged as a collection of second and third rate powers dependent upon the United States for its security and the eastern half as occupied vassals of the Soviet Empire.

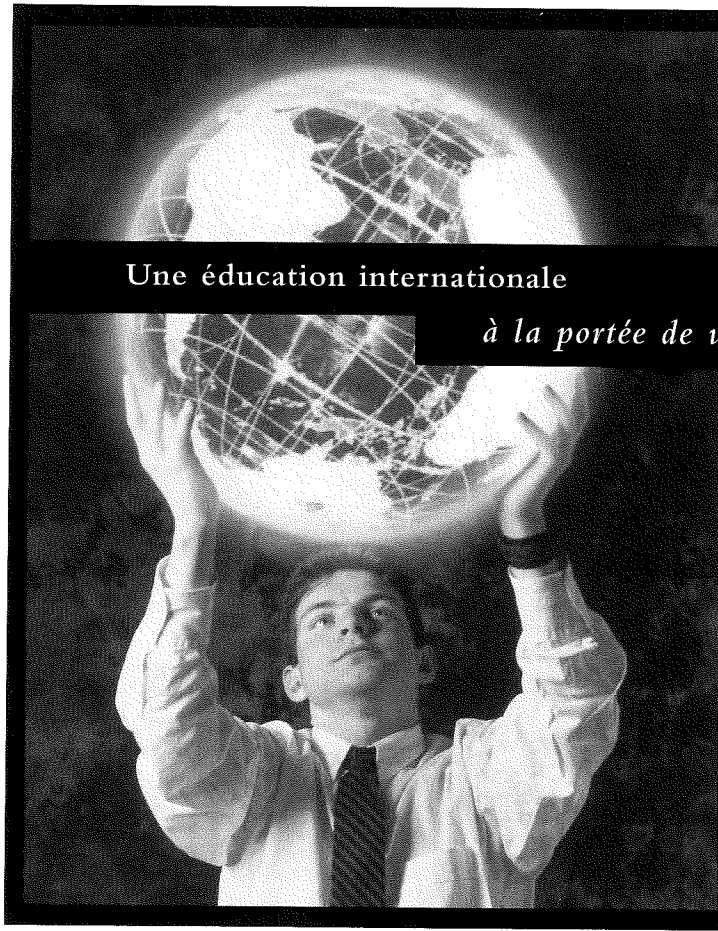
In *The Pity of War*, the Scot historian, Niall Ferguson argues that Britain must bear the chief blame for the war, "the greatest error of modern history." There was no compelling British interest at stake and no reason to waste the resources of the Empire to defeat the Kaiser. Had Britain stayed neutral, Wilhelmine Germany would have conquered all of West and Central Europe but posed no threat to the British Empire. "Europe would have been transformed into something not wholly unlike the European Union today — but without the massive contraction in British overseas power entailed by the fighting of two world wars." Hitler and Lenin would have eked out their lives, one as postcard painter, the other as a Zurich-bound ineffectual scribbler of polit-

ical tracts. This thesis, what modern spin-meisters call the "socko," is the overlay for a series of fascinating essays on the economics and finance of the war, on the failure of the Allies to enforce the reparations and cleverness of the Weimar government in arguing that payment meant bankruptcy, on the impact on literature and the visual arts, on the reasons why men fought in such appalling conditions. His chapters on the efficiency of the killing machines on both sides of the conflict, and on the dangerous and sometimes short lives of surrendering soldiers are thought-provoking and macabre. As historian Paul Kennedy remarks in *The New York Review of Books* (Aug. 12/99), Ferguson's views are radical and opinionated on all these matters but he will be need to be battled archive by archive and footnote by footnote in this exhaustively researched and detailed book.

The Pity of War stands history on its head; Kennedy is too pessimistic about its vulnerability to attack. Historians generally abide by the view that the origins of the war are to be found in an unstable cauldron of rivalries and national anxieties: Germany striving for a place in the sun worried about encirclement by France in the west and a rapidly industrializing Russia in the east; the centuries-old Austro-Hungarian and

Ottoman empires crumbling and destabilizing south and central Europe; a revengeful France anxious to recover the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine; Britain determined to maintain naval supremacy and protect the Empire while Germany saw a powerful navy as an entitlement. Some prominent German historians explicitly blame Germany for the war arguing that it did indeed seek a radical reordering of the political and territorial boundaries of Europe and saw the assassination of the Austrian Heir in June 1914 at Sarajevo as the fuse which would alight the war which it needed. German war aims of annexing Belgium, Luxembourg and large parts of France plus the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk lend credence to these claims.

