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Flora MacDonald
Un heureux retour au Nigéria

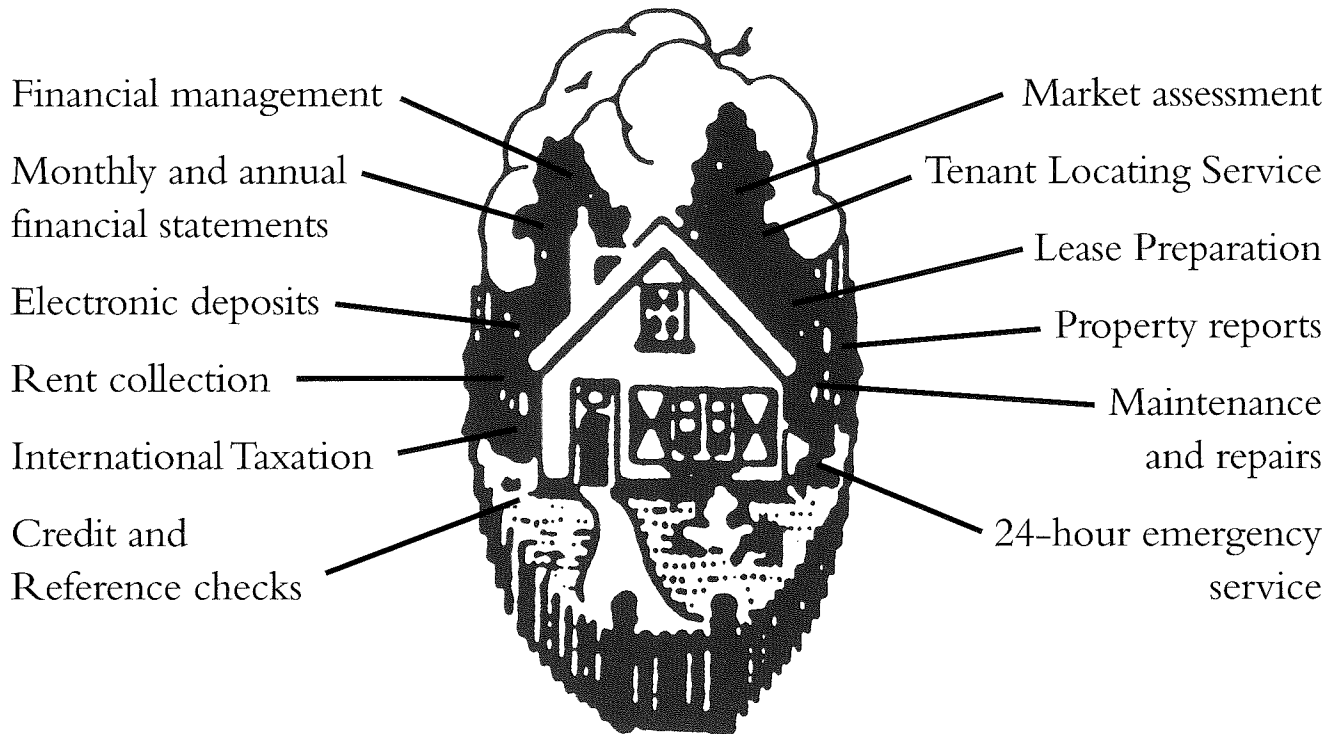
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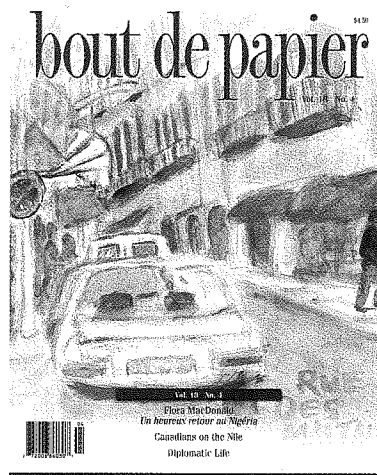
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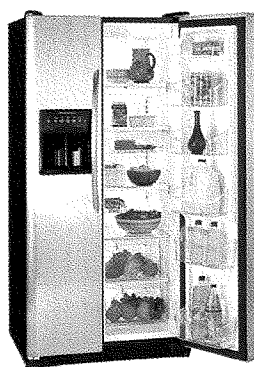
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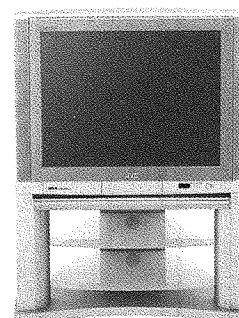
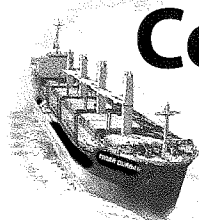
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Articles

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

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That people are the greatest asset of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade is getting to be a bit of a cliché these days — a coin that is becoming debased through overuse. But like most clichés, there is an indisputable kernel of truth within that surrounding of pulp.

In this issue of **bout**, there are a series of articles that highlight vividly two aspects of the personnel issue within Foreign Affairs, and that of our sister Department, Citizenship and Immigration Canada. The first is an article by Sarah Taylor that outlines the Department's policy regarding maternity and parental leave while abroad, and how that policy was developed. Whatever one's own personal and marital configuration, this article is worth a careful read, particularly by those who care deeply about the future of the Department at a time when recruitment and retention are critical issues.

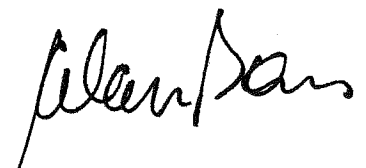
There is often the perception that there is a gap between statements by senior members of the Department recognizing "the Department's greatest asset", and the development and implementation of personnel policies that have an indelible effect on the credibility of those statements among those in the trenches. Sarah's disclaimer must be taken seriously — her article is not a critique of individuals working in the personnel branches of Foreign Affairs and Citizenship and Immigration Canada, but rather of the organizational culture responsible for how these policies are developed and implemented. It is presented by us in the hope that those responsible for personnel policies may be able to derive some "lessons learned" from this experience.

On a sadder note, there is a larger than usual number of obituaries and eulogies presented in this issue. They are of officers of considerable variety of rank, and they illustrate one of the most fundamental, and highly under recognized, aspects of the greatest part of those who work in and with the foreign service: a demonstrable honour, decency and kindness of thought and deed which makes many of the burdens we have to bear tolerable. In the tributes presented to Ed Ritchie, Dacre Cole and Bernard Brodie, we have a celebration of lives well lived — not just in terms of their

own accomplishments, but on the tremendous support they offered to their colleagues. The greatest regret is that in far too many cases, these words do not get written or spoken until it is too late for the subject to hear them.

Russell Merrifield s'appuie abondamment sur les notices nécrologiques et les éloges funèbres dans son dynamique examen du cimetière diplomatique de Tunis — les décideurs en matière de personnel pourraient peut-être même en « tirer des leçons ». Hector MacKenzie, pour sa part, continue de ratisser les archives du Ministère, ce qui nous vaut un autre spécimen mémorable : un examen des contraintes de l'élaboration de la politique étrangère, remontant à 1951. Ed Whitcomb nous guide au travers du champ de mines de la terminologie de la souveraineté. Kurt Jensen, Arthur Blanchette, John Starnes et Andrew Caddell présentent des critiques de livres sur divers sujets, notamment l'art de la cueillette et du traitement de renseignements, les politiciens devenus diplomates et la vie dans le service extérieur. Clyde Sanger partage avec nous une interview avec l'ancienne secrétaire d'État aux Affaires extérieures, Flora MacDonald, et Roger Lucy se penche sur les tribulations des moyennes puissances de l'antiquité et vient ainsi étayer l'adage voulant que l'histoire se répète. Sur une note plus légère, l'ancien rédacteur-en-chef de **bout**, Nicholas Coghlan, nous raconte l'odyssée d'une improbable embarcation sur le Nil, et Geoffrey Pearson et William Barton lancent un défi relatif à un commentaire anonyme des Nations Unies. Et, comme toujours, Aalto nous offre pour notre plus grand plaisir un autre de ses casse-tête.

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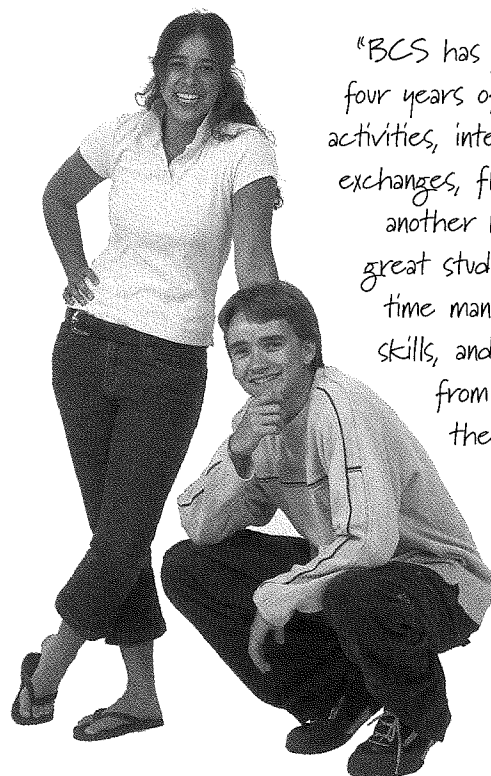
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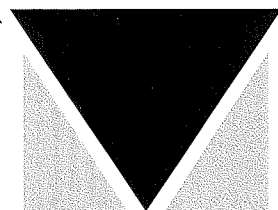
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Flora MacDonald

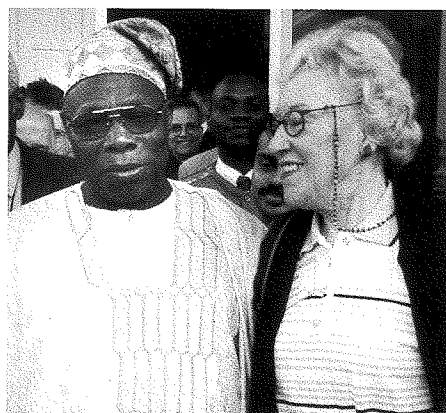
UN HEUREUX RETOUR AU NIGÉRIA

Entrevue réalisée par Clyde Sanger pour Les Canadiens dans le monde

Le ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Commerce international a lancé un site Web éducatif destiné principalement aux enseignants et aux étudiants de niveau secondaire au Canada, mais dont une grande partie du contenu pourrait aussi intéresser un auditoire plus vaste. Les Canadiens dans le monde / Canadians in the World compte tout un éventail de sujets, notamment du matériel original conçu pour Internet et des versions Web de documents imprimés et audiovisuels. Dans le cadre de ce projet, on a demandé au journaliste et écrivain Clyde Sanger d'interviewer des Canadiens et des Canadiennes qui ont eu une action déterminante dans le monde. Une de ces personnes est Flora MacDonald, une ancienne ministre des Affaires extérieures qui a réalisé à titre bénévole un travail considérable au Canada et dans le monde. Son profil, que M. Sanger a rédigé en anglais, a été ensuite traduit par le Service de traduction (TRAN) du ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Commerce international.

Hector Mackenzie

Flora MacDonald aurait pu se retirer discrètement de la vie publique canadienne en 1988 lorsqu'elle a perdu son siège parlementaire de Kingston and the Islands. Après tout, elle avait été députée pendant 16 ans et ministre durant cinq de ces années, ainsi que chargée de trois portefeuilles consécutifs, en commençant par les Affaires étrangères en 1979-1980. Et elle avait 62 ans. Mais elle ne s'est pas retirée, bien entendu. Cette « conservatrice rouge », de plus en plus dynamique, a commencé à travailler pour une douzaine d'organisations non gouvernementales canadiennes et internationales. L'une d'entre elles est l'Initiative du



L'hon. Flora MacDonald et le président Olusegun Obasanjo de Nigéria.

Commonwealth concernant les droits de la personne (ICDP), qui était d'abord une coalition de cinq associations professionnelles distinctes du Commonwealth — de médecins, d'avocats, d'enseignants en droit, de syndicalistes et de journalistes. Patrick Keatley, un journaliste d'origine canadienne qui, pendant de nombreuses années, a couvert les affaires du Commonwealth pour *The Guardian*, lui a demandé d'être la première personne à assumer la présidence de l'organisation. Elle raconte ce qui s'ensuivit après avoir donné une entrevue à Abuja, au Nigéria.

« Patrick m'a appelée en 1989 pour m'annoncer que certains groupes, dont l'Association des avocats du Commonwealth, l'Association des journalistes du Commonwealth et l'Association médicale du Commonwealth, se réunissaient à Londres. Il m'a dit : "Nous avons discuté de la création d'une association du Commonwealth pour les droits de la personne; ils vont la parrainer et voudraient que vous en deveniez la première

présidente". J'y ai réfléchi, puis j'ai répondu "Oui, j'accepte". Nous l'avons constituée en 1989 et nous avons un très bon conseil d'administration, avec des membres de la Nouvelle-Zélande, de l'Inde, de l'Afrique et ainsi de suite. Et du Nigéria — le docteur Beko Ransome-Kuti. Nous nous sommes réunis occasionnellement pendant quelques années. Mais nous avons décidé, six mois avant le sommet de Harare [la Réunion des chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth, ou RCGC] en 1991, que nous tenterions d'établir un imposant dossier des réalisations au chapitre des droits de la personne dans le Commonwealth. Et nous l'avons effectivement établi et présenté dans notre tout premier rapport, *Put Our World to Rights*. Ça ne s'était jamais fait avant; personne n'avait réellement examiné le vaste horizon du Commonwealth sous cet angle. »

« Nous l'avons apporté [le rapport] avec nous à Harare, au Zimbabwe, et j'ai persuadé M. [Brian] Mulroney, le premier ministre canadien, de le présenter aux chefs de gouvernement à l'occasion de la réunion. Celui-ci a également joué un rôle de premier plan dans la présentation de toute la question des droits de la personne à cette conférence. On a beaucoup débattu et argumenté parce que certains dirigeants comme Babangida, du Nigéria, Mahathir, de la Malaisie, et Moi, du Kenya, s'opposaient vivement à toute déclaration sur les droits de la personne. Robert Mugabe [président du Zimbabwe et hôte de la rencontre] n'y était pas très favorable et, ayant à présider la conférence de presse finale, il a tenté d'esquiver la question des droits de la personne. Cela est intéressant étant donné que dans l'auditoire, à la conférence de presse, il y avait un certain nombre d'activistes des droits de la personne qui ont tenté

d'aborder le sujet, parce que nous ne pensions pas que la déclaration de Harare était assez ferme; de sorte qu'on l'a passablement contestée. Elle n'avait pas assez de mordant pour permettre au Commonwealth de prendre de vraies mesures. On l'a raffermie à une RCGC subséquente à Millbrook, en Nouvelle-Zélande, par la création du Groupe d'action ministériel du Commonwealth (GAMC). »

Mission au Nigéria

« Cela a été notre premier véritable effort, et nous avons continué d'examiner des questions touchant le Commonwealth et de les commenter. Le Nigéria était cependant le premier grand pays du Commonwealth à violer manifestement les droits de la personne. Nous avons donc décidé d'envoyer trois d'entre nous pour enquêter au Nigéria, en particulier auprès des groupes qui luttent contre la corruption et les abus. C'était en 1995, et le général Sani Abacha s'était emparé en 1994 du pouvoir que détenait le général Ibrahim Babangida. L'ICDP a demandé à l'archevêque Desmond Tutu (d'Afrique du Sud) de diriger cette mission, et j'en aurais fait partie avec Enoch Dumbutshena, l'ancien juge en chef du Zimbabwe. Mais l'archevêque Tutu s'était rendu au Nigéria environ un mois ou deux auparavant et il s'était montré si critique qu'il n'y aurait plus été le bienvenu. C'est alors qu'on m'a demandé si je voulais diriger la mission. »

« Je n'ai pas eu de mal à obtenir un visa parce que j'ai demandé au ministère des Affaires étrangères à Ottawa de m'aider à l'obtenir; j'y suis allée [au haut-commissariat du Nigéria] avec l'un de ses fonctionnaires. Mais comme Enoch et Neville Linton avaient du mal à obtenir leur visa, je suis arrivée la première en juillet 1995. J'ai eu de la chance, étant donné que le Canada avait déjà rappelé son haut-commissaire [en guise de protestation contre les violations des droits de la personne perpétrées par le régime Abacha] et que sa résidence officielle était vacante. Je me suis installée dans la résidence officielle, sur l'île d'Ikoyi, à Lagos, et je l'ai aménagée en quartier général. Enoch et Neville y sont demeurés lorsqu'ils sont arrivés un certain temps après. »

« Nous avons tenu la plupart de nos réunions à cet endroit parce que les gens pouvaient se présenter à la résidence sans être dérangés. Les gens des médias sont venus nous dire ce qu'ils subissaient. Stella Obasanjo est venue et nous a présenté un compte rendu très complet de la façon dont son mari avait été appréhendé au milieu de la nuit et amené en prison. Kudirat (l'épouse du chef Moshood Abiola) en a fait autant et

elle s'est montrée très dynamique et déterminée. Malheureusement, elle a été assassinée par la suite dans une rue de Lagos alors qu'elle se rendait au haut-commissariat du Canada. Nous avons fait connaître notre mission grâce à deux très bons adjoints. Gerry Ohlsen était l'un d'eux et il connaissait tout le monde parmi les relations que nous voulions établir — et s'il ne les connaissait pas, sa femme Mavaia les connaissait parce qu'elle était bien branchée dans les organisations féminines. Ils nous ont beaucoup aidés. Tout comme le D^r Ransome-Kuti, qui a dirigé la campagne pour la démocratie et a amené avec lui Olisa Agbakoba, dirigeante de l'organisation pour les libertés civiles. »

« Ensuite, nous sortions rencontrer d'autres gens, à Lagos mais aussi ici à Abuja. Je suis venue et j'ai rencontré le ministre des Affaires étrangères de l'époque, Tom Ikimi, et d'autres ministres. Nous n'avons pas obtenu beaucoup de réponses claires de ceux-ci. Nous sommes allés ensuite à Kaduna et à Kano et après notre retour à Lagos, nous avons pris l'avion pour Port Harcourt et nous nous sommes rendus à Ogoniland pour y rencontrer des gens. »

« Certaines personnes qui étaient effrayées venaient nous voir à la résidence au beau milieu de la nuit. Nous savions que nous étions surveillés dès que nous sortions [de la résidence officielle]. Les agents de sécurité ne pouvaient pas venir dans l'enceinte de la résidence de sorte qu'il leur était absolument impossible d'entendre ce qui se disait. À Abuja, nous avons rencontré plusieurs ministres et le chef de Cabinet du président. Nous avons tenté de rencontrer le président; nous avons tenté d'obtenir l'autorisation de nous rendre à la prison rencontrer le chef Abiola et le général Olusegun Obasanjo, mais on nous a refusé cette autorisation. »

« C'était intéressant, parce que nous avons obtenu dans le nord un point de vue passablement différent de celui que nous avons recueilli dans le sud. C'est à Lagos que nous avons observé des attitudes de résistance nationale au régime. Pourtant, quand nous sommes allés au sud, à Port Harcourt et à Ogoniland, nous avons rencontré des gens qui étaient entièrement préoccupés par leurs propres problèmes et c'était presque comme s'ils ne faisaient pas partie du Nigéria, sauf pour dire que "c'est là-haut qu'ils prennent les décisions ou qu'ils récoltent les avantages que les sociétés pétrolières peuvent verser au gouvernement pour obtenir l'autorisation de forer sur notre territoire". »

« J'ai constaté, lorsque je suis allée dans les rues et les marchés de Lagos avec un guide, que les gens nous regardaient avec

méfiance parce qu'ils craignaient d'être interrompus par quelqu'un qui se présenterait; [ils craignaient] d'être renvoyés chez eux et de voir le marché perturbé. Ces gens, dont le gagne-pain et la survie dépendaient de la possibilité d'installer leurs étals, vivaient perpétuellement dans la peur. Tout le monde vivait dans la peur — c'était la chose la plus remarquable au Nigéria à l'époque. »

« Des quantités de gens de la presse sont venus nous rencontrer et nous parler des rédacteurs et des journalistes qui avaient déjà été emprisonnés et souffraient terriblement, isolés dans leur prison. Ils venaient nous dire "Eh bien, je suis ici ce soir mais je pourrais ne plus être ici demain". Et des gens comme Beko Ransome-Kuti, qui était très actif dans la lutte contre les violations des droits de la personne, devaient se déplacer d'une maison à une autre toutes les deux nuits pour trouver une place où demeurer. Il nous a aidés à organiser notre voyage dans tout le Nigéria, et trois semaines après notre départ, il a été emprisonné et il est resté trois ans en isolement cellulaire, en réaction censément au coup d'État qui, selon Abacha, avait été fomenté contre lui — le complot dont Obasanjo était censé être un des dirigeants. »

