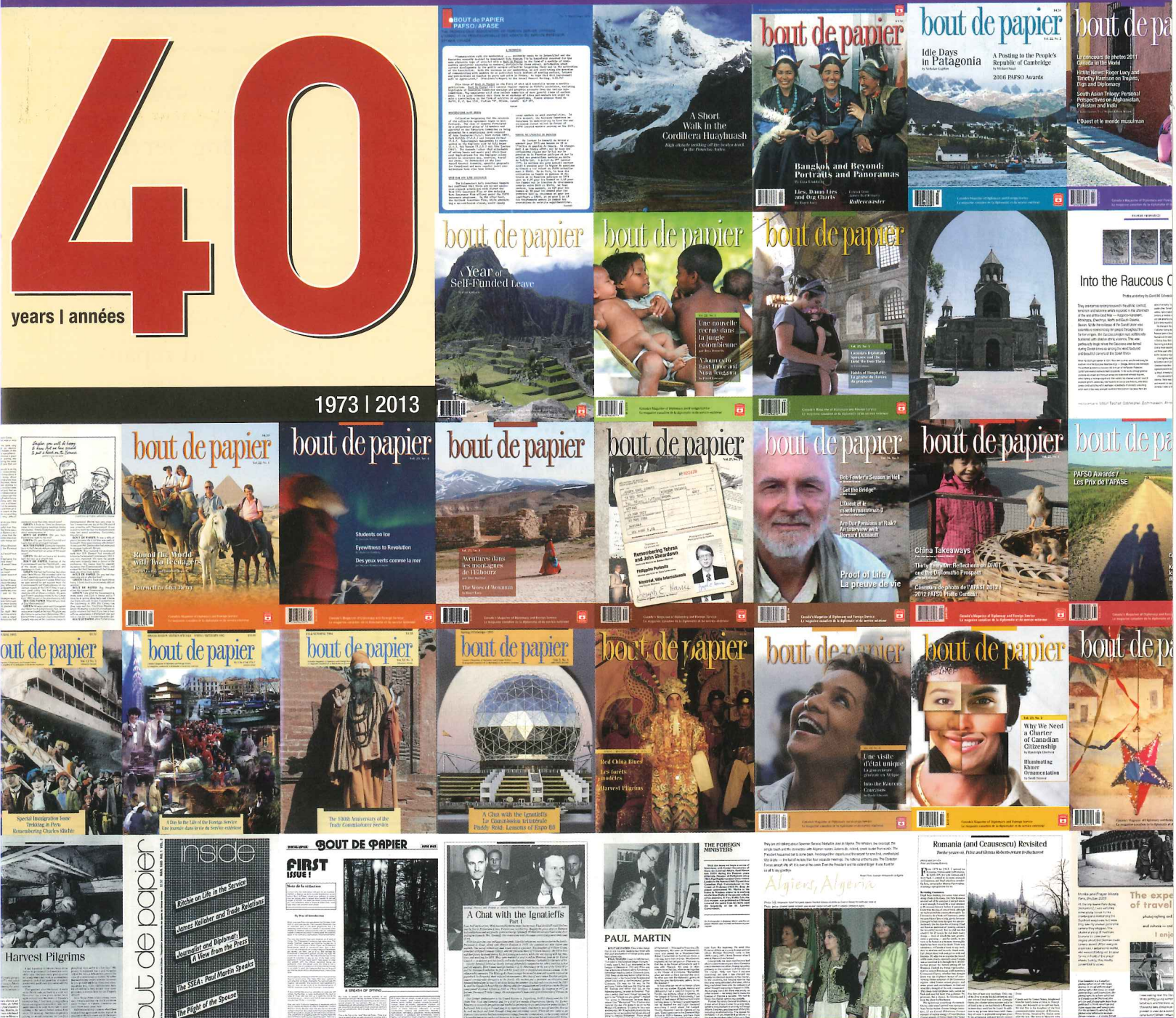


bout de papier

Vol. 27, No. 3

40
years | années

1973 | 2013



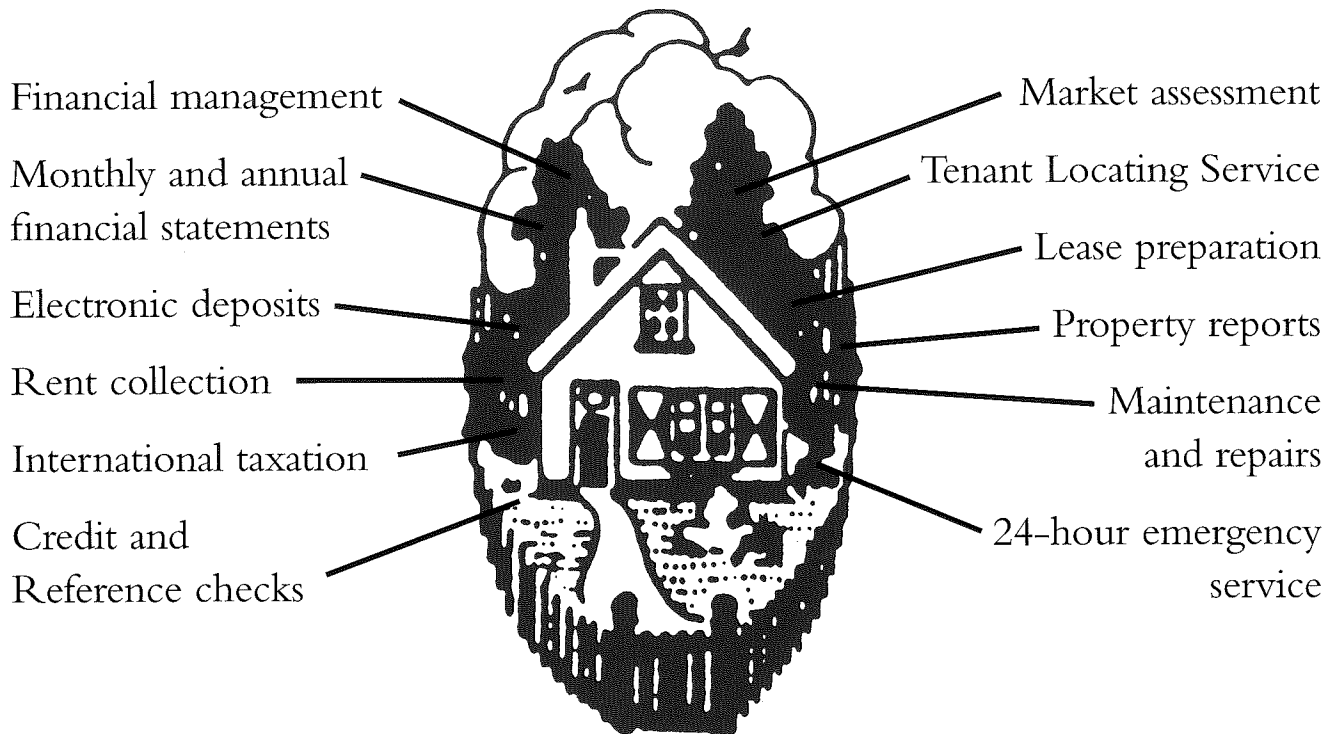
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Le magazine canadien de la diplomatie et du service extérieur



