

and \$6,800. Associate professors at Queen's made between \$8,700 and \$11,500, whereas the FSO 5 range in External Affairs was \$8,340-\$9,420. The maximum for full professors and heads of departments at Queen's was \$15,000, the same as the deputy under-secretary received. Only the under-secretary, at \$21,000, was paid at a higher level than senior faculty at the university.⁵⁷

Security clearances

The department's ability to retain employees was affected not only by its reputation as an employer but also by its adherence to government wide practices, especially those involving security. There were two circumstances that could, in the judgement of the security authorities, make an employee susceptible to subversion by hostile intelligence agents: ideological sympathy and vulnerability to blackmail as a result of what were called "character weaknesses," such as excessive drinking, indebtedness, or sexual indiscretion. By the mid 1950s, the latter was considered much the more dangerous means of exploitation, with homosexual activity (still illegal in Canada and many other countries) attracting the most attention. Public servants who found their careers in jeopardy had not necessarily breached security, for they could also be affected by reports of conduct believed likely to lead to the possibility.

As a result of policy developed before Diefenbaker's time, persons considered susceptible to blackmail were denied security clearance. The effect was very hard on suspected personnel in External Affairs, since it was impossible to pursue a successful career without access to sensitive information. The drain of talent from the public service generally was substantial, with some 460

"confirmed, alleged or suspected homosexuals" identified by December 1960, about one-third of whom had resigned or been dismissed, although there had been evidence of only one attempt to blackmail an employee "for intelligence purposes." The effect of this erosion was a cause of concern, with the result that the Security Panel was asked in the autumn of 1959 "to determine whether it might be possible to treat cases of character weakness differently from those involving ideological beliefs, without of course weakening present security safeguards." In dealing with this request, the Security Panel concentrated on homosexuality.

The panel concluded that there should be no change to the policy as defined by a cabinet directive of December 21, 1955. The under-secretary, who participated in the decision as a member of the panel, did not dissent, but was inclined to the view that the report they had considered "exaggerated the risk" posed by employing homosexuals in sensitive positions. "It was his view that the assessment of an individual for a position of trust involved a mixture of considerations, and [he] pointed out that a weakness such as homosexuality might exist in an individual of great discretion and with a brilliant capacity for public service. In many cases, he said, the security dangers of the sexual propensity might well be neutralized by other aspects of the person's character."⁵⁸

Without a change in policy, dealing with possible security risks remained a major personnel problem in External Affairs. An attempt by the RCMP Security Service to find a scientific method of identifying homosexuals, known irreverently as the "fruit machine," having proved unworkable, reliance continued to be placed on reports from

informants. Once a matter was referred to the department, responsibility for decision normally rested with the under-secretary, and it was one that Robertson took very seriously. In handling individual cases, he was keenly aware of the personal consequences for the employees concerned, but also of his responsibility for maintaining the security procedures developed in response to the practices of hostile intelligence services.

Affected personnel could be assisted in arranging transfers to government positions for which security clearances were not required, or in moving outside the public service, but the price paid was high when careers in External Affairs were ended and the department lost the services of experienced and valued personnel. The process reached all levels, those affected including the longest serving assistant under-secretary, John Holmes, and David Johnson, ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1956 until 1960. There was not much change when, as a result of a research project completed in 1962, homosexuality was removed from the category of character weakness. Homosexuals were still believed to be susceptible to subversion overseas, and, since an employee who was not considered postable was not normally eligible for promotion, the presumption of vulnerability to blackmail remained.⁵⁹

Accommodation in Ottawa and abroad

Even though the department did not succeed in meeting all its staffing requirements, the growth was sufficient to place severe pressure on the accommodation available in Ottawa and abroad. At headquarters, operations at the start of the period were still concentrated in a group of buildings around Confederation Square: the New Post Office Building at Sparks and Elgin Streets, the Daly

55. Day's circular, which became something of a classic on the subject, was reissued in 1979. Telecommunications Division to directors general and directors, August 14, 1979, and enclosure, "Telegraphic Communications - Notes and Observations," May 31, 1962, DEA file 6-4-1-3.

56. Circular document Admin. 11/61, February 10, 1961, DEA file 9770-D-40.

57. F. W. Gibson, Queen's University, vol. 2: 1917-1961: To Serve and Yet Be Free (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 1983), p. 480, n. 57.

58. Minutes of the 68th meeting of the Security Panel, October 20, 1959, R. B. Bryce to Prime Minister and Minister of Justice, draft memorandum, December 19, 1960, CSIS, AI request 117-91-88.

59. This subject is dealt with in J. L. Granatstein and David Stafford, Spy Wars: Espionage and Canada from Gouzenko to Glasnost (Toronto: Key Porter, 1990), pp. 103-105, 113-14; John Sawatsky, Men in the Shadows: The RCMP Security Service (Toronto: Doubleday, 1980), pp. 124-52; and Calgary Herald, April 25, 1992, "Mounties defend gay purge," by Dean Beeby.

60. By 1963, the only policy divisions remaining in the East Block were Economic, Disarmament, United Nations, Defence Liaison (1), and Defence Liaison (2).

61. Lloyd, Canada in World Affairs, 1957-1959, pp. 121-23; Peter C. Newman, "Future of Canada House? Not Very Canadian," Maclean's (August 30, 1958): 1.