No one can deny the blunders of diplomacy, such as the Kaiser's blank cheque to Vienna to deal with the Serbs, or that appetites grew as the war ground on and costs and casualties mounted. Few supporters can be found for French military strategy of 'offensive en outrance' which would cost more than 100,000 French lives in the first six weeks of the war, the German attack at Verdun which would cost half a million French and German lives or the British assault on the Somme in which 20,000 British soldiers would perish on the



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first day, most in the first hour. By the conventions of European wars of the past, the stalemate along 400 miles of trenches on the western front in November and the defeat of the Russian armies in the east in 1914, should have called for a settlement. The power of entrenchments, artillery and machine guns, as the US civil war had shown, to prolong battle and emasculate the offensive until the last days of the war argued compellingly for a settlement. But this was a different war, a war fought without limits, a war fought around the world, a war which mobilized millions of soldiers and whole economies, a war which German General Ludendorff called one of nation against nation, people against people, a war to be fought to decision.

A country like a person must live in its own time and circumstance. For the British in those last, languid days of Edwardian England, the times were troubling. The minority Liberal Government of Asquith depended for survival upon Irish nationalist votes; senior British army officers threatened a mutiny if force were used to impose Irish home rule upon Ulster. Even as the crisis in Europe deepened, a badly split Asquith cabinet rendered moot any idea of bold statement of British intentions. Most of the Cabinet were unaware

of the extent of British military and naval commitments to France in the event of war with Germany. Had Britain not decided on war once the German troops crossed into Belgium, the government would have given way to the bellicose Conservatives under the Canadian-born Bonar Law and Churchill and Lloyd George of the Asquith cabinet would have joined them. Whatever the options were, the room for manoeuvre for Asquith and Foreign Secretary Grey was exceedingly narrow. The circumstance was scarcely more promising. British policy had been based for centuries on preventing the emergence of a dominant European power on the channel coast. Britain had fought numerous wars against the French to prevent just such a result. To argue that the arrival of the 20th century should have produced a more strategic view by Britain of its interests is wisdom by hindsight. To argue further that sober and serious British statesmanship should have recognized that German domination of the continent would have been benign is far-fetched and far from accepted even today in the UK. Recall that Lady Thatcher sacked a minister for declaring the EU a plot for German hegemony and that the Tory party is riven on the very issue of Europe.

Ferguson would have us believe that diplomacy is a science of moves and counter-moves with known and calculable consequences. The reality for diplomats in this new century or the last is that diplomacy is more art than science. The art consists of mastering and articulating national interests and deploying them on a consistently shifting international stage. Unintended consequences, unanticipated reactions, the arrival of new players and new issues on the scene are daily bread of the practical diplomacy. Diplomatic successes and blunders are siblings, less the progeny of rational calculation than vision, professional skill, courage and luck.

No one can look back upon the 20th century without feelings of regret for the awful consequences for Europe of the Great War. Edwardian Britain and its Empire of which Canada was a proud member, the grace and elegance of the third republic in France, the dynamism of Wilhelmine Germany, even the glories of that last summer of peace are the belle époque and the Europeans threw it away.

The Great War, 'the war to end all wars,' haunts us still; it is the ghost in the attic of the 20th century, moving the curtains, shaking the crockery: Bosnia, Serbia, Israel, nationalism in the Transcaucasians, all are children of the Great War. Hobsbawm whose lifespan includes the war recalls that his mention of the Second World War to intelligent Americans sometimes produces a puzzled enquiry as to whether there was a First World War. Ferguson reminds us of our history; it is well that he does so.