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Manuscripts are welcome in double-spaced format, preferably in Word, with a short biographical note about the author(s). Features are normally around 2,500 words.

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Le magazine canadien de la diplomatie et du service extérieur

AUTUMN 2013 /
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Vol. 27, No. 3

Features / Reportages

4 Celebrating 40 years – **bout** célèbre ses 40 ans

BY RICHARD KOHLER AND
MICHAEL BROCK

7 Canada's Fast Fading Footprint

BY LOUIS DELVOIE

9 Giving Direct Diplomacy a Chance

BY RASTA DAEI

12 Rising Conflict, Response and Management

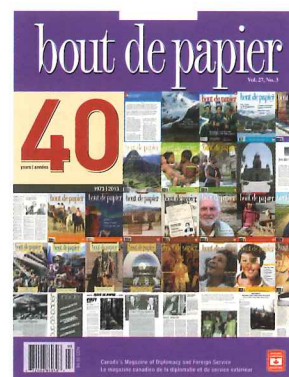
12 Last Days of DMCUS
BY ANDREW TURNER

16 Private Military Companies under International Law: Combatants or Civilians?

BY PETER MCRAE

20 Does Canada Need a Department of Peace?

BY BILL BHANEJA



23 Unlocking the Wastebasket: How an Academic Built Canadian Foreign Intelligence

BY KURT F. JENSEN

26 Les Prix de l'APASE 2013 – Reconnaissance de l'excellence 2013 PAFSO Awards – Celebrating Excellence

EVENT PHOTOGRAPHY BY GORDON KING

Departments / Chroniques

Editorial / Éditorial 3

In Memoriam / En mémoire de 31
Basil Robinson

Books in Review / Critiques de livres 33
Finding JAPAN: Early Canadian Encounters with Asia
Warlords: Borden, Mackenzie King, and Canada's World Wars

Vignettes / À la carte 36

From the Archives / Extrait des archives 39
Stones, Sacred Trusts and the Prime Minister's Ruins
BY HECTOR MACKENZIE

Entertainment / Divertissement 42
Knucklesworth: An amalgamated enigma for
Hairy Harry January by A Aalto

List of Advertisers 44



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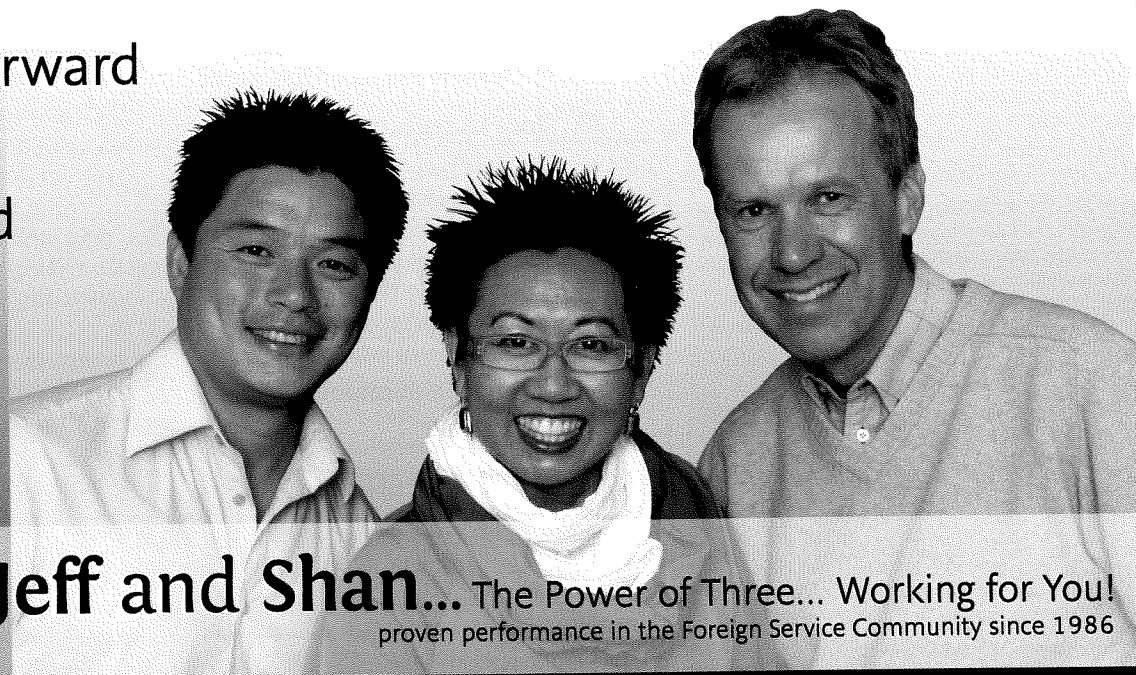
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Good Faith, Fair Play and Hard Work

In 35 years with Canada's Foreign Service I could count real ideologues amongst us on one hand, (and I might be exaggerating), but I would estimate the number of patriots at roughly 99.9 per cent. If I were to summarize our ethos very simply it would be in citing three old fashioned "Canadian" values: good faith, fair play and hard work. We believed true public service was non-partisan. We were proud of the country and proud to serve it.

Nos dirigeants politiques (progressistes) conservateurs, libéraux et néodémocrates nous ont inspirés – quoique nous ayons tous eu nos propres opinions sur la politique, la politique étrangère et les personnalités qui représentaient le mieux les intérêts du pays. La bureaucratie a offert ses meilleurs conseils à nos dirigeants élus qui les sollicitaient, nous avons proposé et ils ont décidé.