« Pendant que nous étions là-bas, le tribunal militaire a tenu des audiences et a condamné à mort des personnes comme Obasanjo, Yar'Adua et d'autres. La réaction des journaux a été très dure et très franche — j'ai été stupéfaite de voir ce qu'ils ont imprimé, en sachant que toutes les personnes impliquées pouvaient elles-mêmes être emprisonnées et torturées. Bon nombre l'ont été. Il fallait beaucoup de courage. »

Tous les systèmes étaient en panne

« Vous savez, c'était plus que de la répression. Tous les secteurs de la société s'écroulaient. Rien ne fonctionnait. Le réseau scolaire ne fonctionnait pas, les universités étaient fermées, les hôpitaux ne fonctionnaient pas. Où que vous alliez, vous deviez tout emporter avec vous; pour aller à l'hôpital, vous deviez emporter vos draps. Pour aller à l'école, vous deviez emporter votre chaise. Les gens étaient en pleine privation. Dans les villes, il n'y avait guère de nourriture, en particulier pour les pauvres. Souvent les familles devaient envoyer leurs enfants dans la rue pour mendier et trouver de la nourriture afin d'assurer leur propre survie. La police passait, ramassait ces enfants et les amenait dans ce qu'elle appelait des "centres de rassemblement" jusqu'à ce qu'elle puisse retrouver les parents. Mais ces "centres de rassemblement" étaient en fait des prisons. Les fillettes étaient enfermées dans une grande cellule sans commodités; elles

étaient nourries par les gens qui apportaient de la nourriture; elles restaient enfermées pendant 23 heures chaque jour et n'avaient droit qu'à deux sorties d'une demi-heure, pour manger ce que les gens avaient apporté. C'était très différent de ce que je vois ici aujourd'hui. »

« Il y avait des choses qui n'allaient vraiment pas. Nous avons rencontré une femme juge à Kano qui nous a raconté son histoire. On lui avait donné une maison où vivre et une voiture, mais elle ne touchait aucune paye. Elle était merveilleuse, mais pour de nombreuses personnes, cela eut été une invitation ouverte à la corruption. Elle a décrit sa journée au tribunal : elle instruisait toutes ces causes, souvent des causes mineures, et elle n'avait aucun greffier, aucun secrétaire. Elle devait s'organiser pour trouver assez de papier pour prendre ses notes elle-même; puis elle devait rentrer chez elle pour rédiger son jugement. C'était le triste état des choses en 1995. »

Le Nigéria à la merci des généraux

« Nous avons passé trois semaines au Nigéria, en juillet, et nous avons rédigé notre rapport à notre retour à Londres. Neville Linton, qui était très bon, en a réalisé la plus grande partie. Je lui ai remis toutes mes notes du temps où j'étais là-bas avant son arrivée. Je suis partie avant Neville, qui est resté pour réaliser avec la presse quelques entrevues en profondeur et ainsi de suite. Le rapport s'intitulait *Nigeria — Stolen by Generals*. Il a reçu beaucoup d'attention au Nigéria et parmi les diplomates nigériens, et chaque fois que j'entrais en communication avec des représentants du haut-commissariat du Nigéria à Ottawa, on me reprochait sévèrement de les avoir trompés sur ma raison d'aller au Nigéria et de demander un visa. Peu après, on m'a demandé de prononcer une allocution au 35^e anniversaire du SUCO et j'ai parlé du Nigéria. Il y avait beaucoup de personnel diplomatique à cette rencontre dans l'édifice de l'Ouest du Parlement. Le chargé d'affaires nigérien était assis dans la toute première rangée et il était très apparent dans sa robe d'un blanc éclatant. Au beau milieu de mon discours, il s'est levé et a quitté la salle. »

« Le rapport a vraiment fait les manchettes au Royaume-Uni. Il était bien rédigé, et son style retenait l'attention parce qu'il décrivait des scènes comme ces enfants en prison — et, bien entendu, il était très sévère envers le gouvernement. On l'a repris au Canada et dans d'autres pays, et il a été publié en octobre 1995 juste avant la Réunion des chefs de gouvernement à Auckland, en Nouvelle-Zélande. Nous en avons fait parvenir un exemplaire à chaque chef de gouvernement. Je n'étais pas à Auckland,

mais d'autres membres de l'ICDP ont veillé à ce qu'on en parle. Dans ce rapport, nous parlions beaucoup d'Ogoniland et des gens qui étaient emprisonnés là-bas. En plein milieu de la RCGC, rappelez-vous, Ken Saro-Wiwa et les neuf autres [activistes ogonis] ont été exécutés. Notre rapport a raffermi les réactions à leur mort et a élargi le contexte. »

On a demandé à M^{me} MacDonald ce qu'elle pensait de l'efficacité du Groupe d'action ministériel du Commonwealth (GAMC) au cours de ses six années d'existence. Le GAMC a été mis sur pied au sommet d'Auckland, plus précisément pendant le week-end de réflexion des chefs de gouvernement dans un endroit appelé Millbrook. Voici ce qu'elle a répondu : « Son mandat n'était pas très clair. Il devait examiner la Déclaration de Harare, qui a été raffermie à Millbrook, et veiller à ce que les pays en respectent la portée. C'était un groupe inégal; certains membres du GAMC ne s'intéressaient pas beaucoup aux droits de la personne, et je crois qu'il aurait pu se montrer plus dynamique comme groupe. Les deux membres les plus actifs du groupe étaient les ministres des Affaires étrangères du Canada et de la Nouvelle-Zélande (Lloyd Axworthy et Don McKinnon, aujourd'hui secrétaire général du Commonwealth). Mais ils n'arrivaient pas toujours à leurs fins. Je pense qu'il est difficile pour un groupe d'être efficace s'il ne se réunit qu'occasionnellement. Il est vrai que ses membres sont informés par leurs propres agents et le Secrétariat du Commonwealth, mais vous devez vous montrer constamment vigilants en ces matières. »

« Le problème de la présence de ministres des Affaires étrangères [dans un tel groupe], c'est que ces gens ont tellement de choses à faire. C'est d'ailleurs pourquoi nous, de l'ICDP, avons recommandé en premier lieu de créer une commission des droits de la personne, avec un commissaire aux droits de la personne. À mon avis, c'est ce qu'il faut faire, et cela nous permettrait de nous concentrer uniquement sur la question des droits de la personne. Nous n'en sommes pas encore là. J'estime aussi que les membres du GAMC ne devraient pas être des représentants de gouvernements; ils devraient être des spécialistes des droits de la personne indépendants et de l'extérieur. Je pense que les pays du Commonwealth, et certainement les plus riches, devraient contribuer financièrement à une telle commission. Notre expédition au Nigéria a été financé en grande partie par l'Agence canadienne de développement international. Les fonctionnaires de l'ACDI se sont vraiment intéressés à notre mission, et je leur ai présenté un compte rendu à notre retour; ils

ont jugé que nous avions fait un travail relativement bon en si peu de temps. »

Propos francs

Olusegun Obasanjo a été libéré en 1998 après la mort soudaine de Sani Abacha. Un gouvernement de transition dirigé par le général Abdulsalaam Abubakar a préparé le terrain pour des élections en février 1999, à l'occasion desquelles Obasanjo a été élu président. Lorsque l'Association des journalistes du Commonwealth (AJC) a tenu son assemblée triennale à Abuja en février 2001, le président Obasanjo a invité tous les participants à un petit déjeuner au cours duquel il s'est exprimé librement. M^{me} MacDonald poursuit :

« Il est intéressant de noter que dans son discours de l'autre jour, le président Obasanjo a fait allusion à notre rapport en mentionnant que c'était la première fois que cette question de premier plan était soulevée dans la communauté internationale. Il a décrit de quelle façon le rapport avait entraîné une série d'événements, dont sa propre élection à la présidence. »

« En 1995, vous n'osiez pas vous promener dans les rues de Lagos à moins d'être bien accompagné; aujourd'hui en 2001, vous pouvez sortir et parcourir les rues partout à Abuja. Je me suis promenée dans le voisinage où j'avais demeuré et j'ai parlé aux gens. Le plus important changement étaient l'absence de peur; les gens répondaient sans hésitation. Des travailleurs de la construction ont interrompu leur travail pour me dire ce qu'ils faisaient. Manifestement, nous avons reçu un accueil chaleureux des bureaucrates, ce qui n'avait pas été le cas en 1995, mais à mes yeux, c'est dans la rue et au marché que c'était très différent. Il n'y a pas cette influence omniprésente de la peur. Il n'y a pas beaucoup de changement dans la situation de la pauvreté et dans l'amélioration des systèmes qui étaient tombés en panne. Il faudra beaucoup de temps pour les remettre en état. J'ai parlé à quelqu'un [Brian Haddon] qui participait à un important projet d'immunisation au Nigéria; c'était très difficile de le mettre en œuvre parce que dans les villages, on se heurtait à toutes sortes d'obstacles du fait que le système de santé ne fonctionnait pas. Il se passe beaucoup de choses que les gens peuvent observer aux échelons supérieurs; mais dans les rues et les villages, il y a énormément de pauvreté. »

« Je pense que la Constitution du Nigéria a grandement besoin d'être remaniée, et pas seulement raccommodée. Une partie du pays, comme l'État de Rivers où il y a beaucoup de production pétrolière, bénéficie très peu de ce revenu, et c'est la partie la plus pauvre du pays. »

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CANADIANS ON THE NILE

by Nicholas Coghlan

Readers of **bout de papier** may not know that Canada's presence on the Nile dates back rather longer than the establishment of our mission in Cairo, to the presence of Canadian voyageurs on the famous expedi-

tion of Field Marshal Kitchener to the Sudan in 1896-98, which culminated in the Battle of Omdurman and which launched the career of the young Winston Churchill. This fascinating moment in history (arguably the first

time Canadian military forces served overseas) is documented in a book that is now sadly out of print: *Canadians on the Nile*, by former FS and International Trade Minister Roy MacLaren.



In August 2000 Canada was officially back in Sudan, with our opening of a small representative Office in Khartoum. However, we are now back on the Upper Nile in rather more than just a metaphorical sense. Four blocks to the North of the Office of the Canadian Embassy, which is located within the larger premises of the British Embassy, there sits — on the edge of the Blue Nile — one of the more interesting relics of those near-mythical years of Empire that saw not only the launch of Kitchener's spectacular career but the equally dramatic martyrdom of Charles Gordon at the hands of the Mahdi. (Aficionados of 1960s Hollywood spectacles will recall Charlton Heston as Gordon and Laurence Olivier as the enigmatic Mahdi — "I am the expected one" — waging their battle of wits and psyches in "Khartoum").

This relic is none other than Her Majesty's Gunboat Melik, described by modern military historians as "the Cruise Missile of the Victorian Era". Brought in pieces from England to Upper Egypt, the Melik and three sister vessels were reassembled and then sailed at high water through the Nile cataracts to reinforce Kitchener's land forces that had built their own railway across the desert from Wadi Halfa (the railway also still survives: last Christmas I rode the very same rails, date-stamped 1896, to Egypt). At Omdurman, the Melik and her sisters played a crucial role in bombarding the Mahdi's mud fortifications, contributing in large part to the horrific losses of the dervishes: 10,000 versus British losses of approximately 40.

The Melik has seen its ups and downs since 1898, and almost sank at her moorings in 1989. But in that same year, exceptionally high waters on the Blue Nile washed her ashore, where she has remained ever since; she now lists about ten degrees to port but is surrounded by colourful flower beds.

But the Melik is not idle in her old age, and here I will explain how Canada not only has a new presence in Khartoum, but is literally back on the Nile.

Since 1926, the Melik has served as the clubhouse of the Blue Nile Sailing Club, which is thus the oldest sailing club in Africa.

The BNSC is not only almost unique in having an armour clad clubhouse: its entire fleet of sailboats is made of steel. Legend has it that in the twenties the then-commander of a Royal Engineers detachment, despairing of the long somnolent days



in Khartoum with nothing to do (plus ça change...), ordered a junior officer to design a sailboat for the use of the officers, to be built out of whatever material might come to hand. Wood being rather scarce in the Sahara desert, he used steel. And three times a week in season — Mondays and Wednesdays at 4:30 p.m., Fridays at 10:00 a.m.; November to May — the Melik's bell is rung by club secretary William to start racing sessions. On a busy afternoon, as many as twelve or fourteen Khartoum One-Designs, all at least seventy years old, cast off from the moorings below the Melik to compete in closely-fought "round the buoys" races on the kilometre-wide Blue Nile. On Fridays, longer races are held: around Tuti Island, to the confluence with the White Nile, or upstream past the brick factories to beautiful white sandy beaches on the Blue.

Most of the Khartoums are brightly painted in household enamel (no fancy yachting paints here...) and carry the names of sponsors: Pepsi, Blue Nile Dairies and so on. Near-catastrophic gear failures such as broken masts are frequent in the sometimes gusty afternoon winds, but there is little that cannot be repaired with a few old hose clamps and a couple of well-placed nails. Collisions (equally frequent) never

Her Majesty's Gunboat Melik has served as the clubhouse of the Blue Nile Sailing Club since 1926.

result in anything more than scratches to the old steel hulls, and welded flotation compartments in bow and stern ensure that the Khartoums stay afloat. You just need to be aware of crocodiles and a hippo family in the White Nile and trigger-happy guards at the Presidential Palace, should you have the misfortune to go aground on a sandbank in the wrong place.

The boats are surprisingly fast, racing is competitive, and the locals (notably the venerable Faroukh and Mohammed, who have been sailing these waters for fifty years

or more) carefully guard their local knowledge of unsuspected currents and wind pockets from innocent "hawaijas" (white foreigners) who think they know a thing or two about sailing. The only chance you have against them is to bamboozle them with arcane interpretations of the rules, for their English racing terminology extends little beyond "Starboard" (to be used when warning of imminent collision in any scenario whatsoever...), "Water" and "Protest!"

In another historical footnote, a direct descendant of the Mahdi is a club member (as is a son of the notorious architect of fundamentalism in this country, Hassan al-Turabi).

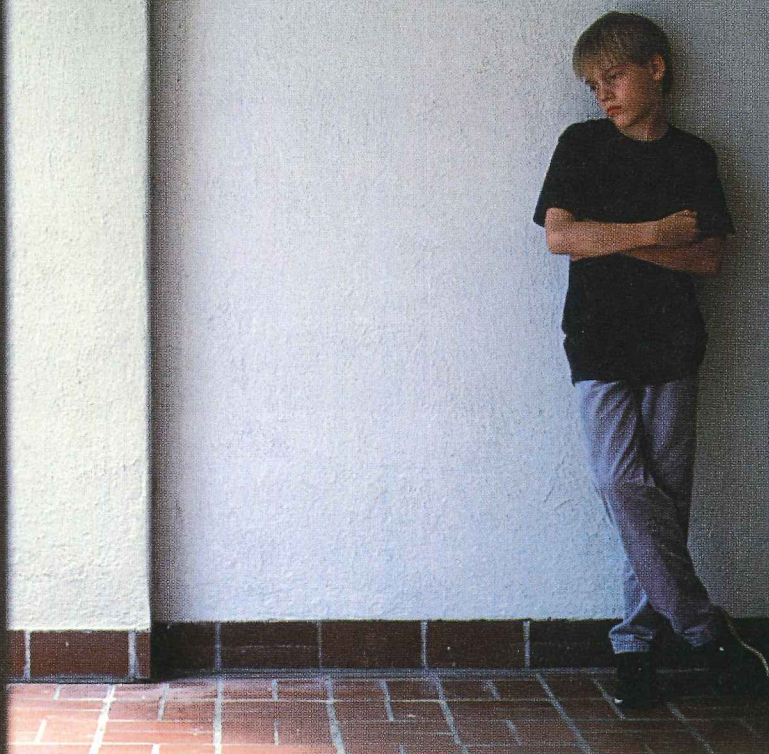
My own Khartoum — painted bright red and named simply "Canada" — has yet to win a race; it thus must be said that our presence on the river remains a modest one. But there are few more enjoyable ways to pass a late winter's afternoon in this hot, sleepy city than pottering around on the river as the sun sinks over the confluence with the White Nile and the muezzin's calls to prayer begin all over Khartoum and Omdurman.

The only problem is that after the race there's not a cold beer to be had. ☹

Nicholas Coghlan, eighteen months after taking up his assignment as the first ever permanent Canadian diplomatic representative in the Sudan, is now anxiously awaiting relief on the banks of the Nile, and hopes that DFAIT will arrive before he meets the same fate as Chinese Gordon.



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Diplomatic Life

Text and illustrations by Russell Merrifield

In Tunis, across from the Bab Cartajena, lies St George's churchyard. Until about a hundred years ago, when the walled Medina closed the gates each night to infidels, this area was the ghetto of Jews and foreigners. St George's is not on any tour or in most guide-books. If in Tunis, you should visit it. I search for words to induce you, but cannot improve on, "a mansion of rest", a phrase I borrowed from an epitaph in St George's.

This epitaph is the inspiration of these few paragraphs, an eclectic reminiscence on the posting cycle and diplomatic duties.

Let's begin

"In this mansion of rest lies deposited all that was mortal of James Traill, Esq., who departed this life XVI Oct. MDCCLXXXVII. He had the honour of serving his Britannick Majesty as Agent and Consul General in the Kingdom of Tunis 22 years".

Can you imagine such an assignment? Yet for his time James's career was far from exceptional. You might say his term was relatively short, cut down in the prime of life perhaps.

Richard Lawrence must have been James Traill's predecessor in office. His headstone reads:

"Here lyeth the body of Richard Lawrence, Esq. His Britannick Majesty's Agent and Consul General in this City and Kingdom of Tunis. Born near Truro in the county of Cornwall, 29 October 1698 and departed this life 27 June 1780 in the 82nd year of his age having served three British Sovereigns as Consul in Tunis during the space of 38 years".

Now that's a career path! Did Whitehall have a Personnel Department in those days? Could Personnel not find staff for this remote dependency of the Sublime Porte?

Gravestones in St George's offer vignettes of the careers of several of our predecessors in the foreign service.

James Dodge, Esq., Chargé d'affaires of the Republic of the United States of America, departed this life in Tunis Oct. 22, 1806, aged 34 years. The United States of America was not yet twenty when James Dodge died. Dodge must have been one of the first foreign diplomats of the new republic.

Samuel Heaps, born Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 8 October 1781, died 12 October 1853, was for 30 years consul in Tunis for the Republic of the United States of America. Another American with a long career on the Barbary Coast.

But no nineteenth-century American consul was more famous than John Howard Payne, actor, poet and composer of the song "Home Sweet Home". Nobody knows "Home Sweet Home" anymore but the title is preserved forever by collectors of nineteenth-century girls' samplers. Ahmed Pasha granted Payne a state funeral when he died.

Jacobo Ronling, whose tombstone I have translated from Latin, using what I remember from my five years of classics oh so many years ago, was consul for the Kingdom of Denmark in Tunis throughout 30 years of the eighteenth century. He led a respected life in the community and died "mourned by the Arabs and Turks and lamented by the Jews".

For some families the post of consul in Tunis became hereditary. Several generations of Tulins, consuls of Sweden, are buried here. Bismark appointed one Tulin, perhaps a second son who could not get the main post, as the consul of Prussia around 1870.

These tidbits inspired me to delve further. What did our predecessors in office do? I find we can empathise with many of the issues our seventeenth- to nineteenth-century ancestors in the service faced.

One constant risk — unfortunately a risk making a come-back — was being held for ransom. In the eighteenth-century Barbary

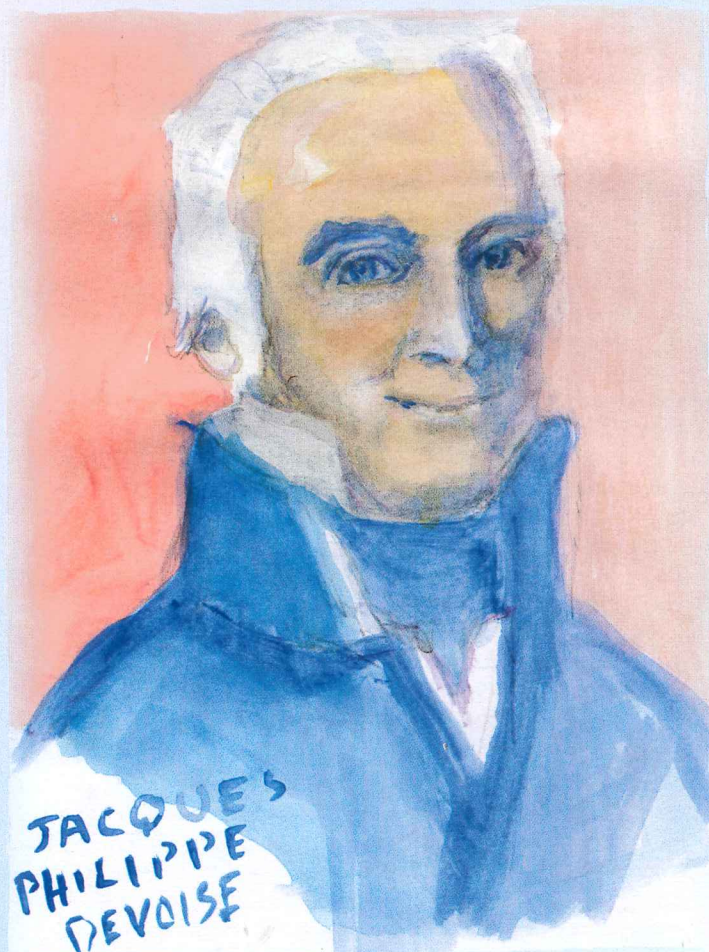
ports kidnapping was a major industry. One seventeenth-century Bey, miffed by an affront, threatened to execute the British consul unless his consular charges paid a very large sum. The charges managed to negotiate a settlement at a sizeable but substantially reduced price.