BRITISH SECURITY COORDINATION: THE SECRET HISTORY OF BRITISH INTELLIGENCE IN THE AMERICAS, 1940-45, edited by William Samuel Stephenson, introduction by Nigel West, Fromm International, New York, 1999, 536 pp. \$54.50

Reviewed by Kurt F. Jensen

Kurt F. Jensen is currently Deputy Director, Foreign Intelligence Division, and is working towards a PhD in history. He has had postings to Stockholm, Bonn, Port of Spain and Boston.

At the end of 1999, Canada Post issued a postage stamp commemorating William Stephenson, 'Intrepid,' in its Millennium Collection. Ironically, the remembrance was for his inventions although he is better known for his role as a wartime spymaster. Few intelligence officers have received recognition on stamps for their exploits

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(Sorge and Philby were honoured on Soviet stamps).

This book is probably the most balanced and accurate story one could hope for on William Stephenson's British Security Coordination (BSC), which he created and operated in the United States for most of the Second World War, with responsibility for British security and intelligence interests in the Western Hemisphere. Many books have already been published about Stephenson, most of them adulatory and several containing gross inaccuracies, if not outright fiction. This volume was written in 1945, as the war was ending. Victory was in sight and BSC was becoming less vital.

Stephenson wanted to record his accomplishment before destroying the BSC files. He commissioned, in turn, several of his staff to write an "official" history before destruction of the files took place. Stephenson had a clear vision of what the book should be since he went through various authors before he was satisfied. Much has been made of the file destruction by BSC after the history was written. In fact, British, American and Canadian records contain most of the story (though many of the files remain closed).

The book was written at Camp X, the secret intelligence training centre near Oshawa, Ontario. Twenty copies were originally printed, though half were ultimately burned in 1946. The rest had been given to Churchill, SIS, SOE, possibly the White House, and Norman Robertson, under-secretary of state for external affairs in Ottawa (this copy has since disappeared). Different authors of books on 'Intrepid' have almost certainly had access to the BSC history, presumably through Stephenson. For reasons that have never been satisfactorily explained, Stephenson continued to rewrite BSC's history for many years after the war. At least one author seemingly lifted whole passages nearly verbatim from the BSC manuscript. As the introduction to this edition highlights, that author also embroidered other facets of the story and, later, lost a libel suit. Access to the original account provided a tremendous resource for books on 'Intrepid' but did not prevent embellishments about Stephenson for which corroborating evidence is not to be found in the initial text. This has served ultimately to tarnish the reputation and significant achievements of this extraordinary 'Quiet Canadian'.

Nigel West was long rumoured to have possessed a copy of the BSC history. Its publication in 1998 in Britain under West's auspices, nearly half a century after it was written, goes a long way to separate the real

Stephenson from mythical alter ego. But some mystery surrounds the publication. Why now and not ten years ago? I am aware of no official British comment on the book or sanction of its publication. One wonders how such things as copyright would have been overcome if a serious opposition to the publication had been registered by Britain (shades of *Spycatcher*!).

The book does not present a glamorous view of intelligence work but more correctly captures intelligence accomplishments as the products of detailed staff work, elaborate logistical arrangements, and the engagement of a large number of persons, many of whom do not see the 'big picture'. In that sense, *The Secret History of British Intelligence in the Americas* is not as exciting as earlier 'Intrepid' books, but it more clearly records what actually happened.

The book contains no footnotes and puts on trust the story it presents. It would take access to Allied archives to verify the entirety of the book but the text has the ring of truth.

Where records are easily available, information in the book is supported by archival material. For example, reference is made on page 480 to an April 1942 conference in Washington between Britain, Canada and the US on SIGINT cooperation. Declassified minutes from the meeting are available in the US National Archives. Similarly, on page 448 reference is made to the recruitment of a Canadian to be tasked with handling communications problems for BSC. In fact, he is identified as Benjamin de Forest Bayly or Bayle, a Canadian academic, in documents in the American and Canadian archives. Countless other examples confirming details in the book, or filling out vague passages, can be found.

But these examples also highlight a weakness of the book. BSC staff are not named, which is curious for a manuscript that was not intended for publication. There is one notable exception: the name of William Stephenson appears and he is always referred to as WS. Was this an early effort by Stephenson to focus all BSC accomplishments on his own person?