The social contract between bureaucrat and politician worked reasonably well and morale wasn't that bad, though many had serious reservations about senior management's handling of the challenges of Foreign Service life (a constant in our business?). With achievements on acid rain, NAFTA, landmines, responsibility to protect, aid, immigration and much else, Canada consistently punched above its weight internationally, (multilaterally, ABCD stood for "Another Bloody Canadian Demarche!"); the team delivered, and national interests were served.

En rétrospective des quelques dernières années, il est difficile de cerner des accomplissements d'envergure internationale reconnue ou du leadership en matière d'enjeux internationaux qui soient clairement canadiens. Nous nous sommes repliés sur nous-mêmes. Ce n'est pas se complaire dans la nostalgie que de dire que les choses sont bien différentes aujourd'hui; c'est faire le point sur notre place dans la gouvernance canadienne à l'heure actuelle. De toute évidence, le service extérieur a perdu le sens de son rang et de sa mission et, parfois, l'ensemble de la bureaucratie semble se trouver dans la même situation difficile.

Many of our problems go back a long way, arguably to the decision to divide the Foreign Service into theoretically fungible managers (EX) and the junior ranks of

"real" Professional Foreign Service Officers (that PAFSO represents). Do you know of any other Foreign Service where terms and conditions are negotiated by the lower ranks and the principal representative of the Service is a gutsy thirty-seven year-old, middle ranking officer? Can you imagine that in our Armed Forces, or the RCMP, almost any EX or equivalent would be welcomed as a decision-maker, or assume Ambassador-rank status with no previous experience in the field? But more recently our problems have grown more serious. There may be many real reasons for it, but some seem to stand out.

Les agents du service extérieur sont des patriotes, des bâtisseurs de la marque canadienne; il va donc de soi que nous résistions à la politisation de notre profession. Combien au sein du service extérieur du Canada peuvent-ils encore définir avec assurance les valeurs « canadiennes » ou l'intérêt « national »? Quand le gouvernement bafouait la négociation collective en présentant une offre « à prendre ou à laisser » qui reste figée pendant deux ans de négociations, n'étions nous pas en droit de douter de son engagement à l'esprit de nos propres lois? Lorsque le gouvernement attaque un fonctionnaire consciencieux, Richard Colvin, pour avoir rempli ses obligations en répondant à la demande du Parlement d'expliquer les problèmes en Afghanistan, quel message envoie-t-il aux agents en service? Lorsque l'ACDI est déracinée et transformée en agence quasi-commerciale au sein des Affaires étrangères, quel message envoie-t-on aux professionnels du développement international? Lorsque le Conseil du Trésor consent à l'arbitrage dans l'échec de nos négociations sur la parité salariale, mais uniquement à la condition que la parité soit retirée de la table, qui peut s'étonner que ce geste

aboutisse à une plainte pour négociation de mauvaise foi devant les tribunaux? Or, c'était bien le cas.

Frankly, the idea of Canadian diplomats on strike should be an oxymoron, so why the need to be seen tearing up the social contract between the Foreign Service and government leadership? Other big questions remain: if good faith and fair play were much in question with our own government, how do we make the case for them in the international community? If hard work without good faith and fair play seemed pointless, the message we all should have taken was that it was time we got back to basic Canadian values here at home. Yes, the longest strike in Public Service history is over. We should all be grateful; a wrong was righted and self-respect restored. However, euphoria is ephemeral. The road ahead holds many challenges as yet unmet.

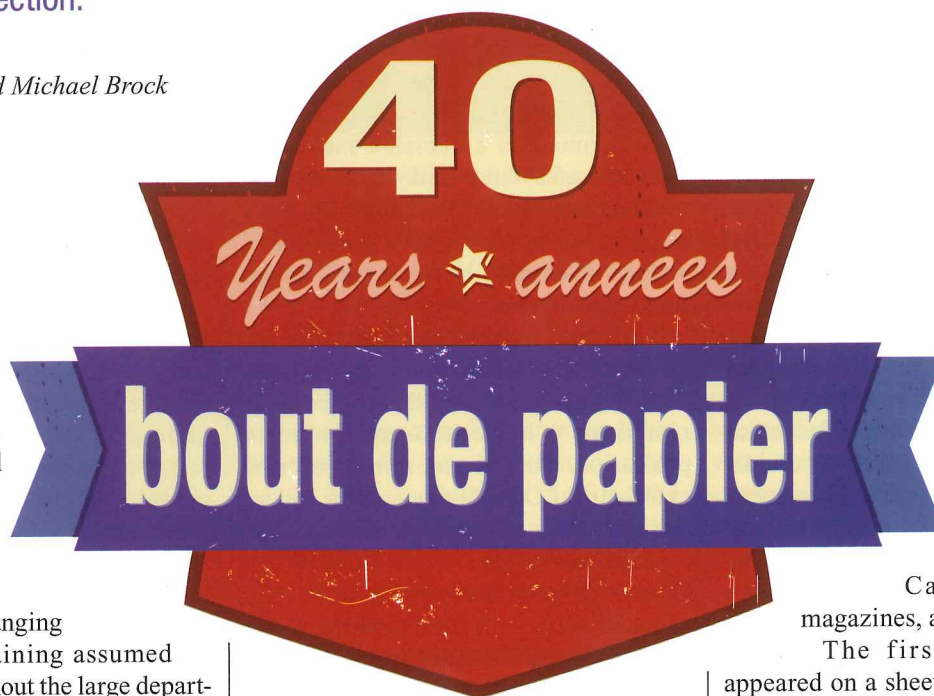
Le présent numéro comporte sa part de bonnes nouvelles – les Prix de l'APASE pour 2013. Andrew Turner décrit la fermeture de la mission de Damas et les leçons apprises (d'autant plus précieuses, compte tenu de ce qui semble s'être produit à Téhéran). Rasta Daei nous ramène en Iran avec de nouvelles initiatives diplomatiques dans les médias sociaux. Kurt Jensen se penche sur George Glazebrook et la création du service du renseignement du Canada. Peter McRae met l'accent sur la nécessité d'assujettir les entreprises militaires privées au droit humanitaire international, tandis que Bill Bhaneja milite en faveur d'un ministère canadien de la Paix. L'article que je préfère? Celui de Michael Brock et Richard Kohler sur le 40^e de **bout!** 🍷

