

inside

FREE  
TRADE  
FOUR OPINIONS

**ROBERT FORD ON MOSCOW,  
ARMS CONTROL,  
GORBACHEV AND POETRY**

**PAULINE SABOURIN: LIFE  
WITH THE UNDERSECRETARIES**

**BRASILSAT UN JALON  
DANS LE DOMAINE DES  
TÉLÉCOMMUNICATIONS  
SPATIALES**

**AT THE FLICKS WITH  
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## Book Reviews:

**TOWE ON GWYN  
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# bout de papier

Winter/Hiver 1985 No. 1 Vol. 4

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## Portrait of an Issue

The debate over closer economic links with the United States is as important to Canadians as was the debate over constitutional patriation and revision. Once again, Canada's foreign service will be playing a leading role in seeking to secure an agreement on behalf of the government. In December, the Professional Committee of PAFSO held an evening debate on the Trade Initiative. It was provocative and informative and we include an edited version of the remarks of participants Tom Hockin, Mel Hurtig, Laurent Thibault, and Richard Lipsey.

Dr. Stuart Smith is our guest columnist. He too, looks at some of the implications of freer trade with the United States.

The Professional Committee has a new chairman, David Adam. We welcome his appointment, recognizing that the shoes he must fill are of a certain scale. As founding chairman, John Higginbot-

tom gave tremendous momentum to the idea conceived by Howard Balloch and George Haynal. The committee has become the forum for the enhancement of our professional skills as members of the foreign service.

Robert Ford and Pauline Sabourin share their experience of life in External Affairs. Their perspectives are different but their memories are of equal interest; Ford from Moscow was a sure guarantee of an elegant and fascinating despatch, while as 'secretary to the undersecretary' Pauline Sabourin watched the creation and development of the modern Canadian foreign service.

We have book reviews! Peter Towe, who observed the unfolding of our relations with the United States through three postings, latterly as Ambassador, looks at Richard Gwyn's *Forty-Ninth Paradox*. Paul Martin has come out with the second volume of *A Very Public Life* and Geoffrey Pearson looks at our former SSEA'S memoirs. A keen obser-

ver of Central America, David Kilgour, has recently finished Shirley Christian's *Nicaragua: Revolution in the Family* and he offers his views. Canadian television is going through a period of transformation — broadcaster Al Bonner reviews Herschel Hardin's provocative *Closed Circuits*.

As something new, inveterate film goer Pagan Hugh provides us with a review of recent movies, which for those abroad who have to wait months before they are shown, will give you some idea of what's worth the trip to the theatre or watching on the videomachine.

Keep sending us your tales of life abroad.

## IN OUR NEXT ISSUE:

- Bob Grauer talks with Bruce Rankin
- PAFSO appears before the Parliamentary Committee looking at our foreign policy review
- British Columbia and Expo 86

Colin Robertson  
Editor

## **From the editor**

### **A Foreign Service Act?**

Has the time come for a Foreign Service Act?

In recent years the Foreign Service and the Department of External Affairs have undergone major change and upheaval, including the consolidation of all foreign service sectors under one roof and the partial exodus of the senior ranks to the EX category.

The conversion of 219 non-rotational trade officers into the Foreign Service this May — the largest single introduction of new blood into the foreign service since it was created — is the latest manifestation of change in the foreign service. While it is not a classic case of lateral entry — like the AS-CR integration of a decade ago, the COs are being brought into the FS stream under some duress — it does make a mockery of the efforts of those, who in earlier times, strongly resisted any attempts at lateral entry or appointment to the Foreign Service category by means other than the traditional entrance exam and interview process.

In her report on Conditions of Foreign Service to the Prime Minister, Commissioner Pam McDougall opted against legislating a separate foreign service management system arguing that the service needed more, not less, contact with the domestic service. Nonetheless, she recognized the uniqueness of conditions abroad and the related implications for the personnel and financial systems. She urged amendments to the External Affairs Act which would establish the authority and responsibility of the heads of post and the department as the centre for the management and delivery of government programs abroad. These were mostly realized in the External Affairs Act revisions of 1983.

But we wonder whether, in light of the new conditions and new responsibilities of the department, the idea does not merit another look, especially at a time when our foreign policy, generally, is receiving a thorough scrutiny. Has the structure of the Service kept pace with changing circumstances? At a time of major restraint, cutbacks and increased emphasis on trade and economic prosperity should not some of the old shibboleths and guarantees of service be reexamined?

A Foreign Service Act should incorporate several major features. It should link the granting of career tenure, compensation and performance pay, as well as continued employment in the service, to performance. It should introduce an effective "up or out" policy, similar to the American system, in which an officer is promoted within a reasonable length of time or finds alternate

employment. To attract and keep the most qualified we must assure them the opportunity to move through the ranks at a rate which reflects their ability. Selection out for unsatisfactory performance should apply to all levels.

The Act should recognize the clear distinction between the Foreign Service and the domestic Public Service. Let us recognize the dangers as well as the perks of life abroad. It should clearly limit foreign service career status to those who accept the discipline of service abroad. Flexibility in the form of lateral entry and long term leave without pay should be recognized as useful management tools. It should make provision for the special language requirements of the foreign service — only the Americans share our view that new recruits must have competence only in one language for entry. The report on training by John Halstead merits another look. Why not a Foreign Service Institute?

Collective bargaining with the FS group is already done separately; there should be recognition of our unique nature as an occupational group. Employee management relations could be enshrined in an equitable statutory framework — we should examine the concepts of a Foreign Service Labour Relations Board and a Disputes Arbitration Panel.

Legislation rather than continued administrative reform is probably the better approach. Putting it all on the table before a parliamentary committee would not only permit wide consultation but it would go a great distance to making our legislators and the public at large aware of the place and role of the contemporary foreign service. It would complement the 1983 External Affairs Act. It would also be very much in the spirit of the welcome and useful foreign policy review currently under way.

### **Letters to the Editor:** **Radio Links to Mexico**

**Editor, Bout de Papier:**

An immediate effect of the Mexican earthquake last September was a complete loss of communication with Mexico, making it impossible for anyone to determine the situation of relatives and friends in that country. The Canadian Department of External Affairs and the Canadian Red Cross set up special communication systems shortly after the earthquake to locate and determine the fate of Canadians living and travelling in Mexico. While priority was given to locating Canadians, Mexican citizens who are relatives and friends of Canadians, were also located and their situations reported back to Canada.

Ron Belleville, an amateur radio operator living in Russell, just outside of Ottawa,

established radio contact with an amateur radio club in Mexico, and, through their combined efforts, managed to contact many people in Mexico, much to the relief of relatives and friends in the Ottawa area. It's worth noting that one of Mr. Belleville's contacts in Mexico was Heliodoro Rodero, a Mexican citizen and a former Ottawa resident and businessman (and a member of ACLA, Asociacion canadiense latino-americana/Canadian — Latin American Association) now living in Mexico.

The dedication and efforts of these two men and those of the Department of External Affairs and the Red Cross did much to alleviate the fears and concern caused by this great tragedy.

On behalf of its members, the Canadian Latin American Association extends heartfelt thanks to all concerned for a job well done.

Len Murray

### **Protests Communiqué**

**Editor, Bout de papier:**

I write, as a founding member of PAFSO, to register a protest against the PAFSO letter to the Prime Minister as reported in the Ottawa Citizen (Christopher Young's column). In this connection I am informed by the PAFSO office that the Citizen report is based on a PAFSO press release and that the letter, composed "by some members of the executive", was "sent only today".

My objections to the letter, and to the press release, may be summarized as follows:

1. It is a gross discourtesy to the addressee of any letter to release its text, or excerpts from it in the form of a press communiqué, before the addressee has received the letter.
2. Objections to "political appointments to the diplomatic service" (Christopher Young's wording) ignore the realities of Canadian history in general and the precedents of our service in particular; they also demonstrate an abysmal ignorance of constitutional arrangements as well as of Crown prerogatives.
3. Criticism of the particular appointment of issue lays us open to renewed charges of élitism and isolation from mainstreams of the Canadian taxpaying public.
4. No initiative of the type in question should ever be taken by "some members of the executive" in the absence of direction by and the approval of a general meeting of the membership.

E.T. Galpin

# PARDY'S CORNER

by *Laurel Pardy*

## Win, Lose or Draw

"Here we go again," I thought as tentacles of persecution wiggled their tips around in my mind. "Just once I wish they'd stick up for us."

This self-indulgent outburst was occasioned by the brouhaha over Canadian membership in the Aberdeen Boat Club. As I understand it, access to the club was a result of debentures in the club, a financially sound arrangement worked out which gave, without regard to rank, membership in the club to Canadian personnel at the Hong Kong mission. Not unexpectedly, this tempest in a teapot was created by innuendo followed by overreaction.

When the facts were reviewed, it became clear that Hong Kong was not Ottawa and different circumstances existed. The superficial situation had been judged without all the information, and by Ottawa standards. Quelle surprise!!

No wonder we begin to develop a ghetto mentality. Sometimes I think foreign service life should not be undertaken by anyone who cannot live with the "damned if you do, damned if you don't" dilemma.

If we live like diplomats, we are wasting public money. If we live like private citizens, we are failing to be sufficiently diplomatic. If we sympathize with the host country, we have lost our perspective. If we promote Canada's interests too avidly, we are insensitive. If we go public, we are compromising security. If we keep silent, we are withholding information. If we advise elected officials, we are interfering. If we keep our own counsel, we are being uncooperative. If we advise action, we are overreacting. If we advise caution, we are old women. If we miss a trick, we are ignorant.

Above all, if we should be suspected of having acquired some of the privileges of the "upper classes", we are reprimanded, held up to public criticism and cut off at the knees without so much as an opportunity to make our case. Even those who should know better are guilty of over reacting to the biased insinuations of the public press.

Last year's dramatic increase in the shelter share is another case of a Canadian-Ottawa yardstick being applied to the overseas life of the foreign service. Statistics based on two income families do not apply to the majority of our families. In fact, they apply only to employee-couples as no other couple can count on the accompanying spouse being employed even at local salary scales.

Perhaps it is inevitable that the lives and work of rotational personnel are regulated

to a large extent by the whims of a non-rotational management and an elected super-structure. But when internal decisions and actions, taken after full consultation and consensus, can be so readily questioned and overturned, it is an insult to our integrity.

This situation probably accounts for more morale problems than any other single factor. It is immaterial whether any given decision is good or bad. It is the feeling of being haphazardly managed by those who have little empathy for, or understanding of, the realities of foreign service life that creates frustration.

[No apologies for the "royal we". Anything that affects family life in the foreign service includes me.]

The eleventh commandment of foreign service management seems to be, "They shall be treated as just another part of the civil service; neither receiving undue benefit, nor suffering any undue losses." Fine — except that many people fail to consider that most foreign service people neither live nor work in Canada. When it is discovered that it costs more to live a Canadian lifestyle overseas, mental consternation and financial constipation set in.

At this point the superficial glamour, the temporarily inflated status and the exotic flavour of an overseas posting are thought to be adequate compensation for the disruption in our lives. The image is persuasive, and becomes the reality. In all fairness, we do little to disabuse the press and the politicians of this attitude. We hug our specialness to ourselves, and perpetuate the myths of our existence.

We show visitors the best of what our life can offer. We tell inspection teams only the easily quantifiable complaints. We answer reporters in smooth, non-controversial terms on obvious issues. To do otherwise would be perceived by the public, rightly or wrongly, as unjustified complaining.

The truth of the matter is, however, that we spend half our lives adjusting, living and working in unfamiliar surroundings, in unfamiliar cultures, with unfamiliar people. The isolation and hardship is camouflaged by the exotic environment. The loneliness is masked by the official life.

Under bizarre, outrageous conditions we defend, promote and interpret Ottawa's positions and decisions to people who find us equally bizarre and outrageous.

We should not have to apologize for, or continually defend, our need for assistance, often financial, in establishing conditions of service that allow us to maintain a semblance of normality in our lives. There is a difference between a rotational career

covering 35 years of one's life, and one or two assignments which cover separate periods of several years. One is a whole lifestyle, the other are exciting adventures.

Yet to do the work, and to bring our children to competent adulthood, we must remain essentially Canadian in viewpoint and behaviour. We have to adapt to other cultural environments without becoming less a Canadian. For the good of our families, careers and country we cannot afford the more bizarre manifestations of prolonged and repeated relocation shock.

Assisted leave, family reunions, reciprocal working agreements, club memberships and tuition assistance are not perquisites, but needed cushions against the physical and emotional buffeting that is intrinsic in rotational careers. △

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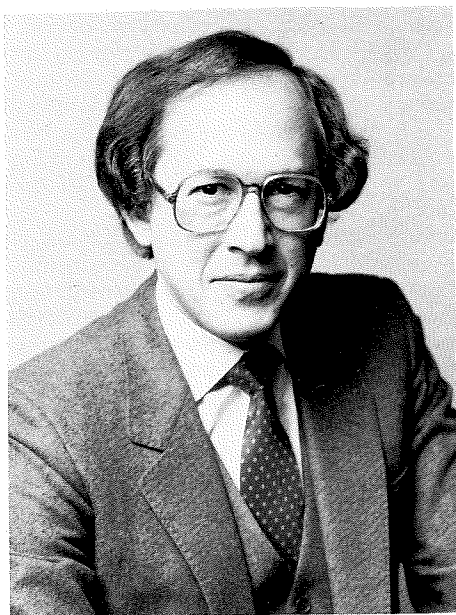
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## GUEST COLUMN



*Stuart Smith is chairman of the Science Council of Canada. A psychiatrist by profession, Dr. Smith was Leader of the Liberal Party of Ontario (1975-82) and Leader of the Opposition at Queen's Park from 1977-82.*

**A**fter years of argument, I think it is now agreed that Canada needs to diversify its economy and that reliance on primary products needs to be balanced by greater competitiveness in the growth sectors of high value-added goods and tradeable services.

But is it true, as some economists and policy makers assert, that, to achieve this diversification, the main tool we need is free (or freer) trade with the United States? I contend that there is little basis for this belief and there is even a danger of achieving exactly the opposite result, depending on how we negotiate. Whatever other good (or ill) freer trade would bring, economic diversification will require a different set of government policies, policies even more vital with free trade than without it!

Some proponents of free trade say that the main thing holding back the creation or expansion of new, knowledge-intensive firms in Canada is the lack of certainty about continued access to the U.S. market. Furthermore, since Canadian firms often seem too timid to tackle Asian and European markets before they have succeeded in the U.S., assured access to the U.S. market, it is said, could lead eventually to diversification of customers as well as products.

Really? This alleged lack of certainty of access hasn't prevented other countries from moving into higher technology and practically flooding a wide-open U.S. market! Where are all the would-be Canadian entrepreneurs who have supposedly held back because the access, open as it is, is not totally assured?

There are companies such as Algoma Steel which had to curtail expansion plans because of rising U.S. protectionism. Such companies, however, have been operating in the traditional sectors of our economy such as steel or lumber, i.e., the sectors at which most U.S. protectionist threats (and actions) have been aimed! This has not generally been the case with advanced technology firms. In conversation with hundreds of business people and would-be business people, I have heard many reasons for avoiding the high-risk, high value-added sector. But I have never heard fears about the certainty of continued access to the U.S. market given as a reason for not going into such a business. What holds them back from these high risk areas has everything to do with Canadian attitudes and business habits and nothing to do with an alleged phobia about possible U.S. protectionism.

## Free Trade and Economic Diversification

It's true that Canadian high technology companies often expand in the U.S. rather than in Canada and one reason may be to hedge against eventual protectionism. The main reasons for such U.S. expansion, however, are ones that would exist even in a free trade situation, i.e., proximity to customers, access to nearby universities, availability of highly skilled personnel, low wages in the southwest, and so on.

Big Canadian investors choose familiar areas such as oil and gas, real estate, or U.K. newspapers for their investments, but it's laughable to suggest that they avoid higher technology because they feel that the present access to U.S. markets might be lost in the future!

Might foreign high technology firms locate in Canada once access to the U.S. market was assured? This could happen in a few cases but it is not likely to be a major consequence. If advanced technology firms are mainly interested in the U.S. market, there are usually better reasons to go to the "real United States" rather than to the "near United States." This is especially true when the motivation is to acquire U.S.-based technology from university sources or to assuage the wrath of U.S. congressmen regarding the trade deficit. Location in Canada achieves neither of these purposes.

Free trade might help the Canadian

economy in certain ways but the argument that it would help diversify the Canadian economy is without foundation. There is even good reason to believe that freer trade could actually impede the diversification process. As rationalization of the North American economy proceeds, continental market forces are far more likely to operate along lines of existing relative strengths. That is to say, in the absence of deliberate Canadian policies to engineer new areas of comparative advantage, Canada will find itself doing what it has been doing in the past, only more so, although with less fear of protectionism against our primary goods. As the U.S. is ahead in most areas of advanced technology, the market will assign those tasks preferentially to that country.

What does this mean for our negotiations? It suggests that there is a possible danger in the deal we strike. Comparative advantages in the knowledge-intensive fields come, in every country, with help from government. In the United States, the defence department is pre-eminent but not alone in this effort. If the possible preferential use of government to engineer such comparative advantage is negotiated away by Canada, then important knowledge-intensive industries will rarely, if ever, develop here. In any agreement, therefore, the following principle must be accepted regarding non-tariff barriers:

*Either all U.S. and Canadian governments should give "national treatment" to both U.S. and Canadian firms bidding for all government contracts, research awards, development assistance; or To the extent that the U.S. retains favoritism for its own firms in defence, space or any other area, Canada must be permitted to exercise a proportionately equivalent amount of favoritism via Canadian non-tariff barriers in areas of its own choosing.*

Unlike the U.S., we don't have a defence-driven government procurement policy in Canada. We are still struggling with how best to use government in our free enterprise economy to help create the technological base for a diversified industrial mix. It is not a simple task. We need preferential government purchasing, research arrangements, development grants, and much more. Since the U.S. will probably retain its own preferential systems for defence, we must retain the potential for equivalent systems of our own.

All of this means, if we are serious about diversification of our economy into advanced, knowledge-intensive areas: (a) don't expect freer trade to do this automatically — there is no reason to believe it will and it may just dig the present ruts a bit deeper; and (b) don't negotiate away the ability to make some use of Canadian non-tariff barriers; they represent our only real hope of getting advanced technology to play a larger role in the hands of Canadian exporters.  $\Delta$

## THE GREATS:



*Terrence Cormier with Robert Ford during their discussion last summer at Mr. Ford's residence in the country near Vichy, France.*

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Ambassador Ford, most Canadians know you as our Ambassador to Moscow, but you have had a long and varied career other than your service in the USSR. You are also an important Canadian poet; you have won the Governor General's medal for poetry and have recently published a new volume of poetry. Can you tell us a little about yourself, your origins and why you came to join the Canadian foreign service?

**FORD:** My family is United Empire Loyalist. I grew up in western Ontario although I was born in Ottawa. My father was in journalism, and was editor of the London Free Press. I contemplated a journalistic career; I worked for a little while for the Montreal Gazette and then got a fellowship to Cornell. I was planning on an academic career when I was persuaded to try the examinations for External Affairs. Fortunately, I had learned a little Russian at Cornell for some studies I was doing on French-Russian relations in the 19th Century and that stood me in very good stead because when I joined the department, there was only one other person who knew

Russian and that was George Ignatieff. He was obviously eliminated from any possibility of a posting to Moscow because he was born in St. Petersburg.

I had always been attracted by External Affairs. I like languages and I have never regretted for a moment the choice I made.

I started my career in Brazil. I love Latin America. I've travelled to almost every country there. I was Ambassador to Colombia, which is a nice antithesis to postings in difficult places like Cairo, Belgrade and Moscow. I have always regretted that Canada has neglected its relations with Latin America.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** You have watched the Canadian foreign service evolve since the war and you are still actively involved in East-West questions. What are the principal ways in which Canada's role in the world has changed during the time you have been so much involved?

**FORD:** It evolved from a small group which was really trying to find its way, trying to find a role for Canada in the world. It had quickly to expand and quickly to adjust after the War, first to the enhanced role which

## Robert Ford

Robert Ford, Canada's Ambassador to Moscow for more than 16 years, expert in East/West relations and Russian poetry, and recipient of the Governor General's medal for poetry for his work "A Window on the North", has retired from the diplomatic service and taken up residence in a classified historic property, the Château de La Poivrière, in central France. During a recent meeting he talked with Terrence Cormier, then serving as Canadian Consul in Marseilles, about the foreign service, his experiences in Moscow, arms control, Gorbachev, poetry and his present activities, plans and projects.

Canada had as a result of our performance militarily, and then ten years after that, adjust to another period that was a time when we were reduced again to a role more commensurate with our size and wealth. I think it is quite remarkable the way in which starting from practically scratch, we have been able to build up what I think is one of the most respected foreign services in the world.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** East-West relations. Changes in the international economy. What do you see as the principal challenges to Canada's foreign policy making until the end of the century?

**FORD:** In a way, there are two basic elements in our foreign dilemma. One is security and, that is that we live in unfortunately a more or less bipolar world in which we are divided into two antagonistic groups. Our position has to be, and is, quite clear. The second, of course, is our determination to maintain an independent position in North America vis-à-vis an enormously more powerful neighbour.

I have always seen our position as a triangular one, that is between Canada, the

United States, and the USSR. Well, that is a highly simplified version of our position in the world because it does not take into consideration the extremely important trade element. Part of our effort to maintain an independent position with the United States, independent but not antagonistic, is the trade element. Clearly that has always been at the top of our priorities and presumably for the next couple of decades will remain there. Each government has a different way of looking at this particular problem. In the end I think we all come back to pretty much the same position, that is cooperation with, but not subordination by, the United States economically and political cooperation with the U.S. as the major power in the Western democratic alliance.

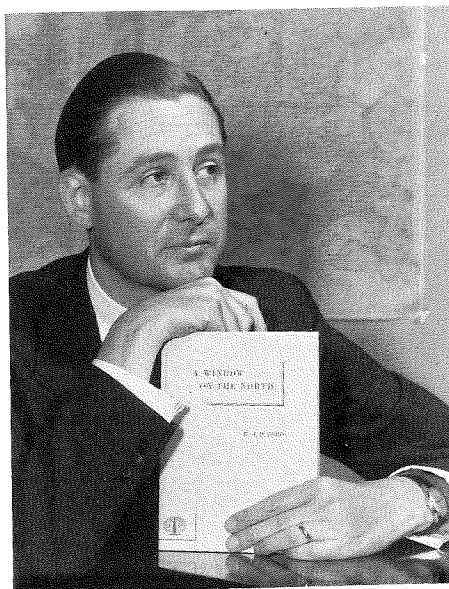
I participated last year in a very interesting colloquium in Paris organized by the "Institut international de Géopolitique", of which I am a member of the "Conseil d'Administration", about Canada/U.S., that is North America, the Pacific countries and Europe. It was a great shock to the Europeans to discover the extent to which even a country like Canada was shifting its priorities, certainly economically and even politically to some extent, to the Pacific. They knew already that the U.S. had this very important Pacific element but they were not aware how dependent Canada was becoming upon trade and political ties with countries like Japan, South Korea, Malaysia and obviously China.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Sixteen years as Ambassador to Moscow?

**FORD:** Almost 21 years in Moscow. . . . 1946-47 ended rather abruptly because of the continuing repercussions of the Gouzenko spy affair in Ottawa and our Embassy was reduced to almost a skeleton staff. Then 1951-54 during which I attended the funeral of Stalin as the Canadian government representative and saw the rise of Khrushchev, and then 16½ years as Ambassador from January, 1964, to October, 1980.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** You have probably had one of the longest tenures of any Canadian as Ambassador to any country. What were some of the more memorable moments of your time as Ambassador to the Soviet Union?

**FORD:** Well, there were quite a few. First, there was the breakthrough which we made in 1966, when I persuaded the government to invite, and then the Soviet government to accept, an invitation to the First Deputy Prime Minister, member of the Politburo, and expert in agriculture, Demetri Polyansky, to visit Canada. This was the first time that anything of this sort had happened since Khrushchev's visit to the United States. Then the Soviet participation in Expo '67 was very important and very exciting because the Soviets put an enormous effort into it and sent at least 6,000 of their top officials to Montreal to study what they called the school of the



*Mr. Ford and his book "A Window on the North."*

world. The most interesting and important event was the visit of Pierre Trudeau, followed by the return visit of Kosygin, and the building up of detente and good relations between Canada and the USSR in almost every field. I believe that this in many ways helped to make it easier for Nixon and Kissinger eventually to achieve their own measure of detente. Those were probably the highlights politically. From the personal point of view, one of the highlights was the first Canada-Soviet hockey summit in 1972 which was extremely exciting and a revelation to the Russians of our expertise in that sport. This meant a concentration on Canada as a country, of which the Russians were not terribly aware before.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** You were instrumental in a whole series of agreements which Canada signed with the Soviet Union. There was the Economic Cooperation Agreement of 1976. There were agreements dealing with agriculture, science, fisheries, air, exchanges. What practical impact did these agreements have on relations with the Soviet Union?