What we really have to admire in our forefathers, to use the rubric in our appraisals, is their flexibility and adaptability. At least two proved themselves beyond anything our authorities would ever demand. What happened to those who failed, I hesitate to imagine.

Richard Lawrence stayed in post through the reigns of the first three Georges. Lasting this long in an era when heads could still roll at the whim of the monarch has to win him high marks for "flexibility" and "organisational awareness".

But I challenge anyone to find a more organisationally aware and flexible diplomat than Jacques-Philippe Devoise, Capitaine de Cavalerie. Here is his c.v.:

"1774, Vice-consul à Tunis, décembre 1776, Chargé d'affaires a.i., 1778, Vice-consul à Lattaquie, 1781, Gérant du Consulat de Tripoli de Syrie, 1786, Vice-consul à Scio, 1791, Commissaire du Roi à Tunis, 1792, Consul général, révoqué le 11 janvier 1796, réintégré le 10 août 1797, confirmé Consul général le 20 mai 1814 et le 29 mai 1815, quitté Tunis en 1819 et meurt à Voiron en 1832".



Look at those dates! Devoise begins his consular career in the last year of Louis XV. He continues through the Estates General, the Convention, the regicide, the Committee of Public Safety, the Directory, the Empire, the overthrow of Napoleon twice, the Congress of Vienna, to return to his homeland under Louis XIX. As far as I can see no one ever thought it essential he do an interim home posting.

To take another look at our theme. What did His Majesty's Consul and others do in the reigns of the first three Georges and the time of Devoise? In the early period, when not being held hostage themselves, ransoming other hostages and paying for the return of ships was an important activity. In Tunis the French consuls held a virtual monopoly on obtaining the release of prisoners, even making sure, upon suitable remuneration, that some prisoners were never returned.

Unlike the neighbouring Barbary ports, Tripoli and Algiers, Tunis did not live on piracy alone. Even then Tunis was more renowned for trade, some of it grey, than extortion. An Italian commentator calls Tunis the Shanghai of the sixteenth century.

As for the next generation of long-serving consuls, we find that their duties seem very contemporary. I quote a memorial at St George's:

"In memory of Thomas Reade Kt, Companion of the Order of the Bath, Knight of the Neapolitan Order of Ferdinand and Merit of King Francis I of the Two Sicilies and of the Greek Order of the Saviour who died 29 June 1849 aged 66 having held for 23 years the Office of Britannic Agent and Consul General in this Regency; nobly employing in the cause of humanity his personal influence with Hamet Pasha Bey, he prevailed upon His Highness to abolish slavery and give freedom to every slave in his Dominions".

Now that is a successful initiative! If our Human Rights Division could make a similar boast now, it would merit much more than a PAFSO award. An Order of Canada at high rank, I would hope.

Hamet or Ahmed Pasha, like his contemporary in Cairo, Mohamed Ali, was the first possessor of the Kingdom of Tunis to try to modernise traditions that suffocated this part of the Mediterranean.

Among his acts were the modernisation of the armies, the purchase of steam ships, the beginnings of industrialisation and the beginnings of railways. To finance this, Tunis went to the European financial market. The result, a rescheduling under a nineteenth-century body of consuls that looks a lot like the Paris Club but that intervened far more directly in the internal affairs of the regency, taking 50 percent of the revenue.

For modern Canadian diplomats, Ahmed Pasha's amour-propre led to an incident that feels very contemporary.

In 1846 Ahmed Pasha, (the translation is from a French document, the original in Arabic) "voulant rendre au Sultan des Français la visite faite à Tunis par les princes d'Orléans consulta sur l'opportunité de ce projet ses hommes d'états et caïds".

Their answer, "Les Français sont maintenant nos voisins en Algérie. Leurs princes ont été nos hôtes. Nous approuvons donc pleinement votre projet, si toutefois, Votre Altesse est sûr de trouver l'accueil dont il est digne".

Ahmed received the "accueil dont il était digne" in France. However his planned continuation to London didn't come off. Her Majesty's government insisted that the Ambassador of Turkey be



present at all official meetings. For the Foreign Office lawyers of the day, Ahmed Pasha remained a vassal of the Sultan. Ahmed elected to return home rather than suffer this affront to his dignity.

Consul Reade, who convinced the Bey to abolish slavery, held the care of what was by far the largest expat community in the Regency. In 1850 the Kingdom of Tunis counted 7000 British subjects among its inhabitants, who numbered 800,000 at the most.

St George's churchyard holds an epitaph to one of the more honourable subjects, from just after Reade's time. Here it is:

"William Fletcher born at Aberlady County East Lothian Scotland on 23 December 1827 who died at Goleta near Tunis on 6 May 1876 after 16 years of faithful service to his Highness the Bey as Master of the Arsenal, of a most affectionate disposition and a singular deportment of gentleness, uniting the most estimable qualities of the heart and mind, pious without austerity, virtuous without affectation, modest, unpretentious, just and charitable".

I cannot find out how Fletcher got this job. When the Beys were modernising their military, they had an agreement with France. It seems that the Bey recruited Fletcher and others independently. The military force did have value. The Kingdom of Tunis supplied 12,000 fully-equipped soldiers and a large number of draft animals to the Sultan in the Crimean War.

Not all the British consuls' subjects were as esteemed as Fletcher. Most were Maltese, islanders whose protection Her Majesty had assumed in 1815. At the time, there were so many immigrants from this island in Tunis that the street where St. George's stands was called rue des Maltais. It retained this name until the 1970s when the name was changed to that of a hero of Tunisian independence in the 1970s.

The bourgeois (Baldi) of Tunis were possessed of a very strong sense of class. The devout and austere Baldi of Tunis saw the Beys and the political class, descendants of Janissaries and Mamluks, as oriental and exotic. The bourgeois claiming descent from the earliest Arab conquerors and from the exiles of Andalus formed the academic, religious, judicial and commercial elite of the country. The lowest class of direct subjects of the Bey were the Jews, even though as refugees from the first destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, they had been in the Kingdom longer than all others in the Kingdom, bar the Berbers.

Both the Turkish government and the citizens looked down on all infidels. Even among these there was rank. At the top were the Genoese, next the French. Other Europeans, few in number, were in the middle. Neapolitans and Sicilians stood lower on the ladder and even they stood on the Maltese, whom Her Britannic Majesty's consul protected. The Maltese of Tunis were "cochers, charretiers, gardeurs de chevres ou contrabandiers". It seems that the latter trade may have been dominant, although part-time for many. In the main, they were illiterate ignorant and as miserable as the mass of Tunisian peasants.

The consul's role in protecting this mass of mainly undesirable subjects went well beyond what we know now. Turkish princes, following a long tradition that perhaps is Byzantine in origin, did not interest themselves in the private problems of non citizens.

Under the "capitulations" each consul held a court for his own citizens. By the nineteenth century, the consul not only judged disputes relating to his charges but any dispute where they were defendants. This may seem an unpardonable interference with sovereignty to our eyes but when we look on how the law was applied in this period, we can see why the Europeans held to their rights.

Until the reforms of the 1860s, the Kingdom of Tunis was governed by two different Muslim rights, Malekite and Hanafite, depending on the affiliation of the citizen. But even here the decision of the Caid could be subject to capricious and arbitrary intervention. The Bey himself sat in justice one morning a week in the Bardo. The procedure followed? The supplicant stated his case to a military official, the Bach Hamba. The Bach Hamba stated it to the Bey. There does not seem to have been any rule of evidence or much procedure. The Bey delivered a decision on the spot. He averaged from twenty to thirty cases an hour. When the Bey tired, the session was closed.

To end. Our trade is old. I think honourable. We learn there is little new in the work. After all, among the earliest written documents we find are Treaties of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation. But in light of all my research, I have to ask, "Why do we move everybody around so much?" ☺

Russell Merifield joined the foreign service in 1978. His fascination with the Barbary Coast began with his first posting to Algiers from 1979-1982. Prior to serving as Counsellor (Commercial) and Consul to Tunisia and Libya 1997-2001, He served CIDA in Wallachia and Moldova, also a frontier tributary of the Sublime Porte. His other postings were in London, New York and Ottawa. At the time of writing Merifield was Senior Church Warden of the Anglican Church of Saint George, Tunis. He is now with the United States Business Development Division at DFAIT.

CANADA:

Colony, Nation or Sovereign Country?

by Ed Whitcomb

The initiative by *bout de papier* to launch a series on Canadian Unity is a good one. Every year diplomats give hundreds of speeches and interviews abroad, and one topic they often have to cover is Canadian unity. We are also frequently asked about it, because our "unity problem" is of genuine concern to allies, trade partners, or potential immigrants, and it fascinates almost anyone interested in our country.

This essay has a modest goal — to provide definitions and historical background for several of the most important words relevant to the unity debate. Words like country and nation are often used interchangeably and/or incorrectly, and it is often assumed that a colony can grow into either. Sovereignty is also given a confusing array of meanings. Often misuse of terms is accidental, sometimes it is deliberate. But the terms are different, and that is important for any diplomat making a speech on Canada.

What is a colony?

The word colony applies to Canada for most of its existence, technically, in fact, until 1931. A colony is a territory ruled by a colonial or imperial power, usually from across the sea. Examples are the French colony of New France (to 1763), or the 16 English colonies on the east coast of North America, 13 of which became the United States in 1783. Newfoundland was a British colony until 1949. In area, Canada was the biggest colony the world has ever seen. The colonial power might grant self-government over internal affairs to a colony, but that would not change its status. Self-government can also be taken away, as happened to Newfoundland in 1933.

What is a country?

A country is an area of land (a physical entity) whose independence is recognized by other countries. A country exchanges ambassadors or high commissioners with other countries, belongs to international bodies, issues passports, and controls borders with customs, police and armies. Examples include Canada, Great Britain, Belgium, the USSR, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Prussia and Bavaria before 1870, or Germany after 1870.

Canada as a country

Canada is unquestionably a country — it is internationally recognized as such, sends and receives ambassadors, and proudly waves the flag at almost every international organization and gathering. But when it became independent is a mystery to many Canadians.

The biggest myth in Canadian history is that Canada became an independent country at the time of Confederation, July 1, 1867. This is perpetuated in textbooks, the media and by government, the latter changing July first from "Dominion Day", which was correct, to "Canada Day". In fact, Canada has existed legally and constitutionally since the Constitutional Act divided Quebec into the colonies of Lower and Upper Canada on June 10, 1791. It is 210 years old, and its puzzling that so many people want to knock 76 years off its age. What was new in 1867 was its expansion to the Maritimes. In fact, what happened was that the three small British colonies of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia became one big colony, also called Canada, with a number of provinces and a federal system of government. In 1867 there was no transfer of sovereignty from London to Ottawa, and British troops stayed on. Significantly, this change was effected by the British North America Act, not the Canadian North America Act.

Confederation was extremely important, and there should be a day to mark it, but it should not be confused with becoming an independent country. That formally happened on December 11, 1931, when a British Act of Parliament (The Statute of Westminster) declared that Canada (and Australia, South Africa and New Zealand) were equal in status with Great Britain, ie, independent. December 11 should be "Canada Day", and should probably be a holiday so Canadians can get a jump on their Christmas shopping.

One reason that the achievement of Canadian independence is so little understood is that it occurred peacefully and gradually; no battles, no declarations, no peace treaty, no heroes and no statesmen. In the 1840s Britain's North American colonies all gained both self-government and responsible government. After Confederation, the new super-colony of Canada gradually gained some degree of independence in terms of negotiating trade and fisheries issues and handling relations with the US.

In 1914 Canada was a colony, at war the moment Great Britain declared war. In 1919 it was pushing the bounds of independence with a seat at the peace negotiations. In 1922 it refused to send troops when asked by Britain. By 1926 its independence was accepted *de facto* by London, and Canada was appointing and receiving ambassadors. In 1931 independence was recognized *de jure* (officially and technically), and in 1939 Canada was not at war when Britain declared war. We graduated from colonialism to independence on December 11, 1931, a fact diplomats should know before they speak on such issues abroad.

What is sovereignty?

Sovereignty is the state of being independent and exercising supreme authority, power or jurisdiction. Independence for a country is black and white, either it has it or it does not. Sovereignty is grey no country or government wields absolute control over its territory or people or has complete freedom from outside authority. At no time did Great Britain exercise complete sovereignty over Canada. It delegated power over a third of Canada to the Hudson's Bay Company, and by 1931 Britain was sovereign in hardly anything other than a technical sense.

Canada became formally sovereign over all its territories in 1931, but in fact it already exercised most of the sovereignty technically still residing in Britain. But Canadian sovereignty has never been absolute. Any foreign power could occupy some territory in the far north for months without our government even knowing it. Similarly, when Canada or any other over-own country signs treaties it is surrendering some authority in return for some economic or other benefit deemed worth the swap. How much sovereignty should be traded for what economic or security benefits is the subject of daily debate and politics, in Canada as elsewhere.

What is a nation?

A nation is a group of people who see themselves as a nation because they have a common identity based on a combination of language, religion, culture, customs, history, occupation of a common piece of territory, and often subjection to a single government. Examples include the French, Russians, Danes, Hungarians, Scots, Welsh, or Basques.

The above examples indicate clearly that countries and nations are NOT necessarily the same thing. Over the centuries the borders of countries and the boundaries of land occupied by certain nations have come together. One therefore sees the French in France and the Russians in Russia. But one also sees the Scots, Welsh, English and some Irish in Great Britain, while the Basques are in both France and Spain. The Flemish and Walloon nations now co-habit a country called Belgium, but before 1830 they were in the Netherlands along with the Dutch. The Hungarians spent most of modern history in a country ruled from Vienna; the Austrians have only spent a few years in a united Germany.

Canada as a nation?

By the definition of "nation" identified above, several groups of people within the country of Canada have long fit the meaning quite clearly. They include the French Canadians or Québécois, Newfoundlanders, First Nations such as the Cree, and the Metis. Each of these groups has a language (or accent), culture, customs, and history. Equally important, each of them thinks of itself to a degree as a nation, and, to a degree, makes a point of identifying itself as distinct from other Canadians. A folk song makes it clear: "We're Newfoundlanders, not Canadians, not by a damn sight yet..." No matter how strong provincialism or regionalism is, no province other than Quebec has that sense of identity.

Fortunately, groups of people can have several identities at the same time. Thus a French Canadian could see himself as part of

the Montreal community, the French Canadian nation and the Canadian nation. Indeed, many or most French Canadians do just that, though a small minority do not see themselves as Canadians. Newfoundlanders are now Canadians thank God they are also still Newfoundlanders.

A key question in Canadian history is when the rest of the people living in the colony of Canada (pre-1931) or the country of Canada (post-1931) came to see themselves as Canadians. There is no date for this, agreed or otherwise. It took place over centuries and is still happening.

In the late nineteenth century a trans-national Canadian identity was evidently developing, sharing space in people's sentiments with French Canadian nationalism, British identity, or the national identities of other immigrant groups. This can be seen in song (O Canada, The Maple Leaf Forever) and in literature and the press. It was fueled by Confederation and the opening of the West. This new Canadian nationalism was and remains stronger in Central Canada than elsewhere — after all, Ontario and Quebec were the only provinces where money was not used to bring land or people into Confederation.

Apart from French Canadians, it is unlikely that many of the people who lived in Canada in 1914 thought of themselves as Canadians first. British Canadians rushed off to defend Great Britain because they were British in sentiment; French and ethnic-Canadians saw no reason to fight because there was no threat to Canada. Gradually the experience of total war undermined loyalty to Britain and replaced it with English Canadian nationalism. Unfortunately, English and French Canadians had opposite views on fighting the war, and conscription ripped the colony apart. Canadian nationalism also developed among other Canadians, though many of them did not share English Canada enthusiasm for the war.

Canadian nationalism has continued to develop, with people gradually identifying themselves as Canadians rather than or more than with any other identity. A number of milestones and developments stand out — the experience of World War II, the contribution to the post-war world, the adoption of the flag, the patriation of the constitution, and national achievements like hockey, peacekeeping and medicare.

Canadians unquestionably see themselves as a nation today. There are and will always be exceptions, like separatists and some new immigrants who feel a greater sense of identity with another national group. But somewhere in the last century Canadians did become a "nation" in the proper sense of the term. In some ways it is a unique and wonderful nation because of its tolerance. Unlike many other countries, there is no attempt to define nationalism exclusively in terms of religion, language, birthplace, family name, or custom. If a Newfoundlander wants to sing songs about how big a mistake it was to join Canada, well that's fine. If an immigrant gets off the plane and says he is a Canadian, then that is good enough for us.

We may remain forever a puzzle to other peoples whose nationalism is narrowly defined or based on an emphasis on differences. We are a country and a nation, and will probably remain proudly ignorant of what those things mean or when they happened. All nations have myths, and we are also happily creating ones about when we became a country, and busily fuzzifying the meaning of sovereignty. It's the Canadian way, but diplomats had best get it right in their speeches. ☺

Dr. Ed Whitcomb taught European and Canadian History for six years. He maintained that interest after joining the Foreign Service in 1975, and has published a dozen books and articles on history, international relations and Canadian culture (music). His career has included work on areas where questions of colonialism, nationalism, independence, sovereignty and federalism were central.

Albert Edgar Ritchie 1916–2002

The following tributes were given by Gordon Robertson and Jake Warren at the funeral service for Ed Ritchie.

A Tribute to Albert Edgar Ritchie

I first met Ed Ritchie in September 1938 as we, and the rest of that year's crop of Canadian Rhodes Scholars, gathered in Montreal at a "sailing dinner". We were to board the "Empress of Britain" at Quebec the next day. It was not a propitious time to be sailing to Europe. Hitler and his Nazi regime were wielding the threat of war if enormous concessions were not made by Britain and France at the cost of Czechoslovakia and the balance of power in Europe.

The circumstances of our meeting — during the last breath of the League of Nations and the beginning of the slide into World War II — coloured Ed's and my relations in all the years that followed.

During the last year of peace, the Oxford ice hockey team — until then one of the best teams in Europe — found that the Europeans had, unfortunately, learned how to skate. Ed and I were an inadequate defence before a wobbly substitute goal keeper. Oxford's reputation never recovered but our friendship was forged in the fires of our humiliating defeats.

The friendship became still firmer the following summer on a motor cycle trip around the Baltic Sea, completed just weeks before Hitler launched the German attack on Poland — using the roads we had followed but in the opposite direction. At Oxford we were in different colleges taking different courses — Ed in Economics and I in Law — but we shared noisy nights of relaxation in the pubs of the town. Each of us became the other's best friend.

I did not know it at the time, but there could not have been a person better suited than Ed to participate in the critical events that have dominated the world in the nearly seventy years since. Ed had the intelligence, the courage, the strength and the hard realism to make him an immensely valuable public servant, one of our outstanding deputy ministers and a shrewd operator in the problems of our foreign policy, international trade and relations with the United States in general.

As Canadian Ambassador to the United States from 1966 to 1969, Ed was a pervasive presence in the embassy. His staff were continuously stimulated by his leadership. His ability to inspire loyalty in Washington

and in his other busy posts, had no equal. He was the right person to become head of the Department of External Affairs in 1970.

Ed's qualities shone in Canada's first real experience of terrorism — the kidnapping of the British Trade Commissioner in Montreal in October 1970. The operations centre for the coordination of government policy and action during the two months of crisis that followed, with the War Measures Act in effect, was established in the East Block and reported directly — and constantly — to Ed. With him at the centre, the links went out to the Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau, the Minister, Mitchell Sharp, and the Cabinet.

It was that crisis that best demonstrated Ed's qualities of leadership. He inspired confidence, he was totally engaged, he was constantly aware of the differing roles of politicians and public servants — and he was unsparing of his own energy. It was that last generous quality that, perhaps, let to the heart attack that felled him in 1974.

Ed Ritchie was one of the leaders in a remarkable group of public servants that has served Canada in the critically important period since the Second World War. He was rightly honoured as a Companion of the Order of Canada.

Gordon Robertson joined the foreign service in 1941, though he was soon seconded to the Prime Minister's Office and later joined the Privy Council Office. Robertson served as Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet as well as a constitutional adviser to successive prime ministers.