– Stuart Hughes

*À la mémoire d'Annemarie Desloges et
de toutes les victimes du massacre de Nairobi.*

bout de papier célèbre cette année son 40^e anniversaire – l’humble publication qui, au début des années 1970, a vu le jour comme outil servant à communiquer des rajustements administratifs à une collectivité du service extérieur en mission partout dans le monde est devenue aujourd’hui un magazine accompli. Cette évolution témoigne du dynamisme et de l’enthousiasme des membres de l’Association pour leur carrière de prédilection.

by Richard Kohler and Michael Brock



After it was created in 1967, PAFSO communicated a record of its annual meetings in a newsletter called “Aide Memoire”. But in the early 1970’s the public service was changing and collective bargaining assumed new importance. Without the large departmental corporate branches that exist today to communicate with employees, it was much more difficult for members, particularly those serving abroad, to stay abreast of pay and benefits issues affecting them.

As a result, in 1972 the PAFSO Executive, under the presidency of Jean Touchette, took the decision to intensify communication with the membership through a “Bout de Papier.” Appropriating diplomatic terminology provided an apt title for a communications tool for foreign service officers by combining serious thought with more light-hearted, even wry, articles and a little self-deprecating humour reflecting a multi-talented profession.

Volunteers collected items for the first edition. There were short pieces on collective bargaining negotiations, pension indexing, the “IndoChina Allowance Package” as well as a plea for compensation for representational duties entitled “The Rubber Chicken Circuit” and a humorous poem. There was no attribution. Input was provided by both English and French speaking members of PAFSO from

times been a challenge to get a good balance of articles in both languages, the articles have appeared as drafted and not, like in most Canadian bilingual magazines, as translations.

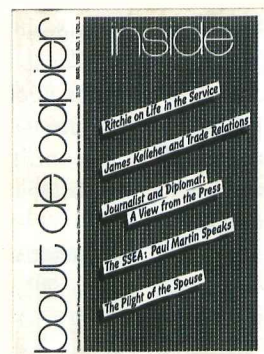
all streams, a commitment to inclusiveness and representativity that has been a fundamental feature of **bout de papier** as the structure of the Foreign Service and membership in the Association have changed over the years. The bilingual nature of the publication has remained a characteristic feature. Even if it has at

The first **bout de papier** appeared on a sheet of paper with a blue border and a red bar at the top left side. Design was done by brainstorming and whim. The red bar represented a bar of the Canadian flag which at the time was only six years old – the missing bar of what later became known as Canada’s word-mark. The blue border was a nod to some of those involved who had argued during the flag debate that blue bars might have

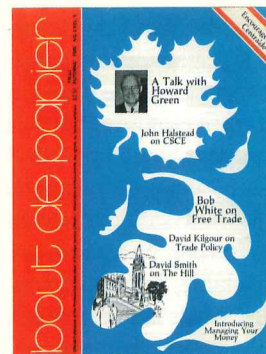
The Beginning



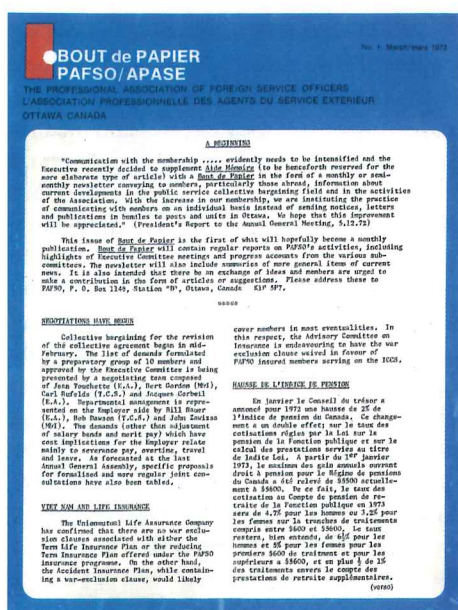
The broadsheet version, 1983



The first black and white magazine format, 1985



The first colour cover and back page magazine format, 1986



The first bout de papier

been added to reflect Canada's sea to sea (to sea) motto. Volunteers, including the authors, walked the wintry streets of Ottawa in 1973 looking for a company that would preprint this design on "pieces of paper," onto which the text was copied.

This newsletter version of **bout de papier** was issued regularly until 1982, introducing issues of interest and concern to members (such as the role of spouses, lateral entry, dental care) as well as the occasional game.

The first significant change in **bout de papier** took place after ten years at a time when the government wanted to integrate the foreign service more into the broader bureaucracy.

George Haynal, the then President, recalls that a transformed **bout de papier** was part of "...an effort to assert the professional side of PAFSO's identity...We wanted to have a way of showing each other and the outside world, which understood (and still understands) too little about us, the excitement and challenges of the profession."

The result was a multi-page, black and white broadsheet, an initiative that was introduced at the same time as other Association innovations such as the Professional Committee and PAFSO Breakfasts. The initial broadsheet version, the first to have a publisher, MIDA Productions, started carrying articles signed by members abroad as well as letters to the Editor. The first (unsigned) editorial (on diplomatic appointments by former PM Trudeau) appeared in December 1983 as did the first A Aalto

puzzle. Reflecting the loyal readership and enthusiasm of new generations of Foreign Service Officers, this is the 30th year of contributions from A Aalto – written exclusively for each issue of **bout de papier**.

Lucie Edwards, who played a key role in launching this publication, recalls that "there were some reservations, inside the Executive, about incurring the costs of

of External Affairs. By relying mainly on the extraordinary rich experiences and talents of our members and affiliates of different streams, **bout de papier** has been able to contribute effectively to certain topical foreign policy debates."

Between 1984 and 1987, Colin Robertson introduced more changes at a time when governments too were becoming more

"... We wanted to have a way of showing each other and the outside world, which understood (and still understands) too little about us, the excitement and challenges of the profession."