**FORD:** Unfortunately, you cannot divorce agreements of that sort, or trade either for that matter, from politics. These agreements were beginning to bear fruit when unfortunately a number of events occurred which put an end, or put detente into the deep freeze, for quite a while. One, of course, was the decline in U.S./Soviet relations and a certain tension between them over various issues. The second was the introduction and deployment of the SS 20 in Europe and the NATO decision to modernize its theatre nuclear force. Most important of all, of course, was the invasion of Afghanistan, followed by tension in Poland. All of these things added up to an atmosphere in which it was very difficult to fully implement, or fully exploit, practical agreements which, in another atmosphere,

would have been more successful. Nonetheless, they did accomplish a number of things. They exposed a large number of Canadians to the Soviet reality and they made it possible for us to continue to be considered by the Russians as their first source of supply for grain, above all for high quality Durum wheat. I think that once we get back onto the right track again in relations with the Soviet Union, that the experience of those agreements will prove a very solid base for moving forward again.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Many observers believe that we have reached the low point in East-West relations. Does the January meeting between Gromyko and Shultz, and that both sides are talking again about some measure of arms control, mean that we are re-entering the process of detente? Are both sides now prepared and willing to see a lessening of tensions?

**FORD:** Yes, I think so. The low point in relations came about two years ago when the hardliners in the United States administration were still arguing in terms of an evil empire and were taking various measures, particularly economic ones, which would help to put Russia on the dust bin of history. This was all very foolish talk. It infuriated the Russians. It put them in a position which they considered humiliating. It made it almost impossible for any kind of dialogue to get going again. Well, all that has been abandoned by the American administration which is now trying to make an effort with the new Gorbachev government in Moscow to return to some measure of detente, at least on arms control. I cannot say how sincere is one side or the other. As Gromyko once remarked "Governments are never sincere". But, I don't think that there can be any doubt that the Russians would like to see some measure of disarmament and control which would permit them to avoid another expensive series of arms developments and to divert that money to much needed economic reforms. They are not happy at the idea of competition with the United States on these new arms.

The problem is that the Russians show no sign whatsoever of give. The Americans show no sign of give. How long this impasse will continue, I do not know. It took a long time to get Salt I. It took a good deal longer to get Salt II, and then it was not ratified by the American Congress. There were what appeared in 1977 to be some insurmountable obstacles to Salt II, but eventually compromises were found which permitted the Vienna meeting to take place and Carter and Brezhnev signed the Salt II Agreement. I am hopeful that they will find some way of compromising. I am on the whole a supporter of being fairly strong but correct and just with the Russians. But I do think that there are two sides of arms control which are absolutely essential: one is the anti-ballistic missile treaty and the other is to abandon any effort to extend the arms race

into outer space. I think that this is absolute folly.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Many strategic analysts believe that in this era of space defence initiatives, the prospects for any comprehensive arms control agreement are very small and that it would be a better investment of time and energy to put our efforts into strategic confidence building measures. Where should the efforts be put?

**FORD:** The two go together. There have been efforts on confidence building measures for many years now. I think that one of the major things which the Stockholm Conference can do is to elaborate upon and expand those measures. You cannot really have arms control or disarmament measures which are going to last unless you have a measure of trust. One depends upon the other. You can argue that if you get a solid and important agreement on arms control or disarmament or reduction of arms, that in itself creates a certain measure of trust. I would like to see a greater effort at trust established on both sides as well.

I know from my many years of experience, that it is very difficult to establish a measure of trust with the Russians. At almost any point you might establish a relationship which is fairly satisfactory and then some unexpected event happens, such as the shooting down of the Korean airliner, the invasion of Afghanistan or an outburst in Poland, or who knows where in the Soviet bloc, which almost automatically puts all our efforts at establishing confidence with the Russians into hold, at the very least, if not into strong doubt.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** The arrival of Gorbachev as the Soviet leader is certainly a tremendous change in style. What is your appreciation of the impact which he can have on the Soviet political and economic system?

**FORD:** In a way, his arrival in the number one position should have happened a decade ago when the older men in the Politburo should have retired or have brought forward the people who are ten years older than Gorbachev. However, it has been delayed that time but now, finally, the younger people are coming into position and they are very different from the older people who have been running the Soviet Union for the past 20 years. On the whole, they are much better educated and have a better appreciation of technology. Most of them probably have a clearer understanding of the strength of Western society and the nature of the capitalist antagonist. They are at the same time strong Russian nationalists, and I say Russians, because they will very nearly all be Russian. Russian nationalism is becoming an extremely important element in the Soviet Union. They will be very difficult to deal with despite a surface smoothness of manner and treatment. I think that they are in the old Russian

traditional sense, Westernizers rather than Slavophiles, that is that they see Russia as part of the western world and would like to see it accepted as part. However, the system makes it very difficult to do so since the ideology, although it may not play a role in the everyday workings of the Soviet Union, still is a dominant factor in their thinking and this thinking makes it a relationship of antagonism.

I think that people like Gorbachev would like to see the economy revised, made more efficient, more and better quality goods produced, the standard of living increased. I think Brezhnev wanted to do the same, but Brezhnev had no real plan and he was not prepared to introduce any measures which would upset the old style bureaucrats upon whom his power rested. Whether Gorbachev can do it or not, I do not know. Up to now, he has introduced measures which are simply a more efficient form of slogans and suggestions of the Brezhnev era, that is more discipline, better quality and so on. I am not sure that this will make the Soviet economy more efficient. I think it needs basic reforms but to do that endangers the system. You need someone with the tremendous charisma, the tremendous power, of a Khrushchev to try to introduce reforms of that nature. Perhaps, Gorbachev eventually will prove the man who can do it, but it will take time.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** You are not only a specialist on the Russian political and economic system, but also Russian poetry.

**FORD:** I have recently published a collection of my translations of Russian poetry. I have been working on this, off and on, over the years that I spent in Russia, partly as a "divertissement", partly because I like the poetry and language and also because it gave me a certain entrée into the world of the poet and writers of the Soviet Union.

I recently had a letter from Graham Greene who had just read my collection of Russian poetry, in which he said that he had finally found some translations of Russian poetry which meant something to him because you had to be a poet and you had to know the language to translate Russian poetry. Most of the translations he had seen had come from prose translations or were written by people who knew the language but were not poets.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** The subjects of your own poetry have changed considerably. In 1956 when you won the Governor General's medal for poetry, you dealt largely with nature. In your most recent volume "Needle in the Eye", the new poems have a more political content. There is a certain pessimism, a certain angst about the current state of the world.

**FORD:** I think you could not spend 16 years in Russia without having a certain angst about the state of international politics and the world. You could not work on disarmament and related questions without

(continued on page 10)



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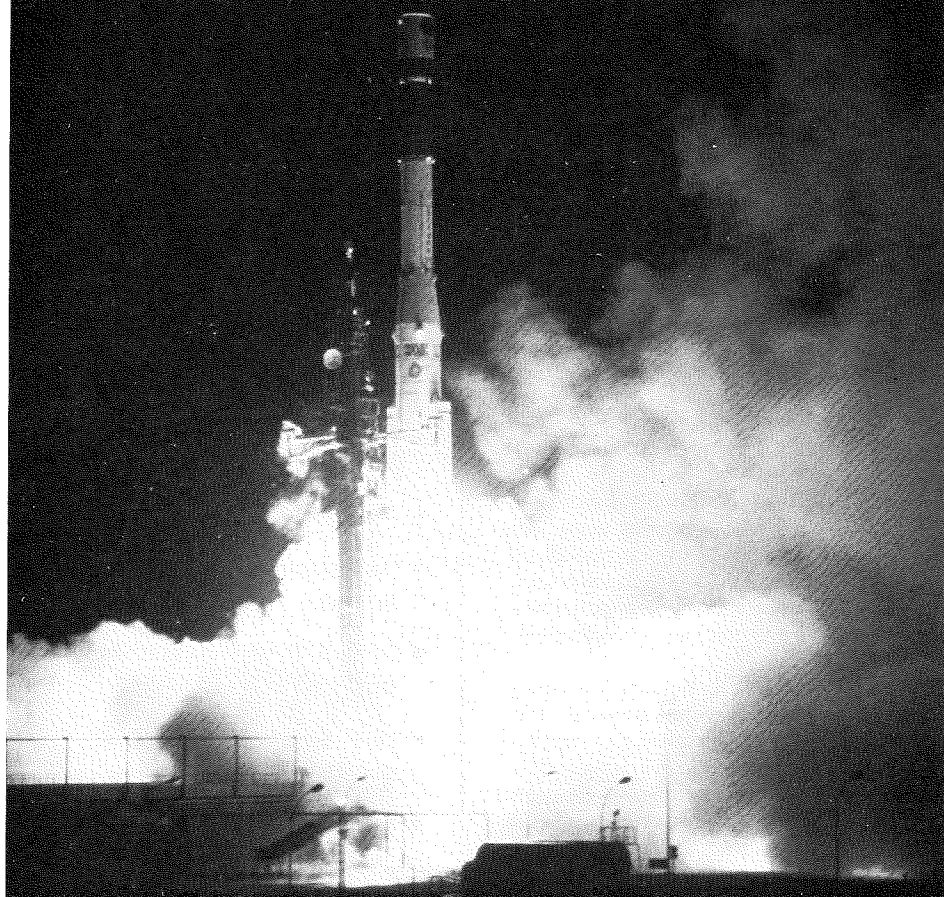
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# Brasilsat

## Un jalon dans le domaine des télécommunications spatiales



par Christopher G. Trump

**E**n 1985, une fusée Ariane lancée depuis le centre spatial de Kourou en Guyane française mit sur orbite le premier de deux satellites brésiliens destinés à répondre aux besoins en télécommunications de ce pays.

Ce projet spatial marque un certain nombre de "premières" historiques:

- Le premier satellite de communications internes en Amérique latine,
- le premier effort conjoint canado-brésilien visant à procurer au Brésil les avantages des communications par satellite,
- le premier principal entrepreneur canadien pour les satellites et l'équipement au sol connexe à servir les besoins d'un marché international.

### Ford (continued from page 9)

being worried, and this inevitably comes out in my poetry. But I don't think I am a pessimistic poet. I have lots of poems which express confidence and optimism about people, about one's self, and about the human being. Incidentally I have a new book of poetry which will be coming out in the fall, called "Doors, Words, and Silence", which is strictly non political; it is all reflective, philosophical and love poetry.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** In your recent poems, one detects a dissatisfaction with modern urban life. You have obviously opted for a different style of life here in the country near Vichy.

**FORD:** My dissatisfaction with today's life style is dictated partly because I have spent much of my life in large cities. It is also dictated by the fact that I have struggled with a form of muscular atrophy most of my adult life and living in a big city is not easy when you have to cope with problems caused by a physical disability of that sort. It is the reason perhaps why I have chosen to live in the country. I am now making up with

silence and tranquillity for the many years of intense activity and exposure to thousands of people, many of whom I am delighted never to see again.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** You remain very active. You still advise on East-West relations. You are very busy writing. What projects do you have for the immediate future?

**FORD:** I am no longer special advisor on East-West relations. I left that position last fall, but I still do some assignments occasionally for the government. I am a member of the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues chaired by Olaf Palme. I am a member of the Council of Administration of the International Institute of Geopolitics. I have some local positions such as honorary president of the local France/Canada Association. But what I am doing more and more is writing. I am writing articles. I am writing poetry. Above all, I am writing a book on Russia which I hope to have finished by the end of this year.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** What advice would you give to people who aspire to a

diplomatic career as successful as your own?

**FORD:** The diplomatic or foreign service cannot really be approached as if it were a vocation or a profession. It is more than that. It is an avocation. It is something which you have to love; you have to put your heart and soul into. Every successful member of the foreign service that I have had to deal with has had that attitude. I think also that it is necessary to do a certain amount of specialisation. It is necessary to have a very general appreciation of politics and economics, but to get ahead some measure of specialisation is rather important. It paid off in my own career with specialisation in Russian affairs. But I was equally happy in my Latin American postings. I liked very much my postings in London, the United Nations, Yugoslavia and Egypt but I do not think that I would have made as good a career if I had not specialized in Russian affairs.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Thank you very much. We will be looking forward to your new volume of poetry and to your book on the Russians. △

**L**e réseau intérieur de satellites brésilien (SBTS) fabriqué par Spar Aérospatiale Limitée, propriété d'actionnaires canadiens, reliera les vastes étendues du Brésil depuis Cruzeiro do Sul à l'ouest à Natal à l'est; depuis Boa Vista au nord à Pelotas au sud. Pour la toute première fois, au moyen de leur propre réseau de satellites, les Brésiliens seront en mesure d'effectuer des appels téléphoniques de Brasilia à Sao Gabriel aussi facilement que d'une extrémité à l'autre de la ville de Rio de Janeiro. Ils pourront regarder simultanément les programmes télévisés à Sao Paulo, Cuiaba, Porto Velho et bien d'autres centres éloignés. Les transmissions de données, les émissions de radio et programmes de télévision éducatifs seront tous rapidement accessibles grâce aux deux satellites de 24 canaux.

Les deux satellites sont stabilisés par rotation en orbite géostationnaire à quelque 36,000 km au-dessus de l'équateur, à 70 et 65 degrés respectivement, à l'ouest de Greenwich.

L'un pèse de plus de 1,000 kg chacun, les satellites couvriront les 8,8 millions de kilomètres carrés du territoire brésilien; la bande de fréquence de 6 GHz permettra de recevoir les signaux, et celle de 4 GHz de les retransmettre sur terre. Ainsi, 130 millions de Brésiliens partageront avec les citoyens des États-Unis, du Canada, du Mexique, de l'Indonésie et de l'Australie les avantages de la télécommunication, grâce aux satellites hautement efficaces HS-376, dont 24 sont déjà en service.

Le projet a vu le jour il y a plus de dix ans, lorsque RCA Canada, dont les divisions spatiales ont été achetées par Spar en 1977, a contribué à l'extension du système d'hyperfréquence brésilien de Rio de Janeiro à Brasilia. Telebras, société de portefeuille créée en 1972 en vue de relier Embratel et quelque 25 compagnies de téléphone importantes des états brésiliens, a pris la direction du projet au Brésil.

**D**e 1978 à 1982, la formation technologique en matière de commande et d'exploitation de réseaux de satellites et de communications offerte à Telebras par Télésat Canada, société qui possède et exploite les satellites Anik, a grandement contribué à élever la confiance du Brésil en l'expertise canadienne.

L'un des événements marquants du programme Brasilsat s'est produit lorsque Spar Aérospatiale Limitée, principal entrepreneur dans le projet, a entrepris la construction des satellites avec l'aide d'ingénieurs et de techniciens brésiliens. Un programme semblable permettra aux tech-

niciens brésiliens d'exploiter les stations terriennes au début de l'année prochaine. Cet investissement considérable dans des programmes de formation et de transfert de la technologie appose une marque spéciale de collaboration internationale sur le programme SBTS.

En 1985, des douzaines de stations TRT dans tout le Brésil recevront les signaux télévisés par le biais de contrats de service signés avec Embratel. Cette dernière est divisée en cinq régions d'exploitation, sous-divisées en 29 districts et 17 sous-districts.

**L**e centre de poursuite et de commande du SBTS, situé à Guaratiba à l'extérieur de Rio de Janeiro, n'est que le premier d'une série de quelque 22 nouvelles stations terriennes dont la mise en place est prévue d'ici le milieu de 1986; ces stations desserviront un total de 175 villes. Le programme SBTS améliorera considérablement les télécommunications au Brésil en répondant aux besoins en communications téléphoniques et télévisées des habitants, du gouvernement, des banques et des plates-formes au large des côtes.

En 1982, le gouvernement brésilien a signé un contrat avec Spar Aérospatiale Limitée, Canada, pour la construction de deux satellites et des stations terriennes connexes. Les compagnies suivantes se sont jointes à Spar pour la réalisation du projet: Hughes Aircraft des États-Unis, ComDev and Fleet Aerospace Limited du Canada, pour le système de l'engin spatial; SED Systems Ltd. du Canada pour les installations de commande au sol, et Télésat Canada pour le soutien du fonctionnement en orbite. On a rarement vu une équipe d'une telle expertise technologique aider l'un des pays les plus influents de l'Amérique latine à réaliser l'autosuffisance dans le domaine des télécommunications internes.

Le programme SBTS constitue un exemple unique de collaboration inter-américaine; ce programme de communications spatiales rapprochera les deux plus grandes nations de l'hémisphère ouest: le Canada et le Brésil.  $\Delta$

*M. Trump est vice-président de Spar Aérospatiale Limitée.*



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## Life Abroad

# Oriental Carpets — A Very Good Year

by William Brett

One of the signs of the times is every appearance in our newspapers of a sustained interest in Oriental rugs. Almost any daily carries advertisements offering to purchase rugs, particularly antique examples, with little regard for condition. Specialized auctions are frequently advertised. Surely this phenomenon is another reflection, along with gold, other art forms, furniture and wine, of societies' edginess about the worth of token value. Rugs have become a cache for the ebb in the value of money.

And why not? Rugs have in unusual measure many of the attributes of value: durability, beauty, ease of transport, uniqueness. They cannot easily suffer depreciation through imitation. Supply is naturally restrained, perhaps diminishing.

There is a bewildering variety in oriental rugs. One scarcely knows where to start an exercise in classification and discrimination. Size? design? colour? age? purpose? origin? The many factors interweave and play on each other like the features of the rug itself.

We have to start somewhere. Perhaps the best point of departure is recognition of what is almost the only common factor. What is an authentic oriental rug? It is a fabric composed of a series of knots binding together parallel cords, the warp. Lines of knots are compacted by thumping down the weft, cross running cords woven through the warp. The ends of the knots cut to form

the pile. The knots are almost invariably one of two standard types. They are assorted according to their colour to form a pattern. And that is about all that can be said of all oriental rugs. The quality varies with the fineness of the wool or other fibre, the density of the knots, the design, the fastness of the colour. Beyond these basic facts the subject of oriental rugs undergoes a bewildering sub-grouping of characteristics.

### Do It Like Wine

For sheer daunting complexity and capacity for cant the field best compared to rugs is probably that charlatan's Champs Elysee — wine. Perhaps we could try to unravel the carpet so to speak by following paths parallel to the wine connoisseur. We cannot expect to spot a little charmer bearing comparison with the north slope of the Cote d'Or 1959 but we might avoid being sold the equivalent of a smirking little Graves from the Rheingau. Let's try.

The first blocking out of wines begins with their broad areas of origin-traditional families of wines. We could take Bordeaux, Burgundy, Rheingau and say Sherry. Roughly speaking, the fundamental families of oriental rugs are Persian, Turkmen, Caucasian, Turkish — and further afield Hindoostan. Just as among the Bordeaux we find Pomerol, St. Emilion, Sauterne, and so on and among the Burgundies: Chambertin, Nuit St. Georges, so among the Persian we find the Isfahan, Tabriz, Heriz, Saruk, Kashan, Shiriz and Kerman. Among the Turkmens we can distinguish the Bokhara, Beshir, Khiva, Pendeh — Afghans and Baluchi are related types. The Caucasians boast Shirvan, Kazak, Bergama, Kershire, Yurak. Such — to name but a few.

We can no more adequately describe and differentiate these lesser families of rugs than we can describe the bouquet or after taste of a roguish little Bordeaux. Like wines the names derive from local geography and families or tribes. In many cases, particularly among the Turkmens, the latter move about. To reach some semblance of differentiation we might try to assign prevalent characteristics to the broad categories as we do with the wines; full-bodied, sweet, dry and so on.

The Persians are the most varied category. To the extent that there was a golden age in rug making it coincided with the Sefavi dynasty in Persia in the 16th and 17th centuries. The supreme example of the art to survive is a Persian carpet of this era — the Ardebil, woven to cover the tomb of the founder of the dynasty, Shah Ismail. The carpet, which is in the Victoria and Albert museum measures 38 feet by 17 feet, eight inches. It is unusual, almost unique in that it has a "cartouche" in one corner giving the name of the master artist, Maksud of Kashan and the date, 1539-40. This is about as old as a carpet can be so beware of pretensions beyond or approaching that date. The carpet has a superb medallion or

centre piece which is also a characteristic of the Persian. These resemble in format Persian miniature paintings.

### Likely Persians

If the carpet depicts a hunting scene or other attempts at representation of human or animal life it is quite likely to be Persian. The Shi-ite Persians were less inhibited in this regard than their near fundamentalist Sunni coreligionists in Islam. Also plant life, arabesques and tendrils, in general, departures from geometric design are most likely Persian. The use of silk and gold and silver filaments together with lighter colours such as lime and lemon are typical of Persian carpet called Polonaise — a type introduced to Europe through Poland and probably imitated there. If a carpet has any significant green areas it is probably Persian or perhaps Indian and fairly new. Persians have their full share of the repetitive, traditional motifs particularly stylized flowers often cysanthemums and lotus representing happiness and fertility. The iris, which occurs in the finer rugs, represents religious liberty. The palm hopes for the fulfillment of secret wishes. Carrying on the theme of luxuriant repose and the dolce vita the weaving of separate compartments betokening small formal gardens are almost exclusively Persian. The Persians did not reject repetitive "all over" designs. For instance the carpets of Qum, a town favoured by the Ayatollah Khomeini, very often have repetitive pine cone or leaf patterns (the mir-i-bota) such as we have come to identify with Paisley fabrics. These resemble a swollen tear drop. Beware of "antique" Qums. They are very rare.

A type of Persian carpet, the beautiful Feraghan is particular in that the aspect differs with the angle or distance of viewing. Cloud forms also appear in the Persians perhaps prompted by the Chinese.

Enough! The larger and squarer your carpet, the more profuse, the more individual, the more sophisticated, the more likely it is Persian.

The Turkmens. What of the Turkmens? Well these are the red carpets and their basic design is the "gul", usually an octagonal tablet, probably a stylized flower. Gul means flower (rose) in Persian and badge in Turkish. Either will do. The Turkman family is usually nomad-made and pretty well synonymous with Bokhara. Red, from the root of the madder plant, was the colour most accessible to the nomads. They had not the variety of material available to the Persians, nor the sedentary leisure for involved and convoluted design. There is a great range in the reds. Uniformity in the raw wool was hard to come by. This is partly responsible for "abrash" a feature which is much more common in the Turkmens and other rugs of nomads than in the Persian. Abrash is a streaking or unevenness in colour over the width of the rug. It could be just bad workmanship or a mishap in dyeing

as when the skein is too tightly twisted or packed for the dye to penetrate. Or soil and climatic variations encountered by the nomads as they move about cause variations in hue. It is taken as a sign of authenticity and an indication of hand work. As such it is likely to be simulated. The Samarkand is a Turkman rug so called because the city was a gathering place for the products of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan. The Afghan and Baluchi rugs, the latter often with a shaggy warm brown background, are kinds of Turkman.

### More Practical

Generally, again in distinction from the most Persian of Persian rugs, they are relatively loosely woven and shaggy, used more for warmth and other practical purposes than for show. As a result we have examples of the art in a variety of practical modes such as saddle bags, gun covers and door hangings. Many of these like many of the rugs have great charm. Turkestan had no real commerce with the west until after the Russian conquest late in the last century. There are few examples of any antiquity.

The Turki tribe is considered by many to have produced the best of the Turkman carpets. Typically they have a really red background to interlocking rows of major "guls". Yellow appears in the Turkman especially in the Beshir. In general though Turkman rugs are rather alike. The differences are tribal. Aside from the "guls" there is an unmistakable Turkman design, the "hatckla". This is a broad cross centred and extending over the whole central field dividing the rug into quarters.

