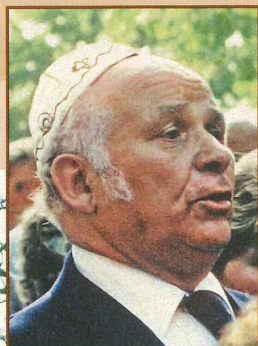


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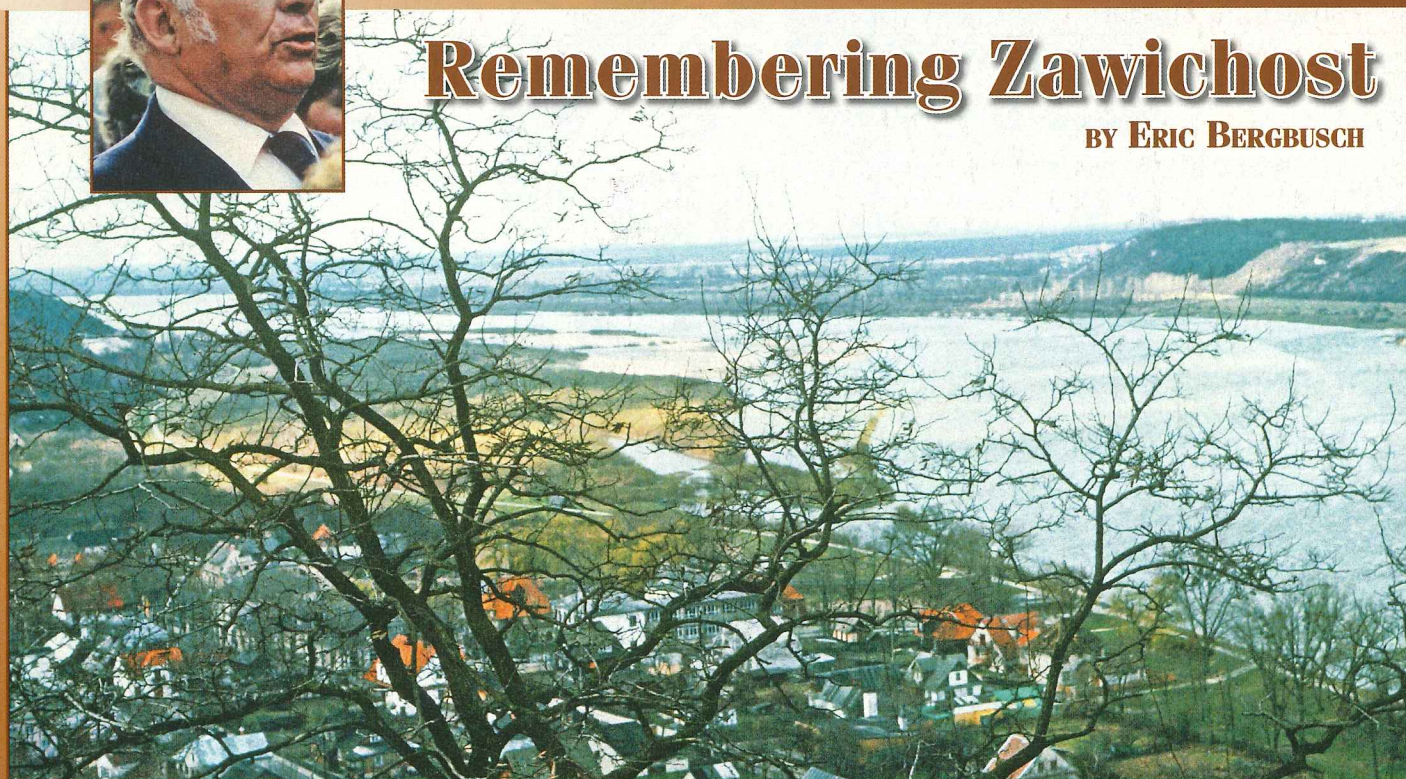
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BY ERIC BERGBUSCH



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In Pursuit of Excellence

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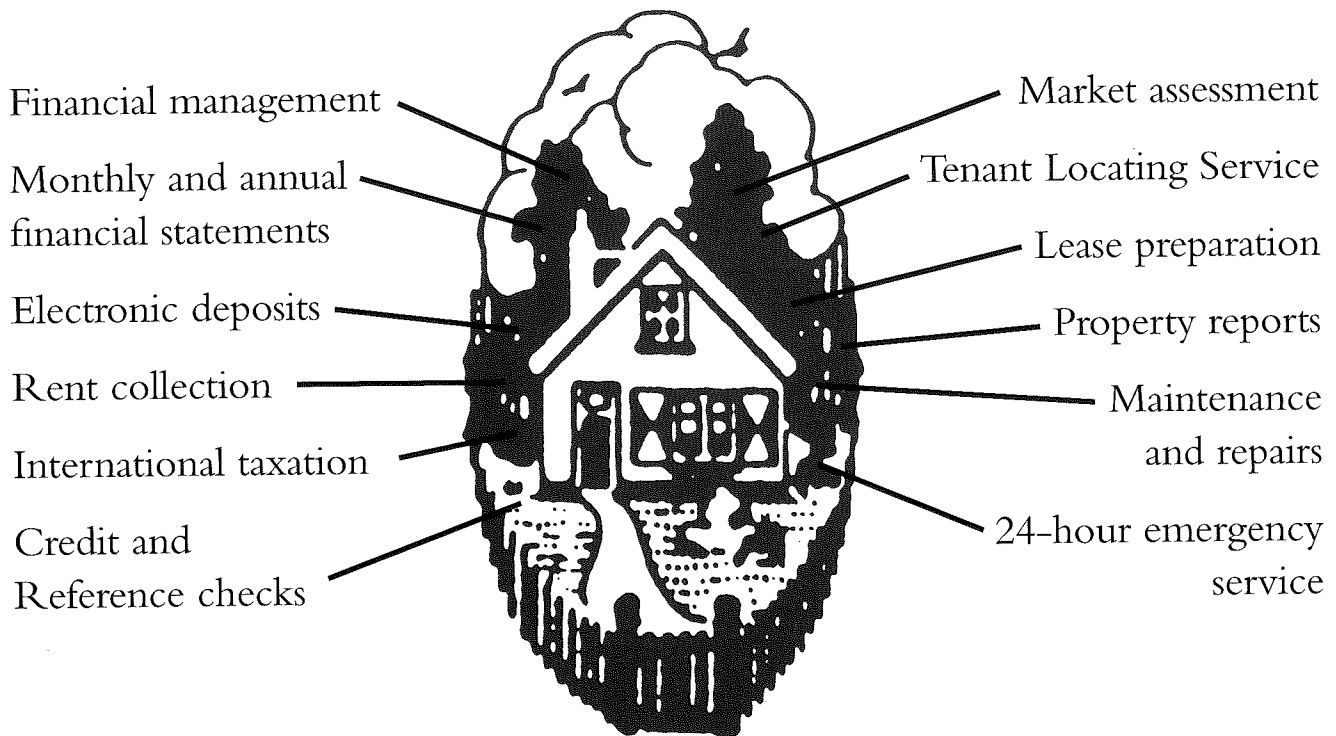
Memories of Bucharest

Excerpt from *Revenge on Christmas Day: Fact and Fiction in Bucharest* by the late Peter Roberts



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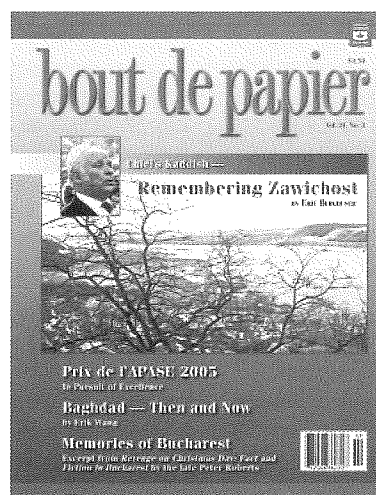
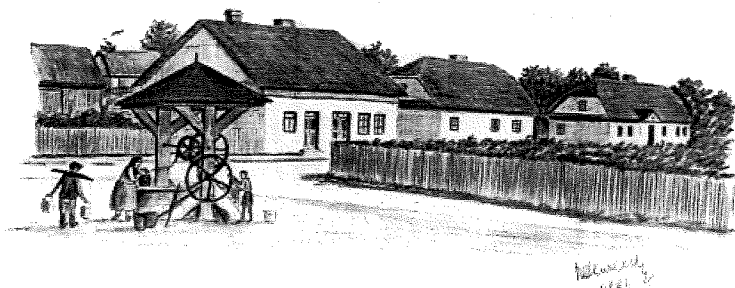
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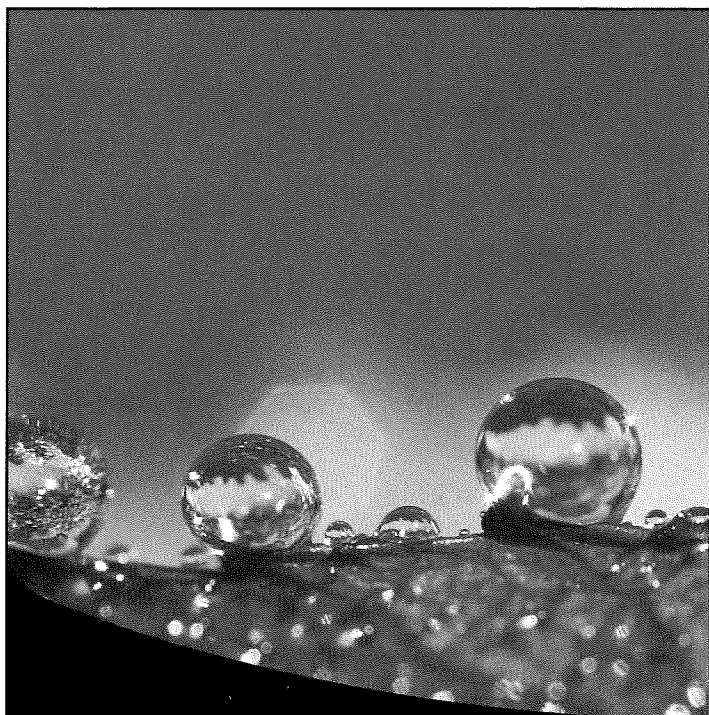
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This is the time of year for transitions in the foreign service, so it is appropriate that there be a changing of the guard here at **bout**. After four years as Editor in Chief, it is my particularly great pleasure to introduce Harold Hickman as my successor. Harold has had a distinguished career as a political officer in Canada's foreign service, with emphasis on Latin American issues, and I have relied for years on his thoughtful analysis of issues relating to foreign service.

bout compte trois grandes catégories de lecteurs. La plus nombreuse est celle des membres de l'Association professionnelle des agents du Service extérieur, qui reçoivent **bout** du fait que l'abonnement est compris dans leurs droits d'adhésion. **bout** offre à ces lecteurs une tribune où ils peuvent aborder des questions portant sur la vie dans le service extérieur — qu'elles soient d'ordre professionnel, politique ou familial. **bout** circule aussi aux cadres supérieurs de plusieurs ministères fédéraux, ainsi qu'aux membres du Cabinet fédéral et aux chefs de l'opposition. **bout** peut ainsi jouer un rôle de promotion et de défense d'intérêts — expliquer les avantages et le caractère indispensable d'un service extérieur professionnel. La troisième catégorie de lecteurs provient de nos nombreux abonnements payants et de nos ventes en kiosque à journaux. Elle regroupe un vaste éventail de particuliers et d'établissements — d'anciens agents du service extérieur; des missions diplomatiques; des particuliers dans d'autres groupes de travail du service extérieur; des universitaires; et des gens qui, tout simplement, s'intéressent de près aux affaires étrangères.

Pour satisfaire les besoins de ces catégories diversifiées de lecteurs, nous avons mis l'accent dans **bout** sur trois principaux secteurs de couverture : l'analyse approfondie des questions de politique d'actualité; le traitement franc et direct des préoccupations relatives à la réalité dans le service extérieur, tant au pays qu'à l'étranger; et une perspective historique de la politique étrangère du Canada. Nous avons, à mon avis, couvert ces trois secteurs de manière exhaustive et avec compétence, mais je n'en suis pas moins captivé par certaines des idées novatrices que notre nouveau rédacteur en chef met de l'avant pour améliorer nos efforts.

As a largely volunteer organization, **bout** is very much the product of a team effort. It would be inappropriate of me to leave this post without recognizing the work of the members, past and present, of our Editorial Board and Senior Editorial Board, whose guidance and function as a "reality check" kept the standards of this publication high. The core of **bout**'s value added derives from the numerous contributors whose remarkable work is accomplished over and above their usual (and generally onerous) workloads. Debra Hulley, **bout**'s Managing Editor, has been indispensable, keeps this publication (and its wayward Editor in Chief) in line, on time, and within budget. Debra Gerylo at Acart Communications is the graphics and layout wizard whose innovation and imagination has made **bout** an award-winning publication.

It has been a rare privilege to work with such a group of inspired and inspiring professionals. I hope that you have enjoyed reading **bout** as much as I've enjoyed working on it.



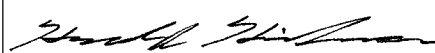
Alan Bones

As Alan noted, we are in a time of transitions — people have left on postings, others are returning to Ottawa, the FS stream has been significantly restructured after years of false starts with the resulting changes beginning to work their way through the system and the almost two-year-old decision to split DFAIT into FAC and ITCan is proceeding in slow motion. These last two transitions affect all of PAFSO's membership directly and in immediate, personal ways.

Such deep and far-reaching changes must be managed, not only with abstract long-term organization performance goals in mind, but with a clear and unambiguous concern about how these massive and simultaneous changes are affecting all individuals in the broad foreign service community, including PAFSO members. In the post Duxbury Report era, the implementation of these major changes is the prime opportunity for the senior management of the foreign service departments to demonstrate clearly and in concrete ways that "employees are the most important resource of the departments." Unfortunately, there is mounting evidence that in the management of these massive changes, many employees are being treated without the openness, transparency, respect and dignity one would imagine after reading the Duxbury Report and attending the sessions regarding its implementation.

En notre qualité de membres de l'APASE, il nous incombe, à chacun et à chacune dans nos propres interactions et tâches relatives à la mise en œuvre de ces transitions, de tenir compte de la dimension humaine et de veiller à ce que nos préoccupations soient exposées et traitées avec équité, que l'information soit partagée et que nous influencions effectivement les choses sur lesquelles nous pouvons influencer. Nous voulons faire en sorte que la collectivité du service extérieur sorte renforcée de la présente période de transition. Nous voulons que l'APASE et ses membres en ressortent plus forts et mieux placés pour atteindre les objectifs qui nous ont attirés vers cette carrière et le but constant que nous partageons avec la direction — faire du mieux possible pour promouvoir et protéger le Canada dans le monde.

Pour ce qui est de la transition à **bout**, Alan a, avec l'aide compétente des permanents de l'APASE, de nos collaborateurs bénévoles et de tous ceux et celles qu'il a remerciés ci-dessus, réussi à redonner à **bout** son calendrier de publication habituel tout en lui conservant la qualité qui fait son prestige. En ma qualité de nouveau rédacteur en chef, j'espère maintenir les mêmes normes élevées et produire un magazine qui saura bien rejallir sur l'APASE, ses membres et la grande collectivité du service extérieur.



Harold Hickman

AN OPEN LETTER TO PAFSO

by John Kneale

Dear colleagues:

Our profession is facing a bizarre challenge. Like the Cheshire cat, the rotational foreign service is slowly disappearing before our eyes. More and more positions abroad—officer, program manager and even head of mission—are being opened to non-rotational, non foreign service people. Consider the evidence:

- in 2002, six trade positions around the world were offered to employees of Team Canada Inc departments and agencies;
- starting in 2003, all openings in the US, both trade and PERPA, were offered to employees of Enhanced Representation Initiative partner departments and agencies;
- starting in 2005, HOM appointments are open to applicants from across the government;
- and it is still departmental policy to permit lateral entry into FS ranks as soon as possible.

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Why is this happening? Is it because there aren't enough experienced foreign service officers to fill the jobs? In fact, it is getting harder to find people to go on postings some years, but there are still plenty of candidates to fill the available jobs. Is it because we're perceived as incompetent? Well, there have been many instances of sub-standard performance at both HOM level and below, but an ever-increasing emphasis on training and leadership over the past decade is addressing that, and the vast majority of foreign service officers perform at a very high level. Look at the list of nominees each year for the PAFSO awards.

Or is the pressure coming from somewhere else, from outside the Department? We know that other government departments have become deeply interested in the international facets of their work and are not always comfortable letting us represent them in discussions with their foreign counterparts. We know, too, that Ministers have recognized the need for a stronger sense within the federal bureaucracy of the impact that globalization is having on virtually every area of the government's work.

This is certainly one of the key factors creating the pressure to open up foreign service jobs to others. Many mid-level and senior level officers in other departments have had experience abroad, for example as members of a team negotiating an agreement with a foreign government, or participating in a conference or accompanying a ministerial mission. They probably found this experience challenging and interesting and they had an opportunity to observe our colleagues at posts doing their regular jobs. Employees of other government departments tend to see themselves as specialists and us, by contrast, as generalists. They assume, therefore, that—given the opportunity—they could do our jobs as well as we do, or better even, since they can bring some specialized expertise.

There's a serious fallacy in this, however. We are certainly generalists in terms of Ottawa issues, because we work on behalf of all government departments when we're abroad and must switch from trade policy work to corporate liaison to advocacy to consular work rapidly and efficiently. But we ourselves are specialists too; our unique expertise is in delivering Canadian government programs abroad.

We have been recruited and trained (both in the classroom and in the field) to work abroad. We know how to prepare for an assignment abroad, how to get established in the new environment, and how to make contacts and build a support network quickly. We speak the local language, and may even know and admire the local culture if we've had an earlier assignment in the same region.

We know how the embassy or consulate functions and how it relates to headquarters. We know security and consular and protocol rules and techniques, and a smattering of international law. Perhaps most important, we—and our spouses, partners and dependents—have developed the ability to deal with the psychological effects of long-term absence from family and friends, of material deprivation and of danger.

In short, we are capable of delivering on Canadian government objectives, whatever they may be at a given moment, because we know how to work in the local milieu. (The magnificent performance of our colleagues in responding to the tsunami crisis is an excellent example.) This is a specialization, and it's one that our colleagues from other government departments do not have. They can acquire it, of course, but only by spending years abroad.

What I'm talking about here, of course, is rotationality. Rotationality is many things. First, it is a condition of employment for all those recruited to fill positions which will require them from time to time to go abroad on posting. We are required to reconfirm each year that we remain rotational so our employer can gauge the pool it has to draw from for assignments.

Rotationality is also an entitlement; employees who are in the rotational category are entitled to the benefits of the Foreign Service Directives, including those which are enjoyed while in Canada, such as maintenance foreign language training and payment of the cost of dependents' schooling at the Lycée Claudel.

Rotationality is also a classification factor. Rotational employees do not "own" their job positions as most other government employees do. They are appointed to a level rather than a specific position and can be moved to another position at the same level or even a level above or below their own, either abroad or at headquarters,

upon the simple agreement of the employee, the manager and human resources.

Finally, rotationality signifies a lifestyle choice. Since the imperative to pull up stakes and move every three or four years has enormous implications for spouses, partners and children, for parents and siblings, and for friends and community, rotational employees organize their lives and their resources to maximize their flexibility. Many do not own homes, for instance, to avoid the complications of frequent selling or renting; many spouses do not have careers of their own because of the regular moves; children frequently need special tutoring to compensate for the interruptions in their schooling.

But, beyond all of that, rotationality is also a skill. We were recruited by boards that perceived that we had the necessary ingredients to become rotational foreign service employees. The Department has deployed us over the years with a view to refining and deepening that skill. The Canadian Foreign Service Institute was created in 1992 to identify the core competencies of foreign service work and to develop continuing education programs for every level of responsibility from HOM to program manager abroad, to middle level manager, to new director at headquarters. (All of this is similar to what other professions do as well: lawyers, doctors, economists, engineers, architects, etc.)

Employees of other government departments may well possess some of the elements of rotationality, but they have not been selected or trained against a rotationality criterion, and they have not been tested in the crucible of a foreign assignment.

As others challenge us for our role as Canada's official representatives abroad, the strongest thing we have going for us is our rotationality. I've interviewed many of those who apply to work in the US. They all express a heartfelt desire to represent Canada abroad. Then we talk about the practicalities. Is there a job guaranteed for my spouse in the mission?, they ask. No. Will my kids go to a private school? Not necessarily. Can we pick where we want to live? Well, some missions have assigned staff quarters; in the others, you have to try to find something suitable within the floor space and rental cost criteria set by the mission housing committee. And you'll have a week to do it.

Many ask, Will I continue to report to my home department? No, you'll report through our system. They say, I don't want to do any hospitality stuff, or Team Canada, or consular work. Well, I tell them, you have to do whatever your head of mission asks you to do. Then, there's the clincher:

Could I just go for two years instead of four? Answer: No.

After this kind of conversation and a careful perusal of the Foreign Service Directives, about half of the non foreign service candidates decide to forego the opportunity. Many say, "I had no idea you people had to make so many sacrifices." Some conclude that working abroad would be financially disadvantageous. One told me his family considered living in the United States was too dangerous (terrorist attacks, anthrax, road rage, guns in schools, drugs, etc.).

So having our positions thrown open to outsiders will likely have a limited impact in the long run. And to be fair, there are examples of superb appointments from outside the foreign service; our new ambassador to the United States, Frank McKenna, for instance. The danger, though, is that in the short run many important positions abroad will be filled by amateurs who will do a minimally acceptable job (with our help!) and then return to their cozy Ottawa positions. Since we save them from disaster, the media and the public never see what a bad idea this is. Imagine the outcry if someone were put in charge of a warship or an air traffic control tower because the people in charge decided there should be more cross-fertilization in the public service. But apparently anyone can be a diplomat.

We should not be under any illusions about this threat. There is a firm intention in certain quarters to curtail the rotational foreign service. A senior ADM refers to it openly as "a mediaeval guild that should have been abolished decades ago."

Is there anything we can do to stem this erosion of the foreign service? Our position is tenuous because we have not maintained rigorous standards of professional skill over the years. We only began to define our competencies and build training around them in the 1990s. The FS group calls itself a "professional association" but it has done nothing to establish certification standards, discipline guidelines and continuing education requirements as other professions have. And we have done little to explain to Canadians what we contribute. In all of these areas, we have left it to the employer department to do the job for us, and now that employer has decided that we can be replaced.

Still, something of great value is being lost. Canada needs a dedicated corps of specialists in international relations who can identify the opportunities—and the threats—for Canadian interests in the wider world and devise effective responses. This should not be entrusted to dilettantes. If we really believe this is our role, we had better start saying so, loudly and clearly.