– George Haynal, former president

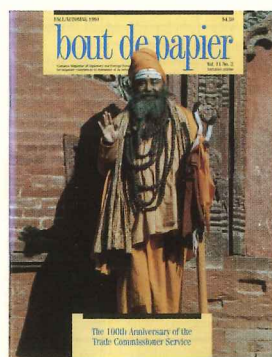
a glossy magazine, so we started with a pilot, a black and white broadsheet that still featured some great reporting and vivid photography." Lucie noted that "designing and editing that first broadsheet was a lot of fun, and a lot of work. I had the fun, and Debra Hulley had the work." The first photos (black and white) were provided by Lucie's husband Tom Roach for this broadsheet edition. Over time, contributors proved themselves not only purveyors of a well-tempered text but also of often dramatic photo journalism.

One year later, in 1984, Nesta Scott wrote that "Judging from the comments and letters received from our readers, we seem to be striking the right chords in our efforts to improve communications, particularly from our colleagues overseas...**bout de papier** has been in the forefront in forging a new corporate culture for the Department

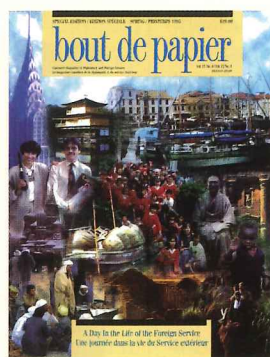
innovative in communicating with Canadians. As editor, he signed the first "From the Editor's Desk" and he noted that editorials would "tilt at windmills." Outside writers as well as Association members – the broad foreign service family – contributed articles. A magazine format with some colour was introduced in 1985 to attract advertising revenue.

The same year, a Senior Advisory Board was established. Comprised of "old salts" this invaluable instrument helped the magazine maintain consistency, reminded editors of important anniversaries, offered legal counsel especially on potential libel issues, opened doors and provided essential names of contacts in support of substance or style. Leading thinkers of their day formed a brains-trust of experience and contacts that informed the magazine's strategic directions. These

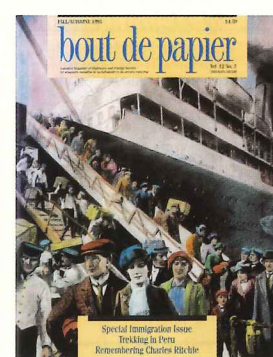
The Specials



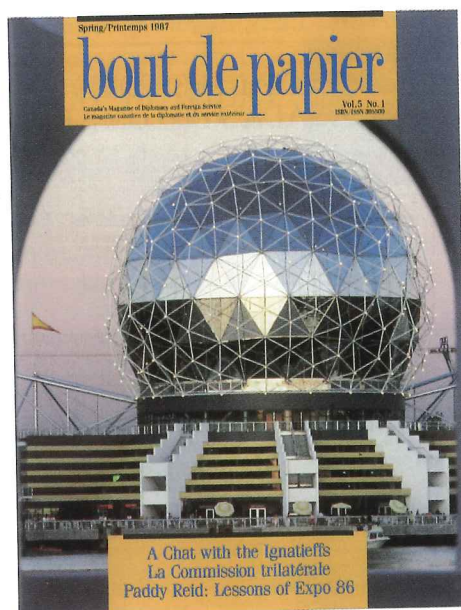
1994 – Trade Commissioner 100th Anniversary



1995 – A Day in the Life of the Foreign Service



1995 – Immigration



1987's redesign with Acart Communications

included former Under-Secretary Charles Ritchie, former HOMs John Halstead, Arthur Menzies, Sydney Freifeld and (recently profiled in **bout de papier** Vol. 27, No. 2), former UN Ambassador, Bill Barton, and former Under-Secretary, John Starnes joined by historians Don Page and John Hilliker. In advisory board member Randolph Gherson's view, the "board has been the stimulating interchange of views between experience of older hands and fresh thinking from the new generation...directing consideration of articles, policy and ideas for new articles". And advisory board member Douglas Small adds, "it is a personal pleasure to join old friends and colleagues to perform what we like to think is a useful function for the magazine. While we always addressed our responsibilities seriously, our sessions were often enlivened by Arthur Menzies' inimitable stories of foreign service life as seen from his unique standpoint."

In 1987 Debra (without whom, Colin said, "**bout** would not be"—a sentiment shared by anyone closely associated with its production) contracted the services of Acart Graphics Inc to design the production that year. Canada's Magazine of Diplomacy and Foreign Service as we know it now was born in colour. Colin notes that "the shift from mimeograph to multi-colour, multi-page was accomplished with much hard work but a lot of belief in what we could be...that it has sustained itself says something about the foreign service and those who serve..."

While retaining its formal title, **bout de papier**, the magazine gradually began to be referred to affectionately as **bout**.

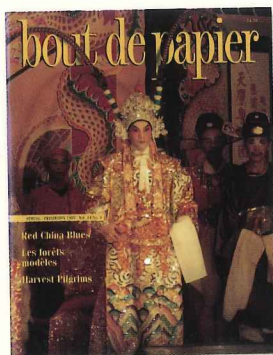
Just as PAFSO members adapted their talents to new trade, immigration, development, consular or political realities so too have the contributors and editorial team adjusted their approach to shifting demands in publishing. The constant in both has been a high level of professionalism. The quality of its design encouraged readers not only to read the articles and but also to appreciate the photography and advertising all of which related to the specific interests of the foreign service community. The calibre of the magazine's design was underscored in 1992 when the Sixth Annual International Mercury Awards Competition for Outstanding Achievement in Professional Communications awarded Acart Graphics Inc its top prize for art direction.

Each editor has provided new energy. Kevin O'Shea, for example, aimed in the early 1990s to enhance the "entertainment value" of **bout de papier**: "I wanted to make **bout** like *Vanity Fair* – FUN to read...We wanted to show Canadians that we in DFAIT were not strange cookie-pushers but ordinary Canadians working around the globe...that the Canadian foreign service was the closest thing Canada had to the CNN – a network of bureaus spanning the globe watching events unfold and advancing Canadian interests. I think that is what **bout** still needs to do...We would have a combination of neat in-depth pieces about international issues, lively gossip, exotic travel pieces, trenchant book reviews. We even dedicated one edition to what a day in the life of the Foreign Service looked like across the entire foreign service."