The Turkish are hard to identify. One is tempted to hazard that a carpet without the sinuous elegance of the Persian or the repetitive "gul" is Turkish. This is the easy way out. But they are less distinctive and there is more fixed and individual regional variation. The older Seljuk work featured stars, diamonds and other geometric design but also stylized birds and dragons. The Ottomans, strict Sunnis, scraped the more cursive charms of the old Turkish. They tend to favour the geometric with lanterns and jugs, also stylized. Octagons centred in rows of squares are typically Turkish. A sort of beige central ground is perhaps Turkish but again something in the Turkish psyche appears to have rejected a single dominating motif. There appears to be acceptance of a stylized bird pattern. Another singular feature is the occurrence of three circles linked in a triangle. This is called the "seal of Tamurlane". Bright, varied colours and a tendency to zig and zag are also Turkish.

The Caucasians seem rather like the Turkish, more so than the Persians and Turkman. They are highly imaginative and colourful. They tend more to repetition. One type, the Talish is characterized by a plain blue centre. Small stars are a recurring feature.

The rugs of India and Pakistan, except for tribals, are derived mainly from the Persian.

One can choose as one will among these types of rugs. The many characteristics have been outlined to give us an idea of what we are buying — and to be able to say what it is. Also it may be helpful in countering the more outrageous claims of the obscurantist vendor.

It may help too to drop a casual observation on some of the common patterns, particularly those used along borders. We will often see the wineglass, the key or the cloud which is quite frequently found in the Chinese rugs and called a T'ang cloud. Then there is the ram's horn or the tarantula. Quite frequently, too, the Shah Abbas or palmette which looks in some forms like a maple leaf with a fussy foliate interior ground.

It could do no harm to show a passing awareness that rugs are also named according to size and shape, as for instance a Kanareh, which we might call a runner, or a pushti, a small bed size rug. Prayer rugs, those with a mithrab or niche which points towards Mecca are better known. A rug with several mithrabs in series may be quite valuable. There is also a sort of convention that beyond forty square feet a rug becomes a carpet.

The quality depends on a good many factors; condition of course, aesthetic characteristics and importantly, by the number of knots per square inch. The number of knots depends to some extent on the material but anything in the hundreds is quite good. That a rug is hand made is usually quite evident from the lack of sterility but it is well to peer into the pile to the central knots. If they are not same colour as the pile there could well be artifice. Also, of course, due to the manner of making them the pattern should be evident on the back. Also twist a rug to put strain on the base threads. Listen for any cracking.

### Care Is Important

Care is common sense; use of under felts, avoid dampness, do not beat, roll against the pile, do not fold. Clean gently. Do not heat. Wrap a rolled rug to keep the moths out.

Part of the fun in having a rug you like is the particularity. Also the number of uses. A fine rug makes a fine wall hanging. What of a gay or warm toned modestly priced tribal to hang against the interior of your entrance door to help keep the winter out?

With such rich variety and price range there is a comfortable field for chacuning one's gout. But a few things should be borne in mind. First the oriental rug is a foreign thing that could be quite easily lost or ill used in a Western house. A largish carpet with a centre medallion and a rich, full border

cannot be shown to good advantage in our rooms and indeed, it may detract from our nice furniture. And then of course the price. The smaller, looser, rich warm-toned tribals show to great advantage against Canadian wood and brick and our relatively plain furniture. So do the all-over, repetitive designs in small scale. Rugs of a size to move about let us permute our pleasures. After all few of us have a cellar stocked with Nuit St. Georges '59 — but we could amply enjoy a stock of good, sound, even dashing appellation controlée.

Aside from the pleasure and use we get from the rug, we may as well dabble a bit in values. Most of us will not have the outlay for a large investment and that means a smaller rug; probably a carefully selected Persian. There is less likelihood of an across the board value increase in a particular type of tribal. But there is a certain amount of action that warrants attention. Well made Baluchi, for instance, underwent a recent general price rise. Generally your rug will rise in value through time. It is hard to conceive of a general collapse in value as may occur occasionally in penny stocks — if there are such things still. Another safety net is the fact that as a general rule the dealer will undertake to buy back. No great risks for him when you think of it but rather comforting to you. Also one should remember the obvious. You are buying at retail and if you want to unload in a hurry you have first to turn to the wholesale market — and very few potential buyers of a rug of any value are going to take the word of the hard pressed individual seller. There are frequent auctions. Watch them. Read about rugs. Get into the technical detail of types, of fringes, borders, selvedge (the sloping shoulders near the edges).

Perhaps one ought not to worry much about the intrinsic worth of a rug as a piece of Islamic cultural history. Some of the oldest and best were made for the European market. Appreciation of this aspect is not for everyone — owner, viewer or prospective buyer. Certainly do not go for anything atypical or "funky" — except for your own delight and use. Do not be in a hurry either in selection or in "trading up". A good rug you have selected carefully and have confidence in is a constant pleasure. And if you have younger children they will in the fullness of time make marvellous wedding gifts, or part of what they grew up with and a future heritage of constantly increasing value for those to come. Really it is hard to do better than to exercise the happy pursuit of rugs.

*Mr. Brett is Senior Trade Commissioner in San Jose and a frequent contributor to Bout de papier. Δ*

# A Chat with Pauline Sabourin

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Let us start at the beginning.

**SABOURIN:** I joined the government July 4, 1949, and I was sworn in at the PCO at the same time as Klaus Goldschlag. In those days you went to one of the offices in the PCO and saw a man who had been doing it for years and there you swore allegiance and the oath of secrecy. Klaus Goldschlag and I were departmental twins and every year I would phone him and say 'Happy Anniversary'. When he went to Rome, it would have been our 25th anniversary, and I told him I would not be calling. He has an incredible memory and he sent me a telegram on the fourth.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** How did you get in? What was the process?

**SABOURIN:** Originally I did not want to work in the government because I did not want to be a 9 to 5er, coming out with a herd of people. So my first job was at the French Embassy. I had earlier passed the Public Service exams, which were valid for a year. After ten months at the French Embassy when my friends at the Embassy were leaving, I thought I had better see if I could work some place else. I asked Gladys Arnold, who was head of the English section in the Information Service at the Embassy, if she knew anybody who wanted an excellent bilingual secretary; in 1949 there were not too many around! She phoned External because she knew an officer in personnel and I just walked over and that was it. I went to the Information Division.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Who was working in the Information Division? The department was not very big then. Were they all still housed in the East Block?

**SABOURIN:** No, the Information Division and a few others (Legal Affairs) were in the Post Office Building. Paul Tremblay was Head of Division and most of the time in that division I worked for E.R. Bellemare, in the film, photo and radio section. One of the big projects we had was following up a survey in the United States with a view to a movie being made to correct all the misconceptions about Canada.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Was the movie made?

**SABOURIN:** Yes. There was a Canada-U.S. film agreement whereby some of the

profits made with American films had to be spent on films developing Canadian themes. We had lots of consulates although not as many as we have now in the States. Numbered letters were sent out and they conducted their own little surveys dealing with popular misconceptions about Canada in the U.S.A. and sent all the results to Ottawa. The department had to co-ordinate them and pass the results onto whoever might in the future be using that part of the income from those films and their profits. In those days I was a Grade two stenographer.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** What would an average day be like?

**SABOURIN:** Our hours were 8:30 to 5. In those days, of course, we worked Saturday morning.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** When did working Saturdays end?

*Pauline Sabourin was born in Sturgeon Falls, Ontario, and educated in Ottawa. She joined the Public Service in 1949 and is currently administrative assistant to the Hon. Mitchell Sharp, Commissioner of the Northern Pipeline Agency. Miss Sabourin worked for every undersecretary from Norman Robertson to A.E. Gotlieb. She was made a member of the Order of Canada in 1974. Bout de papier spoke with Miss Sabourin in December, 1985.*

**SABOURIN:** I cannot really remember because by then I was working in the undersecretary's office and you worked Saturday whether it was a working day or not. They had different systems of having staff on duty with whoever the undersecretary was and/or of the four or five assistant undersecretaries.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Some of the simple things like communications with posts — you mentioned numbered letters — was that the principal method of communication?

**SABOURIN:** It was numbered letters and dispatches. Numbered letters could be signed by anybody in the department on behalf of the undersecretary or, of course, by the undersecretary himself; whereas dispatches, in principle, were from the Secretary of State and were signed mostly by more senior people or by the Minister himself, depending on the content of the dispatch.

We did not have photocopying in those days. Quite often you had to make six to 10 copies, which meant typing the document twice. The same applied when you got a dispatch or a numbered letter back from a

post which was of interest to five or six divisions. You could copy it once with manual typewriters, and then you would do it again to make all your copies. That made you a fairly good typist. If you had to do a speech and required many copies then you did a stencil and you went down the hall and ran it off yourself. When the machine broke down you fixed it yourself — if you could. They also had multi-lith mats where you could make better copies in larger numbers.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** You did it all yourself?

**SABOURIN:** Oh yes. Those were the things that you did in the department. You would not do an Annual Report. That had to go to the Queen's Printer which was in Hull. There was a lot of actual physical typing and dictation as well. I was two years in the Information Division.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Where would you have your lunch?

**SABOURIN:** In the East Block they had a very small, horrible cafeteria in the basement which was run by the Institute for the Blind. You could also go to Sparks Street and eat at the Connaught, or the Honeydew or different restaurants that are not there now.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Did the officers and the secretaries all eat in the same place?

**SABOURIN:** A lot of people went to the Chateau. I went the odd time but I think in those days I also brought along sandwiches partly because it was cheaper and also because it was faster.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Where did you move to after Information?

**SABOURIN:** I was two weeks in Protocol. In those days Georges Charpentier was there and Temp Fever was Chief of Protocol. Then I went to the undersecretary's office to work for Mr. Léger who was assistant undersecretary at the time.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** How was the undersecretary's office?

**SABOURIN:** It was located in the front of the East Block. In those days I worked for people like John Holmes and Jean Chapdelaine. There were two other stenographers. They each worked for an assistant undersecretary. I worked for two assistants plus the executive assistant, who was then James Barker, I think. There was the undersecretary's office and next door to him was his secretary plus another stenographer. Next door again there were two stenographers, and the registry, and the messenger. When I came, I sat in with those last four. Then there was one office for an assistant undersecretary and a small little room, which we always called the Chapel, for the executive assistant. It had the stained glass windows and was opposite the elevator. Then there were four more assistant undersecretaries. In those days there were people like George Glazebrook, R.M. McDonnell, R.A. Mackay, and Mr. Cadieux as assistant undersecretary until he became legal advisor.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** And would he stay as part of the undersecretarial pool?

**SABOURIN:** Yes. John Watkins was also there, after his return from Moscow.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** He died in Montreal?

**SABOURIN:** Unfortunately yes. At that point he had retired. He was just visiting and was on his way back to where he lived in France. He was a highly cultured person. I always thought his greatest talent was his ability to speak to anyone whether an ambassador or me or the messenger, with the same degree of interest and appreciation. In those days we were a small family, but he would talk and chit chat about all kinds of things. He was a very interesting person and had an incredible background. He was a great expert on Scandinavian languages as well as Soviet affairs.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Was security a major concern? Was it something you were very conscious of every day?

**SABOURIN:** Extremely and I still am. We had briefings like everybody else. If you forgot a piece of carbon on your desk or whatever, you had to go and get it personally and you were given a little lecture on the importance of being careful.

I played tennis. An officer from the Russian Embassy came up to me and said "Ah, Miss Sabourin how are you today?" I had made a point of checking up on him and finding out what he did. But I was worried that he remembered my name. I did not like that. So I spoke to someone in the department about it and they were extremely grateful and said more people should be conscientious about things like that, because when you are a young girl playing at a tennis club and some Russian starts talking to you, you have to wonder why he even bothered remembering your name, and knew where you worked.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Tell me about John Holmes.

**SABOURIN:** He was a wonderful man. In those days everybody was extremely capable. I can always put up with anything from anybody as long as I know they are clever, intelligent, and doing something worthwhile. I got along with absolutely everybody.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** They talk about those being the golden years.

**SABOURIN:** They certainly were as far as I am concerned.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** You went through some interesting times. The Suez Canal Crisis for example. The undersecretary then would have been Mr. Léger. Do you remember much about the atmosphere during that time?

**SABOURIN:** I remember the number two man at the British High Commission came to the office when the whole thing blew up. I was not working for Mr. Léger, but I sat in the room with his secretary which was also the waiting room, and there was Mr. Pritchard, who was the British Deputy

High Commissioner, and the UAR Ambassador who was waiting next in line. When Pritchard came out they met face to face. Mr. Pritchard said good morning very briskly. I do not think the UAR Ambassador said anything.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** When a crisis like that hit, was there a discernable difference in the work of the office?

**SABOURIN:** Sure, and you could always tell by the number of hours you worked.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** What would be the working day?

**SABOURIN:** When I think of one undersecretary, in particular, I would be gone from my front door 12 hours a day. I left a little before eight and got home around eight and the undersecretary would be there all that time. In those years you did not get paid for overtime, you got time off. There was so much overtime worked by so many people, in particular in the Communication Centre during a crisis in Lebanon, that they decided they would pay it off, otherwise, half the department could walk out for six months on leave. When they tallied all the hours and all monies they had to pay out, the most money was paid to individuals in the Communication Centre because they happened to make more money than I did. But I had worked more hours in overtime than anyone else in the department. However, because my rate was lower it cost them less.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** You did not go out on a posting?

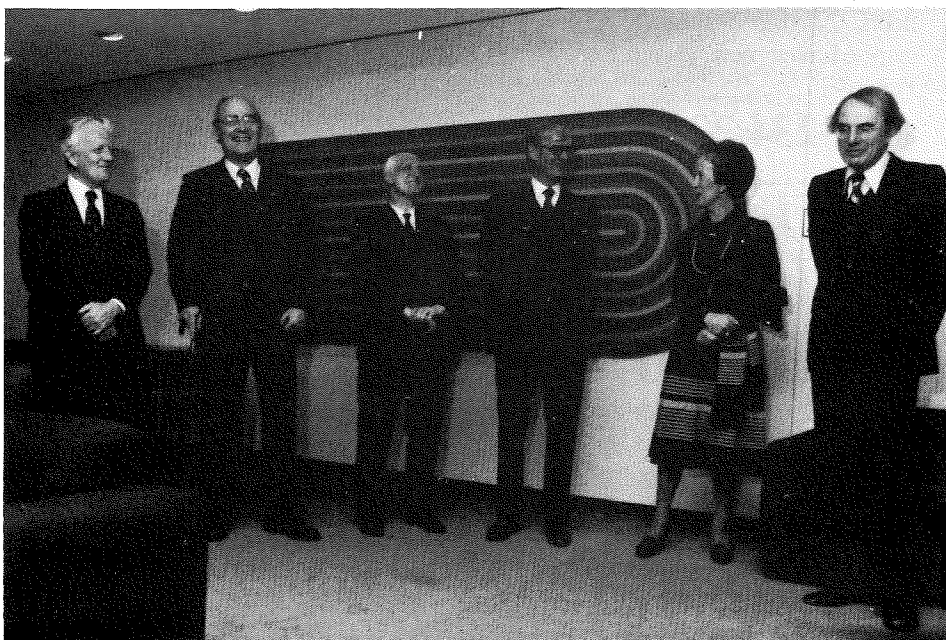
**SABOURIN:** I have never been out on a posting. Obviously, when you joined the department you supposedly had to serve somewhere. When I joined they were not as cut and dried in their rules and regulations and I was not as committed to foreign

service. The longer I stayed the less I wanted to go. I went to the U.N. twice. I was at the General Assembly in New York in 1950 and in 1952. In 1952 the session was split up because that was the year of the American elections: Stevenson versus Eisenhower. It was a big year for Canada at the U.N. Korea was going full blast and you worked long hours. I had the chance to go to Paris for a couple of months in 1952. There was a big job relating to NATO that had to be done. At that time I was working for Mr. Léger, who was assistant undersecretary, and he was responsible for the U.N. among other things. I was torn between going to Paris without Mr. Léger or going to New York with him. So I went to New York. They sent about ten girls in those days and we stayed and worked at the Biltmore Hotel. The mission, or consulate, would set up the inner offices on one floor and the outer rooms were where you stayed for three months.

In 1950 the U.N. building was not completed, so we would drive for an hour either to Lake Success or Flushing Meadows and if you went to one place you usually stayed there all day.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** How did you get there?

**SABOURIN:** They had cars with drivers. The whole delegation would load up a car and we would go. The secretary or stenographer would be the last one to leave with the last man on the last committee that finished its work around six o'clock. It was an hour's drive to town. In 1950, Klaus Goldschlag was on the Canadian delegation and in the car he used to dictate all the way. He was an incredible person for work. We took turns working at the U.N.; I loved it but a lot of girls did not so I usually replaced someone every day. We did the same in



*Miss Sabourin at a farewell party for her in 1978, with former undersecretaries Basil Robinson, A.E. Ritchie, Marcel Cadieux, Jules Léger and A.E. Gotlieb.*

1952, but it was a lot simpler because the U.N. building was available.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Did you still work out of the Biltmore?

**SABOURIN:** Oh yes. We had messengers who would run material back and forth to the Mission's Comcentre.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Did you ever get a chance to go out to the theatre?

**SABOURIN:** The odd time. You got a day off about every ten days. We would stand in line all day to get tickets to see South Pacific that same night. We always ate at the same place. There are so many restaurants that are different now than in those days. Not long after the first time I went to the U.N. they wanted to post me to New York because the man I had been working for in the Information Division had been posted there, but there was no way I could go there as a Grade two secretary. I knew my income would not be enough to keep me going.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Were promotions slow then? How long did you have to wait to move from Grade two to Grade three?

**SABOURIN:** I joined as a two. So a couple of years after that I became a three.

Then, of course, they offered me New York which I refused. After that they wanted me to go to Turkey and then to Paris. In those days there was a shortage of bilinguals and I kept saying "no I did not want to go." Personnel phoned me and I was told I would never be asked again to go on a posting and I would never be promoted. I was a rotational person who would not rotate. Then policies changed and they had some non-rotational staff, although very few in the stenographic field, which pleased me but might not have pleased other people. But I could never worry about what other people were thinking.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** When I was speaking with Charles Ritchie, he said that when Jules Léger became undersecretary he thought that was the turning point as regards the use of French. Until then he said almost everything in the department was in English. There really was not much recognition of the French fact except on post and that was why a lot of Francophones liked to go on post. Did you do your work in English?

**SABOURIN:** When I first came to the Undersecretary's office in 1952 there was no bilingual typewriter in that office. I was told to go to the stock room and find myself a typewriter. There was one with a bilingual keyboard and it would cost \$285 to put it in shape because it was totally broken down. When Mr. Léger was undersecretary I did not work for him. I did some of his French work, but he did most of his work in English. He would write letters to his French colleagues at posts and to other government colleagues who might have written to him in French, or if he was initiating something. As I recall, there really was not very much of official anything in French. Part of the problem was that secretaries did not have bilingual keyboards. The department was way ahead of a lot of other government departments in promoting bilingualism but even so the typewriter situation was a big drawback.

Even in the days of Mr. Cadieux, if somebody drafted a letter in English to Mr. Léger for Mr. Cadieux's signature, the accents would be put in by hand. To me that was unacceptable. To Mr. Cadieux it was unacceptable. So every time that happened, I was commissioned to phone the head of division where that letter came from to ask why. I remember telling Personnel that we were all supposed to become more bilingual, but how could we if we did not even have the machines? I can not tell you the many times I said that to people! Finally in the 60's there was a rule made that all typewriters ordered in External Affairs were to be bilingual. I always say that when I die they can put on my tombstone "Got the accents on the keyboards in External Affairs". To me there was nothing worse than putting accents in by hand, but some people thought it was quite acceptable.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** When did the big

change come? The impression given is that it was all English, even among some of the Francophones, as you pointed out.

**SABOURIN:** It really changed when Mr. Cadieux was undersecretary. There were more bilinguals. There was more interest in being bilingual and doing the right thing. I remember that at the beginning, people who knew something should be in French, would come to me and ask me if I would please do this letter because it was to so-and-so and would I type it for them. I ended up doing work for every Tom, Dick and Harry knowing it was for my boss's signature. I finally had to speak up and Mr. Cadieux agreed that I really could not undertake to type all the French material that was going to be signed by him but drafted in other divisions because we had our own work. When I was doing the work, however, I thought "my goodness we are becoming bilingual so I had better help". I was always anxious to help anybody at all times when it was possible.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Administration takes up a lot of time now. Did the undersecretary of the day spend a lot of time on personnel management?

**SABOURIN:** In earlier years the same problems did not exist because there were fewer people and fewer missions abroad. All the undersecretaries I knew were all very human people. When required, they would certainly deal with whatever had to be dealt with. They were not machines. Knowing that undersecretaries were busy, when they would come out and say "that was an incredible memorandum", I would look up who drafted it and phone them. I have always believed that if you do something wrong you always hear about it, but how many times when you do good things you never hear, so I would phone the author and say the undersecretary thought his piece was very good. Of course, I had the undersecretary's permission to do that.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** That would have been a big boost.

**SABOURIN:** I appreciated it when people helped me. When you work for the undersecretary you cannot go in and moan and groan and complain about all kinds of things, whereas in a division you can go to your boss. I could not, and I did not. But I always relied on a few people in the department at different levels and if I had personnel problems, not necessarily my own but different things, I would just go and speak to them. I always worked.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Talking about some of the undersecretaries. Obviously they were different men, all very capable. What were your impressions of some of them?

**SABOURIN:** Norman Robertson never asked for anything. He would just say something right out of the blue and I would go and sit at my desk and wonder what he meant. Then I would go in and volunteer something. He never asked, which meant

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you really had to pay attention and be interested in what you were doing. You had to want to be the best you could be and then it would fall into place. I am not talking about shorthand or typing, I am talking about other things which you have to do as a secretary. He was not a demanding person.

Quite often people wonder about wives and I guess it is more important when you go to a post abroad how people all get along. Mrs. Robertson is an extremely nice lady. She spoke to the Wives Association a couple of years ago and she was very good.

Mr. Léger, I knew him more when he was assistant undersecretary because I worked for him full time, had a terrific sense of humour. I remember when the World Health Organization had a big project on birth control in India and Mr. Léger was dictating a memo on the subject. He said to me: "What am I doing? Here I am the brother of a Cardinal." Mrs. Léger was just the same way, thoughtful, kind, wonderful humour.

I used to go to all the meetings in foreign lands attended by the undersecretary. That meant I went to all the NATO meetings, all the Canada-U.S., Canada-Japan, Canada-U.K. and Prime Minister's meetings. I worked for everyone while there, and this continued throughout my career. In that respect, you got to know people in a different way. Mr. Robertson always worked very hard. He had been High Commissioner in London twice. The first time we went he asked if I had been to the office yet. I said no, and he said I had better go because they wanted to look me over. He was well loved in England.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** What about the Ministers. Were they a bit more remote?

**SABOURIN:** In Ottawa certainly but not on delegations. I went to meetings with Prime Ministers Pearson, Diefenbaker, and Trudeau, and trips to Russia with the Prime Minister and the Minister. These gave me an idea of how things were abroad. You know you go to a country and some people come back and they are experts and they have been there for a week.

Mr. Robertson was followed by Mr. Cadieux, and he in turn by Mr. Ritchie. Mr. Ritchie had his stroke while he was undersecretary. He worked extremely hard and he had a very strong physique. He was the kind who would fly directly back from Tokyo, come to the office during the day, and then drive to New Brunswick the next day.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** You have lived through a number of transitions obviously, both when the government changed and when the undersecretary changed. Yet you stayed on. Was there any question or was it understood that you would stay?

**SABOURIN:** I am sure there may have been questions sometime — "stuck with Pauline again" — you know. But I must say a lot of men in the undersecretary's office for whom I did not work kept complaining that

their secretaries kept changing every six months. In those days I used the American State Department as an example, because they had a non-rotational staff and a rotational staff. I kept saying that if the Americans do it it must make some sense. But rotationality was departmental policy. People all have different preferences so I am sure that some of the men might have wished so, but "Pauline is here so what do we do".

After a while I was probably older than some of them. We had good people. We had Suzanne Filion, who was non-rotational, who did the registry work. She just retired from the department. We had Marcel Delisle, who was the messenger for years and years.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** When the government changed in 1957 and later when Pearson came in 1963, did you notice a difference?

**SABOURIN:** No. It was not up to me to even pay attention. You read about things and you might not agree with them, but I was not supposed to comment and I did not. I was not interested in politics as a public servant. I did not want to change and go to work for a member of parliament. It did not appeal to me at all. The men obviously would not comment in front of me if they had any thoughts or opinions and they did their work extremely well for whomever was in power.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Regardless of who the Minister was?