PAFSO must take the lead here. There are a number of things PAFSO can do to strengthen the position of the rotational foreign service:

First, take the necessary steps to convert the membership into a true professional association. This will require working with selected universities to establish courses leading to a Masters level degree in international relations management. All holders of that degree, whether they are recruited into the foreign service or opt to work in international business, academia, non-governmental organizations or other government departments, would be recognized as specialists in the same area. (This would be roughly parallel to the LLB for aspiring lawyers. Recruitment into the foreign service and the attendant training would be the equivalent of completing the Bar Admission Course in order to practice law.)

Second, apply to Treasury Board for the right to negotiate with the employer as part of the Professional Institute of the Public Service. This will require demonstrating that there are professionals outside the public service using the same core skills in international relations management as PAFSO members. Salaries paid for similar work outside the government will then provide a benchmark for salaries inside.

Third, establish a permanent mechanism to work with the Canadian Foreign Service Institute in defining competencies for all areas of foreign service work, and building appropriate training around them. Successful completion of a training program should then be certified by PAFSO. Officers who do not maintain the required level of competence would risk losing their membership status (as in other professions).

Fourth, establish another permanent mechanism to work with human resources in handling discipline issues and the counselling out of under-performing members.

Fifth, allocate a portion of PAFSO revenues to ongoing communications and outreach activities to educate Canadians on the role of the foreign service.

If measures such as these are not taken, and soon, rotational foreign service officers risk being marginalized, becoming a sort of B Team to be drawn on to staff positions that no one else wants. This would be deeply frustrating for members of the foreign service, but more importantly it would undermine—perhaps for a generation—the ability of Canadians to deal effectively with the world beyond our borders. ☹

John Kneale is an associate member of PAFSO and a former head of mission. His book Foreign Service was published in 1993.

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Thomas LeMesurier Carter, M.C. 1915–2005

Tom Carter died peacefully in hospital in The Hague, the Netherlands on May 18, 2005, after a brief bout with cancer. His funeral took place on May 23 at the Church of Saint Philip and Saint John, The Hague. He is buried in the Dutch capital. Tom was in his ninetieth year.

He was predeceased by his first wife, Marie Louise Pattin, a member of the French foreign service, whom he met and married while he was serving in Warsaw in the early 1950s. She died in 1973. His second wife was Alice Landwehr Clejan, a Romanian-born Dutch citizen, whom he met while serving as Ambassador to the Netherlands. She died in 2004. Tom is survived by his stepdaughter Monique (Olivier Romieu) and three grandchildren in Paris and by three Dutch stepdaughters and their families in The Hague. In Canada he leaves nieces and nephews in Toronto.

Tom was born in Toronto on June 10, 1915, and was educated at Upper Canada College and Bishop's University (BA 1934). In 1937 he won a scholarship to the London School of Economics and completed an M.Sc.Econ. in 1939. A self-declared pacifist in his student years, Tom joined the Canadian Army in 1940, enlisting in the 2nd Field Unit of the Royal Canadian Artillery. Commissioned as a Second Lieutenant, he served in the United Kingdom and then in Italy, where he was wounded and won the Military Cross for outstanding action at the Moro River. Sent to hospital in England, he recovered and took part in the D-Day landings in Normandy. He was wounded for a second time and in 1945 was discharged with the rank of Captain. Tom was among the first of the war veterans to join the foreign service, entering the Department of External Affairs in June 1945. His brother Harry, also a veteran, had joined in January of that year. Tom was posted to Brussels in October 1945 and then to Rome in 1947. He returned to Ottawa in March 1950 for a tour of duty and in April 1952 he was appointed Chargé d'Affaires a.i. to Warsaw. Following a three-year period in Ottawa from 1954–57, he was appointed Canadian Commissioner, International Commission for Supervision and Control (ICSC), in Vietnam. In 1959 he attended the Imperial Defence College, London.

In April 1960 Tom was made Commissioner to Nigeria pending the declaration of its independence. He then became Canada's first High Commissioner to that country in October of that year. Concurrent with this appointment, he became High Commissioner to Sierra Leone in 1961 and Ambassador to Senegal, Dahomey and Niger in 1962. His subsequent ambassadorial

appointments were to Egypt and Sudan, 1967–70; to the Netherlands, 1972–76; and to Austria and the International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna, 1976–79, where he was a member of the Board of Governors. Following his retirement in 1979, Tom Carter took up residence in The Hague, home to his second wife, Alice. He remained there until his wife's death in 2004, when he made a visit to Canada seeing relatives and friends in Toronto and Ottawa.

Tom was devoted to the work of the foreign service and to the friendships he made during his career. He was much respected for his professional abilities and he could be a hard taskmaster. He could on occasion take advantage of his height, his stentorian voice and his didactic manner to strike momentary terror into the hearts of officers, young and older, whom he reckoned were scanting the demands of the task at hand. Yet he was quick to provide with sympathy and good humour the support and encouragement that deserving staff members required. He always gained the respect and affection of those who served with him.

A. Douglas Small served with Tom Carter in Nigeria from 1962–64.

Peter Price 1954–2005

Peter died unexpectedly on July 23. The fact of his death, so sudden, so unforeseen, and when he was so young, underscores the tragedy of the event. A man respected by his peers, Peter will be missed.

Peter joined the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in 1981, serving first as a Trade Commissioner and, later, in the Political/Economic stream.

His overseas service included Tokyo, Moscow, and Dallas. He was an active member of PAFSO and served a term as president.

Peter was a consummate professional who utilized his quick intelligence and deep understanding of Canadian foreign policy interests and objectives to deliver an excellent performance wherever his duties took him. His reports (I mostly read his intelligence assessments when we both worked in Foreign Intelligence) were always crisp, sharply formulated, and focused on the message. But that's not entirely the Peter I knew over the course of two assignments spanning what was only a few years.

When he was not crafting a superb piece of intelligence analysis, Peter was the guy you asked to join you for coffee because his quiet public demeanor hid a sharp, incisive wit, coupled with a repertoire of voices and imitations which were sure to keep his colleagues in stitches. Peter was a very funny man. He was quirky and could present any situation at its most ludicrous – often to the

accompaniment of brilliant imitations of public persons, or others, whose actions he was skewering.

I first met Peter when I headed the Office of Current Intelligence some years ago. Peter was the quiet individual who would stick his head into my office to offer a piece of good advice, often only moments before I would have done something regrettable. As I came to know him, I began to value his analytical skills, his deep understanding of the issues with which he was dealing, and his excellent word-smithing. He helped me tremendously in my daily tasks.

Peter, however, was the kind of person whose true strengths only manifested themselves during a crisis. That crisis was the Kosovo War. There was a tremendous demand for intelligence when Canada became engaged in the Kosovo crisis. The existing intelligence staff handling the Balkans quickly proved insufficient and when we were tasked with preparing a morning intelligence summary for the Task Force, I was, to say the least, a bit apprehensive.

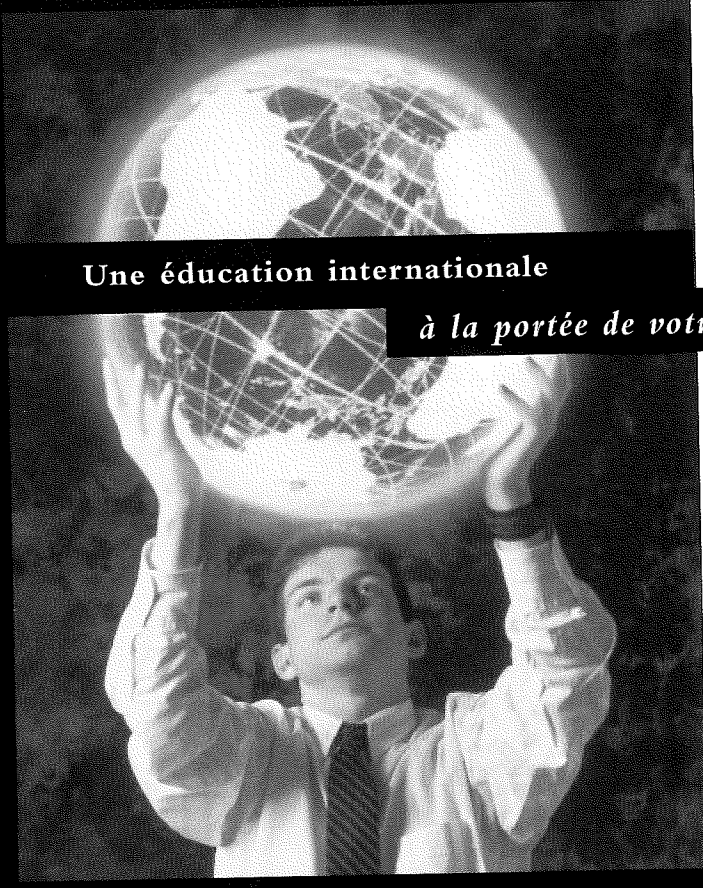
Peter was my strongest analyst, and though he was working on a different subject, I asked him to take the lead on the Balkans. As things evolved, Peter, another colleague, and myself, became the group preparing the morning intelligence summary, with the other two doing most of the work. Months passed of unrelenting demands and a harrowing work schedule. We were all exhausted after some time. I recall Peter and I often sitting in my office at 8 or 9 in the evening trying to muster the strength to go home.

Things ultimately got worse. One day, long into the crisis, Peter had been in my office and was returning to his own down the hall and around a corner. As he walked he fell asleep and turned the corner too early. He told me later that his eyes were open and that he saw what he was doing although a disconnect existed between his brain and his legs. With a resounding crash he walked into the wall and nearly knocked himself out. The impact did have the effect of waking him, however.

Colleagues gathered to pick up a stunned Peter. I gave him taxi chits and ordered him home to sleep. He tried to resist what he presumed was a generous offer. It was nothing of the sort. I was acting from pure self-interest. Without Peter, well rested and in good shape, I would have to do the morning summary without his insight, crafting, and hard work. It was smarter to let him sleep a bit and have him back the next morning!

I will remember Peter as the unassuming, quiet, bright individual who always got the job done. But more so, I, and all his colleagues and friends, will recall him for his quirky sense of humour and cutting insights which always brightened our days.

Kurt F. Jensen retired earlier this year to pursue other interests. He served overseas in Stockholm, Bonn, Port of Spain, and Boston.



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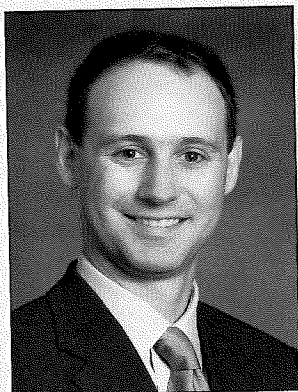
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Nous tenons à remercier nos commanditaires ministres, ambassadeurs et diplomates qui jouent un rôle important dans le succès constant du programme de prix de l'APASE. Nous sommes reconnaissant en particulier envers les commanditaires suivants qui ont fourni des prix pour les tirages : Albert at Bay Suite Hotel, Allan Bonner Communications Management, Dominique Levesque Designer-Couturier et VIA Rail Canada. Les succulents et irrésistibles chocolats à chaque table étaient une gracieuseté de Tradex Mutual Funds.

We would also like to gratefully acknowledge the sponsorship of Inniskillin. Leona Tanko, Export Manager for Vincor International, made the special presentation of Inniskillin Ice Wine Gift sets to the Award recipients. Inniskillin also provided wines for each course of a special menu prepared by NAC Executive Chef, Kurt Waldele.

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Leona Tanko (centre) presented Ice wine gifts sets hand-signed by co-founders Donald J.P. Ziraldo and Karl J. Kaiser.

2005 PAFSO AWARDS

"In Pursuit of Excellence"



2005 PAFSO Awards winners (left to right): Patricia Cronin (accepting for Andrew Smith), Jean Jacques Gauthier, Nicolas Drouin and Karen Foss.

On June 9, 2005, 290 colleagues and guests gathered to celebrate excellence in the Canadian Foreign Service at the PAFSO Award Dinner and Ceremony held in the Panorama Room of the National Arts Centre in Ottawa.

Le président de l'APASE, M. John Bonar, a amorcé la soirée en souhaitant la bienvenue aux invités spéciaux et aux hauts fonctionnaires au 15^e dîner annuel de remise des Prix du service extérieur. Dans son allocution, M. Bonar a souligné que « l'année 2005 a connu un début particulièrement mouvementé pour un grand nombre de nos membres sur place en Asie, à la suite de la catastrophe du tsunami. De plus, beaucoup de nos collègues à l'administration centrale de nos trois ministres ont travaillé de longues heures au cours du congé de Noël afin d'aider nos missions à composer avec cette très grave tragédie qui a influé sur la vie de tant de Canadiens. Nous sommes tous très fiers du courage et de la patience dont vous avez fait preuve. Votre leadership à l'égard d'un si grand nombre de nos citoyens en détresse resteront longtemps dans les mémoires. »

Les coprésidents du Comité des prix, M^{me} Caroline Guimond, directrice, Gestion des ressources, Citoyenneté et Immigration Canada, et M. Douglas Challborn, directeur adjoint, Questions frontalières et de transport, Direction des relations avec les États-Unis, Affaires étrangères Canada, ont coanimé la soirée. On a chaleureusement remercié les ministères d'avoir absorbé une partie des frais de déplacement à Ottawa des lauréats des prix qui étaient en mission à l'étranger.

M. Robert Peck, actuellement chef de mission en Algérie, a agi à titre d'animateur pour la remise des prix. M. Peck, lui-même lauréat d'un prix de l'APASE en 1993, a été présenté par le fondateur du Programme des Prix de l'APASE, M. Michael Small, qui a retracé les débuts du programme en 1990 et sa raison d'être.

Note de la rédaction : Des allocutions des lauréats se trouve sur le site Web de l'APASE : www.pafso-apase.com. Il suffit de cliquer sur le lien aux prix.

See the PAFSO Web site www.pafso-apase.com for the Awards recipients' speeches and video of speeches. Click on PAFSO Awards.



M. Nicolas Drouin (à gauche), a reçu un prix des mains de M. Robert Blackburn, vice-président principal, Institutions gouvernementales et de développement, SNC-Lavalin International.

Nicolas Drouin, deuxième secrétaire (Immigration) à Moscou, a été choisi comme lauréat d'un prix de l'APASE par suite de son travail exceptionnel au cours des 12 derniers mois dans la réinstallation de réfugiés de l'Asie centrale et de la Russie au Canada. Au cours de cette brève période, il a fortement élargi le programme de réfugiés de Moscou de manière à tenir compte du nombre croissant de réfugiés à réinstaller référés par les bureaux du HCNUR au Tadjikistan et en Ouzbékistan : de 357 en 2003 jusqu'à approximativement 1600 en 2005. Les défis à relever aux plans de la planification des voyages, de la logistique et du processus de sélection étaient énormes, mais Nicolas a obtenu des résultats exceptionnels : sélection définitive de plus de 1000 réfugiés pour fins de réinstallation, soit un nombre de beaucoup supérieur à la norme.

A combination of excellent judgment, regional knowledge and incisive examination of the more than 2400 cases in question characterize Nicolas' performance. He has been highly praised, not only by his managers and colleagues, but by a broad range of other individuals working in international organizations on refugee relief, for his positive approach and readiness to reconcile the protection of refugees with the national security interests of Canada.

« J'éprouve une grande satisfaction d'avoir eu la chance cette année de sortir des sentiers battus de notre ambassade à Moscou et d'avoir pu travailler sur le terrain en contact de très près avec les réfugiés. Je pense avoir pu jouer un rôle positif dans leur vie et à contribuer à l'image de marque du Canada en matière de rétablissement de réfugiés. »

2005 Panel of Judges

The panel which selected this year's Award recipients was composed of people who themselves had achieved distinction in their various fields. The panel included:

Robert Blackburn, Senior Vice President, Government and Development Institutions. Mr. Blackburn started his career as an FSO-1 in External Affairs in 1966 and subsequently served in three foreign assignments before moving to the domestic public service in 1981, from which he retired in 1995.

The Right Honourable **Joe Clark**. Mr. Clark needs little introduction. Canada's 16th Prime Minister is one of our most eminent citizens who remains actively engaged in Canadian and international affairs.

Martha Nixon is the former Assistant Deputy Minister Operations for Citizenship and Immigration and a longtime supporter of the foreign service

Jacques Roy served as Canada's Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Switzerland, the European Union and France.

Christina Spencer is a past judge of the PAFSO Awards and the former editorial pages editor and foreign editor of *The Ottawa Citizen*.

The panel of judges was chaired by / le président du jury était :

Paul Frazer, Principal in The Livingston Group, a Washington, DC-based government relations firm. During 25 years with the Canadian government, Mr. Frazer, among his assignments, served as Press Secretary to the Prime Minister and to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, as well as Ambassador to the Czech and Slovak Republics.



Michael Small (left) wins Via Rail draw prize presented by Michael Wong, MP (right).



Karen Foss (left), received her Award from Graham Lyon, Vice-President of Petro-Canada, London.

Karen Foss was selected for a PAFSO Award for 2005 based on her contribution to the Government of Canada's response to the December 26 earthquake and tsunami in Aceh and Northern Sumatra. In January 2005, Karen was sent to Banda Aceh to open Canada House. She continues to represent Canada from the one-person outpost in the most heavily affected area. From Canada House, Karen has conducted post-tsunami liaison and coordination with the Government of Indonesia, UN agencies, Canadian, Indonesian and international NGOs, the Indonesian police, the media and many other players. Her support for Canadian humanitarian workers has assisted in their work and enhanced their security.

Karen a géré avec succès toute une gamme de missions canadiennes chargées d'évaluer les besoins et d'établir les stratégies de reconstruction. Elle a aussi fait preuve d'une grande efficacité en renseignant les médias canadiens sur la contribution du Canada aux efforts de reconstruction et d'aide. Son dévouement, son calme et son professionnalisme, sa débrouillardise pour ce qui est de tenter de satisfaire les besoins des Canadiens et des Canadiennes dans la région et sa compassion dans ses interactions quotidiennes avec les diverses localités ont joué un rôle crucial dans la représentation du Canada dans ces circonstances très difficiles.

"At times of need, we have learned the desire amongst host communities to know that Canada is there and committed to help. Post-tsunami Aceh is no exception. And what courage it gives the heart while abroad to accidentally come across a Canadian project. To see our flag and know that Canada is there and delivering."



M. Jean Jacques Gauthier (à droite) a reçu un prix des mains de M. V. Peter Harder, sous-ministre des Affaires étrangères.

Jean Jacques Gauthier a été choisi comme lauréat d'un prix de l'APASE cette année en reconnaissance du dévouement et de l'engagement qui ont caractérisé sa longue carrière dans le Service extérieur, durant ses nombreuses affectations en Afrique et au Moyen-Orient, ainsi qu'à l'administration centrale. Au cours de ses 28 ans de carrière dans le Service extérieur, Jean s'est retrouvé au cœur même de nombreuses crises : il a notamment aidé à évacuer des Canadiens et des Américains de Bagdad en 1990 et a négocié avec les rebelles dans la région orientale du Zaïre, au milieu des années 1990. Dans son affectation actuelle, Jean s'est fait remarquer par son travail dans le cadre de la Conférence internationale sur les grands lacs de l'Afrique, où il a appuyé le rôle de l'ambassadeur et a agi à titre de secrétaire général des Amis de la Conférence internationale sur la Région des grands lacs.

Jean is known for his tenacity and unstinting devotion to the furtherance of Canadian initiatives not only in Africa but in all of his postings. He is also known for his initiative and creativity, in the face of innumerable obstacles and difficult circumstances. He is a tireless worker and traveller, deeply involved in and affected by the cultures he knows so well. He is a true representative of Canada's foreign service.

« ... merci d'avoir souligné que l'Afrique nous tient toujours à cœur, à nous Canadiens, et que ce sentiment n'est pas uniquement lié à des questions d'argent ou de ressources naturelles. Merci du plus profond du cœur pour cette marque de reconnaissance de mon infime contribution à confirmer la réputation d'excellence du Service extérieur canadien. »

Dinner Menu

2003 Inniskillin Riesling Reserve Niagara Peninsula VQA

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2002 Inniskillin Montague Chardonnay Niagara Peninsula VQA

2003 Inniskillin Pinot Noir Reserve Niagara Peninsula VQA

Grilled Salmon with Red Pepper Aioli, Seasonal Vegetables and Potato Galette

2003 Inniskillin Pearl Vidal Ice Wine Niagara Peninsula

Raspberry and Saskatoon Crème Fraîche Tart with Pecan Crusted Maple Ice Cream



Alexa McDonough, MP, presented Lorraine Dignard-Ruano (left) with a gift certificate from the Albert at Bay Suite Hotel.



Louis-Martin Aumais received a gift certificate from Victoria Suites from Alexa McDonough, MP.



Jennifer May (left) received a gift certificate from Dominique Levesque Designer-Couturier.



Patricia Cronin accepted the Award for Andrew Smith who was unable to attend the ceremony but able to hear the presentation live by conference call from Beijing. The Award was presented by Ken Sunquist, Assistant Deputy Minister, World Markets Branch, International Trade.

Andrew Smith, Senior Trade Commissioner and Counsellor at our Embassy in Beijing, was honoured this year in recognition of his outstanding performance in a variety of challenging portfolios. Most recently, in November 2004, Andrew was assigned the task of managing the Beijing organizing team of roughly 25 people to plan for the Prime Minister's major trade visit to China in January 2005. Andrew mobilized and motivated the trade team to deliver a highly successful business program for over 360 participants. Under his superior direction, his staff worked together to deliver a successful high-calibre mission under extraordinary pressures of time and expectation.

Le rendement exemplaire d'Andrew à Beijing l'hiver dernier n'est qu'un exemple frappant de l'excellence de son rendement depuis qu'il a joint les rangs du Service extérieur, d'abord dans son affectation au Japon, puis à titre de directeur adjoint de la Direction de la Chine et de la Mongolie, en 2001-2004. Andrew a à maintes reprises mérité des éloges pour l'influence positive qu'il a sur ses employés et pour sa capacité de les motiver à produire au-delà de ce qu'ils auraient pu croire possible. Voilà les qualités qui lui ont valu ce prix.

"I couldn't have planned for a more interesting, challenging and rewarding string of assignments and colleagues to have worked with. It is for them, and their life-long career dedication to the department, as much as it is for the new FS officers that have recently joined the department, included among them my wife as one of our newly minted FS over at CIC, that I thought it appropriate to take this occasion to focus my remarks on us – our foreign service family."

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Begin with a Scenario

For better or for worse, the visit of Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel to Canada in November 1978 is remembered best for the visitor's intervention in Canadian politics. In a speech in Toronto after his official business had been concluded, Begin urged his audience to put pressure on the government of Pierre Elliott Trudeau to move the Canadian embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. That controversial advice resonated in the subsequent general election in Canada, when Progressive Conservative leader Joe Clark endorsed the proposal in an apparent effort, with mixed results, to court Jewish voters. Though Trudeau reportedly was embittered by Begin's action, the mood of the official visit had been remarkably friendly up to that point. The leaders disagreed about diplomatic acknowledgement of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, among other issues, but they seemed to get along well personally.