* * *

Ed Ritchie came to Canada House at the end of 1948 and led the economic team there under the wise and thoughtful guidance of High Commissioner Norman Robertson. Ed was my mentor over the next three years — for me, a rare and special privilege. We became fast friends — a friendship which matured and deepened over the fifty-plus years that were to follow.

The years together in London were full of interest and excitement, both professionally and otherwise! Problems of European reconstruction still filled economic horizons; dollar restrictions remained; sterling balances were a problem; the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was just getting off the ground; the Colombo Plan was at its inception.

Ed and I were responsible for a fortnightly Economic Report to Ottawa. Norman Robertson in his dry and quiet way suggested that the quality of our analysis and of the drafting should, as a minimum, be of the standard of *The Economist*!

The breadth of Ed's intellectual interest and his innate curiosity about ideas, people, history and things made for a rich and varied agenda which took us to favourite restaurants and pubs, to the old booksellers of Soho and Bloomsbury, anonymously to political meetings in the dark of night, as well as to the pomp and circumstance of the great State and City ceremonies of diplomatic life in London.

Both families cherish a photograph of our first attendance at a royal garden party at Buckingham Place. We had been in part kitted out — frock coat and all — by Moss Bros., London's famous lender of formal garb to those who could not afford their own! Perhaps that day there was a run on the market, but in any event, there were no grey top hats available that could encompass Ed's great head (8 ¾")! I will say nothing about Gwen's flowered party hat except that its brim was wide enough to shelter the multitudes!

Our thirst for history was directed in part to early prints and manuscripts of the Trafalgar Square area, and the not least beautiful Canada House which was, originally, the home of the Union Club. We also discovered together the musty "Museum Book Shop", where for many years the owner had squirrelled away rare and valuable Canadiana. He was waiting patiently for the Dominion Archives to be established and for funding which would permit acquisitions to go to safe haven in Canada rather than to interested American and international dealers.

Later on, following the death of the proprietor, we found that the stock of books and manuscripts was being liquidated. We were able to make some interesting purchases, but sadly, neither of us had the means nor imagination nor business acumen to buy the whole inventory, as we should have done.

I should add that, many years later, at Ed's initiative, we gave most of our collection of early prints to Canada House. I believe they still hang on the stairwell leading to the High Commissioner's office in Macdonald House.

One would have wished that Ed could have been well enough to attend the reopening ceremonies of the splendidly refurbished Canada House in 1999, marked by the presence of Her Majesty the Queen, and of Canadian and British High Commissioners, past and present.

Some of you may have noticed, when paying respects to Ed yesterday, an inscribed English pewter beer mug standing alongside his Order of Canada. It carries the signature of the Canada House officers of 1951, of whom, with Ed's passing, only Ernest Côté and I are still around. The mug bears the Shakespearean inscription, "We Few, We Happy Few, We Band of Brothers".

The years between 1952 and 1970, when Ed became Head of the Department of

External Affairs, were divided between Ottawa and Washington with, as they say, "positions of ever-increasing responsibility". In Washington, having previously served as Minister and *Chargé d'affaires*, he was in 1966 named Ambassador for a three-year period. Thereafter he resumed his deservedly rapid career rise at Headquarters in Ottawa.

Over that time, Ed was continually involved in the management of Canada/US relations and earned the respect and admiration of his colleagues in Ottawa, both inter-departmentally and, by his fine leadership, within the Ministry itself. In Washington he was well known to the key figures of the U.S. Administrations, many of whom were already, or became, his good friends.

Even a partial listing of the policy areas which engaged his attention provides insight into his involvement, and accomplishments, and an indication of the strains and stresses he carried so gallantly and well.

There were the Nixon/Johnson years — America was at war in Vietnam, the cold War continued. Ed had his hands on the Canadian wheel during the Cuban missile crisis and previously had helped to develop a Canadian policy with respect to Cuba which was quite different from that of the United States.

He was a key negotiator, with the late Davie Fulton, of the unique and historic Columbia River Waters Treaty. He was involved, with Simon Reisman, in the shaping and final negotiations with the Americans of the famous Automotive Pact.

His interest in trade policy was a constant in his life, going back to postwar days in the States when he worked for a time with the Economic Affairs Department of the United Nations, particularly on the preparations for a World Trade Organisation (the Havana Conference 1947–1948). As that proved a non-starter, he worked in the U.N. Secretariat on the Interim Trade Arrangements, which became known in due course as the GATT (Geneva).

As an ex-naval officer, I still shiver when I think of the Ritchies' return to North America by flying boat. Their flight didn't have enough fuel to reach our Eastern shore and made a forced landing over weathership "Charlie" in Atlantic gale force winds. That passengers (including Gwen and young Gordon), were rescued from the sea in those conditions and that the cockleshell flying boat, with Ed and other male passengers still on board, stayed afloat through the night, is surely a miracle for which we should all be grateful. Canada would otherwise have lost one of its public servants of highest potential. Likewise, we must regret the loss of his leadership in the long years of his illness.

Gordon Robertson has already spoken of Ed's critical role in the October crisis of 1970

and of the fine personal qualities then displayed. Those qualities marked his participation also in many other times of tension and crises in our external relations. I remember also his powers of conciliation and his capacity to take the broader view of the public good, rather than the defensive/protectionist positions which so often have marked turf wars in the public sector.

Ed's work was marked by balance, a practical turn of mind, and a desire to find sensible solutions to problems. Whether the question was international, inter-departmental, or otherwise, the players were confident that their points of view would be given careful consideration and that Ed Ritchie would defend Canada's position, once determined, with strength and skill; he would never let the side down.

There were, of course, many highlights and moments of joy and satisfaction in Ed's rich career — not least those coming from a close family life. Examples — his appointment as a Companion of the Order of Canada — the wonder and happiness, despite his disabilities, of his posting to Ireland as Canadian Ambassador — the constancy of the love between him and Gwen over the sixty years of their marriage and, recently, the fact that both of them were around to welcome their first two great grandchildren.

As for high excitement, Ed has lived and relived through the years, his moments with President Brezhnev, in the VIP Gondola at the Luznikhi Sports Arena in 1972 when, in the last seconds of a tied game between the USSR and Canada, Henderson came through with the winning goal.

Another warm Canadian memory is of the joint Ritchie, Halstead and Warren Rockcliffe sleigh rides organized out of 112 Lisgar Road. By the grace of God there was always plenty of hot buttered rum, red and white wine and bottles of beer at the ready. One still remembers the squeak of the sleigh runners against the cold snow, the reckless laughter and the push and shove of the riders and the melody of sleigh bells in the night air. Parties to remember.

And among cherished moments and events, Ed I believe would probably list his visit to China with Pierre Trudeau and his presence at Hyannisport, when Mr. Pearson and President Kennedy met there in 1963.

As a New Brunswicker, Ed, of course, had a more than passing interest in the gentle art of fly fishing, especially for trout. He only had one crack at the Labrador salmon before his stroke robbed him of his left side capacity. He, however, continued this interest through his fine collection of antique books on fishing in Great Britain and North America — many of which he passed on to me. They are especially prized volumes in the Warren library and will for

ever remind me of Ed, his enthusiasm and his generosity.

I shall always be inspired by the maintenance of Ed's interest and spirit over nearly thirty years of disability and no doubt frustration. Would that there were more of his calibre, with his fierce determination not to give in.

I think of him as an ancient and mighty oak which for so many years stood firm against all that the elements could offer — in Ed's case the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune. Finally, not laid low by gale or ice storm, that great tree succumbed to the multiple strokes of a fatal condition that in the end broke both heart and body.

"Hearts of Oak" could indeed have been Ed's theme song.

I close with a few lines about his service as Ambassador in Washington, written by Bruce Hutchinson. They could as well have addressed the wholeness of Ed's career and his contribution to Canadian public life.

"No man who represented Canada in my time was mentally bigger, more efficient at his job, or more fully equipped with common sense than Edgar Ritchie. In Ed, a giant of physique, and in his darling, blunt speaking wife, Gwen, I found all the finest qualities of the Canadian breed. For me they were Canada exactly personified. No other land could have produced this pair and no luxury, privilege or pomp could spoil them. ... Ed's performance in Washington and Ottawa was never surpassed by any of Canada's servants but he seemed to get things done without the least strain or flourish until his labours broke his health at the peak of his magnificent career. That cruel mischance brought equal sorrow to both capitals".

...and speaking of the group of post-war Canadian Ambassadors to the United States up to and including Marcel Cadieux, Hutchinson wrote:

"All understood — usually better than their bosses in Ottawa — the wise uses and definite limits of Canadian power in the continent of elephant and mouse. All could easily have made themselves millionaires in private business, all served their nation for small reward, none was corrupted by rank or temporary affluence. This record, I thought, said something pretty important about Canada".

Edgar Ritchie. A great man, indeed. Indeed, a great man.

Jake Warren joined the foreign service after serving in the Royal Canadian Navy during the Second World War. In a long and distinguished career, he served as Deputy Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, as High Commissioner to the United Kingdom and as Ambassador to the United States.

Dacre Cole 1922-2002

Dacre Cole served in the Canadian Navy during the Second World War. He joined as an Ordinary Seaman in 1941 and by the time he retired in 1946 he had achieved the rank of Lieutenant-Commander. He spent most of the war on the convoy escort runs to Murmansk. After leaving the Navy, he studied in France, Germany and especially Switzerland, at the Institut Universitaire des Hautes Études Internationales in Geneva.

I first met Dacre in 1953 when he joined the Department and was assigned to the

Far Eastern Division where I was on the Indochina Desk. He was an approachable, friendly, likeable, outgoing person who genuinely enjoyed helping people. He was working on Japan and Korea with "McGuff" (Charles Eustace McGaughey), another friendly and very likeable man, who died not so long ago.

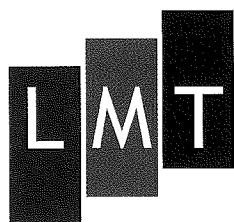
After about a year in the Far Eastern Division our paths diverged, owing to assignments in different parts of the world. His postings included the Consulate General in New York and the Five-Power Disarmament Conference in Washington. He later went to Prague and then to Brasilia, where he was officer-in-charge (1962-1964), as the

embassy was then still located in Rio de Janeiro. Back in Ottawa, he spent several years in the Consular sector and also at the Royal Military College (History Department) in Kingston.

Upon his return to Ottawa from Kingston, he was assigned to the Historical Division, of which I was the Director at the time. I put his friendly, helpful personality to good use by placing him in charge of our academic relations programme. We were providing a good deal of help to many professors and researchers, both Canadian and foreign, seeking access to departmental files for their books and other projects. He enjoyed the job and was very good at it. He would often go to a great deal of trouble to locate information about the sometimes esoteric requests that surfaced along his path. The glowing letters of acknowledgement and thanks that I received from those whom he had helped were tributes to his success in making the Department better known and liked in the academic world.

In retirement, he moved west, first to Prince Rupert, later to Victoria. He did not long survive his wife, Diana. They were a devoted, closely-knit couple.

Arthur Blanchette, now retired, was Canadian Ambassador to the OAS, Tunisia and Libya.



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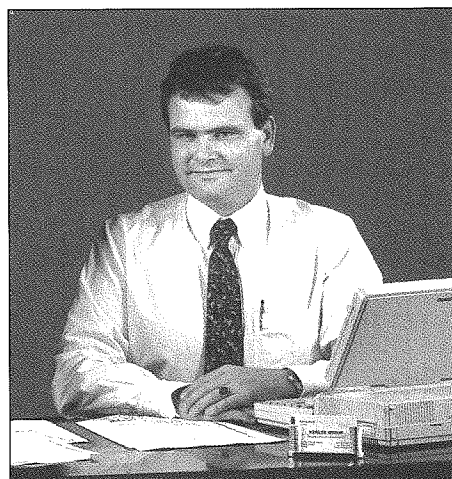
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Bernard Brodie 1945–2002

Bernard Brodie was employed by the Public Service of Canada from 1968 to 1996. He worked in the Departments of Employment and Immigration, Treasury Board of Canada and Foreign Affairs and International Trade. From 1996 to 2001 he was Principal of The Janiculum Group consultancy firm. He was former President of the Ottawa Branch of the Oxford Society and the Elmwood School Association, and Secretary and Founding Member of the Canadian Immigration Historical Society. A service was held for Bernard on Saturday, March 9, 2002. The eulogy was delivered by his long-time friend Rod Grainger.

There are too few gentlemen in the world today. Too few men with good manners, too few men who know how to treat a lady, too few men who are comfortable in a tie and blazer, too few men who can get to an event on time, too few men who can give you their undivided attention, too few men with respect for their elders. The world has just lost a fine gentleman with the passing of our dear friend Bernard Brodie. He had all of these qualities, and many more.

There are too few people who can write the English language well. Certainly there are plenty of people who were brought up in the creative writing era, people who are able to spin a yarn. But, there are too few people who can write a letter, a speech or paper, that is readable, factual, colourful and properly structured. The world has lost such a writer with the passing of Bernard Brodie. He could hammer out a paper with the greatest of ease, and, if you ever saw Bernard typing, you would know what I mean by "hammer out". He would bash away at the keyboard, uttering the occasional curse as his wide fingers struck two keys at the same time.

Bernard loved to pepper his writing with words like "sundering" and "bifurcating". He hated the tendency to "dumb down" the language to the lowest common denominator. He seemed to take it as a personal challenge to maintain some sort of complexity and beauty in the written and spoken word in the workplace. He loved to tell the story of the time when he was asked to remove the word "shepherding" from a paper he wrote, because they said it would make people think of sheep. He dutifully did so with a grimace, while wondering why, if "shepherding" made people think of sheep, his employer's frequent

use of the acronym "MOO", did not make people think of cows.

There are too few people these days who are willing to accept responsibility for their own actions. Their lack of money, their lack of career progression, the bad behaviour of their children, are all somebody else's fault. Bernard willingly accepted responsibility for whatever life handed him, and took responsibility for a lot of matters that were quite beyond his control or even influence. He was most happy with a performance appraisal in which he was described as being "responsible to a fault". You did not have to be in Bernard's company very long before hearing him say, "Oh, I'm sorry". If you knocked over a glass, tripped, or ran into any minor misfortune in his company, he would always assume that he was the cause of it, and apologize. You had to love him for this.

As a father, Bernard never faltered in his love and support for Ian and Elanor, supporting them through all their successes and setbacks. He was so proud of them both.

A friend, one of the many who visited Bernard in the May Court hospice, told him how frightened many of his contemporaries were at the news of his serious condition. He told him that some were wondering who was next, having only recently lost mutual close friends in Tom Morry and Michael Vaughan. Another said, "Oh, they're on our page". Bernard's response was, "Oh, I'm sorry, I didn't mean to frighten them".

A friend and former colleague recently wrote to Bernard. He said it was some time before he understood why Bernard had not progressed to the rank of Assistant Deputy Minister, and beyond. He had the brain, the impressive educational qualifications, the public speaking ability, the charm, the physical presence, the apparent ease in varied company. He was a great coach and mentor. In fact he had the lot. This friend concluded that it was the fact that Bernard cared too much that was the stumbling block in the way of his further career progression, and the cause of much of the stress he suffered throughout his career. He had a great sense of personal responsibility. He cared about doing the right thing. He had values that he was not prepared to compromise. He knew a crock when he saw it and was not afraid to speak up.

Bernard kept up his reputation as the ultimate responsible person right to the end. As those very close to him know, he left all his affairs in perfect order. His only regret was that he bought his house in Prescott at the wrong time. He did enjoy it for the short time that he lived there. He said it brought back memories of day trips

with his young family to see the ships go by.

The final evidence of Bernard's sense of responsibility came in his efforts to write his own eulogy in the last few weeks. Quite unlike Bernard and his lifelong quest for perfection in the English language, he had not looked up the word "eulogy". If he had, he would have found that it means "an expression of praise". Quite like Bernard, he wanted the eulogy to be an expression of gratitude, his gratitude. He was grateful for where he was born and, what he called, "the accident of his birth" that brought him his father, mother and brother. He was grateful for the opportunity to attend Shrewsbury School and Oxford University. (He is still remembered at both institutions.) He was grateful for the opportunity to emigrate to Canada, and grateful for the opportunity to work in the Public Service of Canada, which introduced him to virtually all of his friends. More could be said about Bernard's gratitude, but this is our time, our time to praise Bernard.

Bernard loved to laugh and to make his friends laugh, which he did with considerable ease. He loved all kinds of humour, but particularly British humour. He loved radio programs from the 50s and 60s like "Round the Horne", and he could take on numerous parts "My name is immaterial — Sir James Immaterial". He had this prodigious memory for all types of comedy sketches from the past, and was always willing to recite extracts from them. He was the oral historian of British comedy. I think he had memorized all of the Black Adder television programs. He apparently did this when he was doing the ironing. He must have done a lot of ironing.

Bernard would often say, "Do you remember the famous line by (insert any comedy character you like)?" Of course, hardly anyone ever did, until Bernard reminded them. He always seemed to be able to dredge up something that fitted the occasion.

A colleague recently recalled one of the few things that made him smile during his time in Treasury Board. It was watching Bernard in staff meetings, listening to his boss. The door would often be open and, as his friend went by, Bernard would give him the famous (to Bernard and the cognoscenti), Oliver Hardy gesture with his tie. He would flap it between his fingers, in a signal that they both knew meant, "A fine mess you've got us in Stanley".

One of Bernard's later bosses, a close friend, once went to investigate the source of hysterical laughter coming from an office. He found Bernard, with his good friends Tom Morry and Michael Vaughan, writing

a speech for the Secretary of the Treasury Board. What made it so funny was that they were writing it between them — one word at a time, taking turns with the words. The subject matter of the speech was something that none of them believed in, something to do with pillars and posts, so they decided to take it lightly, using every fashionable bit of Public Service jargon that they could recall, without necessarily understanding it, or caring to understand it for that matter. They were pretty proud of the final product and sent it up the line. What Bernard found particularly hilarious about this event was that the speech was accepted unchanged, and delivered.

Bernard had the most wonderful self-deprecating sense of humour. I believe that it was only in recent months that he came to realize that his ability to tell jokes at his own expense showed his inner self-confidence. A story that his friends never tired of hearing concerned an event during the time that he worked in Rome. Two lovely ladies from Ottawa were on holiday in Rome, and Bernard entertained them and showed them around. One evening, they were out for a walk, Bernard, with a lady on each arm. They passed through an archway that lead onto the most beautiful square. Apparently, everything about the square was just right,

the lighting, the smell, the general warm ambience, and the beautiful architecture. The lady on Bernard's left, obviously moved by the scene, leaned around to the lady on Bernard's right and said, "Oh, wouldn't it be lovely to be here with a man". Bernard laughed and said, "Ahem".

Bernard was a man of many talents. I would venture to say that most of us only saw some of them. I know that, just a few years ago, he surprised long-time friends when he burst into song and played the guitar. As you can imagine, he was quite modest about his singing and playing ability, deferring to others in the party who also sang and played. That was Bernard, modest, as always.

Bernard once said that he continued to work after his retirement for a number of reasons, some to do with family and taking special holidays. Mostly though, he said he needed to work because he needed the constant validation that recognition of his talents in the workplace brought him. When he finally had to stop work, he came to realize that he didn't need this validation, that he was a worthy and successful person just as he was, something his friends had tried to tell him before.

Bernard was not afraid to die. He was not a religious man, but he had an open mind

and was prepared to contemplate all sorts of futures after his death. He knew that he had been a good man all his life, never deliberately hurting anyone, and helping many. He knew that, if there is a heaven, he had the qualifications to get in.

Bernard was a dignified man, and the only thing he feared about dying, was losing his dignity in the process. He said he did not want to die all wired up and with tubes sticking out of him. He got his wish. With the love and nursing of his long-time lady friend, Gladys, and the extraordinary care that he received from the May Court hospice, Bernard died without pain and with his dignity intact.

Thank you Bernard, Bernard, Bernie, for being our friend, for being in our lives, for making us laugh, for setting such high standards and for being such a loveable, lovely man. We will miss you more than you ever knew. ☹

Rod Grainger took early retirement in 1995 after having spent twenty seven years in various government departments, ending up as a Director in the Treasury Board Secretariat. Rod and Bernard became friends, drawn together by their common love of the English language and their love of British comedy.

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Books in Review / Critiques de livres

Intelligence in the Cold War: Organisation, Role and International Cooperation

Secrets of Signals Intelligence during the Cold War and Beyond

The Warning Solution: Intelligent Analysis in the Age of Information Overload

Reviewed by Kurt F. Jensen

Ottawa Boy

Reviewed by Arthur Blanchette

Open Secret: The Autobiography of the Former Director-General of MI5

Reviewed by John Starnes

A Crocodile in the Pool: Tales of a Diplomat's Wife in the Congo

Reviewed by Andrew Caddell

INTELLIGENCE IN THE COLD WAR: ORGANISATION, ROLE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION, Lars Christian Jenssen and Olav Riste, eds., Oslo: Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies. 197 pp.