**SABOURIN:** That is right. I liked all the Ministers. Mitchell Sharp, Paul Martin, Howard Green, Sidney Smith. He died not too long after he came to office. I think it was too much of a change from what he had been doing. We went to Latin America in 1958. We visited Brasilia, then to the inauguration of the President of Mexico. I went back in 1968 when they had a great ministerial mission, 10 countries in 30 days.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Looking back, any regrets?

**SABOURIN:** Oh my goodness no, right back to the beginning. Working hard never hurt anybody. I lived at home and had my mother, so I did not have to worry about anything. I could not have worked as hard as I did for so many years without her. People ask me why I never married and I tell them I have been working for close to 37 years, and I have always said, I only do one thing at a time. When I am married, I will not be answering this telephone!

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** You were made a member of the Order of Canada?

**SABOURIN:** Yes, in 1975. Mr. Ritchie was the undersecretary at the time. You know, my whole life is related. When I want to remember something, to whom I worked for and what meeting was going on in what country that I was going to.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** You may not have been rotational but you must certainly have travelled a great deal?

**SABOURIN:** Yes. I have started to write a book and at the moment I am calling it "Forty-seven countries in Thirty Years" or "What Happened to my Life". There is a club in Toronto that to belong you have to have visited 50 different countries. Now when I travel it is all on my own time and money which I really appreciate. I do not have to carry a typewriter any more.

**Bout de papier** will, I hope, give me an opportunity to talk further about my work for A.E. Ritchie, H.B. Robinson and A.E. Gotlieb, former undersecretaries. If not, I know my former bosses know what I would have said without seeing it in writing. I continue to be happy, working, since May 1978, for the Commissioner of the Northern Pipeline Agency, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp.

**BOUT DE PAPIER:** Miss Sabourin, thank you very much. Δ

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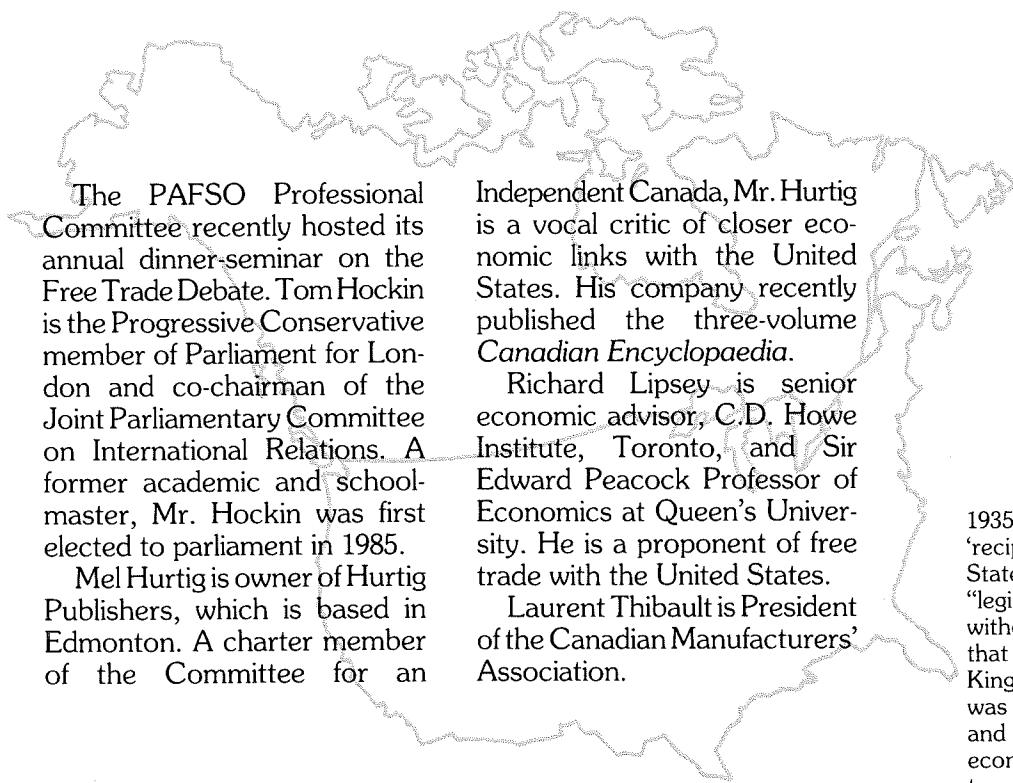
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# Canada U.S. Trade



The PAFSO Professional Committee recently hosted its annual dinner-seminar on the Free Trade Debate. Tom Hockin is the Progressive Conservative member of Parliament for London and co-chairman of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on International Relations. A former academic and school-master, Mr. Hockin was first elected to parliament in 1985.

Mel Hurtig is owner of Hurtig Publishers, which is based in Edmonton. A charter member of the Committee for an

Independent Canada, Mr. Hurtig is a vocal critic of closer economic links with the United States. His company recently published the three-volume *Canadian Encyclopaedia*.

Richard Lipsey is senior economic advisor, C.D. Howe Institute, Toronto, and Sir Edward Peacock Professor of Economics at Queen's University. He is a proponent of free trade with the United States.

Laurent Thibault is President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

1935, King held out hopes of some sort of 'reciprocal agreement' with the United States without, in his words, injuring any "legitimate industry" within Canada and without taking away any of the protection that he had put in place before 1930. What King tried to do, in a typical King fashion, was to blame high tariffs between Canada and the United States for part of Canada's economic problems. He tried thereby, to transform the whole process into a technical question of tariff adjustment. He didn't debate it in the great theological sense of national policy against continentalism. He talked about it in terms of tariff adjustments.

If you read the history of the debate in 1935 you will find parallels to the present day. King was not able to accomplish too much from 1935 to 1940 and then the war interjected. After that, there was a global trend away from protectionism and the Canadian Manufacturer's Association, which originally was against King's ideas, started to give grudging support to the GATT Round, to the Kennedy Round. By the 1980's two-thirds of the C.M.A. thought that free trade would lead to expansion in our economies. We have a situation today where there aren't as many forces against freer trade in the United States as existed decades before. We are now left with a situation with tariffs more or less removed. We are talking, therefore, about non-tariff barriers. With the historical memory of two great contending ideas in front of any parliamentary committee or Cabinet on this issue, as well as some historical lessons, we have to ask ourselves: how do you deal with the issue of free trade in political terms?

We found in our committee this past summer that business leaders, economists and others who supported freer trade with the United States, supported it, first of all, because it seemed to be a practical and acceptable formula to Canada's economic

## Tom Hockin

I don't think one can understand why this issue has so much resonance without a little bit of historical perspective. I am finding even the historical background is affecting us politically both as a government and as a committee.

The first major formative event that has left its mark on the commercial side of our national memory was not the National Policy but the Reciprocity Treaty in 1854 and the American Civil War which led to a tremendous demand for Canadian goods. This period of 12 years resulted in tremendous economic growth in British North America. The U.S. failure to renew the treaty in 1866 represented for business its virtual expulsion from what was almost a Garden of Eden in terms of a secure and dependable market for business. After that what evolved were two distinct and opposed commercial schools among the Canadian political and economic leaders. The first school wanted to see if we could regain the type of arrangement that was in place from 1854 to 1866 because it was such a commercial success. The other school, which triumphed under Sir John A. MacDonald, put in place the National Policy. It stood for something quite different. These two schools have dominated the Canadian debate until the present time

and they affect us even now as we make our decisions.

Great Britain and the Imperialist link was part of the National Policy that lost its weight after WWI. In the first decade of this century 54 per cent of our exports went to the United Kingdom; by the 1920's the UK was still our most important customer but the division was 39 per cent to 30 per cent with the United States. By the 1950's, 59 per cent of our exports went to the United States and the scaffolding of the National Policy began to be removed not only through increasing trade with the United States but through the various GATT rounds (e.g. the Kennedy Round, the Tokyo Round) which left more and more commodities between the United States and Canada duty free. We will have a situation in 1987 where 80 per cent of our exports to the U.S. will be duty free and 95 per cent will have duties of five per cent or less. The tariff situation has really been removed as a major issue.

I want to remind you about one other period in Canadian history: 1935. In 1935, Prime Minister King argued that R.B. Bennett's Conservative high tariff policy was responsible for much of our economic difficulties and for much of the unemployment in Canada. Bennett, he claimed, missed the opportunity to negotiate a trade treaty with the U.S.A. In the election of

difficulties. Economists and businessmen can give you the rationale. Secondly, there is a resonance to it of sound management. If you believe in the discipline of the market, freer trade with the United States is just part of good management and that is politically attractive, regardless of your party and regardless of the economic arguments.

The third thing that emerged in all of the soundings that we did this summer is that most of the successful exporters in the United States seemed to be concerned about maintaining and stabilizing that access. There is a kind of primal fear, similar to that 1866 rejection, sweeping across Canada. The fear is that we are going to be kicked out, like we were, even if they don't know the history, 120 years ago. This is very much the political reality. We heard it constantly as we travelled across Canada and that's what makes free trade with the

down with our recommendations. The Liberals joined with us in the recommendation for freer trade. I thought the NDP was going to join us, but it jumped off the train at the last hour. The NDP has an interesting strategy, it gets you to compromise and then it doesn't stay on the train! I guess it's classic labour negotiations. In our committee, the Liberals and the Conservatives agreed that we should talk to the United States to see if negotiations are worthwhile.

The Liberals wanted to load the recommendation with more qualifications and clear indications that certain things were not on the table. The Conservative members of the committee were concerned that we could not get the Americans' attention to negotiate anything if we had to parcel a package. We recommended that and the Prime Minister accepted that recommendation in his statement of September

out there. I think that strategy is going to change and it is going to change soon because if we find that there is insufficient support within Canada for it, we won't be able to sell the deal once we get the deal, even if it's a reasonably good one.

Also, if a government wanted to be diabolical and call an election on free trade as an issue, if you have lost some public support during the debate you really don't want to bring that issue before the Canadian people. Therefore, I think the government is going to have to do much more to sell the whole notion of a freer trade package and more secure access to the American market and it should get some of the Chamber of Commerce and other interest groups that favour it to sell it as well.

Finally, I think Members of Parliament should do the same. I would suggest that we are at a very critical stage. We either have to start selling the initiative or give it up. I think we are definitely going to sell it. We can't be coy with the issue, we have to sell it as best we can and as we do that I think you will see the debate sharpening. Maybe tonight's session is a precursor.

*"I think labour will be very difficult to coopt into this project"*

United States a politically potent and attractive argument.

There are some downsides. The repoliticization of this issue holds some political risks. In terms of social distribution, I think labour will be very difficult to coopt into this project. I think they are always going to hang back, they are always going to be skeptical. There will be exceptions, but generally that's a worry for any great national project that finds labour against it. Secondly, the nationalists are not comfortable with it and no government wants to be saying no to the nationalists all the time. Third, the fear and loathing that we get everyday from the opposition on this issue is affecting the debate in the government. We took a rather low key position towards freer trade and this has allowed the debate to be dominated by the pessimism of Question Period: worrying about this exemption, what's on the table, what's off the table and so on. This takes its toll. A recent Decima poll shows that while over 80 per cent of Canadians thought freer trade a good idea in September, today its 65 per cent.

The fourth risk of the free trade issue is to federal-provincial relations. If freer trade works, especially on the non-tariff barrier side, you have got to do something about government procurement and issues of that nature. We're talking about a loss of power and a loss of autonomy for the provinces and that's a difficult thing to handle in any political society. The Macdonald Commission was really quite explicit about this even while they recommended freer trade.

In the midst of this, our committee came

26. Second, we recommended that new energies should be placed by the Canadian government into the next GATT Round. Third, we thought a dispute mechanism should be put in place. There are some differences of opinion between the NDP and me on that one. The NDP wanted to have an International Joint Commission (IJC) for trade matters, but I don't think you can sublimate the great issue of politics into an IJC. Those issues inevitably end up being political issues and I think that it is misleading to think that you can ever institutionalize all of that through an IJC for trade. We perhaps could improve sources of common information, especially on the whole question of subsidies and what is a countervailable action and so on, and we might be able to get common information which could lead to much less misunderstanding in American and Canadian relations on trade. We also reminded the Canadian people of the importance of dismantling interprovincial trade barriers if we are ever going to be competitive after joining the Americans in a bilateral trade arrangement. Those were our recommendations and they have been accepted, more or less, by the government.

Our government's strategy has been one of almost benign neglect on this issue to minimize the risk that the thing might not work. The Prime Minister hasn't been giving too many speeches on it. I find that if the government believes in a deal that would give us greater access to the U.S. market this whole argument is losing favour because there aren't that many defenders

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# Larry Thibault

As Tom Hockin said, there is a lot of history in this issue. I don't think there is any organization in Canada that is more involved with the history of Canada-U.S. free trade than the C.M.A. Going through our archives you find some interesting things. You find letters to Sir John A. MacDonald, but one of the most intriguing is the record of the first tariff structure that became part of the National Policy in 1871. Apparently, the Customs Committee of the C.M.A. actually drafted it and submitted it to government and government accepted it. Those were the good old days!

The C.M.A. was founded in 1871, precisely on the notion of developing a policy to protect what was then the fledgling sort of manufacturing capability in the colonies. For many years the Customs Committee was the heart and soul of it, as the whole reason for the C.M.A. was to protect and monitor customs and tariffs. This had a beneficial impact in the sense that after the U.S. Civil War there was a great fear among Canadian manufacturers that they would be totally overrun and overwhelmed by the enormous production capability that the U.S.A. had built up but that they had no use for one once the war stopped. That fear permeated the early years of the C.M.A., and throughout the 20's and 30's. It was in the post war period that things began to shift.

First of all, the manufacturing activity became much more complex and other interests started to be more prominent in C.M.A. affairs, i.e. labour relations, taxation, environment and so on. Other committees and issues became important. The tariff issue gradually receded and over the years, in the post war period, the C.M.A. committees and the board gradually became more and more supportive of the notion of multilateral liberalization of trade, including the last one where there was a lot of basic and positive support among our members to say this is a good thing. History shows that we can grow, and compete. We actively urge our members to study the issue of lowering barriers to trade and to put their thoughts to government and to help in the negotiating process so we can get the best possible deal. There are, however, a lot of sectors in manufacturing that have a great deal of concern with the gradual opening up of our market, much less the whole notion of going to full free trade with the United States.

So why is the C.M.A. supportive about the notion of even considering freer trade with the United States in a fairly open comprehensive fashion? You have to go back to 1981-82 and consider that at that time the manufacturing sector in Canada was hit very hard. The drop in industrial production in Canada's manufacturing sector was the most rapid and deepest of

any of the industrialized countries in the Western world. There was a really severe shock to manufacturing in 1981-82 and in late 82, when we were doing our soul searching about what was happening in Canadian industry, we published a piece that we entitled "Competing in the Global Village".

Our membership was supportive of that document, which made everyone realize that the world was changing dramatically. We are now facing intense competition from around the globe. We've always had import competition — you may recall in the late '70s the percentage of our automobile market that was served by imports was a very comfortable 12 per cent. It shot up to more than 20-25 per cent and now it's pushing 30-35 per cent.

That's just one indication. You get the same intensive pressure in machinery and it has always been there in the traditional industries. You see it in every conceivable manufacturing product. Companies tell us every day that there are new competitors out there. The realization was driven home that we are now very much in a global economy and we are struggling with the strategy to deal with that. The notion of being world competitive, devising world product mandates and so on, is very prevalent.

It's going through that process of shifting gears from being primarily oriented to the Canadian market and to some extent the American market, to the notion that if we were going to survive as manufacturers we have to be competitive with competitors from around the globe. That's not easy when you consider some of the developing countries. Look at the automobile industry, look at the Hyundai Pony. Twenty to 22

ability to compete right across the board. One of the reasons that committees, and eventually the board, was supportive of the notion of discussing with the United States the possibility of a fairly broad and fairly deep free trade arrangement was the strategic notion that if you are going to compete, one of the critical requirements that you need is a sufficient market in order to develop and grow to be big enough and strong enough to fend off competitors from around the globe.

The Canadian market is not big enough. For many companies — the classic is Northern Telecom — which grew inside the Canadian market but quickly realized that to sustain the development and the technology that it needed it had to get bigger markets. The United States was the most natural one.

Northern Telecom quickly expanded there and now it is leaping beyond that and going after major markets in the U.K., Japan and other countries as well. That kind of thinking is being repeated hundreds of times in different manufacturing sectors and different companies. This notion of how we get our manufacturing sector to improve its productivity and its competitiveness in a global context is driving manufacturing and that is why C.M.A. has come to be fairly supportive of the notion of negotiating a freer trade agreement with the United States.

Most companies are pretty well convinced that you have three options: you can be very protectionist and live in the past; you can say we'll defend the status quo (let's not move too fast let's just stay where we are) and I guess many companies are saying, or the consensus seems to be, that's not good enough either. We have to keep moving

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*"We have to keep moving ahead, we have to ensure that we have expanded access to the U.S. market"*

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months ago, there were no automobiles here from South Korea and now they are coming in at a rate of 100,000 a year or 10 per cent of the market and growing by leaps and bounds. That's not an unusual phenomenon if you look at a whole range of manufacturing products. In thinking about this a number of issues emerged. We noted that our labour relations climate is not the greatest and that the Japanese were beating us because they had much more cohesion in their factories, much better productivity and so on. A whole theme and thesis developed on that front. In Canada we don't put as much investment in developing new technology, R&D and so on as many other countries that began to have a new thrust.

There is a lot of pressure now to link companies with universities and generally do more R&D to upgrade our technological

ahead, we have to ensure that we have access, expanded access, to the U.S. market as one of the fundamental building blocks for the future.

We went to a sectoral approach but that proved inadequate; you go through the functional approach and that doesn't seem to balance out either. You are left with the notion of a fairly broadly based approach. There is a lot of agonizing and a lot of stress and strain within the C.M.A. When we ask the question: how would you fare in a free trade environment with the United States, the membership breaks down in three broad categories: about a third of the members say "great stuff, gung ho, let's go at them, what we need is markets, and we're competitive, we've got the technology, and what we need is access, and let's do it". You've got another third in the middle, who

say "well we'll gain a bit, and we'll lose a bit, and we'll change a number of things around, and we'll rationalize and we'll probably be alright and we have some concerns but no great opposition to the concept". And then there's another third — basically in industries where there is a fair amount of protection and where the adjustment would have to be very substantial, who have very serious concerns.

When you talk about the policies of adjustment that would be available to make the transition, a lot of these concerns are not so great. You are left with what one might expect — a broad range of views, although on balance the consensus is that we should go ahead but there is still a group of companies that feel concerned because of the tremendous adjustment they would have to make.

One of the greatest concerns is that if you are going to make the kinds of changes in machinery and equipment and products to succeed in this new environment, you need to make a lot of investment. Many companies are not sure that they have the financial capability or that their banking system is going to be supportive enough to help them make that transition. They're afraid of being overwhelmed by stronger competitors. On the other hand, many companies have shown that they can compete in North America and abroad. The C.M.A. believes we should continue the broadly based approach through the GATT environment and move along that track and not compromise the option of multilateral trade negotiations. At the same time, we should proceed with negotiations with the United States on a possible bilateral agreement. There are several important cautions that our members want us to say loud and clear.

First of all, there should be a very strong and real consultation mechanism with industry. Nothing would be more damaging to industry than the notion that in political circles, or in the public service, you can open the border and that you can let the manufacturers do their thing out there. That would be absolutely deadly. Look at the beer industry. They have made their case known and say if you don't change the Canadian policy environment so that we can at least rationalize within our own market, we're going to be wiped out. The new environment that we're trying to create must involve all areas of government policy. If we're going to do this, we're going to be in this together, or manufacturing will go down the drain. You have to have a tax policy that makes investment attractive in Canada, competition policy that is restructured to allow companies to shift their assets to compete in the global trading environment and a set of labour relation regulations and

institutions that promote, support and encourage better labour management relations. If we don't create that policy environment, then manufacturing is simply not going to succeed.

Second: There must be very close consultation with industry so that government can understand in real terms what this means. And the whole range of government policies, both federal and provincial, must be geared to this whole concept.

It is not like traditional negotiations in the past, where you simply just cut tariffs and manufacturers then adjusted. It is not going to work that way. I think the challenge is one of finding the right trade strategy for Canada and integrating it with our total policy strategy. There is a lot of confidence in the manufacturing sector that we can do this thing right. There are great opportunities in the market south of us. If we have the guts and confidence to get our act together we can succeed. The U.S. market is attractive when you compare it to the alternatives of trying to meet the Japanese head on in their market or the Europeans in their market or even the third world where it is also very competitive and very expensive to do business.

## Mel Hurtig

The other night I went to a wedding in Edmonton and I met a very conservative businessman, an old friend and tennis partner of mine. I asked him what he was going to do under a free trade agreement. This man is extremely to the right in his political philosophy, he is a native Edmontonian and has lived there all his life. He employs about 600 people in his factory and he looked me square in the eye and said "There is no doubt what I am going to do under free trade. I am going to move my company down to Texas and employ Mexican labour at somewhere between \$2.80 and \$3.50 an hour. I won't have to spend \$2,000 a month heating the warehouse with natural gas bills; I won't have medicare premiums; I won't have U.I.C. premiums; I won't have C.P.P. to pay; I won't have the tougher working condition legislation in the factory compared to what they have down there". I have told that story numerous times and it's bottom line to what we're talking about. Here is another:

A young lady from the UCLA Bone Marrow Unit in Los Angeles came to visit me at my home last spring. She is a 27-year-old nurse, and she said that every single week down in LA, she sees parents crying in the hospital room because the hospital is hounding them for bills that they cannot afford to pay. A shot of demerol for their child costs \$180; the

exercise bicycle in the room costs them \$74 a day; two aspirins cost a \$1; blood transfusions cost \$300 and up. Isolation rooms, and most of the kids need to have isolation rooms, cost \$1,200 a day or \$36,000 a month.

What does this have to do with the subject that we are talking about? We know that Mr. Clark and Mr. Mulroney have said that no government would be stupid enough to put medicare on the table. Canada's social programs are indeed a social trust, a special trust and we don't have to be Canadians to be concerned about the erosion of those special social programs that we Canadians have built up. But it is going to have to include almost everything. It is a comprehensive deal we are talking about. Under the terms of the comprehensive deal you take a cold shower, you rationalize your industry, you suffer some dislocation as you take the leap of faith through the window of opportunity and rush out onto the level playing field to compete, eyeball to eyeball. This is why the Mulroney government's secret leak document came out of the PMO saying "You know we got to make sure that this stuff is resolved fairly quickly", and it is a "selling job". Those were the exact words in the secret memo. It is going to be a selling job and we have got to get it over quickly because the more Canadian business,

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especially small and medium size Canadian business, which have been the big job creators in this country during the past decade, understand the ramifications, the more opposition you are going to get.

I spoke to a couple of television station owners the other day. They are appalled by the possible ramifications that they did not know about three weeks ago.

Premier Pawley, who was conned into an incredible statement made by the Prairie Premiers at Grand Prairie last spring — where they could not even make the distinction between a free trade agreement, a custom union and a common market — is suddenly getting letters. An operator of a highly sophisticated printing plant which employs 800 people in Altola, Manitoba, wrote the Premier of Manitoba the other day saying "Look I can't even compete for business with the Ontario government or Saskatchewan government, or the next door neighbours and you want to allow a company from Tennessee with excess capacity to come in and take over the Manitoba market". He said: "My company would be put out of business." The whole basis of a comprehensive bilateral trade agreement is that we Canadians are going to compete eyeball to eyeball. And I say to you if you want to compete eyeball to eyeball then you better have the same tax rates, you also better have the same working conditions in your factories, you also better have the same environmental clauses in the United States, you better have the same labour legislation.

If you want to compete eyeball to eyeball don't charge them higher taxes to pay for medicare. The same people in the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and in the Business Council on National Issues and in many of these continentalist organizations, who by the way are to a very large extent supported by foreign controlled corporations, the same people who today are pushing for this agreement are exactly the same people who a few weeks later are going to be at Michael Wilson's door and Don Getty's door and David Peterson's door saying "Look we really can't afford to pay for the medicare premiums. We can't afford to have the comprehensive social system that we Canadians have built up that is the envy of the world".

Richard Lipsey, Carl Beigie and the other continentalists do not see any important differences between Canada and the United States that are worth preserving. If you want to compete eyeball to eyeball you better make sure that all of your legislation is determined in Washington, D.C.