For the state banquet in Toronto, the Canadian prime minister and his advisers jettisoned the more restrained tribute to Begin drafted in the Lester B. Pearson Building in favour of a more vivid expression of Trudeau's regard for the co-author of the Camp David accords. As Michael Shenstone, then Director General of the Africa and Middle East Division, put it, "our introductory page of praise for Begin has been replaced by four pages

of the most fulsome (if harmless) panegyrics." After the banquet, but before the end of the visit, the Israeli Ambassador to Canada, Mordechai Shalev, informed the Canadian Ambassador to Israel, Edward Lee, that "Begin had told him his trip to Canada had been his most satisfying official visit since taking office. He also told Shalev that Prime Minister Trudeau's speech at the November 9 dinner had been the warmest introduction he had ever received."

*The focus of our extracts is not on these public pronouncements but instead on the private exchanges of views. The first document is a scenario for the discussions prepared by Michael Bell of the Middle East Division and forwarded to the Prime Minister by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Don Jamieson. The other documents record what was said at the principal meetings during the visit. The originals may be found at the Library and Archives of Canada, Record Group 25, volume 9193, file 20-ISRAEL-9, part 11. **bout de papier** would like to thank Paulette Dozois of the Library and Archives Canada for identifying and locating the file.*

Hector Mackenzie

CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Visit of Prime Minister Begin — Scenario Brief

The purpose of this memorandum is to outline points that you might wish to raise in your discussions with Mr. Begin. In particular, you may wish to take this opportunity to express not only our gratification at the progress that was made at Camp David and subsequently, but our concern at the recently announced intentions of the Israeli government to "thicken" the settlements in the occupied territories and to move the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to East Jerusalem.

The basis of our concern is that, quite apart from any views we may have on these Israeli policies in themselves, the emphasis that they have been given at this time could endanger the negotiations now going on with Egypt as well as the prospects for broader negotiations on a general Middle East settlement, based on the Camp David framework. You will recall that Secretary of State Vance, in his recent message to me, felt very strongly that President Sadat had been put in an impossible position. He asked that we raise these matters with Mr. Begin and urge him not to proceed with his plans at this time. These issues are discussed in more detail hereafter.

General Nature of Discussions

There will be three opportunities for substantive discussion. These will be on November 6 (when you ride with Mr. Begin to 7 Rideau Gate following his arrival in Ottawa and at dinner in his honour that evening), and

on November 7 (during your morning meeting). It is not expected that Mr. Begin will raise any bilateral issues, with the possible exception of El Al landing rights in Toronto, which is discussed at the end of this brief.

Prime Minister Begin has a charming, courtly manner. He is very articulate, but rather inflexible. In general, despite occasional differences, Israelis are satisfied with, and appreciative of, Canadian policy on the Middle East dispute. We believe Mr. Begin shares this view. Our support in international fora which, in a number of respects, is more consistent than that of any other western country, apart from the USA, is particularly appreciated. If, however, you voice views at variance with Israeli policy, Mr. Begin will not hesitate to disagree. Nevertheless, he will expect and welcome a vigorous discussion of the issues at hand. Given our credibility with the Israelis, Canadian expressions of concern may have some impact.

Camp David and the Peace Process

After preliminaries about the importance we attach to relations with Israel, you could begin discussions by congratulating Mr. Begin on the results of Camp David and the progress since towards a peace agreement with Egypt. Specific reference to the award of the Nobel Peace Prize would be appropriate. Canada has warmly endorsed the Camp David accords which offer the immediate prospect of a peace treaty with Israel's largest neighbour, Egypt. Camp David also created a framework for negotiations on other fronts. Our view is that while this framework leaves many of the most difficult issues unresolved, it provides a good starting point for a process leading to a comprehensive settlement. (Tab 9, pages 2-3).

Mr. Begin may request Canadian intervention with key moderate Arab states to urge on them the benefits of involvement in the process. You could

reply that our Ambassadors accredited to these countries are already under instructions to stress our positive assessment of Camp David and that we will not hesitate to do so in future as appropriate occasions arise. You could also mention that you plan to stress this theme in your Toronto speech.

Mr. Jamieson's remarks to this year's General Assembly that Canada would consider very seriously a request to make an appropriate contribution in the implementation of the terms of any agreements could be reiterated. (Tab 9, page 3). This will almost certainly mean our continued involvement in peacekeeping operations, but not necessarily on a larger scale than at present. Mr. Begin's views on the role he envisages for peacekeeping, particularly outside the UN framework, would be most interesting.

Treaty with Egypt

You could inquire about progress in negotiations with Egypt, particularly the problem areas of the linkage of the treaty to the broader framework of Middle East negotiations and the phasing in of the full range of diplomatic and other relations. (Tab 8, page 1). The Israelis do not wish any linkage and want the immediate establishment of the full range of relations. Prime Minister Begin may provide a more detailed insight into the Israeli rationale. He might also provide his views on the extent of economic and commercial ties envisaged between the two countries.

Jerusalem

We understand from our Ambassador to Israel that the chief point Mr. Begin will wish to make to the Canadian government and public during his visit here, is that it is time that we recognize the undivided city of Jerusalem as Israel's capital and move our Embassy there. It therefore seems inevitable that the subject of Jerusalem will come up. (Tab 7, page 2).

You may wish to reiterate that we consider the status of Jerusalem to be one of the issues under dispute, which can only be resolved, by agreement, in the course of a negotiated settlement. We have no intention of changing our policy at present and would consider any move in that direction at this time could only be a complication in the delicate negotiating situation that now exists. We believe that everything possible should be done to make it easier for President Sadat to persevere and King Hussein to join in the peace process. (Depending on the flavour of the discussion, you may or may not wish to go as far as to say, as the Americans have done, that we would, unfortunately, not be prepared to do business with the Foreign Ministry or the Prime Minister's Office if they moved to East Jerusalem.)

Mr. Begin will probably respond with a vigorous defence of the Israeli contention that Jerusalem must never again be divided and that the question of its status is not open to discussion.

The West Bank and Gaza

You might then seek Mr. Begin's views on the nature of any agreement that could be reached on the disposition of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. (Tab 8, pages 3-4). What does he envisage as the probable composition and scope of the Palestinian self-governing administration during the five-year transition period and subsequently, when a permanent arrangement is negotiated? What powers will it have in the field of security? How will this inter-relate with the Israeli presence in the territories, particularly in the security field? Could the scheme develop to provide Palestinians

with a definite territory, or is the most that could be expected a functional sharing of authority between the Arabs and Israelis?

The Israeli Prime Minister might define Palestinian self-rule within fairly narrow parameters. If he does, it would be appropriate to ask how Mr. Begin thinks it possible that the Palestinians could be kept indefinitely in a quasi-colonial status under Israeli control, and how such a formula could be a basis for the enduring settlement which Israel needs.

Settlements

A discussion of the West Bank (Mr. Begin will refer to "Judea and Samaria") and the Palestinians would provide a natural opportunity to reiterate our view that the establishment of Jewish settlements in this and other occupied territories has been and is an obstacle to peace negotiations. You might then emphasize our particular concern that recent Israeli announcements on expanding existing settlements make it even more difficult for President Sadat to proceed with the peace agreement with Israel without seeming to have abandoned completely the interests of the Arab world and of the Palestinians, as well as further reducing the possibility that King Hussein and moderate West Bank leaders will eventually join negotiations. (Tab 7).

You might also make the point that a peace agreement with Egypt will totally transform Israel's security situation. Earlier wars could not have been fought without Egypt, and the other Arab states by themselves hardly pose a credible threat. Is it really in Israel's interest to jeopardize this great advantage by insisting on its settlements policy?

Mr. Begin will disagree, perhaps angrily, with any criticism of his settlements policy, and may respond that Jews must always have the right to settle anywhere in the ancient land of Israel. A degree of understanding for this view would be appropriate given the history of the Jewish search for a homeland and their years of persecution. Balancing this, however, is the strong Palestinian perception of themselves as a national group deprived of their homeland and their concern (partly on the basis of their experience during the British mandate) that the spread of Jewish settlements will be a prelude to incorporating the territories into the Jewish state. The achievement of a durable and lasting peace will be dependent on the free acceptance of the terms of any settlement by a good majority of those directly concerned. You might ask how, given that they are anathema to the Palestinians, there can be a unilateral continuation of Jewish settlements if any agreement is to be negotiated and successfully maintained. You could also give, as our assessment, that there is virtually no possibility of Arab agreement to a peace settlement that either leaves Israel in control of significant amounts of land claimed or inhabited by Arabs, or gives unrestricted access to this land for Jewish settlements. If Mr. Begin defends the expansion of the settlements by saying that it involves only a few hundred families and should come as no surprise, you might suggest that, at this delicate moment, it is the perceived effect which is important.

Jordan and Syria

You might ask Mr. Begin for his assessment of Jordanian and Syrian attitudes to the negotiating process. (Tab 8, pages 1-3). We regard Jordanian participation as crucial if the West Bank/Gaza negotiations are to be pursued, and Mr. Begin might be asked how he thinks King Hussein can be induced to join in negotiations. Although Prime Minister Begin's personal popularity is extremely high, he is under heavy pressure from

his coalition supporters to make no further concessions and to dilute some already made. (Tab 4). You could point out there are serious risks to King Hussein in joining the negotiations — possibly even his regime and his life. You might ask whether there are any gestures that Israel might make to encourage King Hussein to take these risks.

You might go on to seek Mr. Begin's views on the possibility of ever bringing Syria into the negotiating process. If Israel is unwilling to contemplate any more than a token return of Syrian territory on the Golan Heights, there would seem to be little for Israel and Syria to talk about.

Security

Any discussion of the Golan Heights might lead you to a broader discussion of the concept of security, along the lines of your speech prepared for the dinner on November 9. We certainly appreciate Israel's concern for security. We can well understand Mr. Begin's determination that Syrian guns will never again be trained on Israeli settlers from the Golan Heights. Is retention of Arab territory really the only way to protect Israel? Could not a combination of other measures give an adequate assurance of security? Do settlements make any real contribution to security? To this latter question, Mr. Begin will probably reply that they are a vital element in the defence system. You might then ask him for an explanation, as, in fact, they have only a limited self-defence capability and in a general conflict are a liability in the type of highly mobile warfare the Israeli Defence Force prefers. In the 1973 war, considerable time and effort had to be devoted to moving settlers off the Golan Heights in the face of the advancing Syrian Army.

Bilateral — El Al

The only bilateral matter which might be raised is the question of El Al landing rights. For several years, El Al has sought landing rights in Toronto. Because of heavy traffic at Malton, El Al and other foreign carriers have been told that their applications will be considered only after the end of 1980, once a study has been undertaken. This summer, Israel offered to liberalize arrangements for Canadian carriers to fly charter to Israel if Canada would assure El Al that its application for Malton would be accepted after the 1980 study. The Israelis were told that advance assurances could not be given and that, in any case, charter arrangements were the responsibility of the CTC which would be happy to discuss any proposals.

D[on].J[amieson].

Michael Bell (Middle East Division)

Memorandum to File: "Visit of Prime Minister Begin to Canada: Discussion of Middle East Situation," GAM-838, November 16, 1978.

CONFIDENTIAL

The small dinner party at 24 Sussex Drive on November 6 given by Prime Minister Trudeau in honour of Mr. Begin (guests included the SSEA, Mr. Lalonde and the USSEA) resulted in an extensive and lively discussion on the Middle East situation, largely in the form of questions addressed to Begin, and his fairly lengthy replies, drawing extensively on Biblical references. The following summary is based on notes made by Ambassador Lee.

Israeli/Egyptian Treaty

2. Mr. Begin suggested several more weeks might be required before agreement was reached on the text of a treaty with Egypt. Much depended, he said, on the position adopted by Sadat in the next few days.

3. Mr. Jamieson asked what consideration had been given to an international peacekeeping role. The Israeli Prime Minister said the question had not been discussed in any detail at Camp David. He added, however, that he opposed any form of international guarantees.

West Bank/Gaza Strip

4. Considerable time was devoted to the future of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the Israeli presence there. Mr. Begin envisaged a self-governing Palestinian authority which would be responsible for the affairs of the Arab residents but which would share other areas of authority with the Israelis.

5. Suggestions were made by Canadian Ministers that recent Israeli moves to "thicken" West Bank settlements might make it more difficult for President Sadat to proceed with a peace agreement with Israel without seeming to have completely abandoned the interests of the Palestinians. It also might further reduce the possibility that King Hussein and moderate West Bank leaders would eventually join the negotiations. Mr. Begin replied that: (1) present plans envisaged the movement of only a few hundred families; (2) this was not provocative nor an obstacle to peace; (3) these settlements had nothing to do with the negotiations with Egypt; (4) as Prime Minister, he was subject to pressures within his cabinet to accelerate settlement activity; (5) Jews had a right to settle in "Judea and Samaria", their ancient homeland; and (6) settlements are essentially for security. Although Canadian sympathy for Israeli security concerns was voiced, the suggestion was made that, having only a limited self-defence capability, the settlements might, in a general conflict, be a liability to highly mobile warfare. Mr. Begin responded that they were essential in countering terrorist infiltration into Israel's main population centres.

6. In response to a query as to whether Israeli control of significant amounts of land occupied in 1967 did not make the achievement of a comprehensive peace virtually impossible as well as running counter to UN Security Council Resolution 242, Mr. Begin replied that 242 does not require Israeli withdrawal from all territories, only from "territories". He said that Israel would never contemplate Jordanian guns close to its population centres. When it was suggested that Arab weapons could reach these centres now, Mr. Begin drew the distinction between missiles, which could be intercepted, and heavy gun shells, which were not presently within range, which could not.

Syria

7. Mr. Begin said there was only the remotest possibility of bringing Damascus into the negotiating process, given Syrian hatred of the Jews.

The Military Threat

8. Mr. Begin expressed concern about the partial victory gained by the Rejectionists at the Baghdad Conference, and about the military might of a Syrian/Iraqi/Jordanian coalition against Israel. He agreed, however, that with Egypt removed from the equation, there would clearly be a qualitative change in the threat to Israeli security.

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Oil Supplies

9. Prime Minister Begin expressed concern about the situation in Iran, from which Israel receives 60-70% of its petroleum supplies. He mentioned that in 1975 an agreement had been reached with the USA in the context of the Second Sinai Disengagement Agreement, that the Americans would guarantee other sources of supply if the Iranian flow were cut. He said he had already instructed Foreign Minister Dayan to raise the question with the Administration.

10. In the Washington negotiations, Egypt had expressed the willingness, Begin said, to sell oil to Israel from the Sinai fields at the market price, but there was, as yet, no agreement on guaranteed amounts.

CONFIDENTIAL

Visit of Prime Minister Begin

Working Meeting — Tuesday, November 7, 1978

Present were:

Prime Minister Menachem Begin	Prime Minister Trudeau
Mr. Mordecai Shalev	Mr. E.G. Lee
Israeli Ambassador to Canada	Canadian Ambassador to Israel
Mr. Yechiel Kadishai	The Hon. Don Jamieson
Head of the Prime Minister's Bureau	Secretary of State for External Affairs
Dr. Reuven Hecht	The Hon. Barney Danson
Adviser to the Prime Minister	Minister of National Defence
Brig. Gen. Ephraim Poran	Mr. Allan Gotlieb
Military Secretary to the Prime Minister	Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs
Mr. Yehuda Avner	Mr. J.S. Roy
Adviser to the Prime Minister	Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet for External Policy and Defence
	Mr. J.M. Fraser
	Director, Middle East Division, Department of External Affairs

Mr. Trudeau began by expressing his happiness that Prime Minister Begin had been able to make this visit to Canada. Mr. Trudeau went on to speak of his admiration for the way Prime Minister Begin has conducted policy and our deep feeling that the Israeli people have shown courage and skill in defending their homeland. They could go on winning wars, but it was better to win the peace. He admired the way in which Prime Minister Begin had brought peace closer.

We sometimes didn't know, Mr. Trudeau continued, what Israel had in mind, but if it was a strategy for peace we applaud it. Some moves on the chessboard were difficult for us to assess, such as those involving "Judea and Samaria" or East Jerusalem. He had told Prime Minister Begin why we could not support these moves: they did not seem to us to

be in the direction of attracting the other Arabs into negotiations. This said, Mr. Trudeau added, "you are the man on the spot," and Israel had our sympathy and admiration if not always our understanding.

Mr. Begin then gave an outline of the origins and development of the present situation. Israel, he said, had wanted peace ever since its establishment. President Sadat, in a conversation with him at Ismailia, had claimed that Prime Minister Ben Gurion had wanted to force peace on the Arabs. This was not so. Israel had been under permanent attack from its neighbours during the first years of independence. Men, women and children had been killed, and there had been retaliatory attacks and counterattacks.

President Eisenhower's representative, a Mr. Richardson, had tried to bring President Nasser and Israeli leaders together; nothing came out of it. Prime Minister Golda Meir had tried to get President Ceaucescu of Romania to arrange a meeting with President Sadat, but without success. At one point the Soviet Ambassador had awakened Prime Minister Eshkol in the middle of the night to tell him that Moscow had information that Israel was preparing to attack Syria. This was totally untrue.

"The acme of attacks" had been in 1956 and Israel had responded with the Sinai operation. As a result of threats from Bulganin, Mr. Begin went on, they had evacuated Sinai without a treaty but with the assurance of freedom of navigation through the Tiran Straits, which only lasted ten years. In 1967 President Nasser closed the Tiran Straits and Israel was surrounded by states allied in a pact against Israel. The six-day war followed, with the Arab call to wipe Israel off the map.

As a result, Mr. Begin argued, Israel has been in Sinai legitimately. Israel had not attacked Egypt; it was the latter which had tried to destroy Israel. He had made this point to President Sadat.

Since then, Mr. Begin said, Israel had held out its hand for negotiations. In reply, the Arabs met at the Khartoum Conference and agreed on the "three no's": no peace, no recognition of Israel and no negotiations with Israel. Israel has been seeking, praying and yearning for peace; it has been denied.

Mr. Begin then referred to Israel's "grievous mistake" in 1973, when the Egyptians had launched an attack "masquerading as manoeuvres". President Sadat said that his coming to Jerusalem was a historic move. To this, Mr. Begin said, he replied "I invited you" — a man who only four years earlier led Israelis astray and attacked Israel. President Sadat remarked that "strategic deception is permissible"; Begin's reply had been that it was deception nonetheless. To choose the day of Yom Kippur, Mr. Begin went on, had been "morally abominable". Israel had not been mobilized; the tanks were not in the right places. Israel was always outmanned and outgunned, but should never be "outbrained", and he hoped that this would never be so again.

After 1973 there had been two disengagement agreements with Egypt, but the state of war continued. There was no free passage through the Suez Canal for Israeli ships. Then President Sadat said to his National Assembly that he would go to the end of the world to save the life of one of his sons (Mr. Begin noted that President Sadat liked to speak of the Egyptian people in this paternal way) — even to the Knesset in Jerusalem. Mr. Begin pointed out that it had only been a few months earlier that President Sadat had said he would be willing to lose 3 million Egyptians to kill one million Israelis.

When he had visited Romania, Mr. Begin went on, he had said to President Ceaucescu that he would like to meet President Sadat. President Ceaucescu had replied that it was perhaps too early for such a meeting, but he suggested it to President Sadat when the latter visited Bucharest. President Sadat had apparently made his decision while flying to Tehran from Bucharest. The American Embassy had conveyed President Sadat's acceptance of the Israeli invitation, adding that he wished to receive a formal invitation, which was duly sent.

Mr. Begin then said that he wanted to make "a very important political remark", and proceeded to relate President Sadat's insistence in advance that he would ask for total Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and the establishment of a Palestinian state. Mr. Begin had replied that he rejected those two points unequivocally. Israel would never go back to the "aggression-provoking" lines of 1967. The former Foreign Minister Abba Eban had, Mr. Begin noted, said that such a demand reminded him of Auschwitz. Similarly, a Palestinian state could never be accepted, since it would be a "mortal danger" to Israel. Even so, President Sadat was welcome to come to Jerusalem where he would be free to say whatever he wished. He did. Mr. Begin had replied, stressing that Jews had returned to the land of their forefathers to live. They had never wished to attack Egypt but had acted only in self-defence.

After President Sadat's visit, Mr. Begin continued, there had been the Cairo Conference which was "not serious". Then, prior to the talks at Ismailia, the Israeli cabinet had elaborated a detailed peace plan. It envisaged Israeli retention of control over the Straits of Tiran to guarantee free passage and of the settlements in northern Sinai. Both were very important to Israel's security. The plan also provided full autonomy for the population of the West Bank and Gaza, with Israel retaining certain necessary controls. If Israel did not, "the PLO would take over".

This plan was first presented to President Carter. It had been the only time, Mr. Begin noted, that he had taken the initiative to call on the White House. When he did, the Israeli plan was not only accepted but it was enthusiastically received by the Americans. Then came the conference at Ismailia, which Mr. Begin described as "the best Israeli-Egyptian meeting ever!" It had been marked by openness, friendship and good humour. President Sadat had said that it was the happiest day of his life — not because it was his birthday but because the meetings had been so successful. After talking warmly for several hours, Mr. Begin said, he and President Sadat had agreed on the formation of two committees, one to meet in Cairo, the other in Jerusalem.

Mr. Begin observed that in Egypt President Sadat was sole ruler. His word is law. Details, however, are worked out by his advisers. The two leaders had agreed on a declaration of principles, which they wanted to publish. They had agreed "completely and in writing", but at the last minute had been unable to agree on the treatment of the Palestinians in such a declaration. The talks were adjourned until the following morning when the Israelis had proposed that the two sides agree to differ on this point. President Sadat had accepted this proposal on the spot. The position of each side was read out (presumably with a view to including the two statements in the joint declaration).

Mr. Begin wondered why a declaration could not have been published covering the points on which they had agreed. It was President Sadat's

advisers, he said, who persuaded him that this could not be done when no agreement had been reached about the Palestinians. The Israelis had left Ismailia in friendship. Vicious personal attacks on Mr. Begin had come later, some of them blatantly anti-Semitic such as a reference to Mr. Begin as Shylock. The Israelis did not respond in kind.

Mr. Begin then spoke briefly about Camp David. President Sadat had come there with a document which Mr. Begin had analyzed in the presence of President Carter, who had said that it would be unacceptable to the United States. Mr. Begin had told President Sadat that it was unacceptable to Israel. Then began the negotiations, in the course of which there had been 23 drafts before an acceptable text finally emerged. Mr. Begin later learned that at one point President Sadat had threatened to pack his bags and leave; he had not been aware of this at Camp David.

The Camp David agreements had been attacked in Israel, sometimes quite violently. Mr. Begin thought they were good agreements. They involved sacrifice. To give up the Israeli settlements in Sinai for the sake of peace "will be a pain in my heart until the day I die". The main commitment at Camp David had been for Egypt and Israel to negotiate a peace treaty "inviting other parties to do the same".