SECRETS OF SIGNALS INTELLIGENCE DURING THE COLD WAR AND BEYOND, Matthew M. Aid and Cees Wiebes, eds., London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001. 350 pp.

THE WARNING SOLUTION: INTELLIGENT ANALYSIS IN THE AGE OF INFORMATION OVERLOAD, Kristan J. Wheaton, Fairfax, Virginia: AFCEA International Press, 2001. 89 pp.

Reviewed by Kurt F. Jensen

Kurt F. Jensen is a member of the Department serving at present as Deputy Director, Foreign Intelligence Division. He has had postings in Stockholm, Bonn, Port of Spain, and Boston. He is in the process of completing a Ph.D. at Carleton University.

The paradigm shift which occurred on September 11 has led to a new reality which will likely have an enduring impact on the way foreign policy is conducted. During the last half century there have been a number of watersheds when foreign intelligence, or the absence thereof, was seen as vital to the policy decisions which were taken. One such instance was the terrorist attacks in the United States in September and the

counter-terrorism measures which followed. Obvious others occurred during World War II when the decrypting of German Enigma communications almost certainly affected the duration of the war. The absence of properly evaluated intelligence on the eve of Pearl Harbor was another milestone. Similar examples, such as the Cuban Missile Crisis, abound during the Cold War.

The events of September will almost certainly re-write the way in which foreign intelligence is used in policy-making. This review is not a *cri de coeur* for a Canadian foreign intelligence service. It does, however, underscore the importance of foreign intelligence to Canada and the way in which it has and can be used.

These three books illustrate different facets of foreign intelligence. For two of the books, which are compendiums of historical articles on a host of subjects relating to intelligence, the emphasis will be on the chapters relating to Canada. One book, *Intelligence in the Cold War*, captures the foundation of Canada's foreign intelligence program in an article prepared by Canada's leading scholar on intelligence. A second book, *Secrets of Signals Intelligence*, includes a chapter which updates part of the earlier story by looking at Canada's SIGINT efforts during the Cold War, and was prepared by an Ottawa academic. The last book, *The Warning Solution*, a short book emerging from inside the American intelligence community, looks at how intelligence is used as a foreign policy tool.

The three books, or at least the relevant chapters, provide a short introduction to an

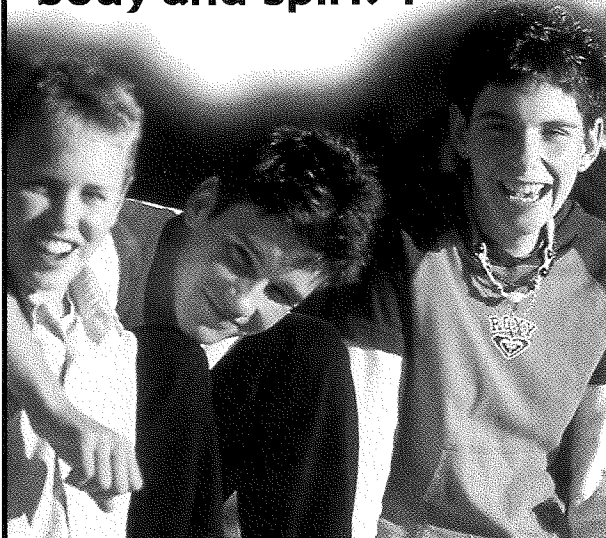
important facet of Canadian foreign policy. Although the material is an 'easy' read, be warned that these are not books found in the 'What's New in Non-Fiction' sections of most book stores. That is too bad. The books are important to an understanding of an element of foreign policy-making which is likely to impact us all for years to come.

"Creating a Cold War Intelligence Community: The Canadian Dilemma" by Wesley W. Wark, of the University of Toronto, appears in *Intelligence in the Cold War*. Dr. Wark is very familiar with Canada's postwar foreign intelligence efforts, having studied his subject from an academic perspective while maintaining close ties and entrée to the Canadian intelligence community.

Wark provides an excellent snapshot of Canada's wartime intelligence organizations and focuses on the organizational dynamics which followed the war. Wark underscores what he sees as a paramount failing in Canadian foreign intelligence; the inability of Canada to move beyond the many little specialized units which all performed admirably during the war but created the impression of no one being in charge of Canadian foreign intelligence.

The wartime experience, in his words, "failed to produce ... [a] centre for intelligence policy-making". Wark proceeds by summarizing the struggle between the civil and military factions over organizing a postwar intelligence organization. To some extent, the debate in Canada over a postwar foreign intelligence capability very quickly became polarized. There were those who

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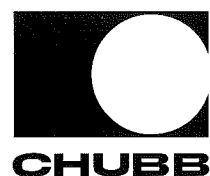
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favoured a CIA-type organization structured along lines of complex interconnectivity with all lines leading to the Cabinet. This model, put forward by the Canadian military, would make full use of the many little military intelligence organizations which had come into being during the war, many of which still existed at the end of hostilities and were now looking for a 'home.' This can be described as the American model.

The other extreme was represented by the (then) Department of External Affairs. Wark views External Affairs as conservative and hostile to a formal structure, much preferring the informality of casual cooperation and overlapping structures made to work by a mandarin class which moved easily within the corridors of power. This was the British model. External Affairs won out in the end and Canada embarked on a cautious road towards establishing a national foreign intelligence community for the postwar world.

At only about a dozen pages, Wesley Wark's quick look at the founding of Canadian foreign intelligence provides a short overview of a complex issue. Many of the important details are missing. Given the space constraints it could not be otherwise. The article provides an excellent summary for those who want to get a bit of the flavour of the times during the founding of the Canadian intelligence community. Reading the article is time well spent. Nine additional chapters on the early history of intelligence add to an understanding of the way in which Canadian allies conduct intelligence and provide some context to the environment in which Canada made some critical decisions during the period immediately following World War II.

Martin Rudner, of Carleton University, authors "Canada's Communications Security Establishment from Cold War to Globalization" in *Secrets of Signals Intelligence during the Cold War and Beyond*. Rudner takes the story of Canadian foreign intelligence collection to the next stage, giving some background to the founding of CSE and discussing its SIGINT mandate in the context of the Cold War. This is a very good summary of a very complex issue and Dr. Rudner does credit to the subject.

Canada's postwar SIGINT agreements continue to be shrouded in secrecy although the rudiments of the story are, by now, well known. Rudner recapitulates the postwar SIGINT story and places Canada's involvement in context. It is a story which should be better known and perhaps this article will go some way to address the shortcoming. Rudner describes Canadian SIGINT collection outside Canada. This is a difficult story to relate creditably since the Canadian government has never released any archival

material on what Canada has done, what the national policy on the issue is, or what the challenges were which had to be overcome. For this story Rudner relies on a single source to describe the "Pilgrim" operation, which was the codeword for the collection of SIGINT outside of Canada using Canadian missions abroad as intelligence platforms. The facts of the story cannot be credibly assessed against the historical record — since none is yet available. To his credit, Rudner, in using the single source available on this matter, has ignored some of the more egregious allegations which have been made by the source and which test the limits of logic. Rudner does allude to the more fanciful aspects of the story in a footnote.

Those seeking a quick insight into the dark world of SIGINT collection, and the role which Canada plays, are well advised to read Rudner's chapter. In about 30 pages, he sets out clearly the issue, the mechanics, and the international relationships which exist, and gives a good idea of what SIGINT, as a foreign intelligence tool, means to Canada.

Like the previous book, *Secrets of Signals Intelligence* includes a further nine chapters providing insight to the SIGINT activities of a number of Canadian allies, including some who are not players in the UK-USA intelligence alliance of which Canada is a partner. The chapters are well worth reading not only for what they tell about some of our friends but also because of the opening chapter by Matthew Aid and Cees Wiebes. This is one of the best summaries in print explaining what SIGINT is and why it is important to us. One particular phrase seems quintessentially Canadian: "SIGINT involves relatively little political or physical risk". Perhaps this single phrase may capture why SIGINT seems to have been the foreign intelligence collection of choice in Canada.

The last book, *The Warning Solution*, highlights the dilemma of today's intelligence analyst: information overload. What happens when there is so much foreign intelligence made available to analysts that coping with the volume is physically impossible? Wheaton's book is about strategic intelligence, the kind that provides longer-term, big-picture insight into future events; it's the kind of intelligence which in 1980 would have foretold the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Using a format of theoretical presentation followed by a relevant case study, Wheaton sets out to present an original approach to intelligence analysis. What Wheaton attempts to do is to explain something which is like social science mixed with elements of gypsy fortune-telling.

Wheaton defines the 'Warning Problem' as a delicate dance between the analyst and

the decision-maker and how they come together and move towards a solution. Much of what he presents are conventional truths: the problems of mirror-imagings, the need to carefully — and fairly — define the problem, and the need to limit oneself to an appropriate level of detail. He does not, in the end, depart much from conventional truths about the challenges confronting intelligence analysts.

What Wheaton does provide the reader, in roughly the final 30 pages of a short book, is an easily readable presentation as to what intelligence analysis is and how one does it. He doesn't resolve the uncertainty which is associated with intelligence analysis but he does show some of the pitfalls that exist, lists the methodological process, and attempts to show when it is time to get on with it and just start analyzing. The book is worth a read. For those with limited time, the last thirty pages or so will suffice.

OPEN SECRET: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THE FORMER DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF MI5 by Stella Rimington, Random House of Canada (2001), 296 pp, \$48.50

Reviewed by John Starnes

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

I never met Stella Rimington. We have a number of things in common but we are of a different generation. She was born in 1935 and I in 1918. However, having read her delightful book, I very much wish we had met. Even more to the point I wish she had been responsible for the British Security Service (MI 5) when I headed the R.C.M.P. Security Service. Not because I had any difficulties with, or disliked any of her male British predecessors, with whom I did a good deal of usually amicable business, but simply because I think she would have been a refreshing change at a time when different approaches were needed to the arcane, little understood business of countering espionage, terrorism and subversion and the closely related problems of maintaining national security.

She comes across strongly as intelligent and completely without pomp. She clearly is a tough-minded, very determined person who handled her unusual responsibilities as

head of MI5 with admirable aplomb and, most importantly, with a well-developed, delightful sense of humour. That she suffered from being a woman not only in the then male-dominated mindset of British intelligence and security affairs, but also during earlier aspects of her life in the United Kingdom, is regrettable but not surprising.

I was surprised when her appointment was announced that British ministers chose to appoint a woman to the job. Certainly it was to their credit that they did so, and while Canadians tend to regard themselves as more liberal in their approach to such problems, obviously the British were ahead of us in this particular respect. On this score I recall that Sir Dick White who, in the late 1950s, was one of Stella Rimington's predecessors as Director-General of MI5 and subsequently (and more unusually) also head of MI6, replied to a letter I had sent him in the early 1990s after I learned he had been stricken with terminal cancer. He replied, "I remember you and Norman Robertson very well. From what I knew of the further developments of your former interests I realize that you have been ahead of the rest of us in limiting secrecy and becoming accountable. So with my greetings and thanks I send you my warmest congratulations". (*bout de papier* Vol. 12 No. 4). Dick died shortly after sending his letter.

Given my background I was most interested in what Stella had to say about MI5, and her stewardship of that agency and the problems entailed. What she wrote on that score was neither new nor particularly startling and, whatever the original manuscript of the book might have contained, it seems to me unlikely to have justified the extraordinary problems she had to face in getting the British authorities to agree to its publication.

I faced no such difficulties in publishing my autobiography, since at that time (1998) there were no government rules prohibiting publication of such a book. All of the previously classified information contained in my autobiography, moreover, already had been made public either by the "*Commission Concerning Certain Activities of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police*" created in 1981 or under the provisions of the Canadian *Access to Information Act*, including all of the relevant minutes of cabinet and cabinet committees. Ironically the release of this material engendered little or no public interest in the information per se. Luckily a great deal of formerly highly classified KGB archival information also became public when I was writing *Closely Guarded*, following the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

I found very interesting and entertaining what she revealed about her early years. Her father and mother and her brother Brian, her

marriage to John Rimington, her two daughters, and the eventual sad, long drawn-out breakdown of the relationship with her husband. Indeed, I found these and some other parts of her memoirs had a melancholy air about them vaguely reminiscent of Vita Sackville-West's writing (but certainly not her life). An *outré* thought which served to whet my interest in these parts of her story.

Although apparently not intended as such, her book is a welcome addition to recent security and intelligence history. But more important in my view is the valuable insights it provides into the unusual problems facing extremely capable women, such as Stella Rimington, doing such work in so-called developed societies. I found it a good read and I believe that the book will appeal to a wide readership.

OTTAWA BOY, by Lloyd Francis, General Store Publishing House, Burnstown, Ontario, 2001, \$27.45, 272 pp.

Reviewed by Arthur Blanchette

Arthur Blanchette, now retired, was Canadian Ambassador to the OAS, Tunisia and Libya.

Ottawa Boy by Lloyd Francis is informative, lively, interesting, and well-written: a really good read. It covers Lloyd's life from his early years in Ottawa through his World War II service in the R.C.A.F. It then goes on to describe his political career: first in Ottawa municipal politics, later as an MP, and eventually as Ambassador to Portugal.

His parliamentary career had its ups and downs. He was first elected to Parliament in 1963 for the riding of Carleton: a politically-tricky riding in west Ottawa that he both won and lost several times over the years. In 1980, during the last Trudeau government, he was appointed Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons and then Speaker in early 1984, when his predecessor — Jeanne Sauvé — was named Governor General. His account of the life, times, and problems of the Speakership in the House of Commons is both fascinating and instructive.

His political career came to an end when he was defeated in the Federal elections of 1984 that brought the Progressive Conservatives to office under Prime Minister Mulroney. He was appointed Ambassador to Portugal by the Prime Minister in late 1984 and reached Lisbon in January 1985.

His comment (p. 216) that "the two years and eight months that Margery (his wife) and I spent in Portugal were the most pleasurable and exciting of my life" caught my

eye. I was rather surprised by the remark and also pleased; not all political appointees to the foreign service — I served under four of them — shared that view nor, indeed, took their duties seriously.

As I too had spent three years in Lisbon somewhat earlier under one of his predecessors, appointed by Prime Minister Diefenbaker, and given *bout de papier's* readership, I was particularly interested in Lloyd's career as Ambassador to Portugal.

He took his job seriously and performed his duties as Head of Post conscientiously. From the outset, he studied Portuguese assiduously — not an easy language to learn — and he also studied the country's history thoroughly, from the great days of the 15th and 16th centuries to current times. He and his wife travelled extensively throughout Portugal and took a genuine interest in things Portuguese. Not only did he cultivate useful political and economic contacts, he was also mindful of the good administration of his Embassy and the well-being of his staff. Clearly, he was an excellent ambassador.

His pages on the work of the post, particularly the problems that he faced in the Immigration sector, are reminiscent of those of some of our other missions in the Mediterranean area, e.g., accusations in the Canadian press of visa selling (untrue), the imposition of visa requirements and other steps to curb illegal migration from Portugal to Canada, relations with Quebec's immigration officer in the Embassy (good) under an Ottawa-Quebec Immigration Agreement, and so on. All are well analyzed and presented.

His discussion of Consular affairs is lively. A percentage of Canadians travelling abroad can always be expected to get into some kind of trouble or other. Some of the consular cases he describes, resulting from the growing number of Canadian visitors to Portugal, are quite amusing and I recommend them to readers!

Our trade with Portugal, never very extensive, suffered a drop when Portugal joined the then European Economic Community and a number of non-tariff barriers affecting Canadian trade came into play. However trade in codfish, particularly salted codfish — a traditional staple in the Portuguese diet — was still prosperous during Lloyd's time. It has of course dwindled drastically since then with the collapse of the fishery. Codfish! I still vividly recall Joe Smallwood's annual descents upon Portugal, with his cohort of friends and advisors from St. John's, to nurse "his" codfish trade with Portugal. He did so energetically and well.

On Lloyd's return to Canada in 1987 he was able to settle into a well-varied life of retirement with more time to pursue his

long-standing interest in gemstones and, concurrently, to perfect his skills as a gemologist.

Ottawa Boy, well-designed and printed, with a type-face that is easy to read, comes with an excellent selection of photographs covering the main aspects of the author's life.

A CROCODILE IN THE POOL: TALES OF A DIPLOMAT'S WIFE IN THE CONGO, by Janet L. Ruddock. Published by General Store Publishing (Burnstown) 2001, \$24.95

Reviewed by Andrew Caddell

Andrew Caddell is a foreign affairs spouse, currently undertaking a contract for DFAIT and completing his Master's thesis in Journalism at Carleton University. He has worked for WHO in Geneva and UNICEF in Macedonia and Bangladesh.

Janet Ruddock's odyssey from diplomatic spouse to author began one day in May of 1998 in a dusty North Toronto basement.

Imagine the scene: a childhood friend comes upon a brown manila envelope labeled "Janet's letters from Africa". She pulls out a series of crusty, yellowing typewritten pages from two decades before and begins to read. She cannot stop and continues for two hours. She sends the letters off to her childhood friend Janet, with one additional comment: "These should be published". In late summer 2001, they were.

And that is how *A Crocodile in the Pool*, a delightful collection of anecdotes about life in then-Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of the Congo, came to be. If it all sounds improbable, that's because it is: if ever there was a poster girl for serendipity, it is Janet Ruddock. The tale of how the book was published is almost as interesting as the book itself.

Janet, the wife of Foreign Service officer Frank Ruddock, did not see herself as a budding author when she and her new husband were sent off to Congo in the summer of 1978. Both Toronto natives, they had studied at the same high school, renewed acquaintances years later at University of Toronto and married there in the spring of 1978, just before Frank received a job offer from the then-Department of External Affairs.

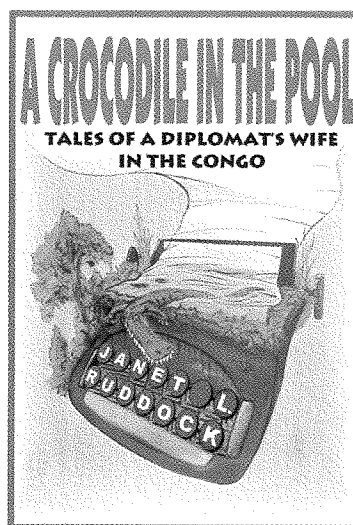
The hardship posting

As luck would have it, the choice for a first "hardship" posting was Zaire, which had been wracked by ongoing civil war. Just as they were preparing to leave, Zaire was the

site of the Kolwezi massacre in May of 1978, where 100 foreign nationals and many more Zairois were killed.

"Our friends and family were calling us and saying 'Well, they certainly won't be sending you there now!'" Worried at the prospect of the newlyweds heading off to the jungle to face certain disaster, Janet promised them that "I would regularly send newsletters home to tell them that we were all right".

Once installed in Zaire, she taught at the local American school in the morning and then, in the hot afternoon, would pull out her battered old Brother portable typewriter and "peck away" on the events of the month. She offered snippets of daily life or tidbits of Frank's travels, turning them into an enthralling account of life in Africa. Then Frank would photocopy five copies of the letter (the limit for the diplomatic pouch) and send them off. Once in Canada, they were distributed through an elaborate "pyramid-like" scheme, which



saw the five letters spread among all of their friends, in multiples of three.

The letters were a huge success. "I was getting such amazing feedback, that I took it on as a personal challenge. As time went on, the letters became better, longer, more popular and more widely-read. A professor at the University of Calgary even used them as one his readings".

Two years and seven thick letters later, Janet and Frank returned to Ottawa, Janet pregnant with the

future Patrick. When people suggested she turn the letters into a book, she had two reasons for not undertaking the project: "First, I was getting on with my life; second, I did not have the letters because I had sent them off. End of story".

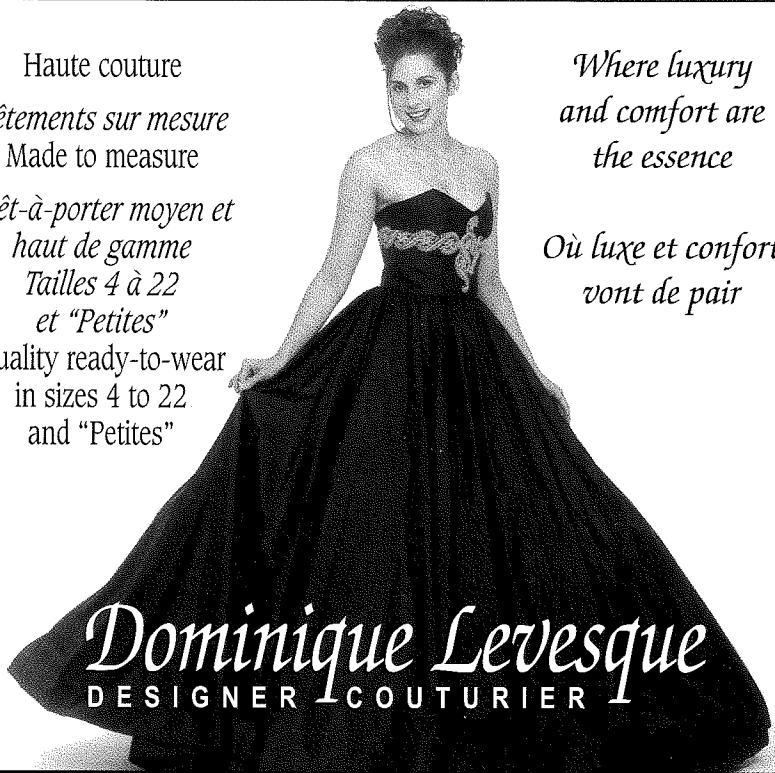
Twenty years later...