PAFSO can take great pride in **bout de papier**. Those directly involved can look back not only on an experience many have called fun but on creating a magazine that has made a difference in perceptions about the foreign service. As always, there are challenges. Even if the goals of diplomacy have not changed over the centuries, the tools of the practice and the conditions and context in which it is practiced are always in flux. Indeed, sometimes the challenges can seem overwhelming. Mediums and platforms for communicating are evolving rapidly: the move from print to digital; the on-set of social media and cloud repositories; and the competitive need for timely delivery are challenges with which **bout de papier**'s management wrestles every day. Industry trends like Tweeting are being assertively tracked in order to ensure the magazine remains vibrant, up to date and viable to serve another 40 years. The key to embracing the future will be the passion, innovation and enthusiasm of today's and tomorrow's PAFSO members to determine the "how" and the "what" they communicate to each other and to those who support them. **bout de papier**, however it evolves, should be an integral part of that progress. ☺

*Richard Kohler and Michael Brock joined the foreign service in 1972 and have been friends since they met searching for the paper for **bout de papier**'s first edition in 1973. After completing many headquarters and overseas assignments, Michael retired as Director General Cultural Affairs while Richard served, among other things, as Ambassador to Brazil and Chief of Protocol of Canada before his retirement.*

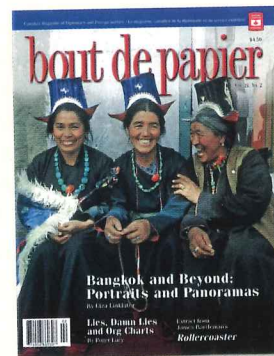
The Covers



1997 Cover redesign



2007 Cover redesign



2010 Cover redesign

Canada's Fast Fading Footprint

by Louis Delvoie

When the Canadian government tabled its main estimates for the year 2013–14, it revealed that it intended to reduce the budget of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade by \$270 million or slightly more than 10 per cent. If this were a one-off it might be shrugged off as relatively insignificant. Unfortunately it is not. It is, in fact, but the latest of a long series of budgetary cuts suffered by the Department. It is bad news for all those who value the effectiveness of Canadian foreign policy in promoting the country's political, economic and security interests.

In 2010 Canada's former ambassador to Germany and to the United Nations, Paul Heinbecker, published a book entitled *Getting Back in the Game: A Foreign Policy Playbook for Canada*. In that book he remarked that: "We have been closing embassies abroad and selling precious diplomatic assets to relieve budgetary pressures, handicapping our diplomacy at the very moment when we most need it. Our still highly capable Foreign Affairs Department, starved for core funds, consumes itself in 'process' and turns itself into a service provider for better-funded domestic departments."

In the three years since Heinbecker published his book, the situation has grown steadily worse. Canada's diplomatic presence in the world has continued to shrink. The effects have been particularly noticeable in the field of public diplomacy. Programmes to support cultural and academic relations with other countries have virtually disappeared. Yet these are precisely the programmes which serve to raise the Canadian profile abroad and to project a positive image of Canada to key decision makers in foreign countries. The sad fact is that all of our major competitors in the world (the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy) all value such programmes very highly and fund them generously. Here, as elsewhere, Canada is vacating the field and leaving it to others.

This problem has been compounded by the practices of the Harper government. Canadian ambassadors and other diplomats have long regarded it as being part of their job to give speeches to business groups, to give lectures to academic audiences and to give interviews to journalists in their countries of accreditation. This is but another dimension of public diplomacy, and no modern diplomat considers that his or her functions should be confined to dealings with the host government. Yet

Another area in which Canada once enjoyed a fairly stellar reputation is that of development assistance to poor countries. In the 1970s and 1980s Canada's aid budget reached the level of 0.5 per cent of GNP. This placed Canada in the top half of major aid contributing nations. Over the years, however, the budget has declined significantly in relative terms to the point where it now accounts for only 0.3 per cent of GNP. That decline has had the effect of relegating Canada to the bottom half of

Canada has steadily slipped in the rankings to the point that it now ranks behind Mongolia as a contributor of military personnel to UN operations.

in the Harper government there is an obsession with "controlling the message" which has severely constrained the ability of Canada's diplomats to perform their public duties abroad.

Unfortunately diplomacy is not the only sphere in which Canada's profile and image on the world stage have suffered in recent years. There are several others.

For many decades Canada enjoyed a sterling reputation as a major contributor to United Nations peacekeeping operations. Thousands of members of the Canadian Forces served with distinction in these missions and their professionalism was highly prized by the international community. So too were Canadian commanders of UN missions such as Generals E.L.M. Burns, Bruce MacDonald, Lewis Mackenzie and Romeo Dallaire. Blue berets and blue helmets were once a hallmark of Canadian foreign and security policy. But that is now all ancient history. Of the 80,000 UN peacekeepers deployed around the world today, fewer than 200 are Canadians. Canada has steadily slipped in the rankings to the point that it now ranks behind Mongolia as a contributor of military personnel to UN operations.

major aid contributing countries. Thus the image of generosity has been replaced by one of parsimony.

Canada also at one time played a modest but useful role as an honest broker in the conflicts of the Middle East. No longer. The Harper government's decision to align its regional policy entirely with that of the present Israeli government means not only that it can no longer aspire to such a role, but that it has also thoroughly alienated a large number of Arab and Muslim countries to Canada's detriment.

Finally, there is the issue of environmental policy. Canada was once a leader in this field. At the environmental summit meeting held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, the Canadian delegation led by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney enjoyed star status for the quality and progressiveness of its proposals. In the intervening years the fall from grace could not have been more complete. At international meetings on the environment today the positions and proposals of the Canadian government are more often than not both ridiculed and vilified. On the international environmental train, Canada has transited from the locomotive to the

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caboose, and its reputation has been badly tarnished in the process.

The net effect of all of this was most dramatically underlined at the end of 2010. At that time the government put forward Canada's candidacy for a non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council. In the past Canada had always been successful in obtaining such a seat whenever it sought one. Not this time. Canada lost and the seat went to Portugal, a small, poor, debt-ridden country on the fringes of Europe with an unenviable history as a colonial power. This was a humiliating defeat for Canada and underscored its loss of status on the world scene.

Contrary to what the Harper government appears to believe, Canada's brief involvement in the Libyan aerial campaign of 2011 and its fast dwindling involvement in the Afghanistan operation will not be sufficient to counter these longer term trends. Only a serious re-investment of resources in Canada's foreign policy and diplomacy has any chance of stemming this tide. Nicolo Machiavelli famously said that "money is the sinews of war". It is also the sinews of diplomacy.