Eddy Goodman, the past president of the Conservative Party of Canada said earlier this year "Free trade for Canada would be political hari-kari". All the important decisions about our future would

## *"All the important decisions about our future would be made in Washington"*

be made in Washington. The next question is vulnerability: Is the idea to further enhance the trade, into 80 per cent, 85 per cent, 90 per cent of our trade? If you become that vulnerable in a trading ratio and you want to enhance that vulnerability you are going to be put into a position where you simply can't determine your own future.

Many of us look at this debate in terms of the old historical debate about free trade but we all know that is not the old historical debate about tariffs, because we know that by 1987, under GATT, 96 per cent of our exports will go into the United States with a tariff of 5 per cent or less. We know that such policies as interest rates and the value of our dollar have a much greater effect on determining our ability to export to the United States than any remaining tariffs.

The free trade debate is now a debate about signing a comprehensive, locked-in agreement that would curtail the powers of the provincial and federal governments to determine future policy. Even Donald Macdonald, in an interview with the *Financial Post* earlier this year, said he recognized that Canadians would have to modify and adjust and give ground on our political independence and the way we set our social policies.

Jim Kelleher can go and see David Peterson and say there will be the possibility of a 7 per cent dislocation or 840,000 jobs. The C.M.A. and Dr. Lippy and others tell me where the new jobs are coming from. We know the natural resource sector is capital intensive and not labour intensive. We know there are some spinoffs into the treasury sector from the natural resource sector, but we know that most of the jobs, if we want to put those 1.3 million Canadians back to work, have got to come from a secondary sector. The purpose of a branch plant is to buy parts and goods, and components and services from their parent company mostly at non-arms length prices, mostly to maximize the profits in the jurisdiction that has the lowest taxes, meaning mostly in the United States. Is there anybody in this room who is naive enough to believe that the branch plants which occupy 50 per cent of our labour intensive and secondary industry are going to have a mandate to turn around and compete with their parent companies back in the United States?

The next question has to do with the nature of Confederation. Under any comprehensive bilateral trade agreement, the provinces of Canada are going to have to surrender power to the federal government. I have yet to meet one provincial premier or hear one provincial leader of the opposition

who says he is prepared to surrender power to Ottawa. Even the Macdonald Royal Commission said that it's the one problem that we have yet to solve.

Next, if you become completely economically integrated with a much bigger, much wealthier, much more powerful partner, then what you inevitably get, as Mitchell Sharp has written so eloquently and as Robert Bourassa said the other day, is harmonization. I have yet to hear of one single policy where the Americans are going to harmonize to the Canadians. We Canadians are going to do all of the harmonizing. And under the kind of comprehensive bilateral trade agreement that inevitably would be signed if Mr. Mulroney and Mr. Reagan get their way, and make no mistake about it, the American administration really wants this, then you would inevitably have the first step towards a customs union. The customs union would inevitably lead to a common market. Again, I have yet to hear any political scientist or economist who I respect, who has not said that in the kind of common market that would exist between Canada and the United States, it would be game over for Canada. It would be the first important step towards economic and political union with the United States.

Countervail — if you have been listening to Clayton Yuetter, Peter Murphy and Malcolm Baldrige and the others, they have made it absolutely crystal clear that under no circumstances will the United States have countervail as part of this deal. Murphy said the other day: "If we took countervail to Congress, Congress would throw us out quickly." So countervail, just as is in the Israel-United States free treaty, will not be on the table. You know that that means in a nation where they already consider the stumpage rates in British Columbia as unfair subsidies, the hydro-electric power rates to Quebec Aluminum as unfair subsidies, natural gas prices paid by the petro-chemical industry in Alberta as unfair subsidies, 38 different programs for Maritime fishermen unfair subsidies, not to mention the subsidies to the automotive parts industry from the Ontario government, not to mention the Son of Crow, not to mention Canadian Wheat Boards, not to mention low interest loans, not to mention regional industrial development grants and loans, not to mention stabilization programs, not to mention marketing boards, and I could go on for the next half hour!

You sign this agreement and everytime politicians sit down to make new policy they



will be looking over their shoulders and saying "what does the United States think about this, and is the United States going to slap countervail on this or not".

Next, I have yet to hear the continentalists come up with a list of what the Americans want. You know we have a vague idea of what we want to achieve from this comprehensive deal, but have you ever tried to make a list of what the Americans will want? You say, well Mr. Hurtig, you shouldn't be so nervous because we have got good old tough Simon (Reisman), he's going to be bargaining for us, and Simon is real good hard-nosed eyeball to eyeball bargainer. Well I read a speech recently that Simon gave on April 16 to the Economic Council of Ontario, in which Reisman says, in plain English, our bargaining position is so weak, we want this agreement much more than the Americans do and that if we are going to get it we are going to have to give away something important, and let's start with the export of Canadian freshwater supplies. Is that a hard-nosed eyeball to eyeball bargainer? One who starts off by saying that our position is weak, and that we have to give away Canadian freshwater supplies? I would like the Conservative government to fight an election on that issue!

I want to talk briefly about the economic effects of free trade and I urge all of you to start looking at some of the new material that has been published in this area. If you haven't seen the work by Bruce Wilkinson, you should get it. If you haven't read the report out of the Economic Council of Canada in August about the gross over-emphasis on the benefits of free trade, you should read it. If you haven't read John Helliwell's criticism of the Harris model that

everybody is talking about, you should read it. There is all kinds of new disagreement coming up in the economic community about the economic benefits of free trade. All the continentalist economists talk about rationalizing Canadian industry. That's great, that's what happens under a free trade agreement, you rationalize your industry.

Have you heard any of them talk about rationalizing American industry? What about the incredible overcapacity that exists in the American northern tier states? Isn't the likely thing for them to do, for Doubleday or Harper or Simon and Schuster, if they have a best seller of 100,000 copies in the United States to have a guaranteed further 10,000 copies in Canada? By the time the last 10,000 copies comes on the tail end of the run, the \$29.95 book costs them maybe \$1.30 or \$1.40, and it's a very profitable way to do business. What makes you think that the American plants are not going to rationalize, and start feeding the Canadian market with their products? Tell Puerto Rico all about the benefits of a free trade agreement, tell Newfoundland about the benefits of a free trade agreement, tell Tennessee about the benefits of a free trade agreement. Ask the four countries in the world's largest free trade area in the European Common Market, that presently have double digit unemployment, about the benefits of a free trade agreement.

The biggest problem with the continentalist free traders are that they think it's the only game in town, the only thing that they can think of, and they have made it into a panacea. It's like the old medicine bottle that cures everything. If we enter into these negotiations, thinking of it as the panacea, the cure-all, the only game in town, and if we

have the high expectations of the Harris Study, for example, then we will be prepared to give away much too much.

We will end up on the road to economic and political union with the United States!

## Richard Lipsey

I think we care about the future of our country, I think we are all patriots, in spite of innuendo and we all really want to make this country go. Mel Hurtig said a free trade area will become a customs union which will become a common market and we will become the 51st state. We are talking about a modest change in Canadian economic policy, a modest change in the policy of the country. We're not talking about turning the place around. We're not talking about selling the shop out. The hysteria of people who tell you that a free trade area will lead to a common market which will lead to the end of Canada as a nation — I don't know how you deal with that kind of thing! I don't know how you deal with a world that says we're talking about small changes in commercial policy and people come and tell you that Canada, as a nation, will cease to exist. Now that's nuts. Let's talk about what we're talking about — a modest change in Canadian economic policy.

Way back in the 1870's, Sir John A. MacDonald did what every decent newly developing country did. He raised tariffs and he said: Let's build up a set of industries within our country that will serve the Canadian market. That is what most developing countries did. Then most developing countries who were small like Canada, discovered, having built their industries, that they had to move out into the outside world. And, the only hope for a small country like Canada was that it integrate into the international trading world.

In 1947, we joined the GATT. In 1947 we started reducing our tariff barriers from a very high level down to a modest level. We have gone through a series of negotiations through the GATT from 1947 and we have integrated our economy into the rest of the world.

Each time that's happened, each time we have cut our tariff barriers, our trade has increased. We have exported more, we have imported more, we have had more jobs and more employment and we have had more prosperity, based on our integration into the world economy.

All we are talking about is completing that process. We are not talking about something totally new, totally different, totally unheard of. We are talking about going one step further into the integration of the Canadian economy into the world

economy by reducing tariff barriers. We would like to do it through GATT. We may get a chance in the next round of GATT to do it, but that's very problematic. So the free trade arrangement with the United States is going one stage further in a policy that we have been proceeding with since 1947 — reducing our tariff barriers, integrating our economy with the rest of the world. We didn't lose our independence when we did it in 1947, it didn't reduce our independence when we did it in the Kennedy Round, it didn't reduce our independence when we did it in the Tokyo Round. But now, we are told the whole world is going to change if we take one more little step in this direction and we are going to suddenly become an American satellite.

We are talking about trying to improve Canada's trading position in the world. We are a trading country, trade is critically important to us. A little more trade is very important to us and a little more trade with the United States is not going to make us an American satellite. To those people who say it will, I say show me. We are doing what we have done for the past 20 years and completing the plan of integrating Canada into the world economy, completing the plan of reducing our tariffs. We'd like to do it with the whole world, but if we can't do it with the whole world we'll do it with America. Completing the plan that we have had for the last 20 years is not going to suddenly turn us into a satellite and destroy the economy. The people who say that, have got to prove the case.

Why do I care about free trade? The world is in an enormous set of changes. The world is in an extremely volatile situation. The newly industrialized nations are rising, adjustment is the name of the game. The Macdonald Commission thought about this problem for three years and came to the conclusion that we must adjust. We cannot try to freeze the Canadian economy in its present situation. I spent 18 years of my life in England and fought a desperate battle in England to try to make the English economy adjustable. The English continued to try to protect the old industries with a series of measures that inhibited change and now what have we got? You go to Liverpool, you go to Manchester, you go to Birmingham, they are disaster areas.

I don't want Canada to be England, and I believe that if we're not careful, Canada will be the England that I know. England's a disaster area because the basic thrust of government policies was to inhibit change, it was to maintain the existing situation as it was, to maintain the economy as it was, to protect jobs. What are we going to do if we sit here? We're going to levy tariffs, we're going to have quotas, we're going to have restrictions and we're going to try to protect the economy that we now have, and we're going to try and prevent it from adjusting. We could probably succeed in that battle for five or ten years, but over the long run it's a

losing battle. There's no hope for us if we try to protect the Canadian economy in producing those things that are in competition with the newly industrializing countries.

Take footwear. The contribution to our living standards is the world value of that footwear. Footwear has a much bigger value in Canada. Why does it have a bigger value? For two reasons. First we subsidize it and that means we are taking money from other people who are making money and we are giving the money to the footwear industry. That's a transfer of income from other people, who are successful, to the footwear industry. Secondly, we have quotas; the quotas raise the price of footwear. That's a transfer of income from the consumers to the producers of footwear. If we freeze the economy into a situation where we are producing those things that have low value in terms of the world economy, we are going to reduce the Canadian economy to the standard of living of an under-developed economy.

*"If we're not willing to adjust — we'll go the route that Britain went — down the drain."*

The only hope we have in Canada is to adjust, to change, to get out of those products that are in direct competition to the newly industrialized countries so that we can move into production that produces high value and high wages for labour. If we're not willing to adjust we're sunk. We will go the route that Britain went, we will go down the drain. The only way we can really adjust is to find a way in which Canadian industries can manage to hack it at world competitive costs in a world competitive market. We are an anomaly amongst industrialized nations. We, along with Australia, are the only two industrialized countries that don't have a market of over a hundred million secured to us. If we go on the way we are going, we will go the route of Britain, the route of Spain in the 18th century.

We have a chance offered to us, the chance offered to us is that we can rationalize our industries on the basis of a North American market of 300 million people. Once we have rationalized our markets on the basis of that size, then we can sell to the other countries of the world and we can move into the third world and sell. A future with jobs requires that we have jobs with the future. How can we have jobs with the future? The only way we can have jobs with the future is that we get jobs that are integrated into a really big market. If we stay on our own, we are in real trouble. If we integrate into the North American market, all of the experience, all of the experience that goes from the European Economic Community through to the tariff adjustments in this country through the Kennedy and the Tokyo round, tell us that we will get a specialization within industries and particular

product lines where those product lines can succeed.

There is no other way to go but to present that competitive challenge to the Canadian economy and to be able to succeed in world competitive situations and to be able then to integrate ourselves into the Canadian economy. We have to be confident, our business community is confident. We have to be confident that we can stand on our own, we can compete in the modern world and we can sell at world competitive costs across the competitive spectrum.

Those who want to avoid the future, want to go back to 1876. They think Canada can maintain itself as an independent community that would sell just to the Canadian market and could live in a seige economy in Canada. If you read Abe Rothstein's book it's basically a recipe for a seige economy. Rothstein says we should raise all kinds of barriers against trade with the United States, we should protect

Canadian industry to serve the Canadian market, we should have R&D subsidies and we should build from within. That is to go back to Sir John A's world. We are not in that world. We are in an anomaly in the industrial world. If we don't integrate ourselves into a large economy, if we don't discover how to sell in a world competitive market within 200 million people, we're sunk.

In every single Canadian major industry we have increased our exports and we have increased our imports. We have rationalized, we've specialized in particular product lines, we've sold more of those product lines and the ones we've cut, we've imported. Trade and employment has grown year by year everytime we have gone through with tariff cuts. If we had this debate 20 years ago when we had the Kennedy Round, Abe Rothstein would be on the platform, Mel would be on the platform saying "We can't dare cut these tariffs, industries will fall, employment will fall, it can't be done." But it happened and the tariffs were cut and we're all better off for it. Our employment has gone up, our income has gone up and all we're asking is that we think about a further development of the same thing.

I'm a multilateralist and I hope we will pursue that multilateral agreement procedures from GATT and I think that will be a good thing. But I am fairly pessimistic and I think the next round of multilateral agreements will be about non-tariff barriers and NTBs are really tough. It's much easier to do NTBs bilaterally than multilaterally. I think the next step in a policy that we have been pursuing for 20 years is a policy of trying to find a trade liberalization arrangement that we can have and the only one

that's available to us is with the United States.

Most people do not know the difference between a free trade market, a customs union and a common market. A free trade area exists with Sweden, Norway and a number of other European countries. In Europe you get free trade between those countries without having to worry about the political problems that concern people in terms of harmonization.

Harmonization is a big issue. We will be forced to harmonize but there is a lot of pressure to harmonize now. The Americans are telling us they don't like our stumpage duties, they don't like our unemployment insurance for the East Coast fisherman. They will probably wipe out the East Coast fisherman when they come to an agreement in the American courts. There is an enormous pressure on us now and that's nothing to do with a free trade agreement. The Americans are continually redefining the rules of free trade to make it harder and harder for us to export to the United States. The whole point of a free trade agreement is that we can sit down, instead of letting the Americans unilaterally redefine the rules of free trade and say, "Oh you can't sell softwood lumber or you can't sell fish or you can't sell this and that". We could sit down across the table and instead of giving them the unilateral ability to tell us what we can and can't sell to them, we could sit down around a table and try to work out a mutually advantageous agreement.

I spent the afternoon talking with Simon Reisman and I'm absolutely convinced that if Simon can't get something that is mutually advantageous he will walk away from the table as he should. But, we have two choices. We can sit here inside our little circle and say gee whiz we're Canadians and we don't want to talk to you. You go ahead

and tell us we can't sell you softwood lumber or we can't sell you fish or we can't sell you something. You redefine the rules of free trade and screw us. Or we can say to them we want to sit down around the table and we want to see if we can't work out mutually advantageous rules that will help us both.

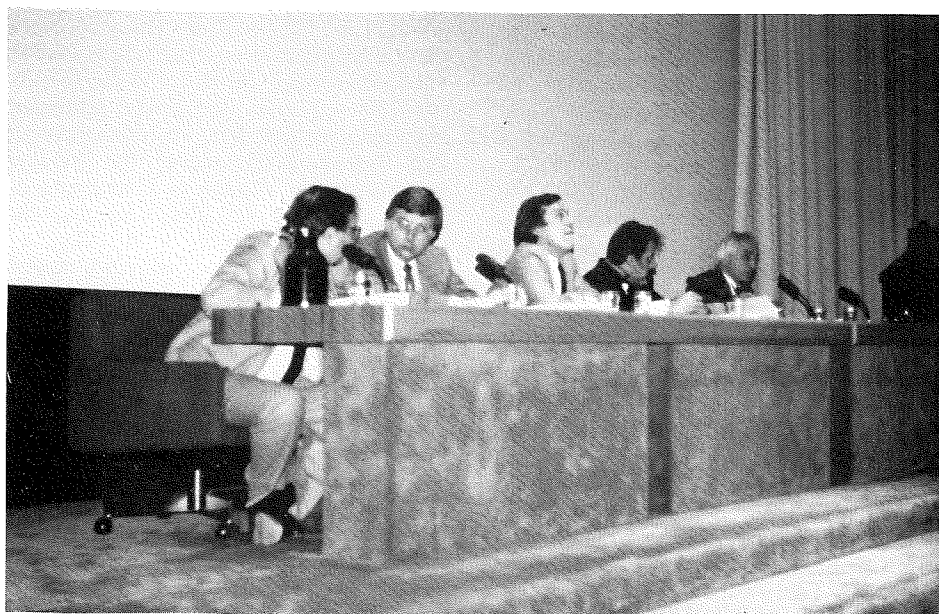
If we can't work out some reasonable agreements, fine. We will walk away from the table and we will be right back where we were and we won't be any worse off. But, for goodness sakes how can Canadians lack such confidence that they're not willing to sit down around the table with the Americans and say let's see if we can find something that is mutually advantageous to you. Let's see if we can find a resolution to our disagreements. The alternative is that we sit back and we let them do it to us unilaterally. Well, that just seems to me to be crazy. If the Americans are as intransigent as my nationalist friends think they will be then we will walk away. But I think the Americans want an agreement.

I don't think the Americans want to absorb us. I think that they would be thrown into bizarre confusion by the thought of 20 more seats in the senate. The derision I get in America when I tell them that Canadians think that Americans are dying to absorb them is really amusing. I don't think that the Americans are at all interested in absorbing Canada. I think we are a completely independent, totally different country. I think we are deeply different from Americans in all kinds of ways. Why can't we trade with America like Sweden trades with Europe and continues to be Sweden? Free trade areas have happened throughout the world, people have decided to trade with each other without giving up their independence or their sovereignty. I think that we can do that and if we don't, we are consigning ourselves to be a small country, too small to

be viable, so small that we will find that our standard of living 20 years from now will be so low that the cultural nationalists will think they are in hell.

I believe in cultural support. I believe the only way we can get cultural support is if we have a viable, reasonable living standard. We are talking about just going a little further than we're already done. We've cut tariffs dramatically since 1947 and we're talking about just completing that program, integrating ourselves by a small cut in tariffs finally with the United States. Why suddenly should that make things different than what has happened in the past 20 years?

Canadian exporters are voting with their feet. We are losing jobs and investment because Canadian exporters say the only way I can serve the North American market is to go to the United States. The objective of free trade is to have an integrated North American market so that successful Canadian exporters can serve the North American market out of Canada. If we can't do that then we're going to lose every successful Canadian exporter. We want to provide an integrated North American market, so that successful Canadian firms can stay in Canada with jobs and create employment. The idea that will suddenly make us the 51st state is a leap of faith that's far greater than Macdonald's leap of faith!△



Richard Lipsey, Tom Hockin, David Adam, Laurent Thibault and Mel Hurtig.

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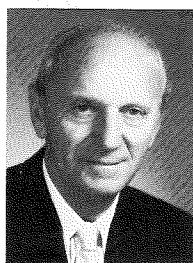
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# DIEFENBAKER IN DUBLIN

by Sidney A. Freifeld



It was on a January morning in 1961 that a cypher telegram from External Affairs in Ottawa came in to the Canadian Embassy in Dublin informing us that, in response to an earlier invitation, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, accompanied by Mrs. Diefenbaker, would make an official trip to Ireland on Sunday and Monday, March 5-6, if those days were convenient to the Irish Prime Minister. They were.

Our Ambassador, Alfred Rive, was vacationing on the Continent when this telegram arrived and I was Chargé d'Affaires at the Embassy. External's telegram informed us also that the Diefenbakers would arrive in Dublin from Belfast, following a short visit to Northern Ireland, and that from Dublin they would be going on to London where Mr. Diefenbaker would attend a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

As soon as this message was decyphered — our Dublin Embassy was primitively equipped in communications at that time — I decided to telephone the Ambassador, one of the kindest and gentlest persons with whom I had ever worked, to give him this important news and, at the same time, to urge him to complete his vacation, since we could utilize the intervening time to get on with the preliminary preparations. As we expected, the Rives returned to Dublin forthwith.

From the moment the Ambassador returned, he emphasized to us that Mr. Diefenbaker was a teetotaler and that we must direct our planning to minimize, if we could not eliminate entirely, any exposure of our Prime Minister to alcohol — no small feat in convivial Ireland.

Although the Diefenbakers were originally scheduled to arrive on a Canadian government plane at 11 a.m. on a Sunday, Mr. Rive happily seized an opportunity of delaying the arrival until 2:15 p.m. His ploy was to

ensure that our teetotaling Prime Minister's first function, after the arrival ceremonies at the airport, would be tea at the Embassy residence, to which Dublin's Canadian colony and our Embassy staff would be invited. Mr. Rive's manoeuvre, as it turned out, was successful.

Mr. Diefenbaker agreed that he and the Canadian official party would be housed, like other visiting Heads of Government, at the Shelbourne Hotel, a fine old Dublin hostelry on St. Stephen's Green just across the square from Iveagh House, headquarters of the Irish Ministry of External Affairs. Thus it would be at the Shelbourne that Mr. Diefenbaker would give the official Canadian reception.

The moment this was decided, Mr. Rive began scouring the Shelbourne for a suitable room for this reception. To our surprise, he turned down those that seemed obviously right and that were constantly used for this purpose. We finally realized that he was seeking a large room in the shape of an "L"; his gambit was that Mr. Diefenbaker would receive his guests at the top of the "L" while the bar — which the Ambassador unhappily agreed could not be eliminated — would be around the corner at the other end of the "L" and at least out of sight and smell of our Prime Minister.

And so the planning went — with the Ambassador preoccupied continuously about how to minimize his teetotaler Chief's exposure within Ireland to whiskey, wine and Guinness Stout.

Then, a couple of days before the visit was due to commence, still another telegram came in from Ottawa, signed ROBINSON. It was from Basil Robinson, the External Affairs officer who, at that time, was serving as the department's special assistant in the Prime Minister's Office. I could hardly believe what I read which, in paraphrase, was BEST WAY TO ENSURE SUCCESSFUL VISIT IS TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT CHAMPAGNE GETS FROM AIRPORT TO SHELBOURNE AHEAD OF PRIME MINISTER.

I rushed to the Ambassador's office and exclaimed: "Have you seen this incredible telegram from Basil? Here we have been going crazy for a month trying to keep the Prime Minister removed from alcohol, and they are bringing over their own champagne on the official plane! Apart from the P.M.'s teetotalism, one just doesn't do such a thing. Can't they trust us to procure in Dublin any drink they might require?"

The perplexed Ambassador, sensitive that it had been he who had been fussing for weeks about how to keep alcohol away from Mr. Diefenbaker, put in a transatlantic call to Basil Robinson (we hadn't telephoned to or received a phone call from Ottawa in the two years I had been in Dublin — this was another era). When he had finished the call, Mr. Rive came out to us grinning and, ever so gently, told us that Basil had explained that CHAMPAGNE (telegrams at that time were entirely in upper case) was not a beverage but the name of the Confidential Messenger, Gilbert Champagne, who had been serving Canadian Prime Ministers ever since the days of Sir Robert Borden and who, for the first time, was being taken on a trip abroad by Mr. Diefenbaker; it was important to get Champagne — upper and lower case — to the Shelbourne quickly, with the Prime Minister's luggage, while the arrival ceremonies were going on at the airport, so that he could have fresh clothes laid out for Mr. Diefenbaker for the quick change the PM would have to make before going on to this first function.

It was only later that I learned that similar confusion arose in Belfast. In his Autobiography (Vol. III), Mr. Diefenbaker recounts that a telegram from his office PRIME MINISTER WILL BE BRINGING CHAMPAGNE appeared to annoy Canadian officials in Northern Ireland preparing for his visit; they apparently feared that Dief was questioning the quality of champagne in Ulster and that he was "initiating the practice internationally of B.Y.O.L. — bringing your own liquor." Mr. Diefenbaker writes that, in Belfast, they even had a panel truck, equipped with wine racks, wheeled out on the tarmac "to accommodate our Champagne" as soon as his plane landed; in Dublin we, by then forewarned, had a station wagon ready at the airport to rush (Mr.) Champagne to the Shelbourne.