Turning to the negotiations in Washington that had followed Camp David, Mr. Begin said that "today" (November 7) there was a draft agreement that was "basically good". It covered military details, including Israeli withdrawal in two phases. Diplomatic relations would follow withdrawal to the El Arish line, and it had now been agreed that the exchange of ambassadors would take place within a month. The Suez Canal would be open to Israeli shipping as soon as the treaty came into force.

Other matters under discussion included oil (what would happen if the Shah were overthrown and Iran's supply of oil to Israel were cut off — as might be the case if fanatical Moslems or Communists took over?), and financial questions. Israel was seeking a low-interest long-term loan of \$3.37 billion from the United States to pay for the withdrawal from Sinai. The cost of building two military airfields in the Negev to replace those given up in Sinai would be paid outright by the United States. The rest, including the cost of resettling those who would have to leave the Israeli settlements in Sinai and of dismantling Israeli installations and moving men and equipment, would be covered by the American loan. Secretary of State Vance had indicated that a loan would present fewer problems for the United States. Congress had become very touchy on the subject of massive financial grants, given American economic problems.

There were still problems in the Washington negotiations, but Mr. Begin was hopeful. He would like to see the agreement signed before the Nobel prizes were presented in Oslo, but he cautioned against impatience. The conflict had gone on for 60 years, and negotiations to end it had to deal with all the details.

Going on to discuss the wider negotiations that might follow an agreement between Egypt and Israel, Mr. Begin said that Jordan did not want to join the negotiations. "Not yet," the American Assistant Secretary of State, Harold Saunders, had told the Israelis. Israel had agreed that President Sadat might negotiate in place of Jordan to set up the arrangements for Palestinian autonomy. There would be an exchange of letters on this subject, rather than language in the text of the treaty.

Mr. Trudeau commented that Prime Minister Begin made the process sound very easy. Mr. Begin replied that it would not be easy but was feasible.

Mr. Jamieson said he presumed that the argument hinged not so much on the terms of the treaty between Egypt and Israel as on the question of "linkage" and the degree of importance that President Sadat would attach to it. Clearly President Sadat did not wish to be portrayed as having abandoned the larger Arab cause.

Mr. Begin observed that sometimes words became phantoms. What was this "linkage"? The Americans said that there was no juridical linkage but that a "political" linkage did exist. Mr. Begin asserted that there was neither, but rather a "linkage of continuation". Egypt and Israel would exchange letters agreeing to discuss modalities within a month of concluding their treaty. (In the press conference that followed Mr. Begin spoke of a month after the treaty had been signed and ratified and the instruments of ratification exchanged.)

Mr. Jamieson asked whether this meant that Israel would proceed unilaterally with arrangements for autonomy, or was there a role for Egypt.

Mr. Begin replied that Israel was prepared to conduct negotiations even without Jordan. They had sometimes considered unilateral steps, but autonomy did have to be accepted by those who would exercise it, and "PLO supporters have pistols". There should be agreement with Egypt or with the local people, and some people in the West Bank did favour autonomy, but had been intimidated by threats.

Mr. Begin then raised certain bilateral issues:

(1) Economic Relations

Israel had a negative balance in its trade with Canada. Israel was a very small country and Canada a very large one. Would Prime Minister Trudeau instruct his colleagues to sit down with the Israelis at the forthcoming meetings of the Joint Economic Committee and try to adjust the situation? Israel had many products that were sold to the United States and should also have a market in Canada. Mr. Trudeau said that he would tell his colleagues to work for an increase of trade in both directions. If the balance shifted to Israel's favour we would not object. We did not think in terms of having balanced trade with individual countries, but rather in multilateral terms.

(2) Boycott

The treaty with Egypt would provide that all boycotts be ended. The Baghdad Conference, on the other hand, had called for increasing the boycott. Mr. Begin noted that it was not a boycott against Israel, but against any firm doing business with Israel. It was illegal and immoral to blacklist firms that did not obey the rules of the boycott, and some firms did obey. He urged that measures be taken so that Canadian firms would not be frightened by the Boycott Office in Damascus.

Mr. Trudeau replied that the Government was sympathetic to the Israeli point of view and had worked out in negotiation with the leaders of the Canadian Jewish community — the Presidents of the Canada-Israel Committee, the Canadian Jewish Council, etc. — what the Government proposed to do by way of legislation. In particular, the legislation would make it compulsory for Canadian firms to declare any involvement they might have with the boycott. The Government had also agreed not to accept negative certificates of origin.

Mr. Trudeau said that he had the assurance of these Jewish leaders that these measures were what they wanted at this time. This did not exclude requests for further modifications later on — perhaps in one or two years. No doubt they would have preferred a more elaborate and a more penal policy, but in the present context Mr. Trudeau hoped that they would confirm to Prime Minister Begin that they were satisfied. Mr. Begin expressed his appreciation.

(3) Invitation to Prime Minister Trudeau

Mr. Begin extended an invitation to Prime Minister Trudeau to pay an official visit to Israel. Mr. Trudeau was happy to accept the invitation but indicated that he would not be able to go until after the next election — inshallah!

(4) Landing Rights in Toronto

The question of El Al's longstanding request for landing rights in Toronto having been raised by Mr. Begin, the Israeli Ambassador, Mr. Shalev, suggested that a joint committee might meet and discuss the matter. Could they not at least agree on an approximate time in the future when such rights might be granted? Mr. Shalev noted that there had been progress in Israel towards granting permission for charter flights from Canada. It would help if the Israelis could have a clear idea of when landing rights in Toronto might be available.

Mr. Jamieson agreed that a committee might go into what the Government's future plans were. Mr. Trudeau noted that land had been acquired for a new airport but that the Ontario Government would not agree to it.

Mr. Jamieson raised the question of the United Nations and said that he wished to tell Prime Minister Begin that we were active in efforts to keep the U.N. under control on anti-Israel resolutions. Two had come up the previous day (November 6). We were prepared to stand alone with the United States or even by ourselves if necessary. He suggested that it would be helpful if Israel were to make strong representations with other friendly countries. Mr. Jamieson hoped that we could get through this year's General Assembly without something too disruptive. Mr. Begin observed that the United States had taken a strong line and expressed appreciation for Canadian support. Mr. Jamieson noted that the hard-line Arab states were trying to use the United Nations forum as a counterweight.

Mr. Danson asked if the role of a third-party peacekeeping force had been discussed. Mr. Begin said that it had. The Camp David agreements provided for peacekeeping forces at Sharm El Sheikh and in northern Sinai (El Arish). Otherwise the Sinai would be demilitarized except for one Egyptian mechanized division. As to what would happen if the Soviet Union vetoed proposals to set up these peacekeeping forces, Mr. Begin said that this possibility had been discussed with the Americans, who had some ideas for ensuring that there would be an international force. He did not say what they were.

Mr. Begin expressed thanks for the Canadian contribution to Middle East peacekeeping forces. He stressed that there must not be a repetition of the events in 1967 when President Nasser had ordered the U.N. to remove its forces and U Thant had obeyed. Unless both Israel and Egypt agreed on their removal the forces should remain unless there was a positive vote of the Security Council (in which the veto would apply) to remove them. ☺

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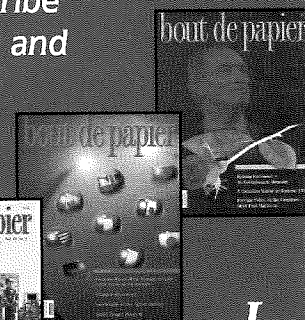
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Baghdad

Then and Now

by Erik Wang

Through my two years in Baghdad Iraq was at war with Iran, a particularly savage war of attrition. It raged on in the trenches for eight years and over a million casualties. It has been aptly described as a war fought with modern weapons, the tactics of World War I, and the passions of the Crusades.

The day after I arrived in Baghdad in 1986 I got a powerful introduction to the country.

The Iraqi Foreign Ministry organized a tour of a primary school that had been hit the previous day by an Iranian Scud missile. The Iraqis laid on visits for diplomats from time to time to show how the Iranians were killing innocent civilians indiscriminately (omitting to tell about similar Iraqi attacks on civilian targets in Iran). This visit was particularly shocking because the missile had hit the school while morning classes were in session. Many children had been killed, and they had not yet fully cleaned up the human remnants embedded in the shattered walls.

Baghdad was only 100 km from the Iranian border and the front lines, well within the range of Iranian missiles. "Scud-B" missiles from Iran fell intermittently on Baghdad. These were missiles developed originally by the Soviets in the fifties and designed to carry a nuclear warhead, now carrying conventional explosives. They did a lot of damage, if you were unlucky enough to be at the point of impact. But they were notoriously inaccurate. The black joke circulated amongst diplomatic colleagues: It's not the missile with my name on it that worries me, it's the one addressed: "to whom it may concern."

Iraq was part of a violent neighbourhood, and it still is.

Strange as it may seem in light of subsequent events Iraq was then regarded as a force for stability in the region. In other Arab capitals, including Cairo, Amman and Riyadh, Saddam was seen as an ally, the eastern bulwark of the Arab world. In 1979 in neighbouring Iran the Shah had been deposed and a militant revolutionary regime had taken power under Ayatollah Khomeini. He was dangerously provocative with border incursions and incitements to Iraq's Shiite population. He made no secret of his plan to unseat the secular government of Saddam Hussein, and spread a particularly virulent brand of Islamic extremism through the region. The Ayatollah declared that "the road to Jerusalem passes through Baghdad."

Canada had closed down its embassy in Iran after helping US diplomats to escape from Tehran in 1980. We tilted towards Iraq, while maintaining an embargo on arms shipments to both belligerents. From Ottawa's viewpoint, Iraq was a lucrative market for Canadian goods and services. We were hoping to position ourselves favourably for the glittering trade opportunities which seemed to beacon in the post-war reconstruction period after the end of the Iran-Iraq war. We had not reckoned with Saddam's folly.

Amongst observers in Baghdad Saddam was inevitably the subject of lively discussion. Who was he? How had he managed to maintain himself in power in this tumultuous neighbourhood for so long? Would he be chastened by his disastrous war with Iran?

Tell me who your heroes are and you tell me something about who you are. When I arrived in Baghdad in 1986 it was said that President Saddam Hussein had three heroes. Each revealed something of the character of the man.

Insiders at the palace said that *The Godfather* was his favourite movie. It was not hard to see why: Saddam admired the ruthless Don Corleone, his unique family values, and his habit of crushing his enemies by pre-emptive strikes.

Stalin he admired for his brutally efficient hold on power and for his vast apparatus of security services and party informers. Iraq under Saddam was arguably the most oppressive police state the world has seen since the Soviet Union under Stalin.

I recall my amazement when I witnessed Saddam for the first time in the presence of his military high command.

Here were his top generals, many battle-hardened soldiers just back from the front in the war with Iran, sitting nervously before the President like schoolboys before a stern headmaster. This was not just deference to authority. They were clearly terrorized by Saddam the tyrant. And for good reason. During my time several of these generals were to disappear under successive purges.

Portraits of Saddam were everywhere, on every public square, in every office and home. Yet, no graffiti! Iraqis had learned that the penalty for defacing the great leader was likely to be savage.

Saddam was brazenly open about his policy of terror. He made it official, in a way that would have impressed even Stalin. One day in Baghdad I opened the official Gazette of the Iraqi government and found that he had made it black letter law: it was a capital offence — punishable by death — to speak disrespectfully of the President.

He was heard to have boasted: I know when someone is going to betray me, even before he knows. Thousands of Iraqis went to their deaths, merely on suspicion or a whim, many no doubt protesting their innocence to their last breath.

Emperor Nebuchadnezzar he admired as the founder of a vast Babylonian empire which spanned most of what is today the Middle East. Nebuchadnezzar had defeated the Persian tribes, sacked Jerusalem in 586 BC and carried off the Jews in captivity. Saddam dreamed of building a similar legacy. With great fanfare, the diplomatic corps was invited to attend the opening of an elaborate reconstruction of the palaces of ancient Babylon. The bricks were inscribed for future generations to read: From the Era of Saddam.

Saddam would probably have remained just another tinpot despot in a dusty backwater if it had not been for oil.

Iraq was blessed, or perhaps cursed, in the hands of Saddam, with extraordinary oil resources, the second largest oil reserves in the world, second only to those of Saudi Arabia. When oil prices quadrupled in 1973, the Iraqi regime began to amass wealth on a scale which seemed to put the grandest ambitions and dreams of glory within reach. Saddam's self-appointed mission was to be the champion of the wider Arab world. At critical moments in his career it seemed almost as if he was asking himself: What would Nebuchadnezzar have done?

He presided over ambitious programmes for housing, education and health care that transformed Iraq from third-world to the cusp of first-world status. But Saddam was a street thug elevated to head of state. The insecurity of the street thug was never far from the surface. He invested heavily in ornate presidential palaces and monuments to himself. He invested heavily in the military and in weapons development.

It is said that if you are a hammer, most problems begin to look like nails. He turned to violence and intimidation as the natural solution to his problems. Internally, in Iraq, the hammer approach, coupled with the rewards of massive social spending, served to keep him in power for thirty-five years, an uncommonly long stretch in this unruly region. But internationally the hammer

dragged him through successive wars to his ultimate downfall. It was a dangerous mix of qualities: the cunning of a street fighter at home, the folly of an ignorant brawler abroad.

Each of these wars led to the next one, like a three-car pile-up on highway 401.

The 1980–88 war which Saddam had rashly initiated against Iran — a country with three times the population of Iraq — almost bankrupted him. Two years after the war ended, Saddam invaded and plundered Kuwait, like a drunken river-boat gambler, hoping to recoup his losses with one more desperate throw of the dice. After being ejected from Kuwait and in order to save himself Saddam was forced to accept draconian cease-fire terms. He agreed to give up his weapons of mass destruction under a rigorous UN inspection regime and the most intrusive economic sanctions the world had ever seen. He had no intention of complying. Thus began twelve years of cat and mouse games with UN inspectors, and repeated condemnations by the UN Security Council for violations of these terms. American public opinion, alarmed and mobilized by 9/11 and a quick victory in Afghanistan, supported George Bush in launching the war in 2003 to remove Saddam from power.

The three-car pile-up had another dimension. The Iran-Iraq war convinced Saddam that he had to have weapons of mass destruction in his armoury. As he saw it, he had been saved from defeat by the chemical weapons he had unleashed against Iranian "human-wave" attacks, and against Kurdish insurgents. Moreover, as he saw it, weapons of mass destruction had saved his skin once again in 1991 at the end of the Kuwait war, when his army was in chaotic retreat. He concluded that the Americans had been deterred from marching on Baghdad by the risk of facing chemical and biological warfare. That perception, mistaken or not, motivated Saddam for the following twelve years to try to retain the remnants of his WMD capabilities, in defiance of the UN Security Council and at great cost to ordinary Iraqis suffering under prolonged sanctions. At the end, as we now know, his feared weapons stockpiles were a sham. Saddam had struggled to

retain at least the *pretence* of a WMD capability that could, he deluded himself, save his skin a third time, and hold back enemies circling like wolves around a dwindling campfire.

NY Times correspondent Tom Friedman has said that "some things are true even if George Bush believes them." It is hard to deny that the world is a better place without Saddam Hussein. It is true that the long-suffering Iraqi people have been liberated from a cruel tyrant. The forthcoming trial of Saddam will be an important test of the principle of holding heads of state accountable for gross violations of human rights and international crimes.

The Americans urged Canada in 2003 to join with them as an active coalition partner in the march on Baghdad. Our credentials as a friend and ally were not in doubt. We had supported the US and committed Canadian armed forces, under UN authorization, to help in expelling Saddam from Kuwait in 1991 and in ousting the Taliban from Afghanistan in 2001. We had similarly supported the air war against Serbia over Kosovo in 1999 under NATO auspices, in circumstances where the UN was deadlocked.

Polls showed that public opinion in Canada, and particularly in Québec, which was about to go into an election, was strongly opposed to the war.

This seems to have been decisive for Prime Minister Chrétien. This time the response was sorry, we cannot support you without an explicit UN authorization. On the eve of war Canadian diplomats in New York made ingenious but futile efforts to craft a compromise in the Security Council, seeking middle ground where none existed.

Anxious to limit damage to Canada-US relations, Prime Minister Chrétien announced Canada's position in the House in minimalist terms, and refrained from condemning US action. If Canada had been a member of the Security Council at the time and if the US had pressed their resolution to a vote the logic of our position would have been an abstention.

The Americans argued their case on several grounds. The emphasis changed

from time to time. But three interlocking arguments have recurred: the removal of Saddam should be seen as part and parcel of the war on terror, would prevent further violence by Saddam and his sons, and would lead to a democratic transformation of the entire region. How sound was their case?

Could the intervention be seen as part of the war on terror, a war in which Canada has declared itself an ally of the United States?

The 9/11 Commission found no evidence of cooperation between Iraq and al-Qaeda. They threw cold water, quite rightly to my mind, on the likelihood that the secular regime of Saddam Hussein would have found common cause with Islamic extremists planning terrorist attacks against the US. He was a gambler but he was also a survivor. My guess is that he would be very cautious about backing al-Qaeda suicide bombers committed to an extremist ideology that he did not share, who were not under his control and who could drag him to destruction, as Osama bin Laden had dragged the Taliban regime to destruction.

With mounting casualties and faltering public support for the ongoing war against insurgents in Iraq, President Bush has increasingly linked the war with the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Iraq is, according to Bush, "the latest battlefield" in the war on terrorism. This may be politically astute, by playing on public fears, but in my view contrived, and fundamentally mendacious. But if US forces were withdrawn it could become a self-fulfilling prophecy. As the *New York Times* put it, "Iraq would probably sink into a civil war that would create large stretches of no man's land where private militias and stateless terrorists could operate with impunity."

Was Saddam a threat to the peace? Was he "a grave and gathering danger" as George Bush said he was? He was not an imminent threat, as we now know. No stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction were found.

Saddam had expelled the UN weapons inspectors earlier, and admitted them to Iraq again only under the threat of American troops massing on his border with Kuwait. He would no doubt expel them again as soon as the threat was lifted. American troops could not be kept in the neighbourhood indefinitely.

UN sanctions were collapsing. Saddam was siphoning off huge amounts of money from the ill-fated oil-for-food program. I have little doubt that, sooner or later, if American troops had gone home leaving him in place, he would have poured powerful financial resources into revived WMD programs. Any assessment of Iraqi capabilities would have to take into account not just stockpiles but also the technical resources which would enable Saddam to jump-start rearmament. He had skilled scientists experienced in earlier weapons programs. Here was clearly a potential and perhaps an inevitable threat to international peace and security.

The Americans were right to pose the question and take it to the Security Council. With his uniquely troubling track record, who could be confident of Saddam's

intentions? Good judgment and a sense of restraint were noticeably absent from his make-up.

The Security Council, with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, agonized over the question of legality of intervention. The contours of the debate were clear. The use of force under the UN Charter is prohibited except as a last resort, in two circumstances. When attacked, states have a right of self-defence, narrowly understood to include defence against *imminent attack*, but not preventive action against a potential or speculative threat. Otherwise, force may be used only when authorized by the Security Council, to meet a threat to international peace and security. The US and the U.K. invoked the pre-existent authorization of the Security Council originating in 1990. They made an arguable case that there was no need for a further Security Council resolution. The war was justified, in their view, since Iraq continued to be in breach of its disarmament obligations under a series of mandatory resolutions going back to 1990.

The Security Council remained deadlocked on the issue, amid charges of bad faith and hidden agendas of certain members. The NATO alliance, which had provided cover for military intervention in Kosovo, even in the absence of UN authorization, was similarly deadlocked.

In the end, the US failure to secure a broad-based coalition, anchored in an explicit Security Council resolution, or alternatively unanimous NATO support, undermined not only the legitimacy and legality of the intervention, but also its effectiveness. This was the first flaw in the enterprise. It was compounded by the failure to send enough troops to preserve security after the collapse of Saddam's regime.

President Bush has insisted that the terrible costs of this war are justified by the prospects of *regional transformation*. This bold and worthy vision was a major theme of Bush's second inaugural address. A democratic, peaceful Iraq would create a powerful impulse towards freedom and democracy in the Arab world. The removal of Iraq from the confrontation camp would help pave the way to peace between Israel and the Palestinians. President Bush hopes, in effect, to give new meaning to the expression, "the road to Jerusalem passes through Baghdad." Will it prove to be a mirage in the desert, as it was for Ayatollah Khomeini?



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In the longer view of history George Bush will ultimately be judged not on legal arguments as to whether or not the US intervention breached the UN Charter, but on whether a reasonably stable, democratic and peaceful Iraq emerges.

The outcome now hangs perilously in the balance. It may have already tipped over, irretrievably, into sectarian violence. US and Iraqi forces are struggling to defeat a tenacious insurgency. The weapons of choice are crudely targeted suicide bombers and Improvised Explosive Devices, often addressed indiscriminately to whom it may concern. Many Iraqis, and not just former Baathists, are beginning to look

back with nostalgia to the order they knew under Saddam (graffiti-free!). Have the Iraqi people traded the oppression of Saddam for the horrors of civil war or a new Islamic fundamentalist tyranny? If so, the verdict of history will be very harsh indeed.

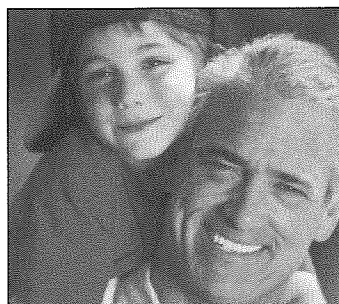
No one could fail to be impressed by the determination of the Iraqi people in January to cast their votes in a democratic election, the first in their history. But the next step, to craft a constitution for a unified Iraq, will be immensely difficult, as Canadians have good reason to know, and the timetable established seems wildly unrealistic. The Kurds in the north reserve for themselves the option of seceding if they are not satisfied with the terms of autonomy they are demanding in the constitution. Shiite militias in the south are challenging central authority. A sullen Sunni minority has refused, so far, to participate in the new Iraqi government which they regard as a puppet of the American occupation forces. It may be that the Iraqis are too fractured to seize the opportunity they have been given to recreate their country out of the wreckage that Saddam left behind.

Canada, along with the rest of the international community, has a big stake in what happens in Iraq.

Regardless of our differences at the outset, we should do what we can to help nudge Iraq towards a better future. Regrettably, we are so far very much on the sidelines. We took the lead in an international group monitoring the Iraqi election held in January, from a safe distance in Jordan. We have agreed to write off Iraq's pre-war debts, amounting to \$750 million. We have committed \$300 million to Iraqi reconstruction, but this has been effectively stalled by the security situation. We have assisted on a small scale in the training of Iraqi military and security forces underway in neighbouring Jordan. In June, after a hiatus of fifteen years, Canada re-established diplomatic relations with Iraq to help legitimize the newly elected government, and appointed an ambassador, resident in Jordan.