Now international presence, image, reputation and status are not ends in themselves. They do, however, contribute to creating influence and influence is a key ingredient in successful efforts to achieve Canada's political, economic and security objectives. ☺

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Note: An earlier version of this op-ed appeared in the Kingston Whig-Standard.

Giving Direct Diplomacy a Chance

by Rasta Daei

Le 1^{er} février 1979, l'ayatollah Khomeini rentrait à Téhéran au bout de 14 ans d'exil, mettant ainsi un terme à deux millénaires de règne monarchique. À son arrivée, les foules partisans se sont massées à tel point que les routes sont devenues inutilisables et que Khomeini a dû avoir recours à un hélicoptère pour se déplacer. Un an auparavant, lors d'un banquet de la veille du nouvel an télévisé en Iran, le président américain Jimmy Carter avait porté un toast au régime Pahlavi, déclarant : « En raison des grandes qualités de dirigeant du Shah, l'Iran est une île de stabilité dans l'une des régions du monde les plus troublées. » À peine quelques mois plus tard, toutefois, Carter faisait appel aux diplomates canadiens pour protéger des Américains ayant échappé au régime Khomeini. Ce sauvetage dramatique a été relaté dans le dernier numéro de **bout de papier**, qui expose les efforts de John Sheardown et souligne le rôle crucial que le Canada a joué dans la crise de la prise d'otages.

Things quickly unravelled for the Shah in his last four months in power. Emboldened by the clergy, protests by the economically and politically important merchants increased in intensity, and the Shah failed to quell them even with the use of force. November 1978 saw 10% of the Iranian population on the streets across the country, a record for any revolution, ever. All were united on a single cause: ridding the country of the Shah. Sensing his defeat, the Shah's military defected and would no longer fire on protesters, and the thinking turned to a transitional government. These events raise two fundamental questions: How did Khomeini, an eighty-year-old cleric, successfully lead this revolution from afar, and why was the West not more attuned or responsive to the sentiments and suffering Iranian people?

Khomeini's cunning cannot be understated. According to Charles Kurzman, seven years before the Revolution, Khomeini stressed the need to prepare the groundwork for sweeping change. So for the next seven years "the Islamists founded

schools, set up publishing houses, printed journals and distributed thousands of photocopied proclamations all with explicit

Khomeini's capitalization of a technology, the cassette tape, was virtually unprecedented. This tool was the ideal means by which he could safely articulate his blueprint for the future and circumvent the Shah.

intent of raising consciousness among the people." Khomeini's home in exile during those final months had been France, which offered him both political freedom and advanced technology with which to propagate his revolutionary message. Khomeini promised Iranians to pursue social justice by establishing a religious theocracy, *velayat-e faqih*, governed by the Shia clergy. But he did more than just push for sweeping political change and radical ideas: his media campaign that relied heavily on audio cassette tapes was a precursor to the social media that was so crucial in organizing the Arab uprisings three decades later. It was a communications strategy that was agile and substantive. It changed the course of Iran's history.

Khomeini's capitalization of a technology, the cassette tape, was virtually unprecedented. This tool was the ideal means by which he could safely articulate his blueprint for the future and circumvent the Shah. An underground network of thousands of student supporters and clergy would go to work, smuggling master tapes of Khomeini's sermons all across Iran, with messages tailored to a particular community's grievances.

The clever use of new and existing technologies combined with savvy communications was the work of a band of clerics whose ideals have today's regime, in the words of President Obama, building an "electronic curtain" around a country thirsty to connect to the world. There is an intrinsic value in challenging such an

effort, but also a more strategic need to think through the ramifications of a dictatorial theocracy taking 75 million people

offline. Canada now has an opportunity to challenge Tehran's repressive apparatus in a targeted and strategic manner in the service of Iranian democratic governance and a better, freer life for its people.

Direct diplomacy

The September 2012 closure of Canada's embassy in Iran imposed a need to recast our engagement with that country entirely. It also afforded us the opportunity to project a principled policy premised on the view that the Iranian regime is, in the words of Prime Minister Stephen Harper, the single greatest threat to global peace and security. Canadian policy is simple: Canada will challenge the politically entrenched systems and interests of the Iranian regime, and will distinguish between the regime and the Iranian people, whose universal aspirations – peace, prosperity, freedom and democracy – Canada supports. Through Direct Diplomacy, Canada has the opportunity to use existing and emerging online tools to communicate directly with the people of Iran, bypassing the regime altogether. By engaging in dialogue with the Iranian people directly, we can offer support and information in their struggle for freedom. It is an approach that relies on extensive diaspora and online engagement with Iranians around the world that is then available to inform policy, programming, diplomatic initiatives, and strategic communications.

Shortly after the Embassy closure, we undertook extensive consultation with the Iranian community in Canada, the United States and Europe. Canada is home to over 200,000 Iranians, the second-largest Iranian diaspora outside of the Middle East. Much of this population resides in my own hometown of Richmond Hill, outside Toronto. The Iranian diaspora is most known for being educated, prosperous and fast integrating into the Canadian social fabric. Politically, it is deeply divided and struggling to organize itself.

Direct Diplomacy is partly a reflection of our consultations with the diaspora, who want to contribute to helping their fellow Iranians back home. Our many conversations informed our approach to Iran and sharpened our strategic communications. We have a better sense of what to say to Iranians inside the country, and how to listen. We learned that tone and language really matter to a population that often feels patronized by the international community and even worse, in poorly translated Farsi. So, we developed a Farsi-language website which aims to describe our efforts to the Iranian people in their own language, so that greater numbers could learn first-hand about Canada's efforts (the website has since been blocked by regime censors).

We have also learned that Canada's voice matters much more to Iranians and hence to the regime than we had previously thought. I have been told by those who oppose the regime in Iran that Canada's calls for human rights do not ring hollow; they are interpreted as sincere by Iranians. For years we have been condemning the regime on the international stage for its human rights violations. Human rights activists appreciate Canada's principled positions because drawing attention to an issue or an individual facing a death sentence is often a matter of life and death and the Iranian regime very occasionally responds to pressure. For the regime, Canada is particularly important because our people-to-people ties are many, and up until just few months ago, exchanges were frequent.

The internet era in Iran

Today's Iran is overwhelmingly young, urban, and restive. Unemployment is at about 35%, inflation acute, hope for change

marginal, and the expression of dissatisfaction systematically and brutally silenced. In Iran, censorship through the state pervades all spheres of life, both public and private.