That is until 1998, when Karen Barker Crotin contacted her friend Janet Rainey Ruddock, to say that she had been cleaning up the family home in anticipation of moving

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her mother, Jean Barker, into chronic care and had found a cache of the letters. She sat down and read the letters, laughing and thinking back to when she had first read them. She then wrapped them up and sent them to Janet in Ottawa, noting that "My mom kept these letters and I just can't throw them away", adding that "they really should be published".

Her son, Patrick, then 18, a fan of British zoologist and author Gerald Durrell, saw a similarity between the Durrell books and his mother's story. He encouraged his mother to turn them into a more modern form, in preparation for a book. Janet retyped them onto a computer file, not knowing how to go about offering them to a publisher.

Then fate intervened again: a publisher appeared out of nowhere on a trip to Calabogie with a friend, when the friend's granddaughter had to use a washroom at a pitstop in Burnstown. The washroom was located in the office of General Store Publishing. Janet chatted with the publisher, Tim Gordon, for a while about the letters, and she sent them off to his senior editor. The editor and Gordon were both impressed, and the project began. One problem: there was not enough material in the seven letters for a book.

Re-enter Karen Barker Crotin. When Janet phoned her to say the letters were a hit with the publisher but there were not enough of them, Karen revealed that she, like her mother, had kept all the personal letters Janet had sent to her. With that stock to augment the original letters, present-day footnotes to provide a more detailed sense of the events, peppered with illustrations by Janet's second son Robin, and assistance from Frank on the historical details, the book was published earlier this year.

The book rings true

The book is delightful. For anyone who has lived in Africa, it conjures up the travails and perils of getting "from here to there", as well as having the feel of the continent in the late 1970s, when Mobutu Sese Seko was ransacking Zaire as well as its treasury.

For those of us with a foreign affairs background, the life of fascinating travel and day-to-day activities rings true. If one is neither of the foreign service community nor travelled abroad, it still has an appeal. Frank's trip to a far-off Rwandan mission to provide a Canadian priest with a passport and his subsequent rescue by a band of children when his car gets stuck on the road, has a wonderful texture. The tales of large-scale dinner parties in the midst of growing uncertainty have an air of "The Year of Living Dangerously".

And then there is the account of the day a crocodile was discovered in the school swimming pool: "No one knew exactly what to do with a crocodile in the pool. One crocodile normally means other crocodiles. Therefore it seemed unwise to have hundreds of small children wandering about as tasty appetizers for roving crocodiles". The letters were written in a low-key style and it seems that the lower the key, the more hilarious the moment. As they say, there is many a good yarn to be found in the book.

Janet is now hitting the trail to promote the book in the Ottawa area, where three book-

stores (and one in Toronto) are carrying it. She says she "is not in it for the money" but admits it "feels wonderful to hold the book in her hand" and loves writing. As for the serendipity of the letters found in the basement, the book is dedicated to "good friends everywhere ... especially to the late Jean Barker, who carefully saved my letters for a distant day. And to my dear friend Karen, for finding them".

Available at Shirley Leishman's (Westgate), Nicholas Hoare, Books on Beechwood (all in Ottawa) or by email from the publisher at: orders@gsph.com. ☺

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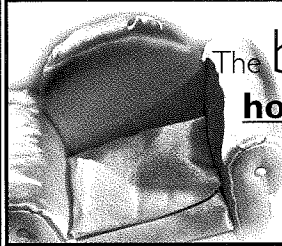
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United Nations Jabberwocky

The following is a copy of a limerick of many years ago about the United Nations. It was found by **Geoffrey Pearson** among his father's papers and submitted by **William Barton**, Senior Editorial Board member. They concluded that it must have been written by a Canadian. We challenge **bout de papier** readers to identify the names in the poem and to name the author of **United Nations Jabberwocky**.

'Twas greenwich, and the gromyko
Did byrnes and trygve in the lie:
All evatt was the vandeberg,
And the thomas connally.

"Beware the Molotov, my son!
Avoid its clauses if you can!
Beware the yalta bird, and shun
The red azerbaijan!"

He took his trieste sword in hand:
Long time the mukdan foe he sought -
So rested he by the nuclear tree,
And fissioned there in thought.

And, as in fulton thought he stood,
The Molotov, with ears aflame,
Came brettoning through the plenary wood,
And vetoed as it came!

Offside! No score! And more and more
His iran blade went snicker-snack!
He cleared his throat, and sent a note
Requesting an answer back.

"And hast thou dunn the Molotov?
Come to my arms, my bullitt boy!
Oh atherton! Oh culbertson!"
He murpheid in his joy.

'Twas greenwich, and the gromyko
Did byrnes and trygve in the lie:
All evatt was the vandenbergh,
And the thomas connally.

Jabberwocky

by Lewis Carroll

(from *Through the Looking-Glass and
What Alice Found There*, 1872)

'Twas brillig, and the slithy toves
Did gyre and gimble in the wabe:
All mimsy were the borogoves,
And the mome raths outgrabe.

'Beware the Jabberwock, my son!
The jaws that bite, the claws that catch!
Beware the Jubjub bird, and shun
The frumious Bandersnatch!

He took his vorpal sword in hand:
Long time the manxome foe he sought—
So rested he by the Tumtum tree,
And stood awhile in thought.

And, as in uffish thought he stood,
The Jabberwock, with eyes of flame,
Came whiffing through the tulgey wood,
And burbled as it came!

One, two! One, two! And through and through
The vorpal blade went snicker-snack!
He left it dead, and with its head
He went galumphing back.

'And hast thou slain the Jabberwock?
Come to my arms, my beamish boy!
O frabjous day! Callooh! Callay!
He chortled in his joy.

'Twas brillig, and the slithy toves
Did gyre and gimble in the wabe:
All mimsy were the borogoves,
And the mome raths outgrabe.

ALL rhodes

A MIDDLE POWER'S COURSE

by Roger Lucy

In the mid-second century BC, the Greek historian Polybius, an enforced guest of the Romans, chronicled how, in the space of half a century, Rome came to dominate the *Oekumene*, the known world. At the start of his survey, the eastern Mediterranean was dominated by three great Hellenistic kingdoms, ruled by descendants of Alexander the Great's generals. The Ptolemies in Egypt also controlled eastern Libya, the southern coast of the Levant, Cyprus, much of the coast of Asia Minor and some small footholds in Greece. The Seleucid kingdom, centred in modern-day Syria and Iraq, also embraced much of inland Asia Minor, and (but decreasingly so) western Iran. Once the heartland of Alexander's empire, Macedonia, dominated much of the Balkans.

ON THE OTHER HAND

many Romans displayed a greed and crassness that offended trans-Adriatic observers. Their accents were barbarous, and their popular culture Philistine.

Rome had through the third century slowly impinged on the consciousness of the Hellenistic world. The Greeks were not sure how to regard the Romans. On one hand their culture and constitution had much in common with their own — the Roman elite often spoke fluent Greek and appreciated the Greek art and philosophy. The Roman Republic's awesome ability to mobilize its military strength and win wars was eagerly enlisted to protect isolated Greek



states from Italian, Gallic and Illyrian (Albanian) depredations. On the other hand many Romans displayed a greed and crassness that offended trans-Adriatic observers. Their accents were barbarous, and their popular culture Philistine. Roman generals eagerly looted Greek *objects d'art* but failed to appreciate their true value. One Roman general imported a Greek orchestra to play at his triumph. The crowd left in droves until he made the players stage a brawl with their instruments. The crowd flocked back. Worse still, in war, the ferocity of the Romans could be appalling. Polybius cited cases where as a matter of deliberate policy cities were sacked so thoroughly that every human being and even the dogs were systematically slain. In 144 BC, Carthage and Corinth were taken and destroyed by the Romans, not to be rebuilt (and only then as Roman colonies settled by Italians) for another century.

Polybius described Rome's constitution as a mixed one — a democracy where laws were enacted and magistrates elected by a popular assembly, tempered by an oligarchy where real political power and influence lay in the hands of nobles — the Senate, whose ancestors had held major public offices. Public policy was largely directed by the Senate. That is not to say that, at this period in its history, Rome had anything like a government, political parties or a civil service — most functions now performed by bureaucrats were contracted out. The was no standing army *per se*. The main role of the two annually elected chief magistrates, the Consuls, was to command Rome's armies in whatever theatre the Senate decreed, raising new legions (and matching allied contingents) for that purpose. Only when on extended foreign service did Roman units take on any permanency. That said, because the Romans were very liberal

LEAD TO ROME

THROUGH A UNI-POLAR WORLD



with their franchise (even legally freed slaves became citizens), and because they shared the proceeds generously with their Italian allies, the armies they could raise were huge. Rome was almost constantly at war with somebody. As military glory was the ultimate source of prestige (and wealth) it was every general's aim to be awarded a triumph. These were granted if a commander could document at least 5,000 enemy dead.

In two great wars with Carthage, the Rome had suffered horrendous losses, but kept raising new fleets and armies until that once great north African merchant state was humbled and Rome had won control of the western Mediterranean. During the Second Punic War, the great Carthaginian general Hannibal had almost brought Rome to ruin, and when after his defeat in 202 BC Carthage surrendered, its fleet and army were dismantled and its overseas possessions stripped away. Rome's immediate concerns were digesting the

Spanish territory it had won and closing off the invasion route that Hannibal had taken through Gaul. However the Senate was determined that no future potential threat to Rome would be allowed to exist. With Carthage humbled the most obvious such threat was Macedonia, with which, to divert Roman resources, Hannibal had concluded an alliance.

The Romans viewed the Greeks with admiration — for their cultural achievements; and contempt — for their fratricidal politics and seemingly decadent lifestyles. Many of the Roman elite embraced Greek high culture, but did so discreetly. It was political death to be seen as a “Greekling” or worse still to be discovered in Greek dress (or lack thereof) hanging around a gymnasium. The Senate, however, showed little interest in a permanent trans-Adriatic presence. While Rome found it good optics to recruit allies to give backing to a common cause, it rarely actually needed them,

and was quick to distrust them if their power grew too great. Few senators had actual expertise in the area and its complex politics. This left them vulnerable to those states able to persuade them that their particular enemies posed a threat.

THE ROMANS VIEWED

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The exploits of Alexander the Great and his father Phillip II had not extinguished the city states of Greece and the Asia Minor coast, although many, even Athens, had to flatter and bend to the demands of the Macedonian dynasts. Various city leagues such as the Aetolians and the Achaeans were themselves significant players, while in the western Anatolia, the rulers of Bithynia and Pergamon were skilful at playing off great power rivalries to further their own interests. One of the most important of the middle powers was the island republic of Rhodes. Strategically located at the nexus of eastern Mediterranean trade routes, it had built up the strongest merchant marine and, from the mid 3rd century BC, the strongest war fleet in the region. Rhodian maritime law was adopted as the international standard, its fleet kept the seas free of pirates, and ensured the smooth flow of Egyptian and Black Sea grain to cities of the region. While more oligarchic than democratic, the wealth generated by harbour

dues and the carrying trade was allowed to trickle down, creating a strong social consensus. This served Rhodes well in 305 BC, when Demetrius Poliorcetes (breaker of cities) the heir to the then dominant power on the Asian mainland tried to pry Rhodes away from its traditional alliance with Ptolemaic Egypt. Rhodes withstood Demetrius' epic siege, which he had to break off after accepting token concessions. He left behind a wealth of military stores and equipment, which the Rhodians sold to finance an enormous statue of their patron deity, the sun god, Helios. The Colossus of Rhodes, one of the Seven Wonders stood for half a century till an earthquake, which devastated the city toppled it. The statue lay in ruins by the harbour for the next 800 years, but Rhodes' neighbours gave generously to her reconstruction, a mark of Rhodes' importance to maintenance of the sea lanes and the region's economic health.

While Ptolemaic Egypt was in heading into terminal decline, both Phillip V of Macedonia and Antiochus III, the Seleucid king, were determined to restore the past glories of their respective dynasties. Their expansionism unsettled their neighbours, and disturbed the Romans. In particular Phillip's creation of a fleet, and his reliance on piracy to finance it seriously threatened the interests of Rhodes and Pergamon (eventually their combined forces destroyed it). They lobbied the Romans to intervene. So soon after the defeat of Hannibal, Roman public opinion did not favour another major war, but Roman representations to Phillip were rebuffed, indeed defied, verbal exchanges escalated, troops were mobilized and in 200 BC Rome and Macedonia found themselves at war. In 196, after some initial reverses and much campaigning, the Romans crushed Phillip's army at Cynocéphale. Phillip sued for peace, and received generous terms. The Romans planned to evacuate Greece as quickly as they could, in anticipation of which their commander Flaminius proclaimed the "freedom" of the Greek city-states, something proclaimed often before by Hellenistic rulers, but this was sincere, Flaminius actually withdrew his garrisons.

Antiochus' efforts to follow in the footsteps of the dynasty's founder Seleucius I and gain a foothold in Europe, egged on by Rome's erstwhile allies the Aetolian League, threatened the interests of both Rhodes and Pergamon Rhodes could not afford to let any one power gain control of the Dardanelles, while many of Antiochus conquests were Pergamon's expense. The king of Pergamon, Eumenes, proved a particularly effective lobbyist, stirring up Roman concerns about Antiochus' ambitions. That

he had taken Hannibal into his employ was presented as the formation of an axis aimed at an attack on Italy. The Romans were persuaded that their vital interests were at stake. Like Phillip, Antiochus unwisely ignored Roman ultimata and war ensued. Backed by the Rhodian fleet and contingents from Macedonia and Pergamon, the Romans carried the war into Asia. In 189, at Magnesia, the Romans again proved the crushing superiority of the legion over the phalanx. Antiochus was forced to pay an indemnity of 45 tons of silver and withdraw south of the Tarsus mountains. Macedonia, Rhodes and Pergamon were allowed to pick up the pieces. Phillip recouped many of his past losses, Rhodes won significant footholds on the Asiatic mainland, and Pergamon took over most of western Anatolia.


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The new world having redressed the balance of the old, the Romans retired behind the Adriatic, more interested in subduing Spain and cis-Alpine Gaul. The Senate would, when importuned, send out a commission to mediate quarrels between Greek states, but their decisions tended to be ambiguous, and no force was applied to back them up. For twenty years Rome left the Hellenistic world to own internecine devices until the ambitions of Perseus, the new Macedonian king, revived concerns about a threat to Italy. These were fed by Eumenes of Pergamon, whose own territorial ambitions ran up against those of Perseus.

While Pergamon had eagerly egged the Romans on, Rhodes stood aloof, although when war broke out it obediently contributed a naval contingent. The war proved far more difficult than anticipated. The final victory at Pydna, was hard won. Perseus had reformed the organization of his phalanx to match the Roman legions. A tightly knit formation of 30,000 men wielding 5 metre long

pikes, its charge was, said Paullus, the Roman commander, the most frightening thing he had ever seen in his life. The war had little popular support in Rhodes and as it dragged on trade suffered. The Rhodians offered to mediate between Rome and Macedonia. Their timing could not have been worse, their delegation arrived in Rome just as news of Pydna was received. To the Romans this was an act of betrayal. Why did the Rhodians wait till Rome was winning? Why hadn't they intervened with Macedonia when it was in the ascendant? The Romans were in a vindictive mood. Perseus was deposed and dragged off to grace Paullus' triumph. The Romans rued their allowing the recovery of Macedonian power. Macedonia's army was disbanded, its gold mines were shut down, and the kingdoms broken into four cantons. Even traditional allies were now distrusted, those which seemed too independent were quickly put in their place. Eumenes, having egged Rome into a near disastrous war, was snubbed. A Senatorial decree forbidding kings from appearing in the Senate House kept him at arms length, tribal revolts in the interior of his realm were encouraged. To add to the insult, his arch rival, Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who had stayed out of the war was welcomed and rewarded when he appeared before the Senate dressed as a freed slave. Rome also intervened in the perennial wars between the Ptolemies and Seleucid. Antiochus IV, the Seleucid king was on the verge of taking Alexandria and extinguishing the Ptolemies. A senatorial commission was dispatched. Popilius, the Roman head of delegation, met Antiochus at Eleusis on the outskirts of Alexandria in July 168 BC and delivered a decree from the Senate demanding the immediate evacuation of Egypt. When Antiochus protested, Popilius drew a circle around him with his cane and told the Great King that he was not to step outside the circle until he complied. Antiochus did and the "Day of Eleusis" became a hallmark of Roman self-confidence, and arrogance.

In such an atmosphere, Rhodes was made to pay dearly for its "betrayal". Rome stripped Rhodes of its subject cities on the Asian mainland. The island of Delos was given to Athens and made into a free port, diverting much of Rhodes' trade, and costing her dearly in harbour dues. One senator even introduced a motion in the popular assembly declaring war on Rhodes. It was vetoed and Cato the Censor spoke vigorously in Rhodes defence (he was more concerned with the regrowth of Carthage's powers, pointing out that North Africa was only three days sail from Rome). Popilius, en route to Egypt, stopped in Rhodes to

make clear the Senate's displeasure. One of the more conciliatory members of his delegation suggested that the punishment of those Rhodian politicians responsible for ill-timed peace initiative would be appreciated. The Rhodians were quick to have them exiled or executed and pass laws forbidding anti-Roman activity. An ostentatious temple to the goddess Roma was set up in the centre of Rhodes. Previously, Rhodes had stood aloof from any formal relationship with Rome, now three successive delegations were sent to Rome to implore the conclusion of a treaty of friendship. They were rebuffed and it was not until 164 BC, with Rhodes' economy in ruins, and its mainland holdings lost, that the Romans relented.

A TIGHTLY KNIT

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wielding 5 metre long pikes, its
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Roman commander, the most
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Slowly, Rhodes power and prosperity recovered. But not completely, threatened by pirates based in Crete, Rhodes mounted a punitive expedition which went disastrously wrong. The Romans forced cease-fire, leaving the pirates free to continue and indeed flourish. Eventually even the Italian coast fell prey to their depredations. Rome's favour was not fully restored until the early in the following century. By this time Pergamon had been annexed, and Rome was encroaching on its neighbours. In 88 BC Rome's arch-enemy of the day, Mithridates ("he died old") king of Pontus, engineered a general revolt against Roman rule in Asia Minor and the wholesale massacre of all Italians resident there. Rhodes was one of few states to remain loyal, it resisted a siege almost as epic as that of Demetrius, and its fleet helped the Roman campaign of reconquest. Later the Rhodian fleet assisted in Pompey's great crusade to cleanse the Mediterranean of pirates. For this Rhodes was well rewarded, regaining some of its lost mainland territories.

Forty years later Rhodes again fell victim to the whims of Roman politics. After Caesar's assassination, the tyrannicides tried

to raise money and troops in the eastern provinces to oppose Mark Anthony and Octavius. Rhodes again tried to prove its loyalty, but the old internal consensus was no longer there. A popular uprising opened the gates to Cassius and Rhodes was sacked. A year later the Rhodian fleet was finally destroyed. Rhodes never recovered from Cassius' depredations and for a time its status varied according, as the historian Tacitus expressed it, "...to their service to us in our foreign wars or their seditious misdeeds at home". It seems, however that Rhodes did not formally lose its independence. Officially it remained an ally of Roman, not part of a province. Successive emperors confirmed this. As late the 2nd century AD Rhodes even continued to contribute two small warships to the Roman fleet in Corinth, a pale shadow of the great fleet that had once swept the Aegean of pirates. As trade recovered under Augustus' *Pax Romana*, Rhodes regained its prosperity, and acquired a reputation as a university town. But Rhodians remained somewhat aloof from the Imperial system, few adopted citizenship. Unlike other the masses of other Greek cities, Rhodians did not eagerly embrace such elements of Roman popular culture, as gladiators. Nonetheless, the bumpier bits in the history of Roman Rhodian relations were edited out, and Rhodians professed pride in their long history of loyalty to Rome. This was reciprocated. Imperial indulgence sometimes extended to financing public works. Reportedly Hadrian even offered to re-erect

the Colossus, while his successor Antoninus Pius generously financed Rhodes recovery from another great earthquake.