The US hope is that the insurgency can be defeated by a combination of military and political measures, including the establishment of an Iraqi government sufficiently inclusive and representative to command the allegiance of all ethnic and sectarian groups, thereby denying insurgents the oxygen they need from the populace. Some administration officials speak of a need for the US military to remain engaged in Iraq possibly for as long as 10, 12 or 14 years. In the face of declining public support for the war, will the US be able to "stay the course"? The future of Iraq will be played out ultimately not only in the streets of Baghdad and Fallujah but in Main Street, USA. Pressures to cut and run will mount with the approach of mid-term elections in 2006 and presidential elections in 2008. It may be a race against time. Can Iraqi military and police forces be built up to take over security responsibilities from the Americans before these pressures become irresistible? ☹

Erik B. Wang served as Canadian Ambassador in Baghdad for two years, 1986 to 1988 during the rule of Saddam Hussein. Against the background of this experience he offers some comments on the current situation in Iraq.



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Posthumous publications nearly always arouse a mixture of feelings, including gratitude for an unexpected gift as well as regret that we cannot discuss what we have read with the author. That reaction is especially appropriate with the book from which we publish an extract below, as the author, Peter Roberts, has teasingly mingled real events and people, with which and whom he was personally familiar, with invented situations and imagined characters. The boundaries between fact and fiction are deliberately obscured so as to draw the reader further into the bizarre world of Romania under Nicolae Ceaușescu (aided and abetted by his wife, Elena, herself a bogus scholar with an appropriately fictional expertise). The story of the peculiar rule and sudden demise of the Romanian leader, which proceeds in tandem with a bemused account of the uneven and uncertain development of a CANDU reactor at Cernavoda, is told through a combination of narratives from diverse perspectives as well as “documents” that convey contemporary attitudes. The latter are especially amusing as they mimic the style and content of letters, despatches, parliamentary hearings and “pillow talk” from electronic eavesdrops. As one tribute to the author, it was difficult to choose an extract — the supposed KGB tape of Nicolae and Elena contemplating the assassination of Mikhail Gorbachev and the naive letter of the deputy prime minister of Canada reporting on a visit to Romania are particularly wonderful creations — but the attention of **bout** readers would likely be drawn to the farewell despatch of Canada’s ambassador to Romania. As Roberts indicates in a note accompanying the text, this was “not the author’s official final report” that he sent when he concluded his mission in Bucharest, however much it resembles messages of that kind. The extract printed below is from *Revenge On Christmas Day: Fact and Fiction in Bucharest* by Peter Roberts, published by Chestnut Publishing Group (to whom we express our thanks for their permission to publish these passages).

Hector Mackenzie

STRANGER THAN TRUTH?

Memories of Bucharest

[Chapter 10 La Revedere / Until We Meet Again]

To: *The Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa*

From: *The Ambassador of Canada to Romania, Bucharest*

28 August, 1983

After four years here, I am leaving Romania tomorrow en route to the U.S.S.R. After my final visit with Ceaușescu, which I will first describe, a number of thoughts occurred to me about this country, its leadership and its relations with Canada and the world which I would like to share with you and some of our colleagues.

Upon learning the date I was to leave the post, I immediately sought a farewell meeting with President Ceaușescu and Prime Minister Oprea. They both agreed to see me, but both were on holiday on the Black Sea at Neptune. There and in a string of unhappily named resorts (Olimp, Venus, Saturn, and so on) the Romanians have in recent years created an extraordinarily ugly row of high-rise hotels, attracting sea-hungry holiday makers. These come for the most part from Eastern Europe, but also from England, France, and West Germany, attracted by low prices, but not repelled by bad food and service. In summer, the Black Sea is literally black — with people. To find a space on the sand, or in the water, is an adventure. There is a kind of communal life in the high-rise hotels. Someone plays the piano, someone else the accordion, people sing and dance, much Romanian beer is consumed, together with a certain amount of the national fire-water, *țuica*.

An added advantage for those from the West is the thrill of a venture into the darkest communist heartland. For the Romanians, there is the thrill of earning desperately needed foreign exchange — hard or soft doesn’t really matter. All summer the big jets roll in and out of Constanța airport, and the Germans from the DDR, in their stinking little Trabants, jam the roads through Hungary and Romania. Even the Hungarians, mortal enemies of Romania though they be, but land-locked though they be also, benefit from this Black Sea bonanza. They collect transit visa fees in the tens of thousands of dollars from all who make the journey by car, bus, or train.

So, I took the early morning plane to Constanța, a lovely old port with crumbling nineteenth century streets and dramatic Roman remains. Its ancient Latin name was Tomis. The poet Ovid was banished and died there in AD17. It is near the lovely wild reaches of the Danube delta, and the ancient Greek colony at Istria, to which Greek sailors made their way years before Christ, and where remain a couple of their marble columns. Usually, on our visits to the Black Sea, my wife and I stayed by preference in the decaying hotels of Constanța rather than in the high-rise ones further south. But this time, to be near my interlocutors at Neptune, I joined the milling throng in that place, booking a room where I could spend a placid hour or two doing my homework in preparation for my two calls.

My first appointment was with Prime Minister Oprea, at noon, for lunch. My homework done, I still had a couple of hours in hand, so sought the beach. It was already thronged, but not unhappily. People were content in the sun, away from their drab home lives, seeming not to mind the density of the seaside population. Swimming was out of the question in the shallow, muddy, crowded water. I decided on watching and listening, and was rewarded with some insights into the average East European family on its summer

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holiday. By no means unhappy people, at least in that place.

Lunchtime approached. I returned to my primitive hotel room, changed into my diplomatic uniform, and took a taxi for the short journey to Oprea's villa. (No high-rise hotel for him.) There was a solitary uniformed policeman at the gate, but no other security in sight. Nevertheless, the place must have been swarming with them. A helicopter passed overhead, no doubt watching both Oprea's and Ceaușescu's villas, side by side.

I already knew Oprea pretty well. We sat on the terrace in bright sunshine and had a whiskey together. I wanted to talk about our joint nuclear project, which was now back on the rails after the devastating suspension of credit by our Export Development Corporation. The Romanians could not believe their ears when they were told, a year ago. Our main reason for suspending was, of all things, that the Poles had defaulted on their credits from the West. We feared that the Romanians, coming from the same part of Europe, might behave in the same way. They were outraged, in my view justifiably.

Oprea had just a few weeks before been given overall responsibility for the nuclear power project. It was dangerous work, because it was close to Ceaușescu's heart. A single wrong step could be disastrous — and who knew what the *Conducator* might consider a wrong step. But Oprea was cool. A civilized man, I thought — and there were not many of them in the Romanian Council of Ministers. He explained to me, with astonishing frankness, how the government was dealing with the Russians, who deeply resented this arrangement with Canada.

"We're promising them the next one," he said. But of course everyone, including Oprea, knows there won't be a next one. It will be a miracle if they get this one finished. And if they do, they will have all the electricity they need for several generations.

Oprea asked me to convey his best regards to the prime minister, which I ask you to do on my behalf. However, it is not lost on the Romanians that no Canadian prime minister and no foreign minister for many years, has visited this country. They wonder why the president of the United States, of France and of many other countries can come here, but we cannot, even though we have important economic relations. He sent me back to my hotel in his car.

Everyone here knows that Ceaușescu takes a nap after lunch. Always. So when my lunch with Oprea ended — very agreeably, with a glass of poire; the *nomenklatura* in this country lack nothing — I had another hour to fill before my 3 o'clock meeting with the great leader himself. I spent it in my hotel room, going over the instructions contained in your tel 1278 of Aug. 10 (which of course I carried in my pocket) to be sure I knew what you wanted me to say, and that I had all the necessary Romanian words firmly under my belt. Then, to my surprise, a presidential driver arrived at my door to deliver me to the *Conducator*. The car was Ceaușescu's usual modest Dacia, although Oprea's had been a Mercedes.

Again there was no visible security, except a solitary policeman in uniform, around Ceaușescu's villa. My guess is that there were at least a hundred Securitate agents hidden in bushes and flowerpots, and that I passed through electronic scanners on my way in. But I have called many times on Ceaușescu; by now they must regard me as harmless.

Ceaușescu, when we started talking, said he was pleased the nuclear project was moving again, credit having been restored. I raised the points in your telegram to which I referred. I said that we would want to discuss the president's visit with Foreign Minister Andrei when he made his forthcoming visit. I said that we hoped Romania would participate in Expo 86. The president seemed briefed on this, and said Romania would participate if the cost were not too high. We will follow up at a lower level. After much soul-searching I raised the Voicu case, asking for special consideration. The president did not answer directly but said that Canada and Romania had no serious difficulties in "this area". (He meant "family reunification," but refrained from using the buzzwords.) The reason I am concerned is that there are many other deserving cases (one Canadian sponsor wrote to me asking me to use my farewell call to intervene on his behalf) and there may be some hard feelings among Canadian sponsors if it becomes known that we singled out one particular family. The more so if the *démarche* succeeds.

Thus ended my last talk with Nicolae Ceaușescu.

As I left to catch the evening plane to Bucharest, I thought about Ceaușescu. An

ambitious village peasant, he would want to be remembered as the creator of a new, modern Romania, perhaps even the father of his people. Instead, he would be remembered as the ogre and tyrant he undoubtedly was, his dreams frustrated by others, notably his beloved Elena. Therein lay his tragedy.

Since that meeting I have tried to collect my thoughts about life in this country, and life between them and us. What follows is the result of my rumination.

It is common to say that the nuclear project is the heart of the relationship with Romania. I think not. It is certainly the heart of this embassy's activity, accounting for a large part of our correspondence and daily work. But that is another matter. It seems to me that the relations between any two countries are by definition political, and to say that we have a relationship with this country because we have sold them some nuclear equipment, technology and services is misleading. Nevertheless, developments in the nuclear project over the past five years, and especially during the time of financial troubles over the past eighteen months, have affected the two governments' perceptions of one another, and thus indirectly the political relationship. I like to think that the changes have been in the direction of greater realism on both sides and are healthy.

The Romanians now understand that the signature of the agreements in 1978 did not make them immune from the politics of nuclear energy or those of export financing. The Canadians now realize that they are dealing with a respectable nuclear partner with a substantial infrastructure and advanced manufacturing capacity. And, most importantly, possessing through its leader implacable political will and the means to enforce it.

One of the things which the recent CANDU inspection team discovered in Romania was that this same political will has reversed, in two years, a very bad balance of payments and current account situation, and given the country a healthy surplus, scheduled to become healthier still. That was achieved mainly by severe reductions in imports and other forms of hard-currency outflows. It hit hard both Romanian industry and the Romanian consumer, but it has also hit hard Romania's trading partners. Canadian exports to Romania dropped drastically

between 1980 and 1982, and show no sign of revival this year. Except for sales of CANDU equipment over the next few years, there does not seem much hope of a substantial development of Canadian exports to Romania.

We cannot have it both ways. If we demand a healthy Romanian economy as a condition of restoring our credit, we cannot object when the Romanians take the necessary measures, not only with Canada but with all trading partners, especially in the West.

Cultural relations with East European countries (not the USSR) are accorded in Canadian policy one of the lowest priorities in the world. There is almost no money for Romania, and therefore a very meagre cultural program. Since the Romanians have no money themselves for sending artists abroad, except those few (not always the best) capable of earning enough to pay their way, cultural and academic exchanges have remained at a low level. Nevertheless they exist. We have mounted four major cultural events in the past four years, and many minor ones. Enough to keep us in the public eye.

The official and immensely successful visit to Bucharest of our colleague Pierre Trottier, Canadian poet and ambassador to UNESCO, to lecture to the Union of Writers on Canadian poetry and read his own work (which has already been translated and published in this country), was an example of what can be done with very little money. On the other hand, the abrupt cancellation by the Romanians of a long-planned archaeological exhibition which was to have toured Canada, soured the atmosphere in the Canadian museums and set matters back in that realm. In short, there is a cultural relationship, weak and starved, but still able to attract some attention.

To return where I began. Relations between countries are political or they are nothing. Our nuclear relationship with Romania is no guarantee of a political relationship. That is not to say that the nuclear relationship has no political content. It has much. Ministers and senior officials meet over it. Heads of government and state are drawn into it. Most important, hundreds of young engineers and technicians cross the Atlantic to impart (in Romania) or to absorb (in Canada) skills and information, even if not all of them return to spread the word of what they have seen.

That helps, but it is not enough. Of course, official Romanians are hard to deal with on the political side. They are doctrinaire, suspicious, secretive, given to empty slogans and shibboleths, careless of the welfare of people, capable of intimidation and even of assassination as political tools.

That is, unfortunately, their Russian legacy. They lie athwart the great dividing lines of Europe: Rome left them with an ineradicable desire to belong to the Western world, but later history made them orthodox in religion and Eastern in subservience. That complicates the political problem, but does not mean that we can forget about it.

As a world power, as a country of immigration for Romanians, and especially as a member of the Western alliance, we need to involve ourselves politically with Romania, and with the other countries that have the misfortune to be under the Soviet thumb. For beyond "them," the officials, there is the unhappy population of this country, with many people of high civilization who long for a sign of life from us. Anything at all. Here there is no contradiction. They (ordinary people) like it when we (the West) come to talk to their leaders, and they like it when we come to talk more directly to them, through the arts, films, radio, books. Both kinds of contact help them convince themselves that there may one day be an end to their misery.

The Romanian population has no recent tradition of seizing its fate in its own hands. It let itself be peacefully swallowed by the fascists before and during the war. It shares with Bulgaria the distinction of being one of only two East European countries never to have given the Russians any trouble. Nevertheless the Romanians profoundly dislike their rulers and would gladly trade their much-vaunted independent foreign policy, which is supposed to bring plenty of jam tomorrow, for a domestic policy that yields some jam today.

It is that reality, no doubt, that worries Ceaușescu most. Among the relatively young men and women around him there must be several who would be glad to be the instruments of consigning him, his wife, their absurd cult of personality, their brutal system of internal control, and their primitive notions of economic management, to the ashcan.

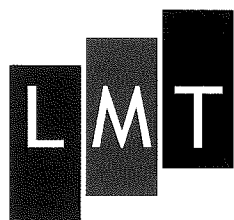
Today in Eastern Europe, including Romania, many have made their peace

with their regimes. Many have a stake in the system. Nearly all fatalistically believe that the only alternative to living with it is to get out. But the great majority — including in my view even some of those who have power and privilege — would abandon the whole cumbersome harness if their "geo-political situation" permitted.

Last week in Craiova I had a long talk with the party first secretary and head of the local government. In the part of Romania worst hit by food shortages this

year, he conceded that there were many difficulties. But he said, "God put us here on this piece of earth, not in Canada or elsewhere. So we must make the best of it."

For virtually all Romanians, with power and without, Italy is the birthplace of the nation. France is the cultural homeland, Germany the economic model and Greece and Yugoslavia are the neighbours to be cultivated. The USA and Canada are some kind of remote and unattainable paradise. ☺



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Books in Review / Critiques de livres

Woman of the World: Mary McGeachy and International Cooperation

Reviewed by Sarah Taylor

WOMAN OF THE WORLD: MARY McGEACHY AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION by Mary Kinnear, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004, 327 pp. ISBN 0-8020-8988-7

Sarah Taylor joined the Foreign Service in 1990 and has served abroad in Hong Kong, Beijing and Jakarta. She is currently Director of Economic Relations with Developing Countries Division.

Ah, the great names of Canadian diplomacy — Lester Pearson, Norman Robertson, Marcel Cadieux, Mary McGeachy. "Mary who?" you may ask. You would be forgiven for not knowing that a Canadian was among the few women to achieve senior rank at the League of Nations and was the first woman to be given a diplomatic rank

in the British foreign service. I first came across Mary McGeachy quite by chance, as one of the real people who makes a fleeting appearance amongst the fictional characters in Frank Moorehouse's novel set at the League of Nations, *Dark Palace*.

Intrigued by this reference to a Canadian woman who reached high rank in the world of inter-war multilateral diplomacy, who only died in 1991, and yet seemed to be totally unknown in Canadian diplomatic circles, I went in search of Mary McGeachy. I soon discovered that University of Manitoba historian Mary Kinnear had just brought out her biography. *Woman of the World: Mary McGeachy and International Cooperation* sheds light on a fascinating and complex woman who deserves to be recorded as a Canadian pioneer of diplomacy.

Why is so little known of Mary McGeachy? In part it's because, although

she was a Canadian, she was not a pioneer of Canadian diplomacy. In the inter-war years, she forged a career for herself in the League of Nations. During the Second World War, she worked for the British government. In 1944, she joined an allied wartime agency (linked to the League's successor, the United Nations), where she worked for two years. Both her career and her personal life took her outside Canada.

Despite this, McGeachy's roots and family ties were firmly in Canada. These included a direct, if brief, connection with Lester Pearson. He was teaching history at University College in the University of Toronto when McGeachy was a student there. Mary McGeachy graduated in 1924. After a brief stint teaching at Hamilton Collegiate Institute, she went on spec to Geneva, where she soon found work with the League of Nations.

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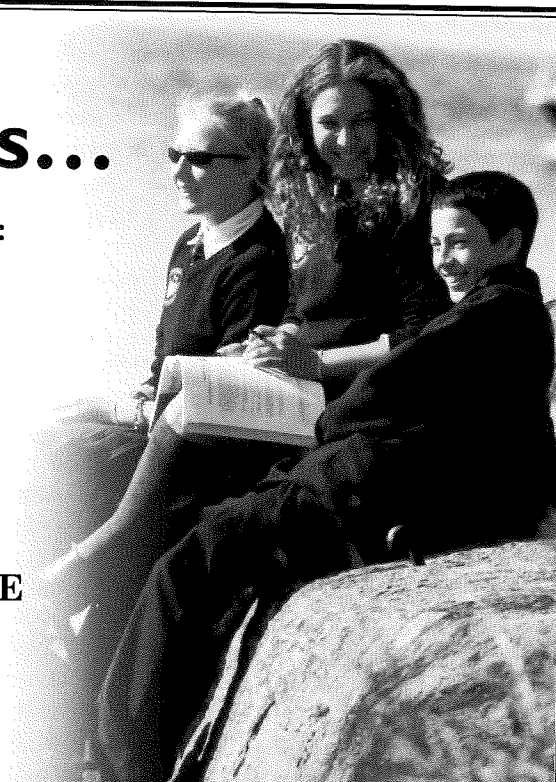


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During the 12 years she worked in the Information Section she took on growing responsibilities for publicizing the League and its work, including in Canada. A combination of factors — undoubtedly sexism, but also bad luck and a lack of Canadian influence at the League — meant she was passed over for senior promotion until the dying days of the League of Nations. In 1940, as war engulfed Europe and League staff slipped away, Mary McGeachy found herself acting as Head of Division. In this post she showed considerable bravery and resourcefulness, organizing the evacuation of League staff and dependents. The final chapter of this evacuation, in which she marshalled a busload of British and American women holding expired travel papers across Switzerland and through France to the port of Lisbon, skirting advancing armies, is only briefly described by Kinnear. One is left feeling that it has the makings of a book — or, better, a film — of its own.

Evacuated to Britain, McGeachy joined the Ministry of Economic Warfare, and in 1942 was posted as First Secretary to the British Embassy in Washington D.C. She was the first woman ever to be given a formal diplomatic rank by the Foreign Office. Her main task was to undertake a crucial piece of public diplomacy, encouraging American opinion favourable to the Allied war effort and countering the strong isolationist trend then current in the USA. Here again, her path crossed that of Lester Pearson, who was Minister in the Canadian Embassy in Washington at the time.

In 1944, as the war was drawing to a close, McGeachy returned to her internationalist interests by joining the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. There she worked for two years on the crucial job of assisting the repatriation of millions of refugees, as the only woman executive in UNRRA.

From such a beginning one might have expected a solid international career, culminating in a senior diplomatic or UN rank. Instead, McGeachy abruptly moved in 1946 to work in the voluntary sector. Although she had a respectable career there, including a term as President of the International Council of Women, she largely vanished from the public eye. The reason was a simple one, common to many educated working women of her generation — she married.

In spite of that conventional ending, McGeachy was in many ways ahead of her time. She was a committed multilateralist at a time when the government of Canada

was most decidedly not. She understood the importance of economic factors in international cooperation and in foreign policy. She believed that international aid was a two-way street, that self-help and democratization were key elements of economic development and post-conflict reconstruction, and that non-governmental organizations played an important role. She was concerned in her work for UNRRA to ensure a proper transition from emergency aid to long-term development. One could say Mary McGeachy had all the intellectual qualifications to be, say, an Ambassador to the UN in the 1990s.

It is a great credit to Kinnear that she has tracked down this fascinating woman and rescued her mixed but ground-breaking career from obscurity on the basis of patchy records. (McGeachy destroyed many of her own and her husband's personal papers in later life.) From these Kinnear has produced not so much a traditional life history as a thematic biography. Elements of historical context and gender analysis are woven in so that they clarify without overwhelming the reader. While the prose is sometimes dry — it would be hard for any writer to make the details of the League of Nations or the International Council of Women structures exciting reading — it is always clear and intelligent. The one real drawback to the thematic approach is that it requires some repetition. This is further exacerbated by Kinnear's tendency to underestimate the retentive powers of her reader, providing unnecessary references to events already described or to commonly known historic events.

These are minor criticisms, however, of a book that paints an interesting picture not only of McGeachy's life, but also of the times she lived in. For those interested in Canadian foreign policy, Canada's inter-war ambivalence towards international engagement may come as a surprise. Kinnear draws a convincing link between the emergence of Canadian nationalism and the activist stance we now associate with Canadian foreign policy.

More generally, the description of international cooperation in the inter-war years and in the immediate aftermath of World War II shows striking parallels with post-Cold War diplomacy. Issues typical of the "new" international agenda of the 1990s, such as trafficking in women, children's rights and the illicit drug trade, were all high on the agenda of the League of Nations. Moreover, the League was, on

paper at least, one of the first international equal opportunity employers. Its numerous women staffers received equal pay and the right to maternity leave, and were not required to resign if they married — the latter a right only granted by the Department of External Affairs in the 1970s. At the same time, the League was very much of its era in that many capable women, McGeachy among them, were passed over for promotion in favour of male colleagues.

Other aspects of McGeachy's career also have resonance today. The debate within UNRRA about local versus American approaches to post-war reconstruction has eerie echoes in the situation in Iraq. The inter-war years saw great activism by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) interested in international issues, similar to the current similar surge in NGO activity. Kinnear is able, through the prism of McGeachy's career, to throw light in particular on the development of the international women's movement and its role in international politics, including the disarmament and peace movements. This is more easily traced because of the gender-based discrimination that held sway in many NGOs at that time. The Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Association of Canadian Clubs, for example, did not admit women in the inter-war years, so women of an internationalist bent had to join or form their own associations. The International Council of Women, where McGeachy worked latterly, sprang from this tradition of all-female internationalist organizations. Both the social conservatism of the 1950s, and the feminist movement of the 1970s, however, served to make groups like the ICW less influential over time.