Although they may not have realized it at the time, Mr. Diefenbaker and Basil Robinson had provided us with a welcome diversion from the weighty briefs we had been preparing for the Prime Minister on Irish nationalism, partition, President de Valera and the Gaelic revival. Δ

## CONSULAR TALES

*Missing sons and those tense social functions comprise this time's tales. Keep them coming.*

### Gone From Sight

by J.D. Graham

**W**e in the foreign service revel in each other's tales of the bizarre, often related to strange twists of events and foul-ups in dealing with consular matters at locations abroad. My own baptism into this branch of "public relations" came some time before I was launched onto the sea of consular woes at a post abroad. It occurred during my first stint as departmental duty office in Ottawa, and from it I learned that human behaviour can be curious abroad.

The episode begins with a late Friday evening telephone call to my home from a distraught woman claiming her son, who was always most attentive and a model of filial devotion, had dropped from sight somewhere in the Caribbean since his departure from Canada more than six months earlier. Neither letters nor telegrams to him had elicited any response. Being a novice duty officer, I began to share the poor mother's alarm that some mishap may have befallen her dear one, and assured her in confident tones that the full force of Canada's investigative troopers in our missions dotted around the Caribbean sea would ferret out the lost traveller in short order and return him to his mother's embrace. In other words, I would take "appropriate action".

From this original phone call there followed two or three other conversations that same evening, and into the night, each one seeking progress reports and each one punctuated with increasing sobs. The poor lady was feeding on her own distress.

My attempts to gather a few hard facts helpful in pursuing the investigation came to nought. Nevertheless I scribbled what I had into the form of a telegram to variety of

posts and pedalled off to the Pearson building post haste from my residence in Sandy Hill (which, at the time, was still an affordable place to live). Fortunately for others I knew little of departmental regulations concerning telegram precedence so that none were hauled from their beds or their cups to take the matter in hand immediately.

There followed, on this particular case, a long burst of eerie silence both from the weepy mother and our posts in the sun. Evidently there were weekend distractions of greater priority on all sides, leaving me alone to stew over the fate of our compatriot of whom I knew little more than name, age and maternal next of kin. The communication void endured until the following Monday morning.

Having lost too much sleep over this worrisome situation, I dragged my bones to work and proceeded to my office (which in pre-rabbit warren days had its own private coat rack and leg room for four or more). On my always tidy desk lay a single telegram addressed to the duty officer and included my name. To my recollection the message was as follows:

"Contents of your telegram noted. Will phone mother today. No further action required". Calling upon my "Fully Satisfactory" ability to "Analyze and Evaluate" I quickly reached for my copy of *Canadian Representatives Abroad*. I thumbed my way to the listing for post "X" from whence the message had come. There, immediately below the name of the Ambassador, was the objective of my concern — Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ Counsellor! I decided on the spot not to convey the news of "prodigal son found" to his mother for fear of exploding in wrath over having been totally duped. I learned my first painful lesson in the pitfalls of emotional indulgence beyond the call of duty. I still had more to learn but that is another story.

### The Dinner Party

by Alfred Pick

**N**apoleon gave this advice to his Ambassador going to Warsaw: *Soignez les femmes et tenez bonne table*. The first part will have to await a future article on women, love and diplomacy. This essay deals with experiences with the diplomatic dinner.

The term "diplomatic dinner party" suggests a brilliant occasion with champagne, caviar and truffles, beautiful bejewelled ladies and distinguished, witty ambassadors. Alas, we know that the reality is often very different. Some official dinners are pleasant and worthwhile, even memorable occasions; others are tedious and without obvious purpose.

The best dinners serve some clear objective and are usually based on the visit of some important person or turn on a guest of honour. These can be very useful tools of our trade. The sit-down dinner with designated places according to rank is both the most rewarding and the riskiest and most exacting. The buffet dinner, whether stand-up or sit anywhere, is less demanding and sometimes the only social solution. But it is a poor substitute for the real thing. The cocktail reception is an entirely different and inferior institution, a kind of cop-out of social exigencies, when it scarcely matters who comes or at what time. The customary national day party is one of these.

Some of us have vivid memories of dinners that have been our responsibility. The routine successes are quickly forgotten, but not so the more painful failures.

When in Peru I hosted a dinner during a naval visit. The Peruvian Minister of the Navy, a uniform-wearing admiral, was the guest of honour and the Canadian officers, resplendent in summer whites, headed by then Captain Harry Porter, were on hand, ready to do their duty. The Minister, trained in the best British tradition, arrived with his wife at the appointed hour. Then there was a growing delay waiting for the Chief of the Naval Staff. I realized that this was more a problem for the Minister than for me. I told him we were awaiting his Chief; he got to the telephone and eventually the wayward No. 2 admiral arrived, with his wife. I had passed the main burden to the guest of honour. I survived the delay without visible aging, to live and fight another day.

In Tunisia I gave a farewell dinner party for the Foreign Minister, Habib Bourguiba Jr., who was to represent the President, his father, at EXPO '67. This was a men's occasion and, other than the dancing girls for the festivities at the Tunisian pavilion, we invited the team going to Montreal. Everybody accepted but several did not show up, being persons less used to the discipline of the official life. Here again I transferred the problem to the guest of honour, a very sophisticated and experienced person, who made several telephone calls, but with limited results. I had already learned the technique, suitable to much of the Third World, of using round tables for up to eight persons each. This makes it easy to pull out one or more chairs, without having to re-order a whole long table. This simple, rather obvious device, really helps an ambassador to survive.

Back in Peru I had been persuaded, against my better judgment, to give a Saturday luncheon on the visit of the World Scout Commissioner, our General Dan Spry. The local scouts wanted particularly to have out the Minister of Education and the Minister of Finance, to whom they were looking for financial and other support for the movement. Both Ministers accepted, but that lovely Saturday in a good season we received telephone messages at the resi-

dence from each of them that he was unable to attend. A rump luncheon did take place with the visitor and the support of British and American colleagues, but the purpose had largely failed. You can't win them all.

Probably the most hazardous dinner I ever gave was in Bolivia. I was the first appointee to the highest office that the Canadian Government can confer, Ambassador to La Paz (altitude 12,500 feet). As a non-resident, living in Lima, with no local base of operations and no staff with me, it was difficult to make arrangements. There was no honorary consul on the spot in those days. Fortunately in 1961 La Paz was small, friendly and informal.

Early in the week of a visit I decided to give a dinner on the Saturday evening and secured the general consent of the maitre d'hotel, a Frenchman, at the Hotel Crillon, leaving the menu and other details to be worked out later. During my calls I extended invitations, often writing confirmation cards, across an invitee's desk or in a secretary's office. Thus, I invited the Minister of

Development, the editor of a Catholic newspaper, various officials, some Canadian missionaries and local representatives of Canadian business interests.

On the Thursday morning in the hotel elevator I read a notice that the Saturday, being the Dia Gastronomico, people living in the hotel were not to have guests in the dining room and it was to close at 9:00 p.m. When I hastened to see the maitre d'hotel he was horrified; he had forgotten earlier about the Dia, which he explained was not a gourmet celebration but a holiday of the hotel workers trade union. He wanted me to cancel or postpone the dinner which I clearly could not do, in my non-resident situation. He accepted that he had committed himself to the dinner earlier in the week. The solution was to pay the cook a bonus and have the maitre d'hotel and his assistant, also a foreigner and not a member of the union, provide the service.

Saturday in December dawned bright and cool as usual, but with noisy rioting in the streets. There were political demonstra-

tions for some reason I cannot now recall. The hotel desk advised me not to go out. I was to pay a visit on the Rector of the University but he telephoned to say I should not try to cross the students' picket line at the entrance to the campus; and instead he came to see me at the hotel. He and his wife also made it to the dinner that night.

My wife was not with me and I had asked the resident representative of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Margaret Anstey, a very bright Englishwoman, to be my hostess. She said she had had experience in shuffling seating plans at the last moment, and this skill proved to be very helpful. Most of the invitees arrived more or less on time, some with streaming eyes because of the tear gas still in the streets. The Minister and his wife made it; the editor, after an eventful, hectic day putting the next morning's paper to bed, arrived with his highly decorated and decorative wife in time for left-overs and dessert. We were a happy band, sitting on the top floor of the hotel, well above the battle, in a section of a vast empty room, with good food and impeccable service.

But how many such harrowing occasions should an ambassador be expected to experience and survive in the service of his country? Δ

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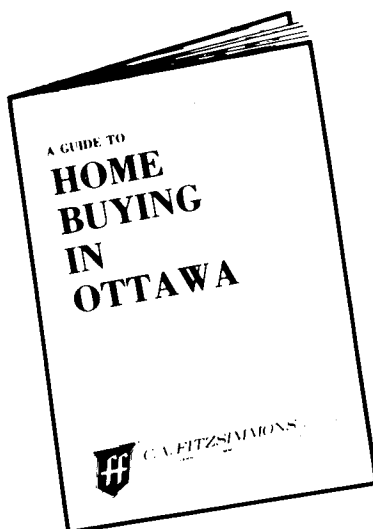
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## Books in Review

David Kilgour on "Nicaragua: Revolution in the Family" by Shirley Christian  
— 337 pp.

Shirley Christian won a Pulitzer Prize in 1981 for her reporting on Central America. Her book on Nicaragua provides a largely eye-witness account of events there since July 1979 and before; the result is to set the record straight on most of the major issues.

She describes a troubled political history, including a war fought with real bullets between adherents of Nicaragua's Conservative and Liberal parties. Augusto Sandino, a Liberal general, rejected a cease-fire acceptable to virtually everyone else and went into the mountains with some troops in 1927. He then became essentially a bandit but as well a favourite of circles in New York, Mexico and Europe until he demobilized his remaining troops in 1933. After he was murdered by the National Guard a year later, which was by then under the control of Anastasio Somoza Garcia, he was again the stuff of legends.

Between 1936, when Somoza I was elected president on the Nationalist Liberal Party ticket, and July 1979 Nicaragua

belonged lock, stock and barrel to the Somoza family and a group of cronies. Their eventual nemesis, the Sandinista National Front, which was founded by three young leftists in 1961, in reality presented only a minor threat until shortly before its triumph. The real opposition was led by the newspaper *La Prensa* of the Chamorro family, the private industry council (COSIP) which broke with the Somozas in 1974, and the Roman Catholic bishops who in 1974 accused the National Guard of killing more than 200 farmers as part of a campaign to wipe out the Sandinistas. At the opportune moment, however, the Sandinistas were able to recruit essentially moderate Nicaraguans influenced by these major national players into supporting a violent toppling of the regime.

A series of events in the late 1970's opened the door. One was the heart attack in 1977 of Anastasio Somoza Debayle, who had succeeded his assassinated father as president in 1956. Another was the growing perception in Nicaragua after the election of Jimmy Carter in 1976 that the new U.S. President wanted Somoza II out. The brutal murder of Pedro Chamorro in 1978 — most probably not on the orders of the weakened Somoza who knew the killing would do him more harm than good — evoked a huge outpouring of anti-Somoza rage and united opposition forces across Nicaragua. Tragically, argues Christian, an egregiously ill-timed letter from Jimmy Carter to Somoza in mid-1978 convinced the dictator that the American president wanted him to stay in office even as the momentum for change in Nicaragua was being seized by the violent wing of the opposition.

Carter was fully aware during late 1978 that the Somoza regime was collapsing and that, in Christian's words, "if something were not done to get Somoza out of the way in order to bring in the moderate opposition, the crumbling would create a vacuum in which the radicals would take control. Carter understood (U.S. career diplomat William) Bowdler's point, but he also understood that it meant the U.S. would be telling another country what kind of government it ought to have, and that he would be telling another sitting president that he had to leave". When nothing was done to help the democrats, the Sandinistas' eventual victory was inevitable once they managed to obtain sufficient arms from the governments of Cuba, Venezuela, Panama and Costa Rica.

Few observers now query whether the Sandinistas are Marxists. This book offers evidence for the view that rather than being pushed in that direction by the U.S., their leadership intended to establish a Marxist-Leninist system from the hour they marched into Managua. "Their goal", she concludes, "was to assure themselves the means to control nearly every aspect of Nicaraguan life, from beans and rice to religion". The leadership initially formed an

"alliance of convenience" with non-Marxist opponents of Somoza, but this was designed to buy time and avoid U.S. intervention.

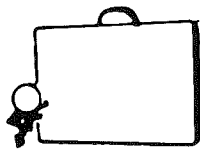
The Sandinista approach to elections, religion, the Mosquito Indians and workers illustrate their goals.

In late 1980 their National Directorate announced that there would be no elections until 1985. Humberto Ortega, brother of Daniel Ortega, then went on: "Keep in mind that [ours] are elections to advance revolutionary power, not to raffle off power, because the people [already] have power through their vanguard, the Sandinista Front of National Liberation and its National Directorate".

In the intervening years, much was done to make life difficult if not impossible for opposition parties, including decrees prohibiting the naming of candidates for public office prior to 1984 and forbidding the media from unapproved reporting on such things as shortages or price rises in basic food items, shootings involving opponents of the regime, strikes, property takeovers, and "political proselytizing"; and the conviction and imprisonment of civilians for allegedly plotting against the government. Daniel Ortega was elected president on November 4, 1984, with 67 per cent of the votes cast and about three-quarters of the eligible

voters voting. Nearly half the eligible voters denied their support to him through either voting for another party, abstaining or defacing ballots. The regime, however, controlled the election machinery, the media (although censorship was eased during the campaign) and, as the author notes, "the food that went on every table in Nicaragua for every meal." Arturo Cruz, who led a strong opposition coalition, drew enthusiastic crowds; the Sandinistas sent mobs to attack all of their rallies. Eventually, Cruz withdrew after an attempt to negotiate fair election conditions proved unsuccessful.

The challenge to the traditional churches among a religious population was more subtle. The Roman Catholic leadership, initially a key player in overthrowing Somoza, quickly came to realize that the Sandinista religious messages were merely new ways to an old end: the destruction of Christianity or its subjugation to Marxism. Once in power, the Sandinistas created, says the author, "a form of the Popular Church in Nicaragua, or more precisely a pro-government branch of the Roman Catholic Church". A secret Sandinista document said, for example, about Christmas: "To confront a tradition of more than 1,979 years in a direct manner, in these moments, less than five months after the triumph, would carry us into political



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conflicts and we would lose influence among our people" and concluded that since the Soviet government had not "totally eradicated" the Christmas tradition in 62 years it would be foolish to attempt such a thing so soon in Nicaragua. She also points out that the Valdivieso Centre in Nicaragua, most of whose publications consist of writing on liberation theology, the memoirs of Sandinista guerrillas, and the works of Marx, Lenin and Engels, received funding during several years, including \$50,000 in 1983 alone, from the World Council of Churches. The treatment of Pope John Paul II while in Managua in 1983 is discussed along with the degree of popular support for the traditional and Popular Churches.

The author documents the treatment of Mosquito Indians, who lived in relative peace in the Atlantic Coast region during the pre-Sandinista era. The arrival of a 1,000 Cuban teachers during 1980 to replace Protestant and Catholic, erupted in a three-day demonstration against their partisanship and anti-religion zeal. The arrival of an estimated 7,000 Sandinista troops in early 1981, the killing of Mosquitos in a church and elsewhere by these troops, and the forced relocation of about 8,500 Indians only aggravated the situation. The author estimates that by 1984 more than 25,000 natives were in exile with at least another 20,000 being forcibly resettled in camps within Nicaragua.

It is clear to Christian that it was the economic and political establishment, not farmers and workers, who made it possible for the Sandinistas to seize power in 1979. The new regime has since confiscated more than a third of all farmland on various pretences, including criticism of the government by owners. They also made it clear that they would have liked to have taken all of the land, but for their 1979 commitment to retain private ownership and from fear that output would suffer from even greater state control. Organized workers found that the Sandinistas forbade both strikes and wage increases for the most part. Members of non-Sandinista unions were harassed in various ways: taxi drivers were denied licences, local leaders were frequently jailed, and mobs of Sandinista militants were periodically turned loose on their headquarters and homes of their leaders. The Nicaragua Workers' Federation complained in late 1982 that the regime was "gradually and systematically eliminating the rights and liberties of the workers and the people . . ."

What are some conclusions to be drawn from this book? We might be more cautious about the objectivity of media reports originating in Nicaragua. Second, future Canadian aid to Nicaragua should be directed primarily to people, groups and institutions now under siege in Nicaragua. Third, in the interest of avoiding another Nicaragua, it seems important that all democratic governments in positions to influence events in the Third World make

every effort to encourage democratic development and pluralism where invited to do so. Fourth, outsiders should in future not presume to comment on events in Nicaragua unless they have first read Christian's book.

*Mr. Kilgour, a lawyer, has been the Member of Parliament for Edmonton Strathcona since 1979. He is parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.*

**Geoffrey Pearson on: "A Very Public Life", Vol. II, 1985 by Paul Martin — 680 pp.**

**P**aul Martin's second volume of memoirs is published at an appropriate time. Two thirds of its 680 pages are devoted to his part in the making and executing of Canadian foreign policy in the period 1948 to 1972, first as the head of Canada's delegation to the UN General Assembly in the early 1950's, and most importantly as the SSEA of Canada from 1963 to 1968. He continued to take some part in foreign affairs as the leader of the government in the Senate from 1968 to 1972 under Pierre Trudeau, although he implies that the new policies were less congenial to the style and attitudes he had developed over the course of some 40 years of active interest in the subject.

What do these memoirs tell us about Canadian foreign policy at a time when, once again, Canadians are engaged in that peculiarly Canadian habit of peering into the mirror of their collective conscience at the behest of a new government anxious to make sure it is doing the right things in the world?

Paul Martin dismisses the Trudeau review of foreign policy in 1969-70 with a peremptory wave of his hand — "You cannot turn foreign policy on and off like a tap, and the results of the review did not substantially change our policies or commitments" (p. 663). This view represents the conventional response of the professional to the amateur. But I suspect that he also found the review wrong-headed, not to say insulting, in its implicit assumption that Canada can do little to influence world affairs, and that the previous government had in fact neglected Canada's "real" interests, which the review identified in largely domestic terms. I am surprised that Mr. Martin says so little about this attempt to reverse policy directions to which, elsewhere in his account, he clearly gives first priority. Perhaps the point is not worth extended discussion, in his view, for the record since that time hardly bears out the interpretation put forward then of foreign policy as "the extension abroad of Canadian policies". On the other hand, Paul Martin pauses only rarely in these memoirs to reflect on the meaning of his actions. By and large, he must assume, they speak for themselves as the actions of a convinced

internationalist who found it natural that Canada should be in the forefront of efforts to make the "system" work, whether or not Canada's economic growth was a direct beneficiary.

The memoirs are most alive and convincing when internationalism of this kind is described at work, e.g., the admission of new members to the U.N. in 1955, the Cyprus drama of 1964 and the struggle over the future of UNEF in 1967, and especially, the dogged and finally unsuccessful attempt to bring the Johnson administration to the Vietnam bargaining table. There is one exception. The account of Canada's relations with France during this period, ending in the fiasco of the de Gaulle visit to Montreal in 1967, provides a fascinating perspective on the very real imbroglio of domestic and foreign interests caught up by the "quiet revolution" in Quebec. Mr. Martin tends to allot more blame for the resulting mess to de Gaulle and his representatives in Canada than to the rivalries between Quebec and Ottawa, a judgement I would question, but one can only admire his patience and good will in the face of enough provocation and deceit to drive even diplomats to despair. If relations with France survived in reasonably good order, the credit is largely due to Paul Martin.

A commitment to internationalism is one thing. Putting appropriate policies into effect against the wishes of the U.S.A. is quite another. Students of Canadian foreign policy are likely to be most interested in the examples the author provides of the quintessential question for Canadian policymakers — how much can one oppose American policies without taking political risks at home? This was relatively easy to do in 1955, when Canada successfully persevered at the U.N. to find a formula to admit new members, despite apparent threats from Washington of retaliation against Canadian oil exports. The presence of outer Mongolia in the General Assembly was not an issue, after all, likely to galvanize the voters of Essex-East, nor to justify, even in Texas, a call to arms. But the struggle to seat two Chinas in the General Assembly a decade later was perceived on both sides of the border to be such an issue, and in the end Canada could go no further than to abstain on the Resolution which would have resolved the matter. Mr. Martin claims that he opened the door which Mr. Trudeau subsequently walked through in order to establish diplomatic relations with China. I am not so sure. Would a Canadian decision to take this step in 1967 instead of 1971 have brought a crisis in Canada/U.S.A. relations? There is a good deal of evidence in these memoirs that the State Department would have reacted badly to any such decision, and there is common sense in the view that Canada is best to reserve its differences with the U.S.A. to matters of direct concern. But the fact remains that Canada's

voice matters at the U.N. and in Washington as well, on issues of global security, such as American policy towards China in the 1960's. To be silent, or to go along, is to abdicate opportunities to exert pressure on America's policies with which we disagree, assuming that such pressure will lead in the direction we want.

That, of course, is the rub. American policies towards Vietnam in the period 1964-67 were based on the assumption that Hanoi could be made to call off the war by the threat of the use of ever greater military force. Paul Martin disputes the decision taken by Prime Minister Pearson in 1965 to question such policies publicly, and especially to do so in the U.S.A. The point is debatable. President Johnson stopped the bombing of North Vietnam a few weeks after the speech was made, no doubt for reasons as much domestic as foreign. But who is to say? What we do know is that all attempts by third parties to find a basis for negotiations failed. Paul Martin describes at length the Canadian role as go-between, presumably with the assistance of records that are not publicly available. But the full story remains obscure, especially in regard to motives in Washington. In any event it seems doubtful that Hanoi would have regarded Canada as a credible intermediary, and in the end the U.S.A. apparently took the same view. Mr. Martin makes a strong case for Canadian efforts to help find a settlement, but I for one wonder whether we should have persisted as long as we did, given the fact that other channels existed and that direct communication was always possible, as Henry Kissinger was to demonstrate once the United States had decided to negotiate seriously.

These memoirs also contain much of interest about Canadian politics and politicians, which I leave to others to assess. Members of PAFSO will note, however, that many a foreign policy decision is taken in mysterious ways, and that the fate of even the best memorandum is far from certain. Nevertheless, Paul Martin makes it clear that he relied upon the loyalty and competence of his staff whose individual contributions he acknowledges generously. As one of those desk officers whom he admits were often called directly by "the Minister" (to the chagrin of their superiors), I am glad of the opportunity to acknowledge in turn that his leadership provided a sense of mission, direction and continuity in the best traditions of "the department".

Mr. Pearson is executive director of the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security. A former foreign service officer, his career included appointments as Canadian Ambassador for Disarmament and Canadian Ambassador to Moscow.

**Peter Towe on: "The 49th Paradox: Canada in North America", by Richard Gwyn.**

**I**t was with considerable reluctance that I agreed to comment on Richard Gwyn's new book, *The 49th Paradox: Canada in North America*. Having spent almost 15 years over more than three decades at the Embassy in Washington, I have grown weary of reading semi-accurate and often impressionistic accounts of the Canada-U.S. relationship, particularly those by writers who have spent little or no time in the United States. We Canadians are all instant experts on Canada-U.S. relations. Fortunately only a handful of us have the time or the ability to write books on the subject.

Mr. Gwyn's book is, however, different; written in a style often astoundingly elegant, he attempts to place Canada not only in America, as the title suggests, but in the contemporary world. His political philosophy, exposed with great confidence, while at times contradictory is nevertheless thought-provoking. But one puts the book down not only with no burning desire to pick it up again but with only a vague perception of the message the author intended to convey. Reading it is somewhat akin to feasting on a magnificent Chinese dinner: after all the delights, one is still hungry for more substantial fare.

Accuracy is not necessarily a virtue for a political theorist or novelist, but it is a useful characteristic for a careful chronicler. One is inclined to wonder whether Gwyn's research was largely confined to the library,

or whether it included discussions with former Ambassadors Charles Ritchie, Ed Ritchie and Jake Warren, or with those who served in Washington under other eminent Ambassadors such as Lester Pearson, Hume Wrong, Norman Robertson, Arnold Heeney (who served as Ambassador on two separate occasions) and Marcel Cadieux. To describe Allan Gottlieb as "beyond any doubt . . . Canada's most effective representative in Washington" since we opened a mission there in 1927 is to reflect a view shared by many contemporary Canadians. Certainly no Canadian journalist of the day would have been so rapturous about the accomplishments of that great Canadian Hume Wrong who, I can recall, refused even to have his picture taken with a visiting Canadian actress solely, if you please, on the grounds that he considered himself a government official temporarily absent from a post in Ottawa.