Did Stephenson intend this as an "official" history or a vanity remembrance of his exploits (and those of BSC)? And why the secrecy with names? The omission of names, on occasion done awkwardly, highlights the focus on Stephenson and questions the motivation for writing the book.

Another annoying feature, one which is perhaps more understandable, is the brevity of the history. One is torn between viewing the book as a good story or as a primary source on British intelligence in the

Americas. Too often, the book summarizes or illustrates a BSC activity with one or two examples. This fails to provide a full account of BSC. Indeed, it only magnifies the reader's confusion about the real purpose of the book.

A missing element in this intriguing tale is why and how BSC was created. The stories of Britain's various wartime secret services are replete with bureaucratic intrigue and turf battles. Yet in the Americas, Stephenson seemingly had little difficulty uniting under his leadership not only SIS, SOE, security and various other organizations but also proved adept at gaining control of most (not all) British security/intelligence operations in the Western Hemisphere. This is one part of the BSC story which might have been better explained. How was it that the different services were able to unite under the authority of Stephenson, who was nominally the SIS representative? Stephenson was able to coordinate the activities of all of these secret organizations while permitting their reporting lines to remain in place. This must surely have been a challenge. Unfortunately, little of this story emerges in these pages.

In spite of some shortcomings, and questioning of Stephenson's motivation, the book is a boon to those who wish to understand a remarkable facet of British-American relations. At its core, the BSC was one of the most effective undertakings of political advocacy whereby a clear goal was the shaping of another nation's domestic policy without being caught out.

The book makes very clear, and in adequate details, how BSC effectively swayed American opinion about the war raging in Europe. This is the story of shaping the thinking of the American body politic in a defined direction. Never mind that many American were favourably inclined towards the Allies (at that pre-Pearl Harbor time being Britain and Canada). The United States was neutral then, FDR faced a struggle in pursuing a pro-Allied policy, and Congress did not favour intervention on the side of the Allies. BSC executed a covert political advocacy program to influence the direction of U.S. policy — and it was evidently successful. Along the way, BSC ensured the security of British assets and interests and engaged in various forms of espionage. But history will probably assign to BSC highest marks for the dramatic role which it played in altering the thinking of a large nation by influencing the views of a select cadre of opinion-makers. In that sense this book describes diplomacy at its very best.



Notes from the Neo-Neolithic

Stoned again with A Aalto

The royal launch swooped down on the docks at Bhyll, past the river steps fronting the Hindu temples where hundreds of the devout were bathing in the sacred Su Wa Ni. Jungle-clad mountains rose on either side of the fertile plain behind the town. Dryan Tweedie, current Rajah and permanent archivist, was expounding the history of the area conquered by (and named after) one of his predecessors, a Shia ruler named Rikon. "You know, Bugbyte," muttered Attila McGee to the statuesque black woman beside him, "what with you being a computer genius and all, there's room here for a line about Bhyll Ghats and Shah Rikon Valley, but I think I'll pass." To which she replied, "You know, McGee, what with you being utterly clueless and all, there's room here for a swift thwack upside your head, but I'll pass if you will."

Ranee Mabel Stanley was briefing LDC Liebnitz on her reason for asking the Centre's help. "My old band, Edible Granite, has been rehearsing for a comeback." Noting the sudden rictus on the ace logician's face at mention of the heavy-metal disaster, she assured him, "It's all right, they're in Indonesia now,

recreating the Krakatoa explosion. But while they were here, we had to isolate them miles up the valley past human habitation. It was the only way to keep Amnesty International out of our hair. As it was, every orchid in the vicinity broke out in Kiss colours, the local orangutans all took up body-piercing, we have the largest flock of cross-dressing cockatoos in Asia, and an extended family of Komodo Dragons got deeply into rap. But we kept the secret from the wildlife groups until after the band split. The Dragons are actually doing rather well in Manhattan."

"One day, while the boys were pumping out their latest number, *Deathwatch Marmalade*, an enormous feedback squeal flattened every tree for miles and set off a major landslide in the nearby mountains. When Dryan and I arrived a few days later, we decided to check the site of the landslide, and found that it had re-opened a cave blocked by an earlier slide — our archaeologists estimate five to seven thousand years ago. Just inside the cave we found a stone tablet bearing unknown runes. The runes were freshly cut, but ours were the only footprints in the

heavy dust. Further inside, we found — well, Ludwig, I'd better let you see for yourself."