It is a sad irony that, having left her professional career for married life, McGeachy was far less successful in the latter than in the former. Her husband committed suicide in 1967 and her relationship with her two adopted children was difficult. Although she rose to the presidency of the ICW from 1963 to 1973, one cannot help wondering what her later life and career would have been like if she had remained at the UN. Perhaps then we would indeed be citing her name alongside that of other notables as a pioneer of multilateralism and of international economic cooperation. As it is, we have Mary Kinnear to thank for bringing to light a fascinating figure from the early days of Canada's internationalist vocation. ☺

MITHRADATES

He Died Old

by Roger Lucy



Great Empires do not always have it their own way. Opponents will appear on the periphery who rally the opposition and resist all efforts to remove them. The British were faced with various elusive madhis and mad mullahs on the North West Frontier and in the Horn of Africa. Saddam Hussein — for a time — and bin Laden are the American Empire's manifestation of the type. Even in Canada, we had our very own Louis Riel. The Romans, of course, had their share of these — Caracatus in Britain, and Arminius, who destroyed three legions and threw the Romans back to the Rhine. In the last century of the Roman Republic, one figure stood out — the king of Pontus, Mithradates VI Eupator. A sworn enemy of Rome, he exploited and indeed exacerbated the weaknesses of its highly competitive, avaricious political system. In doing so, he made, and helped break, the careers of many of Rome's most influential figures, setting events on a course that would shipwreck the Republic and lead to the emergence of the Imperial system.

Pontus was a rugged but fertile, well-forested and mineral-rich region, on the south shore of the Black Sea. While they had acquired over the years a veneer of Hellenistic civilization and used Greek as their official language, kings of Pontus were descended from minor aristocrats whom the Persians had ensconced in western Asia Minor. The dynasty's founder, Mithradates I, had not only survived Alexander's wreck of the Persian empire, but had exploited the chaos which followed to carve out a kingdom. The first five Mithradates had gradually extended their domain until it encompassed most of what is now northern Turkey. Mithradates' father, Mithradates V Euergetes (the benefactor), was particularly skillful in achieving territorial rewards by playing loyal ally to the Romans. Where gratitude did not suffice, he discovered a few well placed bribes could also win the favorable consideration of Pontine claims by Senatorial commissions.

Unfortunately Euergetes died prematurely of poison in 120 BC, when young Mithradates was only 11. His mother favoured his younger brother, Pharnaces, and Mithradates fled to the hills. There he reportedly spent seven years doing physical training, learning the many languages of the Pontic interior (reportedly he knew over 20) and — by taking homeopathic doses of poison — building up his immunity, to avoid his father's fate. In due course he returned to overthrow his mother in a coup. He then

imprisoned and eventually killed her and his brother. Mithradates spent the next 20 years following the family tradition of territorial aggrandizement. Parisades, king of Bosporus (the Crimea and neighbouring regions), asked Mithradates to help him fight off nomad attacks. Soon after, Parisades conveniently died and Mithradates annexed the kingdom. He also conquered Colchis (the coastal region of Georgia) and enclaves along the western coast of the Black Sea. These regions, rich in natural resources and warlike peoples, strengthened Pontus' military and naval capacities. In Asia Minor, Mithradates followed the family tradition of expansion into Cappadocia, Galatia and Phrygia to the south, and Bithynia to the west.

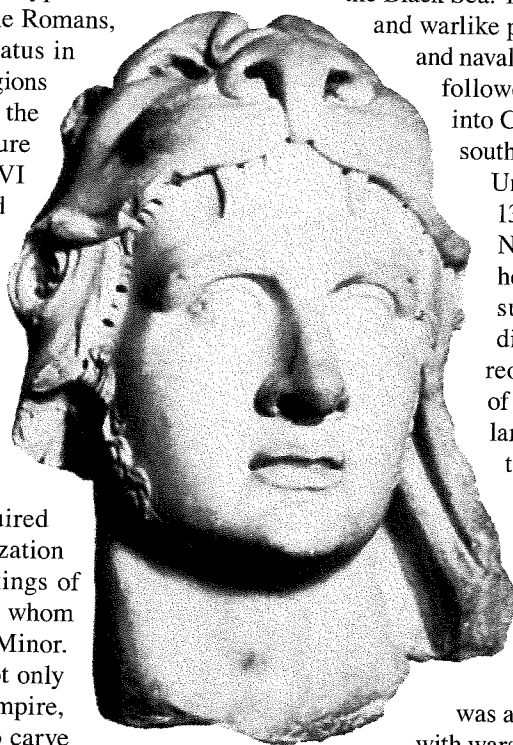
Unfortunately things had changed. In 133 Eumenes III of Pergamon had died. Not liking any of his potential heirs, he willed his kingdom to Rome. After suppressing those Pergamines who disliked this development, the Romans reorganized Pergamon as the province of Asia. Ensconced on the Asian mainland, the Romans had little time for the territorial ambitions of local dynasts.

Indeed, during Mithradates' minority, the Romans had repossessed parts of Phrygia they had granted to his father. Mithradates, undaunted, continued his encroachments, promptly retreating whenever the Romans bothered to protest. He

was able to exploit Roman preoccupations with wars in Spain and North Africa; the threat posed by the barbarian Cimbri and Teutones to

northern Italy; and the so-called "Social War" — a revolt of Rome's Italian allies, which only ended in 88 BC after the Romans conceded citizenship to them.

Mithradates' depredations came at the cost of growing Roman irritation. In 89 BC the Senate sent Marius Aquilius, a former consul, to Asia to ensure Mithradates withdrew from territories he had occupied. While Mithradates, as usual, complied, Aquilius decided to profit from the occasion by asking the Kings of Bithynia and Cappadocia to pay for the privilege of being liberated. (There is some question as to whether this reimbursement was actually intended for the Roman treasury.) When the kings pleaded poverty, Aquilius suggested they get the money by attacking Pontus. Aquilius offered to provide support for this effort, although the Senate had not authorized him to take military action. The result was a disaster with incalculable consequences.



Mithradates demolished the Bithynian army. He then defeated Aquilius, who had few actual Roman troops under command, but many less than enthusiastic local levies. Aquilius was captured and brutally executed. In the face of these defeats, other Roman-sponsored forces deployed around Pontus' borders fell back, abandoning most of Asia Minor to Mithradates.

Mithradates spent the year 88 BC consolidating his rule, offering a five-year tax holiday to those cities of Asia which submitted to him. On hearing that the Roman Senate had formally declared war on him, he then went for broke by ordering the slaughter of all Romans in Asia Minor. Most cities were happy to comply. Rome's revenues from the province of Asia had been collected by *Publicani*, private contractors who agreed to provide a fixed sum for the Roman treasury while keeping whatever extra they could collect. Their extortionate ways had done nothing to win hearts and minds. In the ensuing massacre, some 80,000 Romans and Italians are said to have perished. Even if this was — as such figures usually are — a gross exaggeration, the cities of Asia Minor were now utterly compromised, with seemingly no choice but to fight for Mithradates. The only hold-outs were privileged cities such as Troy (Rome's legendary homeland) and Rome's loyal, if much abused, ally Rhodes (See *All Rhodes Lead to Rome*, **bout** Vol. 18, No. 4). The revolt spread across the Aegean to Greece. Juntas in Athens, Sparta and Thebes overthrew pro-Roman regimes and rallied to Mithradates. Rhodes, now refuge to many Roman fugitives, held fast in an epic siege. Some other cities in southwest Anatolia also remained loyal and resisted Mithradates. Less fortunate was the free port of Delos. Having resisted Mithradates' immediate attack, it was captured by the Athenians. Again the large Italian merchant community there (reportedly some 20,000) was put to the sword.

While the normal Roman response to a revolt was to counter-attack — as quickly as possible — pressing until the rebels submitted unconditionally, more than a year was to pass before anything happened. Two generals, Cornelius Sulla and Gaius Marius, demanded the honour and glory of commanding the war against Mithradates. Both had had past dealings with him; Marius had once warned Mithradates that unless he could make Pontus more powerful than Rome, he had better do as he was told. Sulla, as governor of Cilicia in the southern Asia Minor had been involved in earlier efforts to ease Mithradates out of Cappadocia. Marius and Sulla had long been bitter rivals. Marius, a self-made man, had won an unprecedented five consulships, largely by exploiting the perceived threat posed by the Cimbri and Teutones as they blundered around Gaul. Sulla, the scion of an ancient but *nouveau pauvre* Patrician family, was a hero of the Social War.

Republican Rome's constitution was what the historian Polybius called a "mixed" one. The popular assembly elected the annual magistrates and could vote on legislative proposals (plebiscites). The oligarchic Senate, comprising former magistrates, normally decided on questions of peace and war: the assignment of provinces and the ratification of treaties. The Senate awarded Sulla, one of the Consuls for 88 and still in command of an experienced army, the command against Mithradates. But while Sulla was out of Rome organizing his army, Marius rigged a plebiscite to award himself the command. Sulla's reaction was unprecedented (but oft to be repeated) — he staged a march on Rome. Finding the presence of five legions insufficient to induce Marius and his supporters to back down, Sulla forced his way into the city. Legally magistrates could only enter Rome with their troops if

awarded a triumph. Marius fled, and after not a few adventures, reached North Africa, where he brooded among the salt-strewn ruins of Carthage (destroyed by the Romans in 143 BC). Sulla purged Marius' supporters, packed the Senate with his own, and rewrote the Constitution to ensure only the Senate could initiate laws. Assuming his home base was secure, Sulla then departed for Greece, arriving in the fall of 87.

Sulla's first objective was to secure Athens and its port Piraeus. The latter, held by Mithradates' general Archelaus, was the tougher nut. As Sulla had no fleet, Mithradates could reinforce and provision the base by sea. Meanwhile Athens starved, while Sulla ravaged the sacred groves of the Academe and the Lycaean for wood to build his siege engines. Sulla also plundered the great temples of Delphi, Olympia and Epidaurus for ready cash, while his quaestor, Lucullus, was dispatched to scour the eastern Mediterranean to assemble ships for a war fleet. On March 1, 86, Sulla stormed Athens — by now its population reduced to cannibalism — and, as is the wont of rising powers whose cultural mentors have not measured up, subjected the city to massacre and a brutal sack. He did refrain from burning it. A fortnight later, Mithradates' general Archelaus abandoned Piraeus and sailed off with his fleet. Sulla devastated the port, destroying its famous naval installations. The pro-Mithradatic junta held out a while longer on the Acropolis, but eventually surrendered and was executed. Athens' days as a would-be power were forever over. Its future under Roman rule was to be that of university centre and tourist trap.

Sulla now found himself facing a double threat. While he had been able to pack the Senate, he had failed to rig the Consular election. Cinna, one of the Consuls for 87, was a Marian and while he pledged good behaviour in Sulla's absence, he soon reneged and staged his own march on Rome, recalling Marius from Africa. Sulla's supporters were in turn purged. Cinna and Marius had themselves elected as the Consuls for 86. A month into his sixth term, Marius died. Flaccus, his successor, was dispatched to Asia, with two legions, to confront Mithradates and, should the occasion arise, Sulla. Meanwhile Mithradates had sent a large army under his son Ariarathes overland from Asia. Ariarathes brushed aside the Roman garrison in Macedonia and in the summer of 86 descended on central Greece. When he died of fever, the former commander at Piraeus, Archelaus, took command. Sulla marched north, decisively defeated Archelaus and penned him up on the island of Euboea.

Archelaus opened negotiations and persuaded Sulla to offer generous terms so he could get on with dealing with Cinna. Sulla saw the logic of this. Rather than requiring that Mithradates unconditionally surrender, he was willing to accept 2000 talents (60 tons of silver), the hand-over of 70 fully equipped ships, the surrender of Roman prisoners and deserters, and evacuation of all territories Mithradates had occupied. In return, Mithradates would be confirmed as King of Pontus and even recognized as a Friend and Ally of the Roman People. Mithradates, still hoping to hold on to his Asia conquests, was reluctant to accept. His mind was soon concentrated. Ignoring Sulla, the Marian army (now under Fimbria, who had assassinated Flaccus) traversed the Balkans and crossed over to Asia, sacking cities as it went. Mithradates only escaped capture because Lucullus, sailing to Byzantium with his borrowed fleet, refused to cooperate with Fimbria. Lucullus now conveyed Sulla's army across the straits, even as many of the city states of Asia, regretting their support for Mithradates

rose in revolt. Bowing to the inevitable, Mithradates met Sulla at Dardanus, near Troy, in the autumn of 85. After a free and frank appraisal by Sulla of Mithradates' future should he not accept his terms, the two war criminals (even by the standards of the first century BC) sealed their agreement with a kiss. It was a verbal agreement, which, to Mithradates' later regret, was to give the Senate valid grounds to refuse to ratify it.

Sulla spent the next two years restoring Roman rule in the region, demanding the up-front payment of five years' worth of back taxes, and levying a war indemnity of 20,000 talents. City leaders who had backed Mithradates (and the massacres) were relentlessly purged. Cities which resisted were sacked and their populations massacred or enslaved. Greece and western Asia Minor were beggared for a generation. Fimbra's troops deemed it prudent to assassinate their commander and rally to Sulla, who left them to garrison Asia. In 83 Sulla sailed back to Italy to deal with Cinna. While Cinna's troops assassinated him rather than face Sulla's legions, others of the Marian faction opted to resist. Once again, Sulla had to take Rome by force. After the usual purges of leading citizens, on an even greater and more systematic scale than ever before, Sulla was appointed Dictator in perpetuity. Having rearranged the Republic to his liking, he retired to write his memoirs and died — in bed — in 78.

Once Sulla had left Asia, his legate Murena decided to try his luck with Mithradates. Interpreting Mithradates' tardy withdrawal from Cappadocia as a material breach of the treaty, he invaded Pontus in 82. Murena, however, was no Sulla and was soundly defeated by Mithradates. Sulla ordered Murena to desist and had him replaced. Mithradates had no illusions that peace would persist, particularly after Sulla's death. He began to rearm and rebuild his fleet, building an alliance with the pirates who, in the wake of Sulla's depredations, were infesting the eastern Mediterranean. He also sought to make common cause with Quintus Sertorius, a Marian who had escaped to Spain and set up a shadow republic. In exchange for military advisors to modernize his army on Roman lines, Mithradates sent Sertorius 40 ships and 3,000 talents. This provocation — the Senate lived in dread of grand designs to encircle Rome — and the death of Nicomedes III of Bithynia, who willed his virtually untenable kingdom to Rome, made renewed war inevitable.

In 74, the Senate appointed both consuls to Asiatic commands, an almost unprecedented move. Marcus Aurelius Cotta got Bithynia, while Sulla's protégé, Lucullus, received Asia. Mithradates, in pre-emptive strike, bottled Cotta up in Cyzicus on the Sea of Marmora. Lucullus, however, was able to outmaneuver Mithradates, and, over the next few years, eased him out of Pontus, and into Armenia. Tigranes of Armenia, who while an ally of Mithradates had so far done little to help, refused to surrender him. In 70, without Senatorial authorization, Lucullus invaded Armenia. Greatly outnumbered (Tigranes described Lucullus' forces as "too small for an army, too big for an embassy"), Lucullus destroyed the Armenian army in a pitched battle.

Lucullus spent the next two years trying to dismantle Tigranes' kingdom, amassing much booty in the process. Mithradates, meanwhile, crept back into Pontus, and in the summer of 68 inflicted a major defeat on the occupation force left there by Lucullus. When Lucullus attempted to counter-attack, his troops, worn out by fruitless campaigning, went on strike. Lucullus and Mithradates each found themselves back where they had started in 74. When not pursuing Mithradates and Tigranes, Lucullus attempted to

undo some of the damage Sulla had wrought on Asia, particularly by reducing the crushing debt burden many cities had to bear to meet their reparations payments. This struck at the interests of the *Publicani*, who, despite the massacre of 88, had come flocking back. They lobbied the Senate to have Lucullus removed, his setbacks providing the excuse to relieve him of his command.

In 67, a plebiscite had awarded Pompey, another of Sulla's protégés, an extraordinary command to sweep the seas of pirates, who had grown from a nuisance to a serious threat to Rome's food supply. When Pompey succeeded in record time, a new plebiscite gave him Lucullus' command, including Armenia and points east, as well as massive reinforcements. Lucullus was sent on gardening leave (indeed the fish ponds he built with his booty became the stuff of legend). Failing to persuade Mithradates to make a formal submission, Pompey, more by weight of numbers, than by military skill, chased him out of Pontus. In 65, after an adventurous retreat through the tribal lands of the Caucasus, Mithradates reached the Crimea, held by his son Pharnaces. For the time being, Pompey was content to leave him there, while he went marching through Georgia and Armenia. Rumours, however, started to circulate that Mithradates was hatching a grand design to raise an army of Celts and Scythians that would sweep around the Black Sea and up the Danube to invade Italy. The Romans let his son Pharnaces know that he could expect to be reinstalled in Pontus as a Friend and Ally of the Roman People if he would do the right thing. In 63 BC, after a reign of 57 years, Mithradates realized the end had finally come. He tried to take poison, but the immunization course taken in his youth was still effective. In the end, a Gallic bodyguard put him to the sword. Pompey gave him a state funeral and then set off to conquer Syria and Judea.

Mithradates had recognized and skillfully exploited many of the weaknesses of the Roman system: the tendency of Roman politicians to subordinate long-term goals for short-term gain; the resentment among subject peoples caused by the rapacity and venality of their provincial administration; and the distractions created by events in other theatres. He made good use of Pontus' central position and effectively mobilized its human and material resources. He was persistent, tenacious and able to overcome crises. However, he was all too prone to overreach himself. His officials proved as rapacious as any Roman Publican and, unable to provide the peoples of Asia Minor with an acceptable alternative to Roman rule, he soon lost much of their support. Blinded by his hatred of Rome and overly impressed by his own successes and the seemingly invincible forces he was able to muster, he was unable to grasp the sheer overwhelming magnitude of Roman power.

Pharnaces II ruled Pontus in relative peace for the next 20 years, until his patron Pompey went to war with Julius Caesar. In 42, having finished off Pompey and established Cleopatra in Egypt, Caesar invaded Pontus. He defeated Pharnaces, in a one short but savage battle, and summed it all up in that most famous of despatches: *Veni, Vidi, Vici* — I came, I saw, I conquered. ☺

Roger Lucy recently retired after 33 years with External/Foreign Affairs. As well as postings in Chicago, Tehran, Oslo and Port of Spain, he has survived two secondments and several reorganizations of the various units to which he belonged. Roger was three times awarded a RHOMA prize for his **bout** articles on "dark age diplomacy." Roger welcomes your comments, questions and suggestions for future articles — he can be contacted at galea.hortus@sympatico.ca.

REMEMBERING ZAWICHOST



Chiel's Kaddish

by Eric Bergbusch

During my final days in Warsaw in 1989, a Canadian from Montréal came into the embassy unannounced and asked to see me. That was how I came to meet a remarkable man and to visit an unusual town.

Our meeting came at a time of deep uncertainty in Poland. The country had just held its first more-or-less free election in over 50 years. A Solidarnosz-led government, newly installed, was feeling its way along a path never followed before. The Cold War was fading away in Warsaw and Budapest, but the next steps were risky and unpredictable. The collapse of the Berlin Wall, weeks ahead, was still unforeseen.

Warsaw, 16 August 1989.

Chiel Weinbaum stepped into my office, a big, good-looking, light-haired man in his mid-sixties, well-dressed in a dark blue blazer, striped shirt and grey slacks. He walked lightly with an athlete's or dancer's grace. We shook hands and he introduced his wife, Bunny. After brief courtesies, he got down to business.

This was Chiel Weinbaum's third trip to Poland, but he had not before called at the embassy. He had first returned to his birthplace, Zawichost, in 1987 to see what remained of it and the Jewish community. Zawichost had been a



substantial place, almost 5000 people, before the war. Half had been Jews — half the town was gone. All the Jews who had lived there were dead but for three people living elsewhere. And he was one of them.

To mark that loss, he had proposed to the mayor and others, during his first trip back, that a memorial be erected in the old Jewish cemetery, and that the cemetery itself be enclosed by a suitable fence and cared for as a place of remembrance. The mayor and the *voivod* (provincial governor) had agreed to undertake this work, drawing on their municipal budgets. On his second trip, in 1988, he had brought a bronze sculpture he had commissioned in Montréal to top off the monument. Now he wanted me to attend the dedication of the monument on the coming Sunday. The USSR embassy would be represented there; he had also approached the American ambassador and spoken to the representative of Israel.

He offered an explanation before I could ask. The Russians were coming because they had saved many in liberating the death camps in Poland. The Americans were invited because they, too, had liberated death camps and helped to free Europe. The United States and the Soviet Union together had destroyed the Nazi regime: he would never forget that. And he believed in cooperation between them, not war. That made it all the more important that Canada, his own country, be represented. Senior Polish officials would be there.

It was an unusual request. In Canada, a tide of remembrance had been flowing among the generation of Jews that had fled Poland after the Holocaust. In recent months, a number of groups had come to mark the 45th anniversaries of the Ghetto and Warsaw Uprisings, and to take part in the unveiling of a memorial at the Umschlagplatz, the rail station and transfer point from which the Jews of Warsaw had been shipped to their deaths in Treblinka. Many had come with great pain and hesitation, having foresworn the places where they had suffered heartbreak in their youth. Yet, growing frail, they had felt obliged to show to themselves and to all the world that they were undefeated and that their loved ones who had died would never be forgotten. Some had come only with family or friends to revisit once, before they died, the homes torn from them and the camps where horrors had happened which they could never forget.

This was a different case and outside my experience. Who had ever heard of a private person coming to Communist Poland — the remnants of martial law still in place — and prevailing upon a local authority to pay for a project that offered no economic return and evoked a bitter past? Poland in the late eighties was not an easy place in which to get things done, privately or officially. If you found

your way round the disruptions and strikes, the acute shortages, the tangle of financial and other regulations, you would still need to get past the bland obduracy of Communist officialdom. Chiel Weinbaum, it seemed, had succeeded where others had failed.

The Holocaust annihilated all of Chiel's family and destroyed the life he had known in Zawichost.

one of the places where the Polish hydrographic service kept track of water levels. I was to learn more.

Refuge: In Another Country

The arrival in 1946 of Canadian immigration officers sent a wave of excitement through the displaced persons camp to which Chiel Weinbaum had been assigned after his escape from the Holocaust. The people there were a mixed group, some fleeing Nazi death camps, others Soviet rule. What they had in common was a dream of safe haven in a distant land. The news spread quickly that the Canadian authorities were looking for lumberjacks, not townspeople, Canada's traditional preferences and prejudices with respect to immigrants being still alive.

Chiel told a radio interviewer in the 1980s what happened when he was called in. The immigration officer asked whether he had ever worked in the woods. Chiel showed him his arms and said, "I've cut down lots of trees and I can cut more!" Give him an axe and saw and he would show the official how it was done. Lean, muscular, and 23 years old, he fit the immigration authorities' profile. Months later, Chiel came to New York on an immigrant ship, travelled to Canada, and went to his designated place of employment. That was a north woods logging camp near Cameron Falls, an Ontario Hydro dam site just below Lake Nipigon.