The end seems to have come with a whimper, in 212 AD the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (known to posterity, but not to his face, as Caracalla) issued the Antonine Constitution, which made all free inhabitants of the Empire, Roman citizens, governed by Roman law. About that time Rhodes' distinctive drachma coinage with the Sun God on one side and a rose on the other, faded away, a victim of "denarianization". Was there a Council of Rhodians to protest these moves, any hint of an anti-*Oekumenie* movement? If so, they received little sympathy. The prevailing mood was summed up in a late 1st century AD speech to the Rhodians by the rhetorician Dio Chrysostom:

In the current world order now what cause is there for faction, or what lack of opportunity for a pleasant life? Is not all the earth united, is there not one emperor and common laws for all, and is there not as much freedom as one wishes, to engage in politics and to keep silent, and to travel and to remain at home? ☺

*Roger Lucy joined External Affairs in 1971. He has served in Chicago, Tehran, Oslo and Port of Spain. He is made several contributions to **bout de papier** mostly relating to diplomacy in the Dark Ages.*



Why Not An Ideal Canadian Foreign Policy?

In an earlier issue of *bout de papier* (Vol. 18, No. 2), we reprinted one of a series of papers from a "Re-Examination of Canadian Foreign Policy" that was initiated at the request of the minister, Lester B. Pearson, and under the guidance of the deputy under-secretary of state for external affairs, Escott Reid. By the time that this ambitious project was formally abandoned, Pearson was leader of the opposition and Reid was Canada's ambassador in Bonn. By then, most of the planned fourteen papers had been drafted (and redrafted), some had been circulated

within headquarters and/or to missions abroad, all had been filed and none had been recently consulted. In other words, this exercise was likely the prototype for the preparation of briefing books and the conduct of foreign policy reviews.

The study reprinted below was intended as an assessment on the "Influences on Canadian Foreign Policy", but it soon acquired a title with less positive connotations. Its principal author, Robert Louis Rogers, had studied modern history at the University of Toronto and then experienced

it with the Canadian Army in Northwest Europe. When he wrote this paper, Rogers was working in the American and Far Eastern Division. Later, he would represent Canada as ambassador in Israel, in Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia, and as high commissioner in India. Louis Rogers lives in Ottawa.

The document comes from file 5296-A-1-40 of the records of the Department of External Affairs (RG 25) at the National Archives of Canada.

Hector Mackenzie

[Department of External Affairs, Policy Paper #1][R.L. Rogers] "Factors Conditioning Canadian Foreign Policy", Secret, November 21, 1951.

1. In theory every sovereign state is free to pursue a foreign policy of its own choosing. There are, however, in the case of every sovereign state, factors which constitute absolute limitations on their freedom or else which so condition their freedom as to amount to absolute limitations. The factors which constitute absolute limitations on the freedom of Canada to pursue an ideal foreign policy of its own choosing, or which so condition that policy as to amount to absolute limitations, are considered in the following paragraphs.

2. The most important single factor in Canadian foreign policy is the need to maintain national unity. In Canada there is a special danger of disunity, which does not arise in a homogenous country such as the Netherlands, by reason of the fact that the country is divided into two principal linguistic groups which also in the main correspond with the two chief religious and cultural divisions. Canadian foreign policy must be careful, on the one hand not to make the smaller group feel that the majority is riding rough-shod over its interests, and at the same time avoid making the majority feel that their deference to the feelings of the minority has been an undue restraint. A ready example of the

sort of difference which can cause difficulty in Canada is the perennial dispute over conscription.

3. There are other forms of sectionalism in Canada which arise from the scattering of a small population over a very large area. For example, people on the west coast are prone to give more consideration to Far Eastern affairs than are people on the east coast because the west coast is conscious of the Orient through its contacts by way of trade and through the presence of small but conspicuous minorities of oriental immigrants.

4. The Canadian government must avoid threats of another kind to national unity. It could not, for example, evolve and execute a policy, as the Soviet government can, disregarding the sentiments of the population at large. The Canadian government could not plan to enter into an arrangement which would have as its purpose the subversion of the political liberty of another people; nor could it accept burdens which would be greater than the people of Canada would be willing to bear. The foregoing have been examples of the way in which public opinion quite rightly inhibits the freedom of the Canadian government. But there are also cases where an action which is in the best interests of the Canadian people and of the foreign policy which the Canadian government is trying to pursue with their support, conflicts with public sentiment. Even in such cases Canadian foreign policy must abandon the ideal course in order to follow the popular will, if the government

cannot persuade the public to fall in with the ideal course, or does not consider it appropriate to do so.

5. Under the Canadian constitution, the powers of sovereignty are so divided that except in time of war, real or apprehended, or other unusual emergency threatening the existence of the state, the Canadian government is unable to operate internationally in some spheres. This is because power to deal with certain matters is reserved to the provinces, but the power to act on the international plane resides in the Federal government. Canada's disability for constitutional reasons in these fields has by now come to be accepted.

II

6. A second general limitation is Canada's inability to dispose of resources as large as those available to the great powers. This limitation is, of course, tied in with the need to keep commitments within the bounds of what public opinion will accept, particularly in the field of manpower. Because the Canadian government cannot exert pressure in international politics by threatening to use or to withhold its resources, Canadian policy has to be in itself acceptable to the other (and especially the major) like-minded powers: it has to be able to win support by its own worth. It cannot be based on the assumption that an endless supply of Canadian men and materials can be provided for its support.

III

7. Thirdly, Canada is dependent on the United States in many ways. Canadian industry is to a great extent controlled by United States industry. While, therefore, the Canadian government can prevent Canadian industry from taking positive actions which are contrary to Canadian policy, it cannot always rely on Canadian industry to take action which it considers desirable. An example of this may be found in the difficulty of getting Canadian subsidiaries of United States firms to export to dollar-producing markets which are, by agreement between the subsidiary and the parent company, reserved for exploitation by the latter. Also, Canada is very much dependent on United States channels of trade. Comparatively few ships call at Canadian ports and a great deal of Canadian trade has in consequence to pass through United States ports. Therefore, if the United States prohibits trade with a certain country, Canada may normally expect to be faced with the loss of its trade with that country if the trade is carried on through United States ports. In a time of competition for raw materials such as steel, the Canadian government cannot adopt a policy contrary to the United States policy without grave danger of losing access to a large part of the raw materials because it imports them either from the United States or from other countries through allocations agreements with the United States.
8. It is often contended that, because Canada has not accepted economic or military aid in the form of loans or gifts from the United States, Canada is less dependent on the United States than are many other countries. There is probably a certain amount of truth to this but the truth is strictly limited by the fact that Canada is in a large measure dependent on the subsidiary effects of United States economic or military aid to other countries for its ability to get by without loans or gifts. An example of this is the extent to which off-shore purchases in Canada under the Marshall Plan have assisted the Canadian economy.
9. Canada is also dependent on the United States culturally. In spite of the operations of such institutions as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, United States radio programmes dominate the air in Canada and United States movies far outnumber all others. The major press services are also owned in the United

States and there is no weekly news publication in Canada comparable in its wide circulation to the three right-wing weekly news digests put out in the United States: *Time*, *Newsweek* and *United States News and World Report*. In these circumstances, the Canadian public is subjected daily to a flood of United States propaganda, sometimes overt and sometimes covert. The Canadian public is, therefore, conditioned to accept the same view on international matters as the public in the United States, be that view wise or foolish or in Canada's interests or directly contrary to them. Since the Canadian government is bound to follow the dictates of Canadian public opinion, in practice the United States organs which influence the public influence Canadian foreign policy.

10. It must also be recognized that Canada is ultimately dependent for its defence upon the United States. This is a circumstance of which the United States is increasingly well aware. While it could theoretically be argued that the United States is no less dependent on Canada for its defence, at the same time this counter-assertion is overcome by two factors: (a) Canadian public opinion would not countenance a policy which menaced the security of the United States, even to gain some direct and obvious benefit for Canada; and (b) in the jungle of international politics it is recognized that an attempt of Canada (however inconceivable) to follow a course directly threatening the United States would lead to abrupt action on the part of the latter to end the threat.

IV

11. The Canadian economy is more dependent than many other economies on exports for the maintenance of a high standard of living. While the United States could sacrifice its export markets with relatively little damage to its standard of living, Canada, with its smaller population, has to have a large export market in order to keep down the costs of production. Therefore, it has long been a fundamental need with the Canadian government to follow whatever course of action is necessary to maintain the highest possible level of international trade. The disruption caused by the Second World War resulted in a serious decline in the ability of other countries to buy from Canada. This decline has been offset partly by United States economic and

military aid, by similar aid granted by Canada, and to a small extent by such aid granted by other countries. The Canadian government, in short, unable to maintain the level of international trade by "natural" means, has had to adopt policies which would permit the Canadian export business to continue.

12. In the economic field the external limitations on Canadian freedom have increased by the use by other countries of protective tariffs, import quotas, and exchange regulations to protect their economic position. The most important limitation on Canadian freedom in the field of economic foreign policy has been the existence of the sterling area, of which Canada is not a member. The policies of the sterling bloc have resulted in the partial exclusion of Canada from its traditional markets.

V

13. No Canadian policy will be acceptable to the Canadian people if it seems to involve an undue risk of provoking another world war. It is recognized that the danger of such a war is great and that to avoid it certain risks must be taken, but these risks cannot appear to be provocative. In a more positive sense, Canadian foreign policy has to aim at promoting conditions most favourable for the achievement of an understanding with the Soviet Union which will provide reasonable relief from the fear of imminent war or subversion. This has meant, so far, that it has had to provide for the increase of the relative strength of the Atlantic powers and their friends in order that the Soviet Union may be deterred from taking dangerous risks on the assumption that the allies are too weak to defend themselves. In increasing the strength of the Atlantic powers, however, Canadian policy has to try to keep the policies of the Atlantic powers from infringing on the legitimate interests of the Soviet Union and its associates in such a manner as to provoke precisely those rash acts which the strength of the Atlantic powers was designed to discourage. In short, Canadian policy must aim to have the Atlantic powers protect their reasonable interests without giving legitimate grounds for complaint to the Soviet Union and its associates and without giving the Soviet Union's propaganda the opportunity to convince the people of the West that the Atlantic powers have threatened the legitimate security of the Soviet Union.

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VI

14. Canadian policy is limited by commitments made in joining the United Nations and commitments undertaken as a result of collective acts of the United Nations. As the United Nations is to a large extent the embodiment of Canadians views on the international community, membership in that organization is only a very light limitation. But Canadian policy must always avoid action which would weaken or destroy the United Nations so long as there is any hope that that organization will carry out the purposes for which it was founded. Canada's hands are tied morally, though not legally, by recommendations of the General Assembly and acts resulting therefrom. It would be difficult, for example, for Canadian policy to contemplate the withdrawal of Canadian forces from Korea before a generally acceptable settlement had been reached there even if, on further examination, it appeared that operations in Korea were performing no useful function or that the troops could be more usefully deployed in another theatre. The welfare of the United Nations is an important consideration in formulating Canadian policy and the need to look after its welfare is a factor conditioning Canadian policy.

VII

15. Common membership in the Commonwealth of Asian states and Canada is a conditioning factor on Canadian foreign policy. This common membership leads the Indians to hope that Canada will be more sympathetic to its views. If Canada were obviously unsympathetic there would be a distinct feeling of disappointment in India which might even go so far, if enough instances from enough sources were added together, as to move India to leave the Commonwealth. As the Commonwealth is itself an instrument for the promotion of Canadian foreign policy, it is desirable that the Commonwealth be maintained and that the newer members should remain in it. While the advantages of maintaining the Commonwealth, therefore, far outweigh the disadvantages, the result is nevertheless to erect a restriction, however light, on Canadian freedom. The presence of the older members in the Commonwealth, with one exception, does not constitute a restraint on Canada as their aims and ideas are basically similar to Canada's. The exception is South Africa, whose racial policies are a source of embarrassment.

VIII

16. Canadian policy is conditioned by the recognition that the preservation of western Europe (and of that part of the Middle East bordering on the Mediterranean) from Soviet control is of greater importance to the free world than preserving Asia from Soviet or Chinese control. This recognition flows from the deduction that Europe is more important to both the free world and the Soviet Union than the Far East is, for economic reasons if for no others. At the same time both sides are aware that if the Soviet Union gained the Far East the conquest of Europe would be made somewhat easier. Canadian recognition of the primacy of Europe is made manifest by the commitments Canada has assumed under the North Atlantic Treaty without any corresponding commitments in the Far East. The North Atlantic Treaty powers have already agreed that Europe and the countries of the Middle East which border on Europe, together constitute the primary theatre in any struggle with the Soviet Union. In fact, this means that Canada has agreed that ensuring the most favourable circumstances for successful defence in Europe is more valuable than bringing about the most favourable situation in the Far East. Western resources in available manpower being more limited than Soviet resources, the elimination of the Far East as an area of conflict by creating a balance between the non-Communist and the Communist forces will allow the West to concentrate its energies in Europe. In the Western hemisphere, Canada is willing to leave the problem of security (except for the joint defence of Canada and the United States) to the Organization of American States under the leadership of the United States. This already agreed difference in emphasis is a factor which conditions Canadian foreign policy in any moves it contemplates in the Far East or in the Western hemisphere as those areas cannot draw upon Canadian resources which are required for deployment in Europe.

17. The urgent need to maintain and strengthen the North Atlantic alliance and the community of interests on which it is based means that Canada, like the other members of the alliance, must be prepared to agree to compromise in an effort to preserve the necessary degree of unanimity within the alliance. It does not mean that Canada, the United

Kingdom or the Western European countries must support whatever policy is put forward by the strongest member of the alliance, the United States. It does mean, however, that Canada and the other members of the alliance must recognize that the strength of the United States gives it a special position of leadership and influence in the alliance. Where the Canadian government considers it necessary to do so, it should not hesitate to try to convert the United States to its point of view.

IX

18. There is one final restriction on Canadian foreign policy which is a matter of practical politics and in a sense summarizes many of the limitations which have been dealt with in the preceding paragraphs. When the United States and the United Kingdom are in agreement on any action in international politics of the sort which might be classified as a matter of "grand strategy" and are determined to press it, there is in practice no choice for the Canadian government but to acquiesce. Normally, of course, if the result would be obnoxious to the Canadian government, the influence of diplomacy, working quietly before the agreement became public, might mitigate the effects of their joint decision. But the decision once made cannot be upset by the Canadian government alone or indeed, as a rule, by the Canadian government in combination with the governments of other medium or small powers. On other matters, especially if they impinge on Canadian domestic affairs, the Canadian government would probably not shrink from disagreeing with the United States and the United Kingdom publicly.

19. When the United States and the United Kingdom are not in agreement, the Canadian government has much more freedom of action. It used to be fashionable, under the "linch pin" theory to talk of Canada bringing the two together. On the rare occasions where the United States and the United Kingdom disagree publicly, Canadian influence is normally not sufficient to bring the two together and they are quite capable of agreeing to disagree on their own without Canadian assistance. It is only on rare occasions that such disagreement impinges on Canadian interests and in those cases, the greater freedom of action open to the Canadian government is usually more than counter-balanced by the disadvantages resulting from the disagreement. ☉

Congratulations — You're Not Pregnant!

Why you should care about the new maternity and parental leave policy.

by Sarah Taylor

So you're not pregnant, nor planning to be so soon. Why should you care about the new policy on maternity leave for government employees posted abroad? The policy also covers those adopting a child, and parental leave, which can be taken by either parent. Still doesn't affect you? Don't turn the page yet. The development of this policy is an excellent example of much that is wrong with the management of foreign service personnel. What follows is a critique not only of the new policy, but also of the broader structures and organisational culture that gave birth to it (if you will forgive the expression). These affect many of us, not just the few who give birth or adopt while posted abroad.

I should stress that this critique is a personal view, and is not directed at the individuals working in the personnel branches of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and of Citizenship and Immigration, who are trying hard to be helpful in the face of a chronic rotational staff shortage. Rather, the problems arise from institutional shortcomings and failures of management.

I will argue from the general, those broader failures, to the specific, the new policy on maternity and parental leave abroad. But first, the basic facts which you need to understand the issue: until the late 1990s DFAIT had no formal policy guidelines on maternity leave abroad. I, like others, depended mainly on notes produced by a colleague in 1995 to guide me through the intricacies of applying for maternity leave while at post. Now that more generous provisions have been made, though, DFAIT management is no longer comfortable with the previous policy vagueness and flexibility.

The new policy for employees abroad

The federal government adopted new provisions extending combined maternity and parental leave to one year (17 and 35 weeks respectively) in 2000. These provisions went into effect in 2001 as they were inserted into collective agreements. Federal government employees receive 93% of their salary while on maternal or parental leave, but 58% comes in the form of employment insurance payments. The employee's depart-

ment "tops up" the payments by 35%, thus saving 65% of that employee's salary while she or he is on leave. This is why maternity/parental leave is considered a form of leave without pay.

I should stress that this critique is a personal view, and is not directed at the individuals working in the personnel branches of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and of Citizenship and Immigration.

Rotational employees posted abroad remained subject to the old six-month leave provisions until a new policy was announced in December 2001. The full text of this policy can be found on the DFAIT intranet. The gist of it is that employees posted overseas wishing to take more than six months of combined maternity and parental leave at post will be compelled to end their postings early and relocate to headquarters prior to the birth or adoption, with all costs borne by the Crown. (It should be noted that "employee" couples employed at the post are each entitled to six months of leave, without being recalled from the post.)

This new policy may at first glance seem to "strike a reasonable balance between the personal interests of employees ... and the operational interests of the Department and the government". To understand what is wrong with it — of which more below — you have to look at the context in which it was developed. The "operational interests" in question are defined in large part by the current severe shortage of rotational staff. And the "reasonable balance" is very much in the eye of the beholder, affected by who developed the policy and how.

The big picture: staff shortages and policy drift

The biggest failure of personnel management lies in the largely reactive response of DFAIT to this shortage of rotational staff, particularly foreign service officers and secretaries. The Personnel Branch is making

laudable efforts to increase recruitment to relieve the shortage in the future, but these will take some time to make up the shortfall. In the meantime, there is an effective shortage in the FS category of some 200 officers, a number which will increase with the extended parental leave provisions.

Until the events of 11 September 2001 imposed some belated, broad-brush priorities, senior management appears to have made no concerted effort to decide which positions should be filled with rotational staff and which should not. This is exactly the sort of overall priority-setting exercise that the DFAIT Executive Committee is supposed to undertake. Yet, beyond a general ruling that posts had priority over headquarters, no decisions were taken. If anything, the new practice of assistant deputy ministers having foreign service officers serve as their executive assistants is contributing to the problem.

Individual divisions have been left to fill rotational positions as best they could through burdensome ad hoc efforts that have produced patchwork staffing unrelated to foreign policy priorities. A clear example of this is the "hollowing out" of geographic divisions in headquarters, even though they carry out core elements of DFAIT's work. This hands-off approach unfairly places the burden of finding staff on divisions, missions, and even individuals. If, as I did, you have to do much of the work of finding a replacement for yourself before going on maternity leave — with no guarantee of success — it is hard not to end up feeling guilty for burdening your colleagues with extra work, simply because you are taking your leave entitlement.

An activist personnel policy, whereby DFAIT management decided which positions to fill with rotational staff, which to fill with non-rotational staff, and even which to leave empty, would relieve these burdens. It would provide for placement of temporary duty staff in high-priority positions that come vacant, and look for other solutions for lower-priority ones. It is high time that the FS and SCY shortage becomes the trigger for decisive management, rather than passivity and a throwing up of hands because "the cupboard is bare".

What's the fuss about?

It was in this context that DFAIT and CIC decided that rotational staff abroad could not take the full year of maternity and parental leave. So what's wrong with this? Some colleagues' first reaction was that it seemed reasonable. They agree that it is too expensive, financially and operationally, to keep staff abroad while on extensive leave. After all, the policy does not prevent employees from taking their entitled leave — it merely reassigns them if they do so. Delve a little deeper, though, and this "sensible" policy reveals serious flaws, both practical and in principle. So, too, does the way in which it was developed.

A Poor Process ...

Taking the policy process first, it had shortcomings in three areas: its basic premises; the apparent lack of a proper cost analysis; and limited consultation with PAFSO and PSAC.

Starting with the basic premises, DFAIT management seems to have come up with a policy hammer to kill a personnel flea. It took almost a year, with an officer in personnel specially assigned to it, for the policy to emerge. Yet, going by past numbers, on average only about four FS officers per year request maternity leave while at post. Even if these numbers increase with changing foreign service demographics, this policy will likely apply to a handful of employees at most each year.

Taking the policy process first, it had shortcomings in three areas: its basic premises; the apparent lack of a proper cost analysis; and limited consultation with PAFSO and PSAC.

Would it not have been simpler to allow for greater flexibility, rather than forcing the issue? Some employees might themselves prefer not to take the full year's leave while abroad. Others might choose to delay departure or cut short a posting if the birth or adoption took place in its first or last year. If given the option, some officers might also choose to take a shorter period of leave at post if they could delay the remainder until they returned to headquarters at the end of the posting. Moreover, the cost and operational impact of an officer taking a full year's leave would vary greatly depending on the length of the posting, size of the mission, availability of replacements, and cost of living at the post.