Three days later just before noon, five dusty travellers in the latest Indiana Jones safari gear smoothly dismounted (well, four smoothly dismounted and Attila fell off his horse) beside a stark cliff. There, still partly camouflaged in shredded vines, shattered rock and a pile of stunned monkeys still holding their ears, was a narrow crevice in the rock face. Hitching their horses to a nearby sloth, they entered the crevice.

Creeping down a long tunnel past the undisturbed stone tablet, they entered a cavern the size of a cathedral, its vaulted ceiling lost in flickering shadows. The tunnel had been natural, but the cavern had clearly been worked by hands of great cunning and artistry. A maze in clear crystal covered all the walls and half the floor in glittering silence. Obsidian cogs and gear-wheels meshed on diamond bearings, frozen in mid-turn. Glistening arcs closely inset with emeralds and sapphires bridged the cavern with light. As the visitors played their torches over the vast assemblage, it cast back such a fierce refracted fire.

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Bugbyte O'Nanotek recovered first. "Holy Father Turing," she exclaimed. "I know what this has to be — but I'm not sure I believe it!" Turning to the others, she explained. "Late at night, huddled around a blazing CPU, SysAdmins tell stories about the Coming of the First Computer. Many millennia ago, they say, a spacecraft crash-landed somewhere on earth. Unable to repair its ship, the alien on board made contact with our ancestors and gained their help to take the first step in re-creating the technology of space-faring: a computer with artificial intelligence. Given Earth's technology level, the computer was built entirely of stone, but based on light and crystals — an optical computer! The small amounts of necessary electricity were generated by piezo-electric pressure on quartz crystals. SysAdmins call the result the Grand Electro-Optical Difference Engine. Most of us are too cool to admit they believe the story, but we all seem to spend a lot of time on the Web looking. And this has just got to be it."

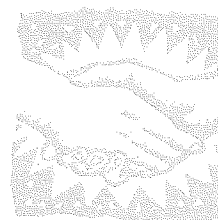
Probing the machinery, she mused, "Given the all-stone construction and the sheltered conditions, there's no reason why it shouldn't still work. In fact, I bet the tablet in the tunnel is a recent print-out." She pointed to three stone plaques mounted on the assemblage: one the image of a mightily-horned sheep on a gigantic crystal bearing, the sec-

ond the image of a spider on a complex prismatic assembly and the third a flat plate supported at waist height bearing the image of a large high-sided shoe. "Great, the system works the same way as ours — those are clearly the RAM cache, the Web browser and the boot disk. But how do we turn it on?"

Still hoping to impress, Attila dashed over to help. Mabel, who knew impending catastrophe when she saw it, tried to stop him, but only succeeded in knocking him off balance. Stumbling forward, arms windmilling wildly, he tripped on a tiny stalagmite and fell heavily onto the boot disk, which descended smoothly into the floor. Being Canadian, he apologized to the stalagmite. Nothing happened for a moment. No-one dared move.

Then, up by the roof, a small stone portal opened and a ray of tropical noonday sun flashed onto a long ruby rod just below. A piercing hum built up, then a solid bar of light burst from one end of the rod to strike a prism on the back wall. The light stream split, re-split and re-combined, changing colours and patterns as it jumped from one crystal to another, lighting up the cavern like the inside of a diamond. Meanwhile, a heavy stone fly-wheel activated the obsidian cogs and camshafts, setting sparks flying from large quartz crystals. Finally, a large stone near the

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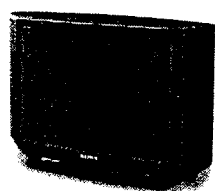
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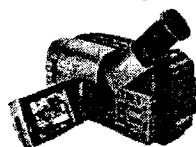
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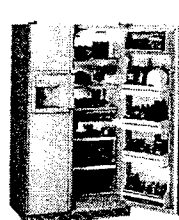