Another camp. It was a dispiriting start for Chiel after what had gone before. However, Jewish families in the nearest cities provided welcome invitations and assistance. After fulfilling his obligations, Chiel moved to Montréal and in time took up the butcher's trade in which he made his living. As the years passed, he married and had children. Then he divorced, remarried, and acquired stepchildren as well. He took part in his community as others around him did. He liked singing and dancing, he liked shows and, when an opportunity arose, he enjoyed performing himself. It was, one might say, an ordinary Canadian life.

The story was remarkable and compelling. I said yes, I would come — to an obscure town, little more than a village, more than two hours from Warsaw. No one at the embassy knew much about Zawichost when I asked, except that it was on Poland's great river, the Wisla (Vistula), and that it was

Yet Chiel Weinbaum came to embrace his country, his province and his city — Canada, Québec and Montréal — and what they stood for, in no ordinary way. He rejoiced in the charters of rights that Canada and Québec adopted in the 1980s, charters which affirmed freedoms and protections for all, regardless of their origins, affiliations or beliefs. He habitually carried in his wallet a crumpled copy of Québec's Charter of Rights, bearing the signature of Premier René Levesque. Not that he accepted Levesque's separatist program. It was rather that, for Chiel, his province's endorsement of humane values transcended political agendas. So he gladly preserved among his papers both the Québec charter and a photo of the time he met Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau in the company of his local Member of Parliament.

To Zawichost, 20 August 1989.

My son, Tom, back from volunteer service in Brazil, joined me for the trip to Zawichost that Sunday. The river road, following the winds of the Vistula, took us across the rising plain shining green and gold in the morning sun. From time to time we passed through dusty villages and sandy hills.

Zawichost, when we got there, looked much like the other towns along the river — an array of plastered houses strung along a few curving streets. The plain town hall was finished in similar materials. Cars were parked before it and we went inside. The invited guests were already there, except for the Americans and Israelis who had not made it. Chiel Weinbaum came forward and introduced us to the others: Tadeusz Malara, the dapper mayor in horn-rimmed glasses, Boguslaw Zawiec, the tall greying voivod with polished manners, Eugeniusz Usenko, the Soviet consul, reserved and cautious, together with other officials and friends of Chiel from pre-war days. One couple stood out. They were weather-beaten, dressed in plain country clothes and ill at ease among the officials and professional people gathered there.

Chiel explained that this couple, the Brodas, had taken him in as he desperately looked for shelter after the round-up of Jews in Zawichost in 1942. Michal Starzyk, an eye-witness, draws a picture of drunken German soldiers driving Jews through the streets of Zawichost and on to the train station in Dwikozy, a neighbouring village. Fleeing the Germans, Chiel had found his way to the Broda farm near Dwikozy and had asked them if he, a Jew, could stay and work for them. They had agreed, and he had remained there for the next six months.

In the townhall, the Brodas looked at Chiel, a prosperous figure from a distant land, with a mix of wonderment and respect. Mrs. Broda wept at the memory of those times. Chiel bent and said a few words to them in Polish and then turned to the mayor. It was time to start. We finished our coffee and set off down the street, a straggling line of officials and guests on their way to the cemetery. The Brodas trailed behind.

The Jewish Cemetery

As we went along, we joined a growing crowd. It was astonishing to see hundreds of people ahead of us in this small place and more joining as we walked. It was like a crowd approaching a baseball stadium in a large, prairie town. There were children marching with their parents in their Sunday best and others running about in casual clothes. Some townspeople stopped and, watching, let us pass by.

Then the cemetery came into view, formally and solidly enclosed by a fence made of stone pillars and iron grills. During their time here, the Nazis had not only defiled the cemetery but tried to remove every sign of its existence. Trees were cut down, the fence and gravestones smashed, and some of the graves dug up — acts of blind malice in an orgy of destruction. The rubble, including skulls and bones, had been taken away to repair roads and to ballast the temporary railway spur the Germans were building to haul Jews to their deaths.



*A Jewish gravestone,
prepared but never used, which
had escaped destruction, had
been incorporated into the base
of the monument.*



After the war, the local council kept the cemetery as a place of remembrance and planted trees there to mark the place. Otherwise, it was left untended and unused. By the time Chiel Weinbaum arrived, in 1987, some townspeople had come to see this empty, unused park as a possible site for a new football pitch and sportsground. It was not immediately evident to these individuals — any more than it is to North Americans who dismiss native burial sites — why one should preserve the unmarked graves of people who had disappeared years ago.

As we walked through the gates into a grove of mature Russian poplars, it seemed both a lonely and a populated spot, a strange, hypnotic setting for the ceremony that was to follow. The slanting sun blazed down from a cloudless, purple sky, casting lengthening shadows. A fierce breeze shook the poplars from side to side, countering the heat of the sun. Behind us, we sensed the pulse of Poland's great river, catspaws scudding across its surface.

A Haunting Memorial

The monument stood at the centre, a pillar of dressed stone, three metres high. A Jewish gravestone, prepared but never used, which had escaped destruction, had been incorporated into the base of the monument. Above it was a plaque inscribed with names and, at the top, a dramatic bronze sculpture by the Montréal artist, Myer Erman, the sculpture which Chiel had commissioned. Flames raged from the bottom of the sculpture around four figures, burning but never consuming a woman, two workmen and a Polish soldier bearing the insignia of the Jewish resistance. Their arms reached upwards in gestures of pain and triumph. A message beyond words.

Earlier that day, Chiel and his friends had covered the front of the monument with an Israeli flag and intersecting streamers in red-and-white and blue-and-white, symbolizing Poland and the Jewish people. Below and to the right were a large Canadian flag and several smaller ones. Six large candles stood before the monument and a space had been left for other smaller ones.

The press of people grew as we assembled for the ceremony. The crowd now stretched as far as I could see from the front of the monument, perhaps 2000 or more. Those near were very attentive, others stood more casually near the gates to the cemetery, or attended to their children at the back. A group of nuns stood discreetly on one side.

I had not expected anything like this. Chiel later explained part of it. Wanting candles for the ceremony, he had gone to the Catholic church and asked if he could buy six large candles to be lit by special guests at the ceremony. The nuns gave him the candles and the priest followed up on his own. During mass on Sunday morning, he suggested to his parishioners that they might wish to join their former neighbour, "Chilek" Weinbaum (using the Polish diminutive) at the cemetery's re-dedication that afternoon.

Virtually the whole town had come and many, too, from neighbouring villages. (A few of the older people may have recalled the occasion, fifty years earlier, when "Chilek" had slipped into the back of the church during mass to elude German pursuers and the then priest, Father Cholonski, had signalled him to hide behind the altar and thus make his escape.)

The parish priest's counsel was certainly one reason why they came, but there were others, too. Their consciousness of the terrible past unquestionably played a part. So did the active support which the mayor, the council, and the voivod had lent to the project. For many, in addition to these, there was "Chilek" himself.

Chilek

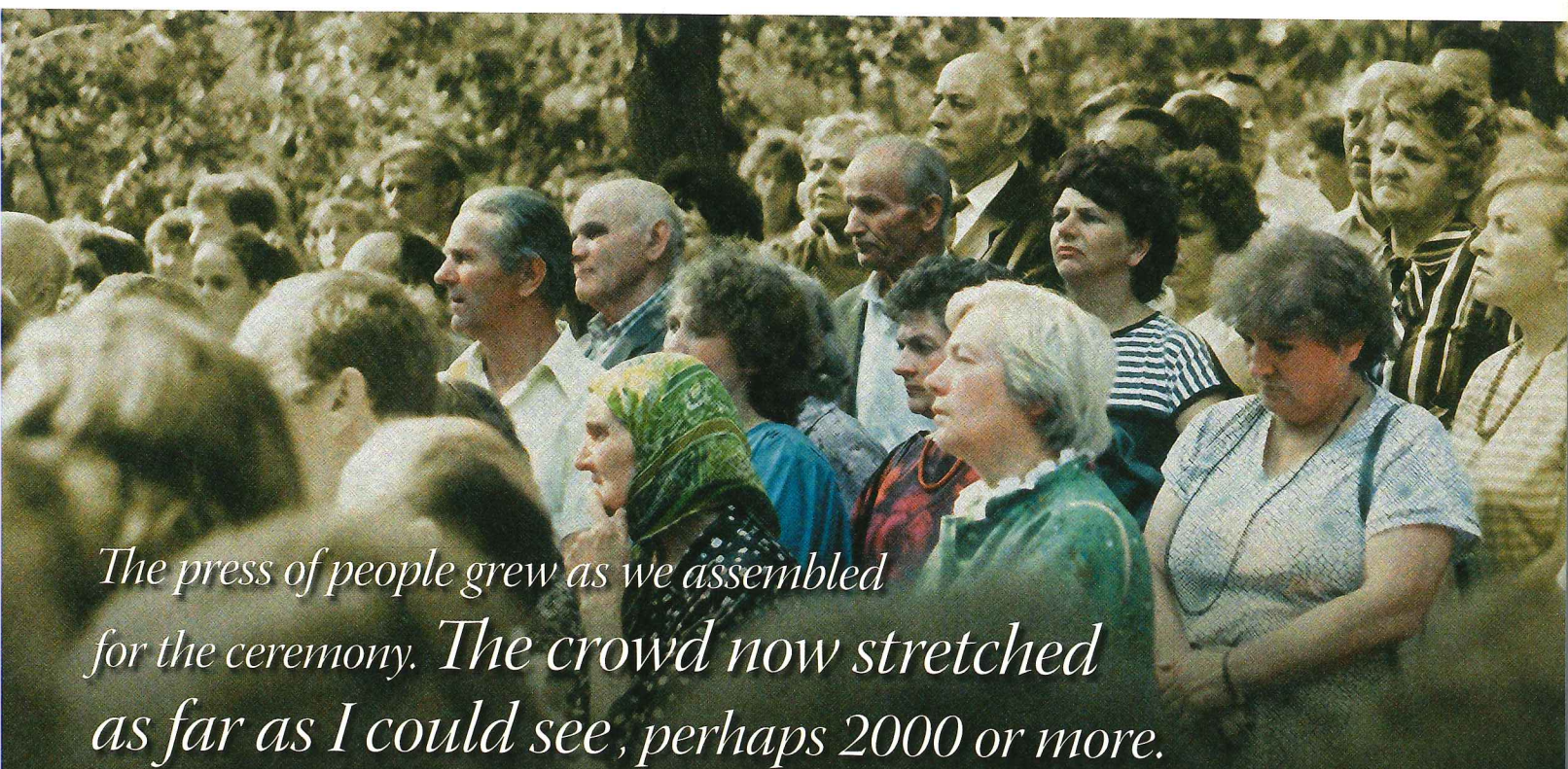
Chiel's contemporaries remembered him as an energetic outgoing boy running about town. He was strong and husky, indeed a bit plump; his friends called him "Chubby Chilek" at the Polish school he attended with his elder sisters. Full of fun, he joked and laughed and loved to sing. On hot days, he and Stanislaw and Stefan Karbasz, the water inspector's sons, dived and swam under the willows that line the Vistula. Like Chilek himself, they lived in Deep Street (Gleboka Droga), which ran from "Jewish Town" down to the river. There were other friends, too. Wacław and Janina Kolasa's dad was the town's blacksmith and both saw a lot of Chiel. When his family was rounded up by the Germans, Janina kept Chiel's mother's photograph safe from destruction. Fifty years later, now Janina Kozien and a practicing doctor, she gave back to Chiel the portrait she had saved for him.

And there was Michał Starzyk who lived almost next to the Weinbaums and, years later, became the town's historian. In letters

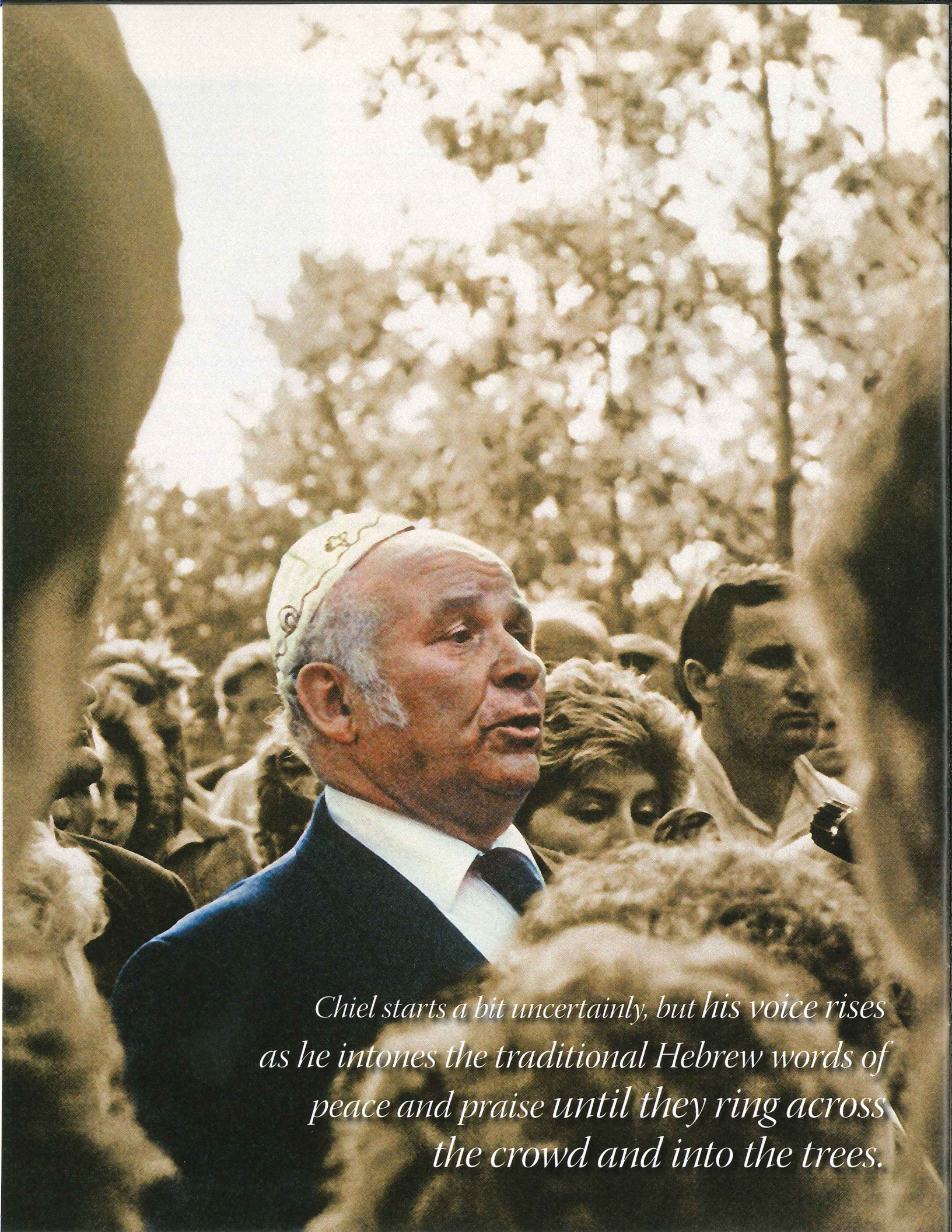
and in articles written for local newspapers, he recalled that Chiel's mother, a gifted seamstress and dressmaker, became seriously ill during the thirties when Chiel was in his early teens. That deepened the family's poverty and made it all the more necessary for the children to do what they could to help. Chiel's sisters sewed blouses, shirts and aprons to support the family. Chiel himself, who had already been delivering papers for the town's news agent, took on larger responsibilities. He increasingly helped his father in his trade, buying fish from local fishermen, storing them, and selling them house to house, especially to Jewish families for Shabbat. Sometimes he and his father would drive out to local farms, buy animals, and sell them to local butchers.

When he turned 16 in April 1939 Chiel stood almost six feet tall and he seemed even bigger because of his erect bearing and muscular build. Immediately on finishing primary school, he had sought work with Jan Kolasa, Wacław and Janina's father, whose smithy was an all-purpose shop for shoeing, iron-work, and mechanical repairs. Kolasa was glad to teach him the trade. Janina Kozien recalled her father holding Chiel up as a model to other apprentices for his dedication and skill. The skills he learned there probably saved his life. During the war, when captured by the Germans, he was initially sent to work in the aircraft factory in Mielec, and his youth and skills enhanced his chances of survival wherever he was sent in the following years.

Chiel's entry into a "gentile" trade did not, however, go unnoticed by less friendly neighbours. Janina and Chiel each recalled the occasion when the then-mayor of Zawichost passed Jan Kolasa's workshop and observed, with crude irony, "I did not know,



The press of people grew as we assembled for the ceremony. The crowd now stretched as far as I could see, perhaps 2000 or more.



Chiel starts a bit uncertainly, but his voice rises as he intones the traditional Hebrew words of peace and praise until they ring across the crowd and into the trees.

Jan, that you had opened a school for Jews!" Kolasa told the mayor to mind his own business.

Knowing both friendship and ignorant malice from an early age caused Chiel to value the one as much as he despised the other. Looking back, he remarked that common poverty had probably brought the Weinbaums and their neighbours in "Jewish Town" closer together. There had been no grounds for envy between them as there might have been with a wealthy Jewish family. Life in Zawichost contained these strange ambiguities. Two local Jews, one a decorated colonel in the Royal Polish army and the other a leading scientist and scholar, had been honoured years earlier by having streets named after them. A Jewish soldier was listed on the town's memorial to those who died fighting for Poland's independence after World War I. Yet prejudice still held sway in some people's minds.

1939 was also the year Chiel's beloved mother died. Having completed his apprenticeship, he was happy to get away and join his elder sister and her husband who ran a bicycle shop in Bereshnikov, a town not far from the border with Ukraine. He hoped to use his newly acquired skills in the cycle shop, but the German attack on Poland in September intervened. Aged sixteen, he made a quick political decision. Bereshnikov was in the part of Poland which was to be occupied by the Russians whereas Zawichost was to become German territory. He hurried back to Zawichost, intending to bring his family to Bereshnikov and the relative safety of Soviet rule.

It was not to be. The German forces got to Zawichost before he did. He crossed the river illegally, hiding in the water under the dock until the German patrols had passed. He found his family but it was impossible now to pass back into Soviet territory. The rest of the war was a nightmare struggle to help his family and to stay alive through captures, escapes and imprisonments. That fugitive life took him not only to Mielec but to five concentration camps, ending in Mauthausen, where he was finally set free by the American advance into Austria.

The Holocaust annihilated all of Chiel's family and destroyed the life he had known in Zawichost. All that remained when he came back in 1987 was a circle of friends and their vivid memories of "Chilek," the handsome, vigorous boy they had known. He could still engage, amuse and move them. They were eager to help him honour his family and the others in Zawichost who had died in the Holocaust.

Chiel's Kaddish; Zawichost's Remembrance

Chiel had reflected for many years how he might commemorate his family and the Jewish community in Zawichost. On his first return visit in 1987, he put his ideas to the Mayor of Zawichost, Tadeusz Malara, and the Voivod of Tarnobrzeg, Colonel Boguslaw Zawiec, and he was greatly heartened by their ready support. As he told the *Canadian Jewish News* in 1988, "[I] was

welcomed with open arms. Poland is not what it was. I found no anti-semitism, only friendship." He may have varnished reality a bit, but his words reflected the welcome accorded him.

There is no printed programme or evident plan for the proceedings as we gather in the cemetery. Nevertheless, everything proceeds smoothly, without awkwardness or hesitation. The town's officials and Chiel alternately take the lead.

There is a great hush as we begin. A number of us don the yarmulkas Chiel has brought with him. A town official introduces the guests of honour and invites each to light one of the six tapers standing before the memorial. We do so in turn, pausing and bowing our heads: the mayor first, then I, the USSR consul, the voivod, another official, and, finally, Bunny and Chiel Weinbaum. Then come the speeches. Malara, the mayor, gives a detailed account of the important part Jews have played in Poland's and Zawichost's history, from the reign of Mieszko I in the tenth century until their annihilation in the Holocaust a thousand years later.

Asked to speak, I recall that fifty years ago Canada entered the war days after Germany's brutal attack on Poland and fought for six years against a murderous tyranny which targeted Jews across Europe in the Holocaust and killed many Poles in Poland. It is profoundly fitting, I say, to raise a monument here to the people of Zawichost who died in the greatest crime history has known. I pay tribute to those who raised the monument and to all taking part: the townspeople who are here, the officials and, especially, the Brodas and the Weinbaums. May such crimes never be repeated.

The Soviet consul speaks in a similar vein. Then, the tall, distinguished voivod gives an elegant address. Drawing on a line from a well-known Polish air, "You shall yet return," he pays tribute to Chiel Weinbaum's courage and loyalty. Despite bitter experiences, he has come back to remember and honour those who died and to help his town do the same.

These words lead up to Chiel's own address. He speaks fluently, emotionally and directly to his townspeople. He recalls a happy childhood, close friends, the Karbaszes and others. He speaks of Nazi rule, the concentration camps, those who were lost in the Holocaust, and the other peoples of Europe who suffered under, and fought against, Nazi tyranny.

As he concludes, the master of ceremonies announces that Chiel will now say Kaddish, the Jewish prayer for the dead. Chiel starts a bit uncertainly, but his voice rises as he intones the traditional Hebrew words of peace and praise until they ring across the crowd and into the trees. All stand in rapt attention. Many fold their arms and bow their heads. Some dab at their eyes.

When Chiel finishes, we are called to observe two minutes of silence. As we stand in respect, the only sound is that of the poplars, on every side, shaking in the wind. Then Chiel asks for help

Chiel's Home: Zawichost Before the War

Though an obscure place now, Zawichost turned out to have a long and eventful history. The town's historian, Michal Starzyk, provides a lively account of its past in *My Take on Zawichost's History* (Moje srojenie na dzieje Zawichostu).

a charter authorizing Jews to settle in what was dubbed the "New Town." This authorization of permanent Jewish settlement was initially opposed by the Clarist Sisters at St. Andrew's Convent in Krakow who collected rents from

"the Christians here, as everywhere, complain that the Jews are taking away their trade." In the twentieth century, a bakery added "Christian" to its name in an effort to draw custom from its Jewish competitors.

Yet the changing pattern of settlement before World War II tells a story which has parallels in North America. Poor Polish peasants moving into town usually settled in the "Jewish Town;" housing was cheaper there. Meanwhile, Jewish business and professional people were moving out, building or buying homes among Catholic neighbours in the more spacious "Polish Town." The Jewish community's growing involvement in the town's civic life is perhaps best attested by the list of those who served on the town council in the early 1930s. Of the town's nine councillors, four were Jews (Binsztok, Cytrynbaum, Kirszenbaum and Orensztayn). By then Zawichost's population was nearly 5000 and more than half were Jews. The proportion of Jews on the council was, in effect, a straightforward electoral result which roughly mirrored the town's demography — perhaps for the first time. Socially and politically, these seem to have been the most harmonious years Zawichost was to know before the Holocaust tore it in two, killing half of its people. That town, with growing interaction between the communities, was the town in which Chiel grew up.