In dealing with the bitter subject of acid rain (which he claims quite incorrectly never to have been raised at the presidential level by Prime Minister Trudeau), Gwyn extols the undoubted effectiveness of lobbyists quietly hired by our Washington Embassy in the pre-Gottlieb era to assist in promoting Canadian interests but ignores totally the tremendous contribution — acknowledged by Americans and Canadians alike — of George Rejhon, who assisted former Ontario Premier William Davis in the continuing Canadian crusade.

The Embassy's congressional relations program, to which Gwyn correctly ascribes a special importance, has of course evolved over the years and has responded to the



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ebbs and flows in the real division of power between the legislative and executive branches of the U.S. government. While after the Carter years, with the popularity of President Reagan, control of the nation's agenda seems to have swung more toward the White House, no Canadian Embassy in Washington could ever have ignored the importance of the legislative branch. My first exposure was as a young officer at a dinner hosted by the then Ambassador Hume Wrong and attended by such influential members of the United States Senate as Sen. Fulbright and Sen. Connolly; Wrong's task then was to help convince responsible legislators of Canada's legitimate interest in the formulation of U.S. international political and economic policies of direct importance to us.

And so it has been through the years. In my own tenure as Ambassador, a Congressional Relations Section was established to better coordinate the Embassy's efforts, and local professional assistance was sought under a program administered by a full-time staff. While this group was not always successful, without it, as Gwyn's

own Toronto Star editorialized in 1981, "relations between Canada and the United States might conceivably have been even worse".

In sum, while in my view Gwyn's latest book does not measure up to the somewhat higher standards he set for himself in earlier efforts, *The 49th Paradox* is well worth borrowing.

Mr. Towe is chairman of *PetroCanada International Assistance Corporation*. He served three postings in Washington as a foreign service officer, latterly as Ambassador from 1977-1981. Mr. Towe was also Canadian Ambassador to the OECD and IEA.

**Allan Bonner on: "Closed Circuits The Sellout of Canadian Television" by Herschel Hardin — 332 pp.**

**T**he vision is of more public ownership, community programming on cable, local control, more Canadian content, a more responsible private sector, fewer U.S. signals and a CBC head office west of Winnipeg, at least.

I've never met him, but his polemical style leads me to believe Mr. Hardin is one of the oldest angry young men you'll ever encounter. He's also a conspiracy theorist, seeing planned evil in the Cabinet, the CRTC, private broadcasters, cable companies and most things east of Banff.

As the book chronicles policy development from 1969 to 1983, one group and one person emerge as supporting all that is potentially right with the Canadian broadcasting system. This person and the lobby group battle valiantly with darker forces led by Harry Boyle (CRTC), Ted Rogers (Rogers Cable), Murray Cherkover (CTV) and the like. The group is the Vancouver based Association of Public Broadcasting in British Columbia, and the valiant person is Herschel Hardin.

Mr. Hardin is right that the Canadian system is extremely cumbersome and that policy developments lumber along at a snail's pace. But this is more a function of geography, competing and weighty broadcasting objectives and other national priorities than conspiracy.

During the period in question we could have had a national debate on broadcasting policy, but discussed the FLQ crisis, the Quebec referendum, the constitution, multiculturalism and the economy instead. The 1968 Broadcasting Act was outdated when it was given Royal Assent, if only because cable and telecommunications were afterthoughts. The CRTC has too many responsibilities and too few people and too little money. But the Cabinet has always shyed away from policy, so some group had to fill the void. Parliament has many demands to make and opinions to offer but Parliamentary Committees on Broadcasting

have probably never made a serious contribution.

Mr. Hardin's book lacks more than just a dose of evolution in his revolutionary rhetoric. He examines the system from two equally ill-advised perspectives and creates a huge methodological gap. The personal account of his role in the APBBC lacks objectivity and a national perspective. The reliance on the popular press's record of the period is a kind of third hand history-journalism. Journalism is often superficial at the time of writing and rarely gains credentials as time goes by.

But there is an unspoken comparison here that is helping to put Mr. Hardin in an unfavorable light. Serious students of Canadian broadcast public policy will be familiar with Professor Frank Peers' two volume, thousand or so page works entitled *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting* and *The Public Eye*. Mr. Peers combined an insider's view (as a former senior CBC executive) with an academic's thoroughness (U. of T. Professor). He used journalistic sources but augmented them with personal correspondence and interviews, cabinet minutes and other archival material.

Mr. Peers work ends in 1968, but many students of broadcasting have tried to talk him into writing volume III. More presumptuously, some have fanatized about doing the job themselves (myself included). Mr. Hardin's book is mostly the later inspiration without the necessary leg work to have it measure up.

Those who care about Canadian culture and identity, and the role broadcasting has to play, should look at *Closed Circuits* as a valuable personal and geographic perspective. But for goodness sake also read Peers, Austin Weir's *The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada*, and perhaps the dry CRTC tome, *Broadcasting Policy Development* by Frank Foster. For those who want a lighter read, there are many first person accounts including the recent Collins publication by Harvey Kirck, or McClelland & Stewart's offering by Knowlton Nash.

For those who just want to get mad in the way Mr. Hardin seems to, consider two facts: In 1929 the Aird Royal Commission was so alarmed that 80 per cent of Canadian radio listening was to U.S. stations it recommended complete public ownership of the broadcasting system. Today 80 per cent of television viewing is of American programs.

Fact number two is that while Canada was funding an Italian, Marconi, with an \$80,000 grant to research radio, the United States was funding a Canadian, Reginald Fessenden. In 1900, a year before Marconi's single Morse letter limped across the Atlantic, Fessenden broadcast a complete sentence in his own voice.

Plus ça change.

Mr. Bonner is manager of Policy Relations for TV Ontario. He was formerly a broadcaster with the CBC.  $\Delta$

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# PAFSO NEWS

by Christine Manseau

## CO Conversion

By now, you will all have received the departmental telex announcing the conversion of CO positions to the Foreign Service Group. PAFSO realizes the implications this decision will have on its membership. Consultations will be on-going with the department throughout this exercise. Specific concerns should be relayed so that solutions could be explored with management.

Reclassification, conversions and any other matters related to classification and the assignment of duties are management's prerogative by law. There are, therefore, no rights of appeal on this or any other conversion. In conveying its membership's concerns to management, PAFSO will seek to obtain satisfactory solutions for each of the issues raised keeping in mind our commitment to the protection of the interests of the Foreign Service.

## FS Restructuring

One of the solutions currently being explored by management to address the anomaly which in their view has existed since the EX-FS conversion is the restructuring of the FS group. One might also consider it as a solution being envisaged to maintain the balance in between the number of positions at each level. In addition, Treasury Board's target date for a review of the FS classification standards has been set for April 15, 1986.

Making our views known and representing the interests of our membership through consultation with management is our definite intention and for that purpose, we request your immediate input on the question.

## The Underfill Situation

During the arbitration hearings we quickly realized the problem could not be addressed via an acting pay clause. However, the situation remains and is exacerbated each time a new promotion list is issued.

Officers who have been performing in a position classified at a higher level feel such circumstances warrant their being promoted at that higher level though, in many cases, it does not appear to make any difference whatsoever.

Since there exists no real standard to measure the tasks performed by FSO's and

that, at post, the level of activities are the determining factor, there is no easy way to establish whether one particular job should be classified either at the 01 or the 02 level. The new acting pay clause in the collective agreement clearly excludes situations where the employees perform at a higher level as a result of the normal rotational assignment process.

The department has been requested as a follow-up to the EX-FS conversion to take a hard look at the FS structure. Restructuring cannot take place without a review of the standards. Standards based on the job descriptions could eliminate the flexibility in assignments and in job packaging the department now enjoys.

Is restructuring a solution to the underfill situation or is it rather a means to spread promotions around and address the morale problem created by restraints and the lack of promotional opportunities?

## Réductions des effectifs

L'APASE a été partie aux sessions de consultation convoquées par la gestion du ministère sous la présidence de A.C. Perron, Directeur générale des opérations du personnel. Ces consultations se limitent toutefois à la mise en place et à l'application du plan de réduction des effectifs. Les mesures gouvernementales annoncées dans le budget de mai ont résulté en des réductions de l'ordre de quatre pour cent des ressources humaines au sein du ministère pour la prochaine année fiscale. De ces 160 années-personnes, 33 sont des postes du service extérieur occupés par des agents du service extérieur au siège social et à l'étranger.

Le comité chargé de mener à bien cet exercice a pris les mesures nécessaires pour redéployer les employés affectés dans des postes vacants au sein du ministère. Il est prévu qu'il sera possible de redéployer dans

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des postes vacants tous ceux des employés affectés par cet exercice. Les décisions d'affectation de redéploiement ont été prises en consultation avec les gestions de filière et sont fondées sur les aptitudes, qualifications et disponibilités de chacun.

La gestion du ministère fera montre de flexibilité dans l'application des Directives du service extérieur dans le but de minimiser les effets négatifs (financiers ou autres) associés au redéploiement. L'APASE a obtenu la création d'un sous-comité chargé d'étudier les questions soulevées par les employés affectés par ce présent exercice et nous espérons que toutes questions portées à l'attention de l'APASE pourront être résolues à la satisfaction de tous.

Aucun poste du groupe service extérieur n'a été déclaré excédentaire et partant, aucun des membres de l'APASE ne sera mis en disponibilité.

### **Enquête du Bureau de recherche sur les traitements**

La préparation du mémoire présenté par l'APASE lors des récentes auditions d'arbitrage tenues par la Commission des relations de travail dans la Fonction publique nous a amenés à réaliser qu'aucune donnée n'était disponible et/ou accessible en ce qui concerne le groupe du service extérieur que ce soit eu égard à la rémunération ou au portrait global du groupe. L'absence de descriptions de tâches et la difficulté à identifier un groupe spécifique effectuant des fonctions similaires à celles des agents du service extérieur avait toujours rebuté les spécialistes en analyse salariale comparative.

Suite à une requête présentée par l'APASE, le Bureau de recherche sur les traitements a accepté d'explorer conjointement avec l'Association la possibilité d'effectuer une étude pour fins d'amasser des données salariales comparatives nous permettant de faire un parallèle entre les agents du service extérieur et leurs collègues du secteur privé. Le Conseil du trésor a aussi accepté de considérer notre requête eu égard aux données salariales comparatives avec d'autres groupes de la fonction publique fédérale.

Ceci devait vous permettre de bien nous préparer pour les prochaines négociations qui, nous l'espérons, aboutiront sans l'aide d'une tierce partie.

### **Vos droits sous la convention collective**

Copie de la nouvelle convention collective du groupe de Service extérieur a été distribuée à chaque employé. Ce document

détermine vos droits en ce qui a trait à vos conditions de travail. Par exemple:

**Temps supplémentaire:** Tout employé tenu de rentrer au travail un jour de repos ou un jour férié a droit à une rémunération minimale de trois heures au taux applicable quelque soit la durée du temps travaillé si elle est moins de trois heures. C'est-à-dire: un employé à qui l'on demande de travailler deux heures un samedi a droit à 4½ heures de rémunération et un employé à qui on demande de travailler deux heures un dimanche a droit à six heures de rémunération.

**Rémunération d'intérim:** Tout employé à qui l'on demande, autre que dans le cadre du système d'affectations permutantes, d'effectuer sur une base intérimaire les fonctions d'un poste de niveau plus élevé, a droit à la rémunération applicable au niveau de ce poste à compter de la date à laquelle il a commencé à remplir ces fonctions s'il les effectue pour une durée de plus de 30 jours ouvrables.

**Indemnité de départ:** Un employé est en droit de recevoir une indemnité de départ lors de sa démission s'il a accumulé quinze ans ou plus d'emploi continu — toutefois, le droit à l'indemnité de départ est maintenu à la retraite et lors du licenciement ou du décès d'un employé.

**Indemnité pour temps de déplacement:** l'employé a droit de réclamer un indemnité d'un montant équivalent au tiers du temps de déplacement autorisé calculé au taux et demi. C'est-à-dire qu'un employé qui voyage pour six heures une journée donnée a droit de réclamer deux heures multiplié par 1½ heures: trois heures. L'indemnité minimale est de deux heures chaque jour et se calcule au taux de rémunération horaire.

**Annulation de congé annuel:** Les déboursés causés par l'annulation d'un congé annuel déjà approuvé par écrit peuvent être remboursés par l'employeur sur production des contrats passés et réservations faites à l'égard de cette période.

**Special Leave:** FSD 48 provides the deputy head with the authority to grant a maximum of eight days special leave to an employee in addition to those days of leave granted under the collective agreement.

**Leave:** All leave entitlements for employees in Canada and in addition to those provided for under the FSD's for employees outside Canada are now listed in the collective agreement.

**Maternity Leave:** Employees are entitled to maternity leave benefits equivalent to up to 93 per cent of their salary for a period of 17 weeks. Employees at post are eligible as well.

**Relocation of spouse:** Employees are now entitled to leave without pay for a period of up to five years due to the temporary relocation of a spouse.

## A Sacred Trough?

The appointment of Dennis McDermott as Ambassador to Dublin brought to 12 the number of non-career diplomats appointed during the 17 months Prime Minister Mulroney has held office. By contrast, Pierre Trudeau appointed 16 during his 16 years as prime minister, Joe Clark named one during his nine month term, while John Turner placed three in his three months as leader. (This list was published in the September, 1984, edition of *Bout de Papier*). The latter appointments were 'rescinded' by Prime Minister Mulroney shortly after he took office.

During the last election campaign, PAFSO had written to all three party leaders and sought their reassurances on the use of the foreign service for patronage purposes. PAFSO subsequently wrote Mr. Mulroney following the appointment of Joan Price Winsor to Los Angeles. This correspondence was published in previous issues of *Bout de Papier*.

In response to the latest appointment, PAFSO published a press release and PAFSO President, Jean-Paul Delisle, wrote letters to the Prime Minister and SSEA Clark.

## Press Release

In noting the appointment of Dennis McDermott as Canadian Ambassador to Ireland, the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers (PAFSO) regrets the continued use of diplomatic assignments for purposes of patronage.

The Association has written to the Prime Minister reminding him that he had assured the Association in a letter dated October 2, 1984, that "the standard of professionalism so characteristic of our foreign service will be maintained by my Government and reflected in the diplomatic appointments we will be making".

In the 17 months since taking office Mr. Mulroney has made more political appointments to the diplomatic service than Pierre Trudeau did during his initial period in office (1968-1980). Mr. Mulroney's political appointees are now posted to London, Paris, Washington, New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Dallas, Lisbon and Dublin.

PAFSO believes that while there will always be circumstances where the government will want to draw upon the outstanding ability and experience of individuals for particular assignments, the use of amateur diplomats should be the exception. Canada's international reputation and effectiveness can best be assured by experienced and professional representation.

Le Très Honorable Brian Mulroney  
Premier Ministre

La nomination de Dennis McDermott au poste d'ambassadeur du Canada en Irlande m'amène à vous rappeler que l'Association professionnelle des agents du service extérieur vous a écrit à deux reprises ces deux dernières années pour vous faire part de nos préoccupations relativement aux nominations diplomatiques pour fins de patronage. Dans une lettre que vous adressiez à mon prédécesseur, Russ Davidson, en date du 2 Octobre 1984, vous l'assuriez que "the standard of professionalism so characteristic of our foreign service will be maintained". Lors d'un deuxième échange de correspondance en date du 31 mai 1985, vous reconnaissiez en réponse à une lettre que je vous avais adressée "l'excellente réputation de la diplomatie canadienne dans le monde" et déclariez que votre gouvernement ne ferait rien pour entacher cette réputation. Vos assurances ont encouragé nos membres à renouveler leur engagement à servir le Canada avec professionnalisme.

Toutefois, la nomination de M. McDermott quelque soit sa réputation, nous préoccupe grandement. Depuis votre arrivée au pouvoir il y a dix-sept mois, vous avez effectué douze nominations diplomatiques hors-carrière. Cela en constitue plus que n'en a effectué Pierre Trudeau durant son premier stage au pouvoir de 1968 à 1979. En dépit de nos échanges de correspondance et de vos attaques vigoureuses et populaires contre le patronage au cours de la campagne électorale de 1984, l'usage accéléré de ce type de nominations remet en question votre engagement personnel ainsi que celui de votre gouvernement au maintien d'un service extérieur de carrière.

Nous opposons fortement l'usage abusif du service extérieur pour fins de patronage considérant que la complexité et la fragilité de l'environnement actuel nécessitent que les relations extérieures du Canada soient gérées par des professionnels. Nous déplorons de plus l'effet que ce type de nominations peut avoir sur le moral de nos membres.

Vos récentes nominations porte le Canada au second rang, derrière les Etats-Unis, parmi les démocraties occidentales eu égard au nombre d'ambassadeurs non issus de la carrière. Qui plus est, sous le Président Reagan, les Etats-Unis tentent maintenant de réduire l'abus de nominations diplomatiques pour fins politiques. Nous vous prions instamment de renouveler votre engagement envers le standard de professionnalisme à maintenir au sein du service extérieur et de nous assurer que cesseront ces nominations tant et aussi longtemps que l'équilibre traditionnel entre les nominations diplomatiques de carrière et hors-carrière n'aura pas été rétabli.

J.P. Delisle  
Président



*This is the team at Canada's Paris, France, office. Bout de papier decided against trying to list by name all the team members. Just try and imagine it: Front row, left to right, it wouldn't work. How many can you identify.*

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## **Rapport du comité professionnel**

*par Robert Desjardins*

Les déjeuner-causeries ont continué de plus belle aux cours d'octobre et novembre et les activités du Comité professionnel ont culminé en décembre par la présentation d'un colloque sur le libre-échange avec les États-Unis, qui fait d'ailleurs l'objet d'un rapport séparé dans cette édition.

De l'extérieur, Madame Nora Beloff a participé nos agapes matinales et nous fait part de ses commentaires sur les plus récents développements en Europe de l'est, avec, il va de soi, beaucoup d'emphase sur la situation en Yougoslavie, pays sur lequel elle a publié un volume et plusieurs essais. D'un extérieur plus rapproché, M. Paul Labbé nous a entretenu du mandat d'Investissement Canada et du travail de relation publique que cet organisme accomplit au nom du gouvernement, avec un certain succès, qu'il n'a pas manqué de souligner.

De nos rangs, M. Sullivan nous a présenté son rapport sur la participation du Premier ministre à la Réunion des chefs de

gouvernements du Commonwealth et à l'Assemblée générale des Nations-Unies, qui en a moins dit que les médias. La discrétion du diplomate de carrière l'a emporté sur tout le reste . . . Puis vint le tour de Peter Oldham, qui nous a présenté son extraordinaire montage audio-visuel sur son pays d'accréditation, le Japon. Cette production d'une rare professionnalisme sert d'outil d'information à la mission et a suscité un vif intérêt chez ceux qui l'ont vu. Il s'agit d'un exemple que plus d'une mission bénéficierait grandement à suivre.

En terminant, la saison d'hiver s'annonce fort intéressante. Il suffit de mentionner les noms de Gérard Pelletier, Lise Bissonnette, Roger Lemelin, J. Bissett, parmi ceux qui pourront se joindre à nous par quelques matins de semaine. Comme toujours, n'hésitez pas à entrer en contact avec moi ou un des mes collègues du Comité professionnel, s'il vous vient à l'esprit le nom des gens que nous pourrions inviter à participer à nos activités matinales.

# The Foreign Service as a Career

by Michael Small

*Excerpt from PAFSO submission to the Public Service Arbitration Board.*

Unlike many of the larger and more heterogeneous bargaining units, Foreign Service officers share more than a contract in common. Membership in the Foreign Service Group constitutes a distinctive career in the public service.

Foreign Service Officers have a distinctive method of recruitment. The Foreign Service Examination is conducted by the Public Service Commission at universities across Canada every October and at all Canadian missions abroad. The examination is demanding and highly competitive. The most recent entrants into the Foreign Service were hired from among the 4,447 applicants who wrote the examination in the fall of 1982. Only 21, or less than half of one per cent of the applicants, were initially hired in the summer of 1983. (Nineteen more were hired in the course of 1985 from the same list to fill vacancies created by attrition. No examination was held in the fall of 1983 and to date no hiring has been done on the basis of the eligibility list from the October 1984 competition.)

This rigorous entry process creates a body of recruits that are notable in three respects; because the examination specifically targets university graduates across Canada and is administered world-wide, it attracts a much broader and internationally experienced pool of applications than competitions conducted only in Ottawa. As a result, many promising candidates are encouraged to write the Foreign Service exam who might not otherwise apply for any other federal government competition. Second, the Foreign Service is able to recruit a highly educated body of trainees. A bachelors degree is a minimum qualification; in practice many candidates have higher degrees. In the class of 1983, 57 per cent had second degree or better; a third of this group were lawyers. A further characteristic of Foreign Service recruits is that a significant percentage have studied abroad. Thirty-eight per cent of the class of 1983 have degrees from American or European universities. Third, the Foreign Service is attracting an older and increasingly experienced body of trainees.

## **Same Level Entrance**

This method of recruitment also has several important implications for the career Foreign Service. First, all recruits hired through the examination enter the group at the same level, FS-1(D). Although the examination process tends to favour more mature candidates, once recruited all trainees start at the bottom, regardless of their age, education or job experience. Some credit is given in terms of starting salary for past experience, but even this differential is erased after trainees complete their probationary year and start at the bottom of the FS1 salary band. Given the increasing level of job experience and education of trainees, it is not uncommon for new recruits, particularly lawyers, to suffer a salary drop of more than \$10,000 upon entering the FS Group. More importantly, new recruits receive no credit towards their ranking in the Foreign Service for their experience prior to entering the FS group. This attitude is carried to its logical extreme in the department's policy as regards officers that resign after a period of service and later wish to re-enter the group. They too must again undergo and pass the examination and then they re-enter as FS-1(D)s.

Second, there is no regular method of lateral entry into the group at a level higher than FS1(D). At certain times in the past there have been one-time-only competitions for lateral entry at the FS1 and 2 levels for the members of other bargaining units that work alongside FS officers in External Affairs and CIDA. The most recent exercise was when CIDA PMs were given the opportunity to compete for

entry into the newly created development assistance FS stream. However apart from these occasional exercises (the most recent of which was prompted by the re-organization of External Affairs) the only method of entry is by the exam at the FS1(D) level. Thus the Department relies almost exclusively on recruiting new trainees to make up for losses due to attrition at higher levels.

A third characteristic of the recruitment process is that it is largely carried out by other Foreign Service Officers. Although the Public Service Commission administers the examination process, four out of the five members of each board are drawn from the ranks of rotational officers, usually at the FS-2 level. The questions asked in the oral part of the exam, particularly in the crucial role-playing tests, are designed by the Foreign Service officers on each board and are often drawn from their own personal experiences. Thus the FS group plays a major role in defining its own selection standards and in recruiting new officers into its ranks.

Another distinctive characteristic of life as a Foreign Service Officer is that there is a divorce between the assignment and promotion systems for the FS group. Unlike other bargaining units in which officers are promoted by competing for higher positions, Foreign Service Officers can be promoted without changing their job and can be assigned to a higher position without being promoted. This follows from three features of the group: the rotational status of the officers; the freedom to under or over-fill FS positions; and the system of promotion to level rather than position. The implications of each of these features is as follows.

Rotationality is the central concept governing the assignment system for the FS group. Foreign Service Officers are expected to be fully rotational. Formally, this means that they are prepared to accept an assignment to any FS position in Canada or any one of our 121 posts overseas, with all the consequences for disruption of one's personal life this implies. Foreign Service Officers are asked to sign a form upon entry into the group confirming their rotational status; this is reviewed annually on their appraisal reports. The very small number of officers who elect or are required to become non-rotational face severely diminished career prospects in a service in which full rotationality is the norm. In practice, FS jobs are classified as two, three, or four year assignments. Extensions or early re-assignments are possible, but it is unusual for officers (except on temporary duty) to serve less than twelve months or more than five years in a given job.