This insistence on a rigid policy to deal with a tiny number of cases seems to arise from a very un-modern view of control-

lership, to borrow a phrase from the Public Service Commission. One member of personnel staff involved in developing the policy told me that the Department could not afford to have employees "deliberately" getting pregnant so that they could, for example, spend a year's leave in an apartment in Paris at Crown expense. Employees are not to be trusted, it seems, and personnel policy exists to control our tendencies to take advantage of the system.

Even if you accept the need for a set policy, it seems reasonable to assume that DFAIT and CIC would exercise due diligence in developing it. Since a primary consideration was cost, you would expect, for example, that the Personnel Branch would have studied the relative costs of reassigning affected employees to headquarters versus keeping them at post and providing temporary replacements. If this was done, the results have never been released, so there is no opportunity to examine the basic assumptions used in the complex business of calculating costs.

In addition, "consultations" with PAFSO were limited and late, putting them in an awkward position: either refuse to comment on a policy they felt to be fundamentally flawed, or comment and give legitimacy to these truncated consultations on a policy that was already drafted. In the event, to add insult to injury, DFAIT unilaterally enforced the new policy as of autumn 2001, before contract negotiations with PAFSO were completed. This prompted a complaint of unfair labour practices from PAFSO (subsequently settled with the Treasury Board).

DFAIT management did make one significant change in response to the complaint, upping the limit for leave allowed at post from an original proposal of three months to six months. It was also agreed at this time that employee couples employed at the post were each entitled to six months of leave, without being recalled from the post. It did not, however, address the fundamental questions of principle and approach that might have been put on the table if PAFSO had been consulted at the start of the process rather than at the end.

... Produces a Flawed Result

The flaws in the process have, not surprisingly, produced a flawed policy in terms of both practice and principle. On the practical side, the policy presumably aims to save the government money. It must be far too expensive to keep officers on parental leave at post, mustn't it? The short answer is, we don't know. A closer look suggests that this calculation is much less clear-cut than at first glance. The most expensive part of any posting is generally not keeping an employee

and dependents at post, but moving them to and from it. Cutting a three-year posting to a two-year increases the overall cost of the posting exponentially, particularly since DFAIT has undertaken that the employee will suffer no financial penalty from ending a posting early.

The flaws in the process have, not surprisingly, produced a flawed policy in terms of both practice and principle.

The other part of the calculation on cost is that it is too expensive to send temporary duty officers to affected posts. As things currently stand, this is a largely specious argument, since Personnel's response to requests for temporary duty officers is that none is available. If temporary replacements were made available, bear in mind that DFAIT saves 65% of the salary costs of an employee on parental or maternity leave. Depending on the employee's salary, the cost of living at the post and the nature of arrangements made for a replacement, that saving could cover a significant portion — possibly all — of the costs of the temporary assignment. When combined with the savings made by not moving an employee and dependents ahead of schedule, it might actually be cheaper to keep the employee at post while on maternity or parental leave without pay.

Perhaps, then, cost wasn't the issue? Perhaps the true rationale for this policy is to meet operational requirements at post, given the shortage of temporary duty staff. In that case, sending employees home early and replacing them may sometimes do so, but at considerable cost to the Department and by dint of shifting the staff shortage to headquarters. It still does not fully meet the requirements of posts, though, given the inherently unpredictable nature of pregnancy. If, as stated in the policy, employees opting to take the full year of leave are to be sent home before that leave starts, this will often be out of synch with the posting cycle. Thus affected posts will still be short an officer while they wait for the replacement to arrive with the next posting cycle, and with no prospect of a temporary duty officer in the interim.

Nor does the policy address the shortage of temporary duty staff to replace those taking the six months or less of leave allowed at post. A more flexible policy would have allowed posts to explore other ways of meeting their operational needs to fill behind longer and shorter leaves, including part-time work, job-sharing, employment of spouses and temporary duty assignments

for employees from nearby posts or for the increasing pool of non-rotational staff filling rotational positions at headquarters.

The practical shortcomings of this policy may well become evident during the initial two-year period, after which it is due for review. If these were its only failings, it might be enough to wait and hope for a revision at that time. But there are important issues of principle at stake here too.

In the first place, one has to ask why operational and cost considerations were allowed to determine the new policy at all. After all, there are also operational and financial costs to employees at headquarters taking leave. If these considerations do not affect statutory entitlements in Ottawa, why should they at post?

In addition, the text of the policy states that "the new policy is not designed to discourage employees abroad from exercising their full entitlement to maternity and/or parental leave" and that "all employees will be relocated/reassigned in a manner which protects against career or financial penalty", without expanding on these blunt assertions.

The fact is, however, that employees exercising the same rights to maternity or parental leave as colleagues in Ottawa will be penalized for doing so in ways that the latter will not. No employee in Ottawa will have to disrupt his or her children's schooling or spouse's career simply to take the leave that is their due. Inasmuch as rotational positions abroad tend to be more challenging and to involve greater responsibility — they are after all, the core of our career — cutting short a posting may well hurt that career.

Officially, of course, headquarters disposes in operational matters and rotational staff go where they are sent. But the days of "pay, pack and follow" are long over. Employees lobby for good postings. We train for them, with as much as two years' language training in some instances. We plan our careers around them. Cutting short a posting after as little as a year, or less in some instances, will inevitably affect one's career and family life.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly of all, this policy reinforces the widespread view that family life and a rotational career are hard to reconcile — particularly for women. One need look no further than Personnel Branch's own March 2001 study on employment equity (the Employment Systems Review (ESR) Report, on the DFAIT intranet, on the employment equity sub-page of the Personnel Branch page) for evidence that this perception is discouraging female candidates. The report states that "women... in rotational positions indicated that there aren't more women in rotational positions because of issues related to spousal

employment and balancing work and family responsibilities". In specific cases, it may be that it makes sense for an employee wanting to take more than six months of maternal or parental leave to end a posting early. But by making this compulsory in all cases, DFAIT management is sending a clear if unspoken message: pregnancy and postings don't match. This can only reinforce the perception that the ESR report speculates is a significant impediment discouraging women from applying to join the foreign service, that *it's not a woman's job*.

Time to bring in the professionals

The flawed processes and outcomes of this latest piece of policy raise again an issue long debated within DFAIT: should rotational staff be doing their own personnel administration? The rotational groups have always liked to think that only those who have experienced the rotational life can administer us — even if that meant a reluctant personnel officer, with little or no training for the job, and who was competing with you for the same pool of postings. Surely the message from the flawed assumptions of this policy and other recent personnel disasters (think of the 1998 FS01 to FS02 promotion exercise) is clear. We need professional personnel administrators.

For those still concerned about our supposed uniqueness, in this age of single-assignment postings and private sector mobility, add a few rotational advisors to the mix. But why not have personnel policy developed by professionals who really know and like the work?

This sort of structural change, along with a greater assumption of responsibility by senior management, might at last bring the foreign service into a new era. It might allow for personnel policy that was more than damage control and clean-up exercises. Until then, though, don't plan on getting pregnant at post. ☺

Sarah Taylor is a foreign service officer currently posted in Jakarta, having previously served in Hong Kong and Beijing. She gave birth to a daughter in September 2001.

Editor's note: For those with access to DFAIT's internal "intranet" site, the full text of the maternity/parental leave policy can be found at: <http://intranet.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/departement/hr/leave/maternleaveabroad-e.asp> or <http://intranet.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/departement/hr/leave/maternleaveabroad-f.asp>

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my lack of education hasn't hurt me none

A moving finger puzzle by A Aalto

Madame Hussein, the mother of all despots, had not given up her plans for world domination. Thwarted by the UN's Non-negotiable Yearly Admission of the Naughtiness of Your Actions in Nuking Your Adversaries (UN NYA-NYA-NYA) and forced to dismantle her weapons of mass deconstruction, she sought new ways to bring the world to its knees. But her plan to crush world textile production through genetically modified cotton borers with nano-hatchets on their legs (the "Axes of Weevil" program) was bush-whacked by Washington. The poisoned poutine approach was scuttled when she found that the recipe involved curds and concluded they wouldn't cooperate. Her proposal to kidnap and hold hostage all the world's talk-show hosts and fundamentalist preachers was rated by world leaders as conceptually appealing and thus seemed unlikely to yield much geo-political leverage. In desperation, she turned to Canada's expert deployment pool and was put in touch with a pair of free-lance villains named Paridy and Sleazewagon.

Yes, *that* Paridy and Sleazewagon. Papa Jack was still going strong with the Gothic Zydeco Band, gaining reviews from "appalling" to "illegal". ("GZB's latest album makes Wagner seem like *Puff the Magic Dragon*. One cut sounds like *Tannhauser* sung by Donovan. All parties involved should be ashamed — if not arrested.") Rialto had retired from provincial politics, devastated to discover that even stones run out of blood eventually. With his departure, his party executed a long-prepared turn to a "kinder, gentler plutocracy". Formalizing their long-standing partnership, the two former premiers took out a *Scoundrels-A-Us* franchise and bought identical white linen suits with panama hats, bamboo canes and spats. They were in great demand among right-wing lunatics with no sense of chic. But it was not until they were hired by Madame Hussein that their collaboration came to the attention of the Centre.

Picture the lobby of the Babylon Palace Hotel: oil sheikhs in flowing robes, furtive-looking foreign businessmen hot on the scent of a sanctions loophole, women in veils and bikinis, women in Armani power suits, spies from a dozen nations crowding

inconspicuously behind the potted palms and trying to keep their mustaches glued on in the heat. Off in a corner, four apparent tourists sit around a low table drinking maple syrup milkshakes...

LDC Liebnitz congratulated Attila McGee and Esmeralda Beluga for having discovered the details of Madame Hussein's imminent coup. "Diabolical," he whispered. "That new ziggurat downtown contains enough electronics to take over every satellite in space, subverting their original purpose and substituting a continuous broadcast of GZB's *Ancestral Warthog Blues*." Bugbyte O'Nanotek blanched and said: "My God, she'll be able to demand anything she wants from the world. If anyone's left sane enough to negotiate with her."

"Indeed," replied the ace logician. "We knew about her plan before we knew about the ziggurat. We tried to talk her out of it. Her price was getting Ariel Sharon to sing *Yasser, He's My Baby* on *Larry King Live*. Our analysts doubted this was a serious offer. So we sent in a trio of assassins — code-names Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego — to take out Sleazewagon and Paridy. But one of the killers turned out to be a double agent — his real name is Hananiah but we don't know which of the three he is — and that attempt was thwarted as well. Thanks to Attila and Esmeralda, we now know that the satellite takeover happens at midnight tonight. These fiends must be stopped, and we are the only ones in position to do it."

Attila objected: "But how will we get past the guards?" His wife patted him on the arm and said, "Leave that to me, sweetheart. I'm more worried about the ziggurat itself. It's a maze and we won't have much time to get to the top and disable the antennas. We also need to find the identity of the double agent among the three assassins. The truth is in there, but we have no idea where."

Bugbyte broke in: "I can handle finding our way around the building. I've brought along three of the new French knock-offs of the Apple hand-held, the ones with built-in global positioning that can create a map as we explore the building. It's the company's latest series — named after great bureaucrats of history." "How very French," commented Liebnitz. "Well", Bugbyte

replied, "the *Pomme Pilate* is proving very popular in this part of the world."

That evening, the guards outside Babylon's latest ziggurat were surprised when a pair of street performers strolled up and broke into a medley from *Fiddler on the Roof*. While the guards would have preferred *Kismet*, they applauded despite the heavy Canadian accents of the singers. Bugbyte, looking fetching, if furious, in *houri* garb, served them coffee — coffee from the Centre's cafeteria, specially flown in. Instantly incapacitated, the guards were bound, gagged and strapped to an express camel caravan leaving for Outer Mongolia. Liebnitz stepped out of the shadows and the team entered the building.

Ten minutes to midnight saw the team in a dimly-lit room near the top of the ziggurat. A sturdy ladder rose to a trapdoor in the ceiling, with a complex locking device. Liebnitz examined the mechanism closely and traced it to a series of niches in one wall arranged in rows of four, four, five and eight (top to bottom). Turning to Attila, he asked: "Those tiles you picked up as we explored the building, how many do you have?" "I kept them all, Ludwig," the agent replied. "There are exactly twenty-one."

"Then the lock on the trapdoor can be disengaged if we can figure out what order to put the tiles into the niches," mused the ace logician. "A quick analysis of letter frequencies indicates that the words are in ancient Aramaic, so a standard anagrammatic or cypher decryption is not going to help us. Maybe the way they were distributed in the building can tell us the answer. Let's pool our knowledge — and quickly. What do we know, Bugbyte?"

Bugbyte's report

The interior of the ziggurat is divided into a total of thirty-six rooms on three floors. We went into them all. The floor-plans are identical on each floor, so the rooms fit exactly above and below each other. On this chart, I have labelled each of the rooms according to the following scheme: all of the rooms on the top floor begin with A, all the rooms on the middle floor with B and all the rooms on the bottom floor with C. The rooms in the northernmost row of each floor are

numbered 11 through 14 (west to east), the rooms in the middle row 21 to 24 and the rooms on the southernmost row 31 to 34.

The only exterior entry to the complex is through a door in the east wall of room C14. The only exit is in the ceiling here in room A11. With four exceptions, all the rooms have two ways out, made up of archways in the middle of the walls and/or stairways up or down, and including the entry door and the exit trapdoor. The exceptions are rooms A32 and C21, which have three archways each, and the two dead-ends — B31, which has a single archway in its east wall, and C34, which has only a stairway leading up. Exterior windows are found in all rooms on the exterior walls of floor A, but they cannot be opened. There are no stairs down from the bottom floor and no stairs up from the top floor, except for the exit itself. There is no more than one opening in any given wall, floor or ceiling.

With three exceptions, each room has a plaque on the wall with a single name on it. These names are marked on the chart. The exceptions are the entry and exit rooms, which have no plaque at all, and room C32, where the plaque has been utterly defaced.

Liebnitz then turned to Esmeralda. "You were keeping track of the archways and stairs along the route we took. Can you fill in Bugbyte's chart?" The Latin beauty looked

annoyed. "My Pomme Pilate just crashed — at least I think that's what happened. Instead of *General Protection Fault*, the blue screen reads *I Wash My Hands of This Application*. But I still have a few notes that might help."

Esmeralda's report

- (a) Entry room C14 has an archway on the south wall.
- (b) B34 is the only room with stairs both up and down.
- (c) One of the rooms with north-facing windows has an archway in its east wall and stairs leading down.
- (d) Solomon is connected directly to both Isaiah and Ecclesiastes.
- (e) The room named after a woman has an archway in the south wall and stairs leading up.
- (f) A32, C31 and C33 are the only rooms from which you can see through archways into four other rooms on the same level.
- (g) Jonah has an archway in the north wall, as does the room with south and east windows.
- (h) All of the rooms with 9-letter names have an archway in the south wall.
- (i) This exit room, as you see, has an archway in the east wall.

Finally, the ace logician asked Attila where each tile had been found. Taking a dramatic step forward to deliver his report, McGee tripped over a passing centipede, dropped the entire load of tiles onto his hand-held and knocked himself momentarily senseless against Bugbyte's steel-toed boot. Struggling to his feet and immediately keeling over again, he delivered from the floor the fragments he could summon.

Attila's report

There was at most one tile per room. I worked out the placement of the tiles row by row according to Bugbyte's chart, taking the rooms in each row west to east and also recording when a room had no tile. I remember the tiles in each of the nine rows, but not where in the chart each row belongs. The rows are as follows:

H, no tile, no tile, E
P, N, E, N
A, I, no tile, no tile
E, no tile, K, no tile
no tile, no tile, no tile, no tile
U, E, T, no tile
R, S, no tile, no tile
no tile, N, M, E
L, no tile, E, M

I remember a few other things. Both A12 and C13 had tiles in them, but the entry room, the exit room and the two dead-ends had none. The R tile was in a room whose number was prime. In two of the northernmost row of rooms on B floor, the tiles had letters that duplicated either the first or last letter of the name of the room. The only other two rooms where this happened were a pair one above the other at the far west end of the building. These tiles in these four rooms were all different. The room with the defaced plaque had no tile, but in a corner was a piece of paper, on which was written "Chapter one: seven".

"Well", Liebnitz snorted, "I think we have enough information here, if somewhat disordered. Once we have our route and the placement of the tiles, we should have the words and their order. The names of the rooms also provide a clue, of course." With that he quickly filled in Bugbyte's chart, then placed the tiles in their proper niches. With a dry rumble, the mechanism engaged and the trapdoor swung open. At one minute to midnight, the team swarmed out onto the roof.

As Bugbyte tapped in the commands that began the self-destruct sequence of the mighty antenna array, the others spotted a pair of white-suited figures scurrying away along the nearby riverbank. Pulling a directional microphone from the watch-pocket of



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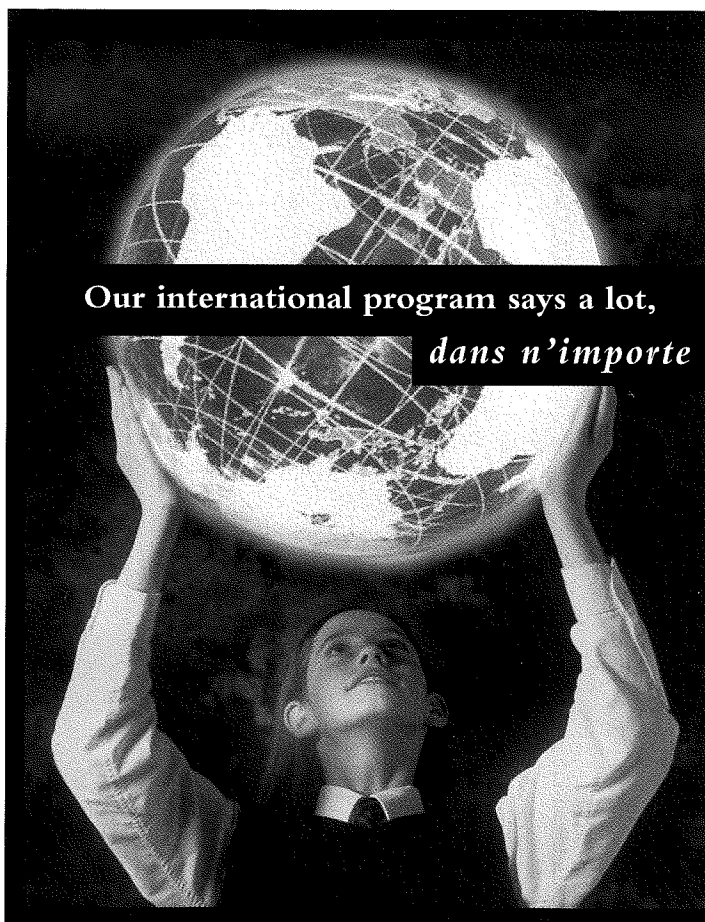
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his suit, Attila heard Papa Jack say: "If I've said it once, I've said it a thousand times, *mon cher*. Ziggurats are bad for your health. I of course had nothing to do with this absurd idea". Sleazewagon's riposte was to topple his confederate into the river, with the snide comment, "Deep in denial again, eh?" Papa Jack replied, "It's not the Nile, you fool, it's the Euphrates." So saying he hooked his cane around Sleazewagon's ankle, tripped him into the stagnant water and proceeded to pummel him with his spats. *Exeunt, pursued by a hippo.*

Can you duplicate Liebnitz's feat by providing (a) the four-word key to the ziggurat exit and (b) the cover-name of the double agent? **bout de papier** will decide the winner by drawing from a box containing all correct entries received by July 8, 2002. Not necessary for the contest, but can you also say what the keywords mean, and provide the sequence of rooms in the direct path from the entry to the exit of the ziggurat? How about tips on getting panama hats out from inside a hippopotamus? ☺

Free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto has never been to Babylon, but is a great fan of the Arabian Nights. He wishes to assure Peter Oldham that he would never expect to find Paridy and Sleazewagon on CANADEM. It might be worth double-checking, though.

NORTH			
FLOOR A (TOP)			
A11 (exit)	A12 Haggai	A13 Proverbs	A14 Psalms
A21 Micah	A22 Zephaniah	A23 Galatians	A24 Ephesians
A31 Nahum	A32 Habukkuk	A33 Corinthians	A34 Philippians
FLOOR B (MIDDLE)			
B11 Obadiah	B12 Solomon	B13 Ecclesiastes	B14 Esther
B21 Jonah	B22 Titus	B23 Philemon	B24 Nehemiah
B31 Peter	B32 James	B33 Hebrews	B34 Colossians
FLOOR C (BOTTOM)			
C11 Amos	C12 Isaiah	C13 Jeremiah	C14 (entrance)
C21 Joel	C22 Timothy	C23 Lamentations	C24 Ezra
C31 Hosea	C32 (defaced)	C33 Ezekiel	C34 Thessalonians
SOUTH			



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