Founded in the eleventh century, Zawichost grew to be a place of local importance in later years, at times rivalling the regional centre of Sandomierz. Its strategic position at a crossing-point on the Vistula was central to its life, with a toll house, ferry service and fishery dating from its early days. As it grew, the products of the local farms and mines also became important.

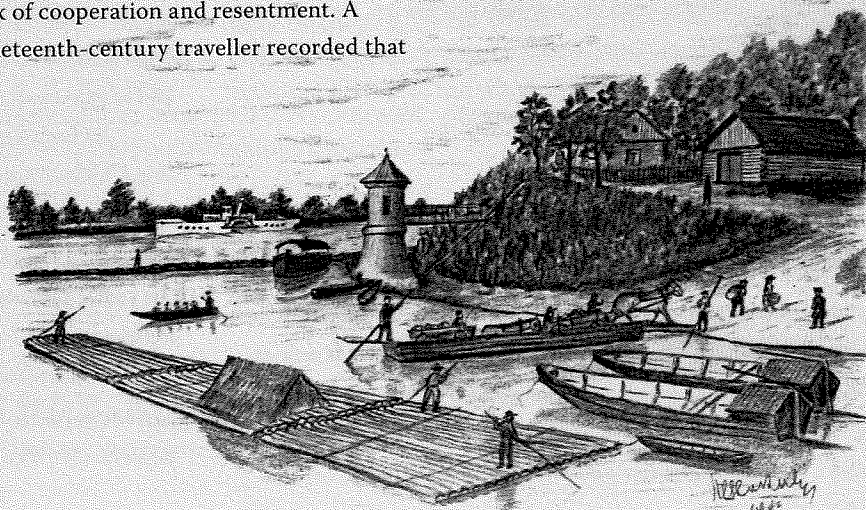
As a crossing point, Zawichost was particularly exposed to the marauding forces — Volhynian, Tartar, and Lithuanian — which roamed the Polish plain. From 1200 to 1502, it averaged a major raid every forty years. The greatest disruption came in 1657 when the royal Swedish army tore down the castle and levelled the town, the population falling from 1200 to 200.

Zawichost gradually built itself up again during the following century. Michal Starzyk draws a charming and curious picture of how far it had come by 1824. He cites a census of that year which lists 23 bars in the district, three with orchestras and one with a billiard table! Ten were run by Jews.

The Jews of Zawichost had, indeed, become an integral part of the story centuries earlier. Jewish merchants must have visited Zawichost before 1683, but in that year King John Sobieski granted

the land in question. The problem was quickly resolved, possibly by a payment to compensate them for their losses. The "New Town" which sprang up soon became part of Zawichost itself, first as "Prosperow" (after Prosper Zaluski, the man behind the project) and then as "Zydowskie Miasto" or "Jewish Town," a name heard today, even in the absence of Jews.

Zawichost grew intermittently during the latter part of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, and the Jewish community increasingly started ventures and made investments that added to its size and wealth. One well-to-do businessman helped to finance better wells and an improved water supply system. According to Starzyk, relations between Christians and Jews were an uncertain mix of cooperation and resentment. A nineteenth-century traveller recorded that



in unveiling the memorial. We pull the cords and the Israeli flag and the streamers fall away revealing the brass commemorative plaque and the gravestone below. There had been applause for the introductions and speeches, but now it is long and sustained.

Chiel introduces the next part of the programme. He sings *Hatikva*, the Israeli national anthem, in his resonant baritone, to honour the Jewish people; a few voices join in the elegiac final chorus, "Y-Tsi-on, / Yerushaly-y-im." Then the Canadians sing "O Canada" led by Tom and Chiel in tenor and baritone. When Chiel sounds the first bar of *March Dabrowski*, the song of the Polish legions and Poland's national anthem, the whole crowd joins in enthusiastically. Chiel completes the cycle by striking up a traditional air, which elicits laughter and fun.

The crowd therefore listens all the more intently to his final words. He thanks them soberly for coming and for supporting the project and, most of all, for remembering those who have no others to remember them. We have spent two intense hours here and Chiel's former townspeople have stayed to the end. Now they start to disperse, a striking cross-section of local society. Sunburnt, weather-beaten farmers in plain trousers and shirts, townspeople in contemporary dress, officials in suits and ties, all contrasting with the women's colourful summer dresses and the traditional black gowns of an earlier generation. The people of Zawichost have honoured Chiel, mourned Zawichost's epochal losses in the Holocaust, and recognized the grim past.

Chiel's Legacy: "Hate breeds hate"

Chiel was shocked and angered, in 1996, when he learned that the monument he had lovingly raised with his friends in Zawichost had been vandalized. The magnificent bronze sculpture at the top and the brass plate beneath were ripped away and stolen. Chiel feared this outrage might reflect renewed anti-semitism in Zawichost. The perpetrators were never found, nor can their motives now be known. Theft for resale may well have been their main intent, in trying times. But who would deliberately damage so handsome and sensitive a memorial, even in trying times?

His friends in Poland and the mayor and council of Zawichost were dismayed by this act of vandalism which cast a shadow over all they had done. They resolved to repair the damage as best they could. Chiel's friend, Michal Starzyk, took the lead. A gifted self-taught illustrator as well as writer, he designed a brass sculpture of a Star of David and a stone plaque showing a Menorah to replace the missing items. The mayor and council had the new designs made and the repairs were completed in 1997. The result is a fitting and respectful memorial, even if it fails to match the poignancy and grace of the original design. By the time it was

repaired, Chiel was no longer as vigorous as he had been and he did not get to see it again. Yet it was done, in particular, for him.

Chiel Weinbaum was an ordinary man who embraced life in no ordinary way. Although burdened by grim memories and grievous losses, he joined himself to those who reject evil, who work to repair relations between people, who affirm the possibility of friendship and kindness. "Hate breeds hate," he would often say: he would do his best to avoid it.

Chiel liked people, but it went beyond that. He gave other people his trust and respect and won theirs in return. "Respect" was the word the people of Zawichost used when they wrote and spoke about him. He received back amply what he amply gave.

His friends in Zawichost kept in touch with him until his death in September, 2000. They mourned his loss and remembered the difference he made to them and to Zawichost. Because of Chiel Weinbaum — and his friends — a sombre memorial stands beneath dark-leaved poplars in a quiet cemetery in southern Poland, near a great river. A monument to centuries of Jewish life in Zawichost, to the victims of the Holocaust, to Chiel's family. And to Chiel, with his generosity of spirit. ☺

Eric Bergbusch served at posts in the Middle East, Africa and Europe. He was Ambassador to Poland and the German Democratic Republic from 1986 to 1989.

POSTSCRIPT

28 Jun 2005 06:10:29 -0400

Subject: RE: Zawichost

To: Eric,

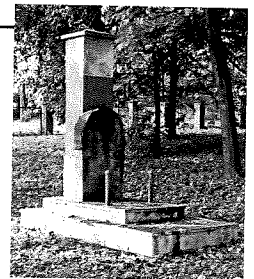
Attached you will find three pictures that I took yesterday in Zawichost of the cemetery and monument. As you will see the monument still stands and the cemetery is maintained (to a degree — i.e., the grass is cut)

We were "in the neighbourhood" and decided to make the detour to see if the monument was still standing. We stopped at the City Hall and quickly got directions and had no trouble finding the cemetery. (The only problem we encountered was that it was a very hot day and every mosquito in Poland seems to have taken refuge in the shade of the cemetery.)

I thought you would enjoy this postscript to your article.

Ralph

R.J. Lysyshyn, Ambassador
The Embassy of Canada, Warsaw, Poland



Liebnitz and the Fairy Tale Ending

Ab Abalto spins another enigmatic story



Matters were Grimm and getting grimmer at the dress rehearsal for the Centre's charity production of *Snow White* (re-titled *Rainbow Fleshtones and the Seven Stature-Optimized Mineral Extraction Specialists* in accordance with Treasury Board guidelines). MacBannock had been convinced that he could not both direct and play Prince Charming, but had insisted on naming Don Gordo to the role instead. They still hadn't

found a horse that could carry him on-stage and had been forced to borrow a steed from another production (*Dumbo*). Esmeralda had agreed with gusto to play the wicked step-mother, but only if the poison apple was replaced with a tainted take-out from *Cash and Curry*, an East Indian fast food emporium. Meanwhile, six of the dwarfs were busy re-defining their roles.

If truth in advertising was invoked, they would need to be renamed Catatonic, Twisted, Mangy, Manic, Risqué and Blotto on opening night.

Liebnitz, who was playing Doc, had just surfaced from an extended session with a cattle prod, keeping the other

dwarfs from setting fire to their cottage. Don Gordo had fallen into the vat of enchanted vindaloo and was resisting all efforts to rescue him. Manitoba Jones, the only one willing to play Snow White against Don Gordo's prince and thus attired in full princess regalia, was swinging from the ropes, changing backdrops randomly in the middle of scenes. Looking around brightly, MacBannock gave the cast the old theatre saying that a bad dress rehearsal meant a good performance. His wife Hilda, as stage-manager, said she'd have more confidence in that adage if the play they were rehearsing was the *Satyricon*.

A slender man with wavy hair rushed through the door, wiping a speck of *crème brûlée* from his eyebrow. "Minister!" exclaimed MacBannock. Just then, Don Gordo's elephant burst from the wings and stampeded across the stage ahead of six small people wearing miner's helmets and little else, only to be brained by a descending flat bearing a magic mirror and three sozzled mice. "I can see you're busy, MacBannock," replied the Minister, "but I need you and your top people in my office right away."

Minutes later, the meeting convened, the Centre personnel still in costume. "Weird things are happening all over Canada," the Minister started off. "People are starting to think for themselves and not just accept the government line?" queried Liebnitz. "I said weird, not terrifying," replied the Minister. "I mean things like the Cabinet coming out of its retreat in Gimli and suddenly their clothes all vanish. The media pretended not to notice, even praised the PM's new suit, but a little boy just pointed and started laughing. Or someone spotted a family of mallards on the river in Kenora, except one of the little ones is all scaly and has teeth. By the time anyone can catch it, it has grown into a feathered lizard ten metres tall and is eating whole cows for lunch. All across the country, women are finding their mattresses turning into stone overnight, but once the sun comes up in the morning, all they can find is a single lentil under it. In the northern territories, arson is everywhere, well above statistical predictions, with fires set by young women in rags. And on both coasts, men are



being snatched off boats by what witnesses insist are mermaids. Usually, however, the men get tossed back."

"This all has a familiar ring," said Liebnitz, "although I can't quite place my finger on it. Do we have any indications of linkages or causation?" "Not surprisingly, we have heard from Rialto Sleazewagon, offering to call off this strange plague in return for payment of the usual fee at maniacal-villain rates," replied the Minister. "He offers no explanation of how he is producing the effects, but we do have what amounts to an inside source." He pulled out a Morocco leather pouch and tipped a small metal figure onto the desk — a model of a 19th-century musketeer, but with only one leg. "This little fellow was to be part of another attack by Sleazewagon but, maybe because of his leg, he was not kept with his regiment. We found him discarded in a corner when we raided one of Rialto's abandoned hideouts, and the lab got readings from him that demonstrate the basis of the plot. Sleazewagon has created — or probably stolen — a device that takes mythological archetypes, brings them into our reality and twists them to his own destructive ends. They are controlled and powered by three transmitters located far apart but near our borders. We just have no way of knowing where they are, although we could detect them if we could get within a few kilometres."

He paused and looked over his half-glasses at the Centre's team. "Now comes the part where I really need to insist on total secrecy. You know we're having trouble with Denmark these days? Well, it seems that the weapon came from there, but not with the Danish government's approval. Given diplomatic circumstances, the Danes aren't willing to admit that fact publicly, but they are willing to help us under the table. So they've provided us with clues to the location of the transmitters, disguised as a puzzle to distance themselves even further from possible discovery. Here's what they sent us." He handed over a page to MacBannock, who shuffled it quickly to Liebnitz.

Each of the following clues has something to do with Denmark. The letters after each clue give the answer to that clue, enciphered with a simple letter substitution (each letter in the cipher always represents the same letter in the plaintext). Filling in the missing letters in the boxes and reading down will give you another Danish answer.

1 Shakespeare's gloomy prince:

_YPTZL

2 Any of the people on this list or a dog:

ODZ_L RYKZ

3 National Ballet of Canada artistic director 1983-86:

ZDVN XDJW_

4 Philosopher, founded existentialism:

_GDZK NVZDNZOYYDR

5 Astronomer, 16th century:

LA_WG XDYWZ

6 Wagnerian tenor:

TYJDVLE PZTS_VGD

7 Brand of beer:

LJXG_O

8 Played Aragorn in the Rings:

I_OOG PGDLZKCZK

9 Pastry with dried plums:

MDJKZ RYKV_W

10 Main peninsula:

UJ_TYKR

11 Northern explorer:

I_LJC XZDVKO

12 Artist who lived in Copenhagen before leaving for Tahiti:

MYJT O_JOJVK

13 King who could not turn back the waves:

SY_JLZ

14 High-design audio system:

XYKO _KR GTJQCZK

15 Edward VII's queen:

YTZBY_RDY

16 Baroque composer:

RVZLDVSW XJBLZWJ_Z

17 Fairy-tale monarch who keeps children on ice:

LW_ CKGH FJZZK

18 Comic pianist, invented spoken punctuation:

IVSLGD XG_OZ

19 Nobel physicist who modelled the atom:

KVZT_ XGWD

20 Famous toy company:

T_O_

21 She had a farm in Africa:

VCYN RV_ZCZK

The following message is enciphered using the same pattern of substitutions.

LWDZZ VCTYKRC: GKZ
JKRZD RVC MJLZ (RYKVCW?
SYKYRVYK?); GKZ HWZDZ
TVOWLQGG L YKSWGDZR
WVC XGYL (FJVBGLZ YTXJP);
GKZ HWZDZ SYMLYVK SGGN
XJDVZR WVC CJDOZGK
(3 YJOJCL 1778).

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Ottawa, Ontario K1R 7Z1
Tel & fax: (613) 860-0959
pagic@sympatico.ca

"Hmmm," hummed Liebnitz. "Not so very difficult, given the overlaps. And someone's given us a bit more help." He pointed to faint scribbles on the back of the page:

QGD LWVDR
CVLZ, OG LG HHH.
ZBMTGDZKGDW.
SGP YKR CZYDSW:
"SYMLYVK SGGN"
+ "YJOJCL 3".

Liebnitz soon deciphered the message. "Just as I suspected," he mused, "A fairy-tale ending giving us the three locations. But there is something ambiguous about the third. The 20th clue gives two readings and the pencil message suggests that matters be verified. Maybe something has changed." So it turned out.

The three transmitters were soon pinpointed. Those in the northeast and northwest were put out of commission easily enough, but the southern one was defended by the regiment to which the little musketeer belonged, now expanded to full size and armed with modern weapons. Meanwhile,

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whoever was running the transmitter was not prepared to remain on the defensive. Holding the little soldier in his hand, Liebnitz peered through the dim forest ahead, past the high-voltage towers of the transmitter. He could see the mist solidifying into the form of dragons. "We don't have time to waste here," he advised the colonel commanding the Canadian soldiers with them. "They're bringing in reinforcements that we're simply not prepared for. Let me try something." The colonel started to protest, but Liebnitz passed him the little musketeer and he paled as he stared into the forest, before giving Liebnitz the go-ahead.

The ace logician gathered the Centre contingent around him. "OK, people," he whispered. "We need to get close enough to put that transmitter out of action. We're still in costume from *Snow White*, so we look more like the other side than our own. Everybody keep together and just stroll right through their ranks as if we belonged. I figure we'll either be home safe or dead within a couple of minutes. "*Gracias por nada*," said Don Gordo *sotto voce*, but he squared his shoulders, put on his best smile (killing fully-mature trees at 50 paces) and led the ragtag mob forward. As they passed the line of fire, not a single musketeer turned

to watch, and Liebnitz began to hope. Just as they neared the transmitter, however, a dark shape oozed from behind a dying pine. Fearing a wraith, the ace logician braced, but this was worse — Sleazewagon himself. "I see you're dressing better, Liebnitz," he sneered, "but your sense of tactics remains pitiful. Still, you'll have a good seat for viewing the slaughter." He snapped his fingers, wakening the musketeers, who quickly surrounded them as Sleazewagon's new heavy forces moved forward.

In a single fluid movement, Liebnitz plucked the one-legged tin soldier from his pocket and launched it over the surrounding guards into the open fretwork of the transmitter. There was a great arc of sparks and suddenly it was over. The transmitter was a slagheap, the dragons had vanished, Don Gordo was sitting on Sleazewagon and all that was left of the musketeers was a flat box with 24 tin soldiers in a space made for 25. Esmeralda bent over and picked up something from the ground. It was the one-legged musketeer. "I think we should keep him," she said. "Certainly he doesn't belong with these others." "They were only trapped by Sleazewagon into doing his will," Liebnitz replied. "Our friend belongs with his comrades. He has

his own destiny to fulfil — for him, this whole episode has just been a detour. In fact, the only reason the box is still here is that it is incomplete without him," So saying, he slotted the little soldier into the empty space in the box. They all watched as it gradually dissolved into the mist and blew away on the breeze.

Can you duplicate Liebnitz's feat by naming the three locations where Sleazewagon's transmitters were to be found? Not necessary for the answer, but can you name the seven fairy tales (other than *Snow White*) to which the puzzle refers, and say what links them? And can you provide the answers to all 21 clues? **bout de papier** will decide the winner by drawing from a box containing all correct entries received by November 15, 2005. The winner will receive a book prize autographed by A Aalto. ☺

Free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto has some distant Danish forebearers from the island of Fyn. The key unnamed figure in this puzzle was born there two hundred years ago last April, and family legend holds that one of Aalto's ancestors stole his girlfriend. Who knows? — probably just another story....

The Minister Dines with Death

Answers from Vol. 21, No. 2

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Name	Minister	Soeur-Tordue	Purina	Maze	Fonebone	Fedora
Server	Daphne	Allen	Fu-ling	Carlos	Edouard	Beverly
Soup	Vichyssoise	Stone soup	Stone soup	Stone soup	Stone soup	Vichyssoise
Appetiser	Salmon	Salmon	Duck pâté	Salmon	Duck pâté	Duck pâté
Entrée	Ratatouille	Deer	Sea bass	Sea bass	Deer	Deer
Dessert	Crème brûlée	Crème brûlée	Profiteroles	Crème brûlée	Profiteroles	Profiteroles
Wine	Shiraz	Sauvignon	Shiraz	Shiraz	Sauvignon	Shiraz
Affliction	Sleep	Rutabaga	Laughter	Imitations	Green spots	Death
Compounds	A/B	B/E	C/D	B/C	D/E	A/D

The intended victim was TRAVIS FONEBONE.

Compound A was in the vichyssoise, Compound B in the salmon, Compound C in the sea bass, Compound D in the profiteroles and Compound E in the sauvignon blanc.

If E had been placed in the shiraz as intended and if the salmon and duck appetisers had not been switched between Fonebone and Soeur-Tordue, then the diners would have

ingested the following compounds: Minister A/B/E, Soeur-Tordue nothing, Purina C/D/E, Maze B/C/E, Fonebone B/D and Fedora A/D/E. Fonebone would be dead and all the others unaffected.

Effie's comment on the kilt is twisted from *The Maltese Falcon* (Sam Spade: "When a man's partner is killed, he's supposed to do something"). The eulogy for Elwood is from *The Blues Brothers*. We have no idea how to protect a rutabaga.

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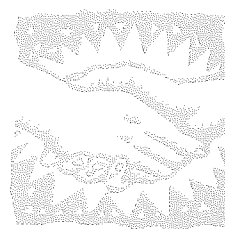
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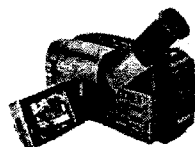
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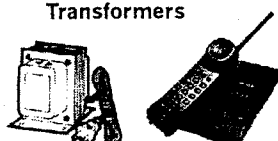
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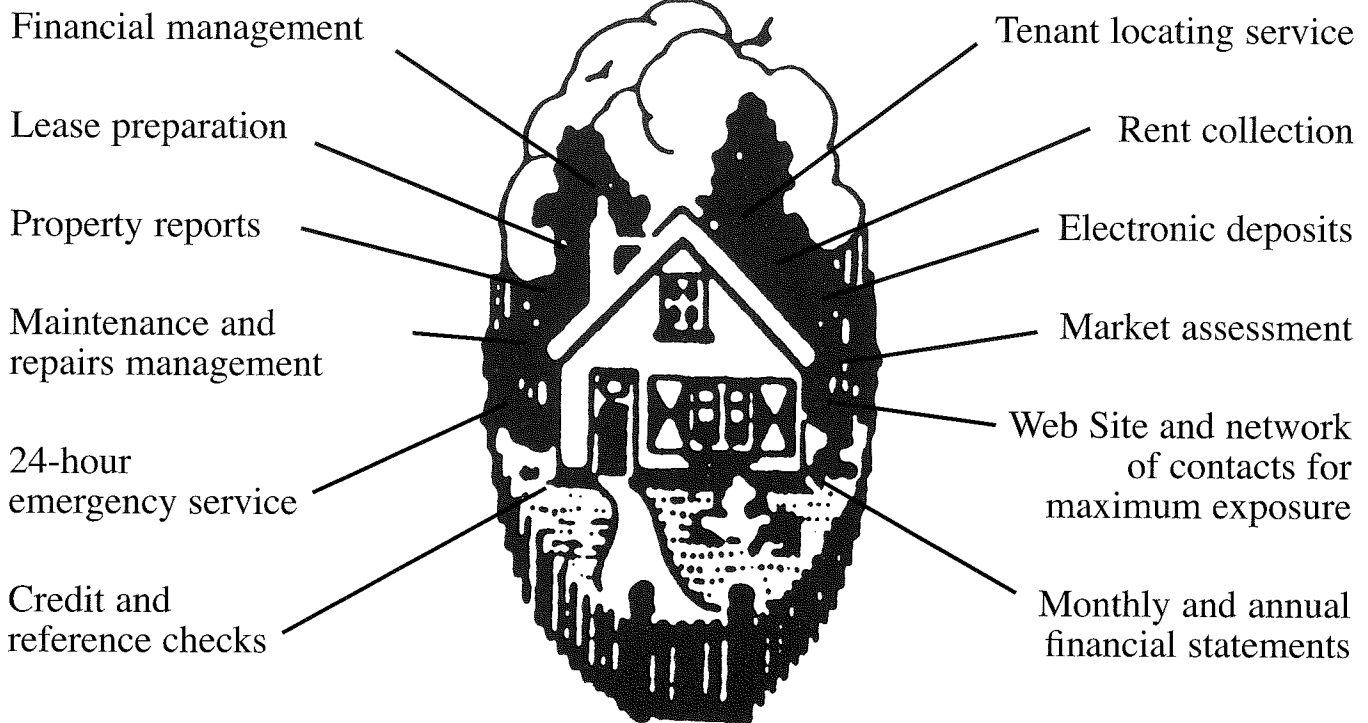
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