## **Rotation Important**

Canada has a rotational Foreign Service for two reasons. It is considered important for the professional development of officers that they alternate periodically between service in Canada and service abroad, and that they do not become too closely associated with service in one policy area or region of the world. The Department of External Affairs encourages specialization up to a point, but it expects its officers to be able to adapt to new policy areas and new postings. Accordingly, it has been a long standing practice in External Affairs to break up the pattern of officers' assignments from time to time by cross-posting them, for example, from the Soviet Union to the Caribbean or from intelligence work to public affairs. A second reason for rotationality is the need to maintain a degree of equity in assignments. With over half of our missions in hardship posts, it is important to have the flexibility to keep positions in non-hardship posts open in order to have a means of rewarding officers willing to serve in hardship ones. The assignment system entails a constant process of compromise between officers' personal interests and the department's operational requirements. Rotation-

ality ensures that in the end, some form of rough justice is seen to prevail.

The second feature mentioned in the department's freedom to under or over-fill positions. (An under-filled position is one in which the officer who occupies it is classified at a lower rank than the position.) The FS group is divided into just two broad bands: FS 1 and 2 level. The ostensible reason for these broad bands is to facilitate rotationality — the broader the bands, the greater the scope for the department to assign officers to the appropriate jobs without being hampered by the need to achieve a close fit between officers' classification and position. In fact, the assignment process is not even confined within the existing broad bands. Between the FS 1 and FS 2 bands there are 78 per cent more officers under-filling positions than over-filling them (123 versus 69) and between the FS 2 and EX 1 bands there are 364 per cent more officers under-filling than over-filling positions (65 versus 14). This means that the department maintains a significantly larger number of officers at a lower level than the number of positions they are required to fill.

The third feature that must be taken into account is the system of promotion to level. Unlike most other professional bargaining units in the public service, Foreign Service officers do not receive promotions by competing for jobs at a higher level. Instead, once they have served for four years at a given level they become eligible for promotion to the next level. For each of the four streams, the annual appraisals for every officer in the area of selection are reviewed by a promotion board, and all the officers are ranked on a promotion list. The department determines how many officers at each level in each stream can be promoted and, subject to appeal, that number of officers is promoted based on their rank from the top of each list. This system applies not only to the FS levels but to the rotational EX category in the department as well.

The rationale for this system of promotion follows from the dictates of rotationality. Given the large number of re-assignments every year in a rotational service, and that officers eligible for each assignment are found in nearly every one of our missions around the world, it would be almost impossible to hold competitions for each position. Instead, promotions are divorced from assignments. The department maintains the flexibility to staff positions with the appropriate officers, without being restricted by their rank, and boards review officers' potential for promotion, without direct reference to the level of responsibility entailed by their current assignments. In fact, the annual appraisal forms used by promotion boards do not even indicate the classification of the job for which the employee is being appraised.

There are two extremely important consequences of this divorce between the assignment and promotions systems used for Foreign Service Officers. The first is that it enables the department to draw on the talents of junior officers to fill higher positions without having to compensate them accordingly in terms of acting pay or promotion. Junior officers are usually willing to fill these higher positions because the enriched job content gives them a better chance to demonstrate their potential for promotion. Over time, their chances for promotion probably are improved by filling positions at higher levels. However, given the large numbers of officers acting at higher levels and the small number of promotions, it has become routine for officers to be passed over for promotion to a level at which they are already performing. For example, in 1984 there were 123 FS 1s filling FS 2 positions while only 22 FS 1s were promoted and 65 FS 2s filling EX 1 positions while only 12 FS 2s were promoted. Furthermore, not all of the officers promoted were among those filling positions at a higher level.

### Promotion Constrained

The second important consequence is that the rate of promotion, even for the department's most capable officers, is even more tightly constrained by the diminishing number of management level

vacancies than existing in other bargaining units. Average rates of promotion have slowed drastically across government in the last five years, and the FS group is no exception. However, officers in other bargaining units at any level are still free to compete for the vacancies that occur in other departments where promotions are made to position. In External Affairs, where promotion to level prevails, there is a minimum period of four years before officers are even eligible for promotion and it is impossible for officers to jump more than one level at a time. In practice, the four year minimum is an ideal which in recent promotions almost no one has received. The disparity between the minimum time required and the rate at which promotions are actually achieved is even greater when one considers promotion to the EX 1 level. Thus the promotion to level system severely restricts the mobility of the most capable officers. It is not surprising that many of the Foreign Service Officers that have resigned in recent years have moved immediately to much higher positions in the public or private sectors.

In effect, Foreign Service Officers move along two career paths in the department. The first is the path of their assignments, which if they are capable leads over time to more challenging and responsible positions. The second is their path of promotions, which usually lags far behind. The result is a growing sense of frustration among the department's best officers over the lack of recognition and the remuneration for the work they actually perform.

Since the appointment of Canada's first overseas trade commissioners in 1899, the Canadian government has fostered the creation of a career Foreign Service. Many of the factors discussed above contribute to this notion: the highly competitive method of recruitment; the reluctance to admit lateral entries; the control over examination standards by members of the service; the expectation that fully rotational officers can serve anywhere; the restrictions on rapid promotion imposed by minimum times in grade; the requirement that officers be able to cover each other's jobs; and, the acquisition of knowledge and refinement of inter-personal skills that comes from multiple assignments abroad. As a result, until now Canada has been able to draw upon the accumulated experience of a body of officers that identified closely with their own senior management and who have been committed to a career in the Foreign Service. Under-pinning this sense of dedication, however, has always been the expectation that even if higher salaries or faster promotions could be obtained elsewhere in the public service (not to mention the private sector) career Foreign Service Officers would receive adequate rewards. The erosion of the salary structure and benefits package for the FS group compared to other professionals threatens to seriously undermine this assumption. If left unchecked, the costs would be borne not only by those officers that choose to remain, but by the entire government of Canada that has up until now been able to rely on a career Foreign Service to help it survive in an increasingly hostile and competitive international environment.

**Mr. Small is a member of the Foreign Service. Δ**



## Putting Paid to Palmy Days at the Yacht Club

The Auditor General's report questioned the procedures leading to the purchase of 34 membership-debentures in Hong Kong's Aberdeen Marina Club. The memberships were purchased as part of the department's Recreational Hardship Support Service, a program set up on the recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Conditions of Foreign Service. On November 18, Mr. Clark announced that he had instructed the department to sell the debentures as soon as practicable and phase in alternative recreational assistance arrangements for employees and their

families and to establish new procedures for the program. In appearing before the Public Accounts Committee on November 19, Associate Undersecretary of State Derek Burney told members that: "Hong Kong was one of the posts identified as having severe recreational hardship . . . It is a popular destination for tourists but it is also a heavily congested city-state of at least five and a half million. Hong Kong is one of the noisiest, most hectic cities in the world and regarded as one of the world's most stressful environments. Frequent escape to a quiet haven is a necessity. Our 34 employees, officers and support staff, and their 63 family members live in high-rise, high-density buildings and have little or no possibility for recreational escape."

Members of the Committee were not

unsympathetic to the plight of the foreign service. Conservative member Jim Hawkes suggested that: "we have created a mountain here with this audit note that, in a public relations sense, makes the world more difficult for the people serving abroad. It has resulted in a policy shift à la communiqué. I bet if this committee was to look back on it ten years from now, we might find that the audit note has created more expenditure for the taxpayers of Canada." Sharing this view, Conservative member Scott Fennell opined that the "Auditor General's department is grandstanding and . . . the department has overreacted."

PAFSO wrote two letters on this subject to the Minister which we reprint in this issue. PAFSO has never received a reply from Mr. Clark or his Office.

Right Honourable Joe Clark  
Secretary of State for External Affairs  
Department of External Affairs  
125 Sussex Drive  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0G2

October 21, 1985

Dear Mr. Clark:

We hope the rather unfortunate publicity resulting from the Auditor General's observation on the purchase of memberships in the Aberdeen Marina Club will not deter your own commitment and that of the management of our department to improved access to recreation facilities. As you are aware, particularly at hardship posts characterized by such difficulties as levels of violence, food shortages, isolation or overcrowding considered unacceptable by Canadian standards, not only the morale but well-being of those serving abroad will remain dependent on this continued commitment.

For this reason, amongst others, Pamela McDougall was asked in August, 1980, to investigate the conditions of foreign service particularly from the "point of view of their families". We welcomed this action as long overdue. Her thorough report, tabled in October, 1981, provided an accurate look at conditions of foreign service. Ms. McDougall and her team visited over 40 per cent of Canadian posts abroad and were available to over half of the 1,800 employees as well as their spouses and children.

Ms. McDougall was convinced that "access to recreation facilities for all staff members and their families is vital for the maintenance of physical and mental health" and we continue to endorse her recommendation that "access to a basic level of recreational facilities for all foreign service members be a priority of the Government".

We applaud the actions that successive governments have subsequently taken to implement these positive recommendations at our posts abroad. It is especially important that in its continuing implementation of this recommendation the Government maintain the principle of equal access to recreational facilities for all members of the foreign service family, including spouses and children. We hope that any review of the decision with regard to the Aberdeen Marina Club will not undermine the Government's commitment to the implementation of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Conditions of Foreign Service.

Jean-Paul Delisle  
President  
PAFSO

Jack Donegani  
President  
PIPS

Right Honourable Joe Clark  
Secretary of State for External Affairs  
Department of External Affairs  
125 Sussex Drive  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0G2

November 20, 1985

Dear Mr. Clark:

Members of the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers were disappointed to learn that you had announced on November 18 that you had instructed the department to sell the memberships in the Aberdeen Marina Club. There were several reasons for our disappointment. Firstly, there had been no response to our letter of October 21 (signed jointly with the Professional Institute of the Public Service) and no opportunity for us to consult with you or your staff. Secondly, your decision does not follow from the assertion in the press release of November 18 (Communiqué No. 172) that the President of the Treasury Board has found the Recreational Hardship Support Program sound in principle and that the department had committed no improprieties, technical or otherwise, in the transaction. Moreover, our disappointment was compounded when it was reported that government members of the Public Accounts Committee had accused the Auditor General of "grandstanding" and had urged the government to reconsider the decision to sell the membership.

Our wish would be to see the memberships, and the recreational facilities they represent for foreign service personnel of all ranks, maintained. As professional members of the foreign service, of course, we will respect and abide by your decision but not without continuing disappointment that the Minister did not choose to defend the department's original decision.

We are also concerned that if the memberships are sold the funds received will be returned to consolidated revenues as an asset and therefore lost to the program. We would hope that this will not be the case. The revenues realized from the sale of the shares should be added to those funds already budgeted to this program. We would, therefore, welcome your assurance that funding of the program will not suffer as a result to the decision to sell the shares.

Yours sincerely,  
Jean-Paul Delisle  
President

# At the Flicks with Pagan Haigh

*Dance with a Stranger . . . . Silverado . . . . Wetherby . . . . Plenty . . . . Out of Africa*  
*After Hours . . . . Compromising Positions . . . . Kiss of the Spider Woman . . . . A Chorus Line*  
*Jagged Edge . . . . Twice in a Lifetime*

This new *Bout de Papier* feature may subject you to my biases as I tend to keep away from sci-fi, Stephen Spielberg and, as a rule, violence. Having made that qualification, here goes.

Since September, Ottawans have been busy trying to keep abreast of the new releases with barely a spare day to catch up on the oldies at the Towne.

My only disappointment this fall was **Dance with a Stranger**, the story of Ruth Ellis, the last woman hanged in Britain. I was always waiting for something to happen. Perhaps I was suffering the after effects from **Rambo**, in which a cast of thousands were miraculously gunned down by our intrepid hero. Nevertheless, **Dance with a Stranger** was marvellously well-acted and totally faithful to the period. Don't be deterred by the lack of action: Miranda Richardson as Ruth Ellis is faultless.

I began my fall movie-going with **Silverado**, which was still running in Ottawa on my return from two months in England. Lawrence Kasden's contemporary western (is he serious or is this a spoof?) may not please aficionados of the genre; however, it is a stunningly beautiful film with plenty of fine camera work — I particularly liked the snow-speckled west — spectacular escapes and shoot-outs. I shall go again to delight in the performance of Linda Hunt as the keeper of the saloon. She appears so wise in whatever role she undertakes and her scenes with the incorruptible Paden (Kevin Kline) are memorable.

**Wetherby** did not have a very long run in Ottawa but gets my personal Oscar. It is a well-crafted study of the effect of a stranger's violent death on a middle-aged school teacher. Her thoughts go back to the time when, as a young girl, she fell in love with an airman whose short life also ended violently. Small town English life is faithfully recreated and the use of flashback is the most skilful I have encountered, never obtruding, drawing you inexorably into the school teacher's soul. Vanessa Redgrave and her daughter share the role and the supporting cast is strong, although Judi Dench and Ian Holm deserve a special mention.

I consider Vanessa Redgrave and Meryl Streep to be the finest actresses around today, but Meryl Streep is in danger of overexposure. In **Plenty** she plays an Englishwoman who returns home and finds it difficult to adapt to the accepted role of women in peacetime. Streep is not completely at home in the role and I should have liked Kate Nelligan to have repeated her success in the part in London and on Broadway. British attitudes and mores after the war take some hard but justified knocks. Charles Dance as the husband enmeshed in his wife's rebellion does what is required of him and John Gielgud and Ian McKellen are excellent as Foreign Office mandarins.

Meryl Streep again stars in **Out of Africa**, this time with Robert Redford. A massive cliché loosely based on the memoirs of Isak Dinesen (Baroness Blixen) is interminably long. Anyone who has read the book should quickly forget it, but go to wonder at Meryl Streep who is quite simply superb. I would also like to have seen more of Klaus Maria Brandauer as her husband, and less of Robert Redford. However, I cannot complain as the Baron is but a shadowy presence in the book. Sidney Pollack gets lost in the romance between Streep and Redford (Denys Finch Hatton), and gives cursory screen time to the relationship between the Baroness and the natives on the farm, the effect of tribal differences and the inflexible colonial attitudes which she constantly encountered. There is plenty of African scenery and wildlife and a whole heap of romantic goo. I have to confess I wept buckets.

Two films deservedly popular with Ottawa audiences were **After Hours** and **Compromising Positions**. The latter is not, as its title might suggest, a film made for late-night pay T.V., but a witty murder mystery. A lecherous dentist is murdered. He has quite a way with women and takes photographs of them in, you've guessed it, compromising positions. Susan Sarandon plays the ex-reporter housewife turned amateur sleuth (to the chagrin of the detective assigned to the job played by Raul Julia), whose curiosity and determination to unearth the truth lands her in innumerable difficulties. It is hilariously funny and I particularly enjoyed the well-observed relationship between Sarandon and her lawyer husband: he says, "Now I'm not the kind of clod who hasn't time to tune into his wife, but . . . ."

**After Hours** is Martin Scorsese's night on the town with a difference. Griffin Dunne plays an ordinary computer programmer who, as a result of a chance encounter with Rosanne Arquette (who desperately sought Susan), is catapulted into a living nightmare of weird experiences with the inhabitants of Manhattan's Soho. Bizarre, fantastic, sometimes macabre, always funny.

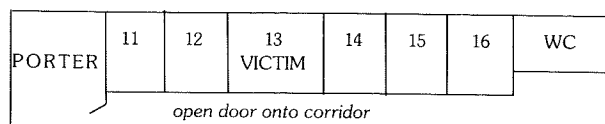
**Kiss of the Spider Woman**, Hector Babenco's film starring William Hurt as the homosexual Molina and Raul Julia as his heterosexual cell-mate, has received unanimous raves. The relationship between this unlikely couple is the theme of the film. It begins with Hurt's monologue, which becomes an argument, and culminates in an embrace and a deep understanding between them. Both actors are excellent, though I was not entirely convinced by Hurt's Molina. I felt, too, that the film came to pieces in its final moments after Molina is released. This is so often the case when a stage play is translated to the screen. The director feels compelled to take to the streets in order to satisfy the audience. For the most part, Richard Attenborough has resisted this temptation in **A Chorus Line** in which he relies more on stage-craft than cinematography to bring the musical to the screen. He is not entirely successful — the third-degree interviews given by choreographer Zac to his 16 hopefuls are often embarrassingly hammy — but go and see it, if only for the dancing.

Finally, two films for you if you want simply to be entertained. If you like conventional thrillers with plenty of well-engineered suspense, you might want to take in **Jagged Edge**. Glenn Close defends Jeff Bridges, charged with the horrific murder of his wife. There are some good courtroom scenes, heightened by the antipathy between Close and the local DA who had been partly responsible for her absence from the courtroom for some years. I won't say any more, I may spoil it for you.

In **Twice in a Lifetime**, a **Terms of Endearment** clone, Gene Hackman gets a chance to fulfil a lifetime's ambition by playing a romantic lead instead of one of his famous tough detectives. It is well-acted throughout, but I think Amy Madigan, who plays the couple's married daughter, deserves a special mention. Her parents' 30-year marriage disintegrates overnight when Gene Hackman meets Ann-Margaret. The film is entirely plausible and Ellen Burstyn is most touching as the wife.

Farewell until next time when I hope to discuss some of the newer French and German films. Happy movie-going!

**A member of a foreign service household, Pagan Haigh has watched films in London, Paris, Addis Ababa and more recently Ottawa. She begins a regular column, At the Flicks, on movies old and new. It is designed to serve the expatriate in far away places, where yesterday's box office hit is tomorrow's feature film.** △



Orient Express Pullman Car

## NOT NOW, NATASHA !!!!

### A murderous puzzle by A. Aalto

It is morning on the Orient Express and murder has been done in Room 13 of the Pullman Car (see diagram). The victim was an American secret agent on his way to Istanbul. The windows on the car are the kind that don't open and the end doors have been locked all night. You and the porter stayed awake playing cards until dawn, and one of you had the corridor in view at all times. The passengers are one per room and there are no inter-connecting doors. You saw one and only one man enter Room 13 and engage the American in conversation, but the light was too dim to see who it was and you didn't hear the shot that killed the victim. One of the other passengers is the murderer!

You find the body on entering the American's room before anyone else has stirred. You first notice a persistent odour of gunsmoke and tobacco. There are two glasses on the table, each with a trace of liquor in the bottom. One has the American's fingerprints and the other is wiped clean. The ashtray is empty, and there are no ashes elsewhere in the room. Clutched in the American's hand is a torn piece of paper with the words "espia americano" scribbled on it; the ink was fresh enough to have smeared on the victim's dry thumb. The murder bullet passed through both the American's body and the window. Neither a gun nor a liquor bottle is to be found in the room; nor has either been discarded elsewhere in the still-sealed car.

You notify the conductor, who ensures that the car's surviving passengers remain in their compartments. They all turn out to be secret agents like the American (such things happen on the Orient Express). No-one has an alibi except you and the porter, but all the others have diplomatic passports they wave self-importantly. Based on a search of their rooms and papers, you determine that each has a different nationality and a different state employer. Each is carrying a different single type of tobacco and alcohol (unless an abstainer) and a different single weapon. Each speaks exactly three languages, including the major tongue of his homeland and one common in a significant part of his employer's country.

The conductor tries to interrogate the suspects and quickly develops brain-fever from the strain. All he can tell you are the following few fragments:

- (1) The Spaniard's room is right between the victim's and that of the whiskey-drinking cigar smoker who works for London.
- (2) The Frenchman carries a Colt 45 and speaks Welsh, French and Spanish.

- (3) The man who works for Berlin drinks gin, smokes a pipe and speaks German, Spanish and English.
- (4) The man who works for Moscow is at one end of the row; he is a strict teetotaler and carries a Luger.
- (5) The victim never carried a gun of any kind, drank but did not smoke, and spoke only English.
- (6) The strict non-smoker works for Belgium and drinks rum.
- (7) The Englishman smokes cigarillos and speaks Spanish and Ukrainian; the man in the only adjacent bedroom speaks neither.
- (8) The Argentine carries a Browning; his room number is 2 higher than that of the cigarette-smoker, who works for Berne.
- (9) The brandy-drinker carries a powerful compressed-air pistol and speaks Spanish, German and English.
- (10) The Japanese in Room 15 carries a derringer and speaks English and Walloon.
- (11) None of the passengers would co-operate with any of the others, and no-one is missing so much as a cigarette.

As a famous Canadian detective and a friend of the conductor's, you respond to his plea for help. You have no time for further interviews, as unfortunate Consuls-General are beating at your door. Based on the evidence at hand and a conviction that the simplest answers are the best, who is most likely to have killed the American? What did he use? Who does he work for? Which is his room? What does he smoke? What type of liquor was in the glasses? And just how do you know all this?

## Fall Puzzle

The Winner: Donald T. Wismer, Madrid, Spain

### TAKE A WALK !! — Answer

| CHAIR                                     | 1     | 2      | 3         | 4      | 5     | 6     |
|-------------------------------------------|-------|--------|-----------|--------|-------|-------|
| Home Country                              | USA   | ZAMBIA | AUSTRALIA | CANADA | SPAIN | JAPAN |
| American League Playoffs — Winner In Bold | YANKS | YANKS  | JAYS      | JAYS   | YANKS | JAYS  |
|                                           | KC    | ANGELS | KC        | ANGELS | KC    | KC    |
| National League Playoffs — Winner In Bold | METS  | CARDS  | CARDS     | METS   | METS  | CARDS |
|                                           | LA    | LA     | LA        | LA     | LA    | REDS  |
| World Series — Winner In Bold             | YANKS | ANGELS | KC        | JAYS   | YANKS | KC    |
|                                           | METS  | CARDS  | LA        | METS   | LA    | CARDS |

KC — Kansas City Royals

LA — Los Angeles Dodgers

A. Aalto notes with disgust that none of the participants guessed exactly correct, although the Australian and Japanese consuls came close and the latter had the Series right on. Fortunately, wagers were not high — A. Aalto had a fin on the Jays, but such is life . . . .



And the band played on.

## Dancing Cheek to Cheek

On December 5 the department held a dinner dance at the new Convention Centre. It was a smashing success with the RCMP Band playing a medley of popular tunes that kept the dance floor full. Our FS1(Ds) provided a series of very funny skits which had the audience in stitches. Both Ministers Clark and Kelleher were in attendance and offered holiday greetings. Mr. Clark's off-the-cuff remarks reflected a clever blend of humour and spirit that were particularly well-received.

Full credit and plaudits go to the organizers of the bash: Art Perron, Russ Davidson, Robert Desjardins, Robert Dery, Andre Laporte, Ben Pflanz, Robert Vanderloo and Josie Whiting.



# Write Your own Caption Contest

Another in our series of  
caption challenges.

## Fall Caption Contest

The Winner: Tom Clasper, Kuwait

*"Of course, most of the money we're saving on shelter costs will have to go to buy us new suits when the rainy season starts . . ."*

Some other good ones:

*"Grassroots diplomacy"*

*"I still think that we retired ambassadors should have our own union."*

*"Bringing the UN down to earth."*

*"I think the restraint measures really make our meetings a little difficult."*

*"I am sorry, but this is the only place where we could be undisturbed."*



## IMPORTANT NOTICE to PAFSO Members

Effective March 1, 1986 we are pleased to announce major improvements to our Group Insurance Program.

Some highlights of these changes:

- an increase in the level of coverage available
- a substantial reduction in premium rates
- an improved schedule of benefits
- introduction of smoker/non-smoker premium

If you are not already a Group Member, we invite you to complete the coupon below or contact us directly. We are there to help you with your insurance needs.

## AVIS IMPORTANT aux membres de l'APASE

Il nous fait plaisir de vous annoncer les améliorations suivantes au programme d'assurance-groupe de l'APASE à compter du 1er mars 1986:

- niveau de protection plus élevé
- réduction substantielle des cotisations
- des prestations améliorées
- introduction de taux de primes pour fumeurs et non-fumeurs

Si vous n'êtes pas déjà membre, veuillez compléter le coupon ci-dessous ou nous contacter directement pour discuter de nos besoins en matière d'assurance.



TO/À: PAFSO Group Insurance Plan/Programme d'assurance collective de l'APASE  
1002 - 130 rue Albert Street  
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4  
(613-234-1391)

Please send information on/prière de me faire parvenir la documentation suivante:

- ☐ Term Life/Assurance-vie
- ☐ Dependent Life/Assurance-vie des personnes à charge
- ☐ Accidental Death and Dismemberment/Mort accidentelle et mutilation
- ☐ Optional Coverage for Member/Spouse/Assurance-vie facultative membre/conjoint

Name/Nom: .....

Address/Adresse: .....

..... Code/code postal: .....



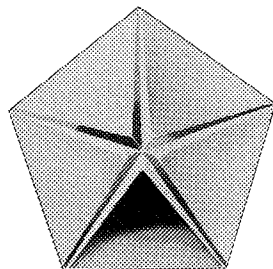
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