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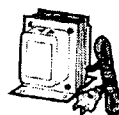
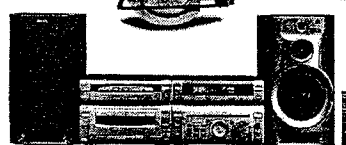


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FIRST TABLET:

⊕ ∏ † ↑ Ω ^ Θ → ↑ ∏ ∨ ∪ Ω ∅ ⇒ ↑ ^ ^ ⊠ ‡ ∏ ⊕ ^ ⊕ ∨ ↓ ⊕ ∏

floor by the tunnel mouth hinged up, revealing a deep opening. Jumping back, the travellers could see a long row of diamond-tipped hammers rising and falling on a stone slab. Soon the hammers stilled and the slab shot with great force out of the opening, across the floor (just missing Attila's head as he bent to dust a combat loafer) and down the tunnel, coming to rest beside the first tablet.

As it did so, the crystal assemblage came smoothly to a halt, the ceiling portal closing, the lights dying and the cogs falling still. The last energy of the flywheel, however, was enough to activate a vast stone door that slid inexorably down to block the mouth of the tunnel. The travellers scrambled to avoid being trapped. Bugbyte hurried back to find Attila, who was looking for his lost Rolex in the gathering dark, and haul him to safety just as the door thudded down. Soon, they were all standing in the sunshine at the bottom of the cliff face, huddled over the two stone tablets.

Liebnitz took charge. "Well, my guess is that the first tablet is a message from the artificial intelligence in the GEODE, probably a reaction to the Edible Granite blast that unsealed the tunnel. As you said, Mabel, it is written in an unknown script."

"The second tablet, however, seems to be a Rosetta Stone of some sort, since it uses both English and the unknown script. My assumption is that the GEODE can in fact understand English and modern references, having spent time on the Internet — which would also explain the rumours of its existence. My second assumption is that the original message was in English, but that GEODE chose a random font. When we couldn't read that font, it provided help. Now it wants to be alone again, but I'm sure it will get back in touch later."

After studying the second tablet for a few minutes, Liebnitz grunted and grinned. "I see that the GEODE has a sense of humour: all the references are to people or things with the words ROCK or STONE or some for-

eign variant in them. The runes in the first tablet are used to replace some of the same letters in the answers to the 15 clues in the second tablet — so if we get those answers, we can work back to the original message. Of course, GEODE could simply have printed out the first message in plain English, but I suspect that it's been a long time since he's had anyone to play with...."

On that basis, Liebnitz made short work of the second tablet and deciphered the message from the first, which turned out to be a song title. Can you duplicate his feat, by providing (a) the answers to the 15 clues on the second tablet; (b) the song title on the first

tablet; and (c) the name of the group who sang it? **bout de papier** will decide the winner by drawing from a box containing all correct entries received by July 31, 2000. The winner will receive a book prize autographed by A Aalto.

Free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto is grateful to Mrs. Aalto for the Stone Age Computer, and for her expertise, support and inspiration on so many puzzles. The original "Difference engine" is generally regarded as the first modern computer. A purely mechanical device, it was invented in the mid-19th century by Charles Babbage.

SECOND TABLET:

(a) Hemingway friend in Paris

___/___/___/ ∏ /___/ ‡ /___/___/___/___/___/___/___

(b) Author of Jalna stories

___/___/___/ ↑ /___/___/___/___/ ⇒ /___/___/___/___

(c) Big man at Health

___/___/ ^ /___/___/___/___/___/ ∨

(d) Hymn she loves Simon like

___/___/___/___/___/___/ ∪ /___/___/ †

(e) Flowery former PM

___/ ⊕ /___/___/___/___/___/___/___/ ∅ /___/___/___

(f) Post-Edible Granite condition

___/___/___/___/___/ ∅ / ↓ /___/___

(g) Crowning seat

___/___/___/___/___/___/___/___/ ∏ /___/___/ ↓

(h) Alcatraz or Prudential

∏ /___/___/ ⇒ /___/___/___

(i) Old paving medium

∏ /___/___/ ⊠ /___/___/___/___/___/___/___

(j) Historic town west of Red Deer

___/___/___/___/ Θ /___/___/___/___/___/___/___/___/ ‡ /___/___

(k) The worst

___/___/___ ∨ / ⊠ /___/___/___/___/___

(l) Margaret Laurence title

___/___/___/___/___/___/___/___/ Ω /___/___/ ^

(m) Early US immigration station

/___/___/ Θ /___/ ↑ /___/___/___/___/___/___/___

(n) "Mica" Douglas co-star

† /___/___/___/___ Ω /___/___/___/___/___

(o) "Mica" Douglas movie

___/___/___ ∪ /___/___/ ⊕ /___/___/___/___/___/___/___/___

The One Percent Solution

Answers

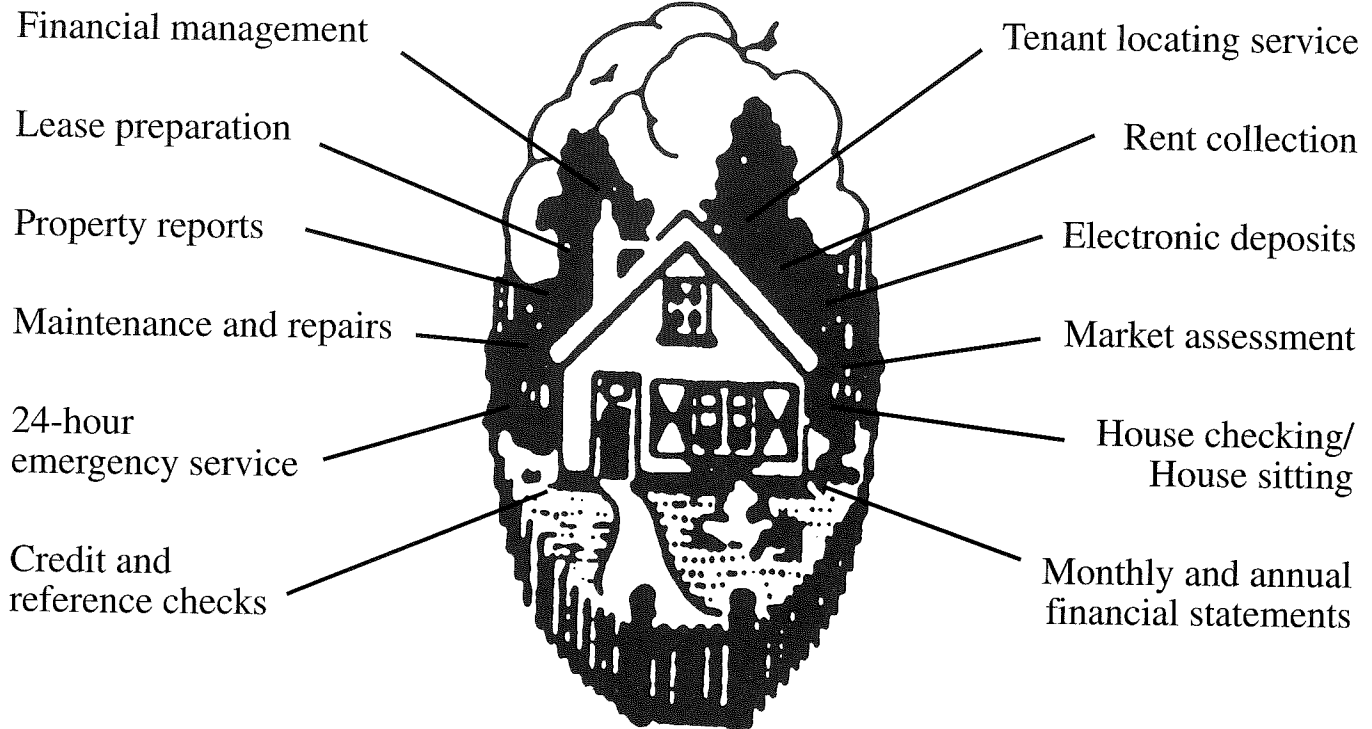
The intended victim was born in the Northwest Territories on 29 February 1952, making him 47 years old as of 1 January 2000. He/she has never been promoted. In addition, the officer in question is married, left-handed and from a visible minority.

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