The majority of media is sourced from censored state channels, and the rest is supplied by foreign radio, such as BBC Persian and Voice of America, which the regime successfully blocks. Iranians' access to Western television is obtained mainly through illicit satellite dishes on rooftops, cloaked from the authorities with cloth. Yet it is online and through smartphones that Iranians on the street have the potential to connect with each other and to the world, leading to the increasing body of internet content that is critical of the Iranian regime and which counters its propaganda. But it was with this very technology that Iranians recently faced considerable troubles. The agitation that followed Iran's fraud-ridden 2009 Presidential election both embarrassed Iran's ultimate decision-maker, Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei, and confirmed the need for greater censorship in his eyes.

At senior levels of the regime today, there is debate over how best to censor Iranians in the short-term while the regime's looming longer-term censorship plans unfold. There are those who want to block access to the entirety of the global internet, and those who favour allowing Iranians only limited access to social media, but with heavy monitoring designed to lead to voluntary self-censorship, a function of a state of fear and suspicion. While the debate persists, the regime has resolved to address the dilemma by relying on a variable punishment schedule. When too many online users start to express themselves, a few of the most visible are rounded up and made an example of. A recent example being the blogger Sattar Beheshti, whose brutal torture and death at the hands of the regime sent a chill throughout Iran's online community.

Iran's powerful cyber army is comprised of reportedly thousands of regime officers who monitor online conversations with legislative authority derived from Iran's Computer Crimes Law, a set of obtuse juridical decrees so vague that it is difficult to know when one is in violation. With considerable arbitrariness and heavy-handedness, Iranians are confronted daily with the choice of self-censorship, or

choosing to connect and accept the risks involved. They tend to choose the latter. One of Tehran's booming trades is the Virtual Private Network (VPN), which allows Iranians access to the internet using public infrastructure. Once online, Iranians commonly use anti-censorship

Canada's voice matters much more to Iranians and hence to the regime than we had previously thought.

software that allows them to bypass the regime's filters and access the internet. It is perhaps the assumption that so many more will confront such a dilemma that led former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to call internet freedom the greatest issue of the 21st century.

Canada cannot afford to ignore Iran's complex online world. Communicating with Iranians via Twitter, Facebook and emerging digital tools, the internet and social media can become diplomatic tools whose potential we cannot yet fully assess. This was showcased through the inaugural Global Dialogue on the Future of Iran, a partnership between DFATD and the University of Toronto. This initiative brought together a diversity of Iranians from across the globe into a single space in Toronto. Through two days of unscripted discourse, the technology created the opportunity for a deeply politicized community to stand side by side and articulate their own visions for the future of Iran. Using social media and anti-censorship tools, these discussions were beamed into Iran. Over 350,000 Iranians inside the country followed the discussion in real-time, and provided their uncensored feedback to the participants in the room. It was an encouraging experiment, and a first.

The potential extends across borders. For people in the region as well, the internet has changed the politics of repression and the possibilities for dissent. Looking to Syria, Iran's closest Arab ally, we see that cyber activists take grave risks to capture and disseminate footage of human rights violations. The Syrian opposition makes extensive use of social media to

communicate and coordinate with the outside world, whilst the Syrian regime deploys advanced capabilities to monitor, track and target cyberspace users, filter and censor internet content, and disseminate disinformation.

In this fog, digital analytics allow us to analyze millions of Twitter conversations to give us a sense of the national mood and permit greater nuance and insight into our messaging. Understanding local conditions can assist us in identifying projects and project partners. Yet we also face the challenge of developing relevant local content, maintaining connectivity in spite

cyberspace as a larger security concern. Internet censorship in Iran – culminating in the National Information Network – is framed as a way to protect the nation's unique culture and identity and defend against the so-called onslaught of 'Westernization'."

As the regime considers cyberspace a geopolitical as much as a domestic policy threat, Iranians could eventually be cut off from the global internet, with considerable ramifications for dissent and the country's political future. We would be wise not to ignore the potential

Rouhani faces the seemingly impossible task of squaring a circle: responding to the aspirations of millions, while bowing to a vast apparatus of terror and fear which he helped create.

of time differences, maintaining agility in order to respond to events quickly, and understanding that communications misunderstandings perhaps are inevitable as online diplomacy may gradually distribute responsibility downward and away from senior officials.

The June election of Hassan Rouhani, a regime insider, has brought hope to millions of Iranians desperate for change. Rouhani faces the seemingly impossible task of squaring a circle: responding to the aspirations of millions, while bowing to a vast apparatus of terror and fear which he helped create. Years ago, the Iranian regime allocated unprecedented financial resources for the implementation of a National Internet Network (NIN) that according to opennet.net:

"combines overlapping techniques of control: internet filtering, reinforced by a more constricted legal environment and efforts to 'nationalize' Iranian cyberspace...consistent filtering of social media, international news, non-Shia religions, social and religious taboos, and anything remotely opposed to official government policies...while the creation of the Supreme Council on Cyberspace indicates the Iranian government's interest in centralizing their approach towards the Internet as well as their view of

consequences. Governments are on the cusp of seeing what opportunities social media offers, especially in precipitating social and political change. To be sure, the rise of the internet has presented fresh challenges to repressive states. At the same time, it has added to the freedom of expression of millions. Through our efforts, we can hope to tip the balance in favour of universal freedoms and their democratic rights. ☺

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The personal opinions expressed in this article are those of the author alone, and they do not necessarily represent the policies or views of the Government of Canada.

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***Note de la rédaction :** Trois articles sont regroupés parce qu'ils abordent sous des perspectives différentes ce qui pourrait fort bien devenir le principal enjeu de la diplomatie au XXI^e siècle : la glissade vers le chaos et la violence qui l'accompagne. De toute évidence, un thème aussi général remplirait une encyclopédie, mais, ici, nous examinons trois questions interreliées : que faire lorsque le chaos frappe avec de plus en plus d'insistance à la porte de nos missions, la nécessité d'amener des intervenants non étatiques, comme des entreprises militaires, sous la règle du droit humanitaire international (afin d'aider à contenir ce chaos) et, enfin, un appel à jeter un nouveau regard sur la militarisation de notre propre diplomatie et ses priorités afférentes par l'établissement d'un ministère de la Paix. Faut-il sortir des sentiers battus?*

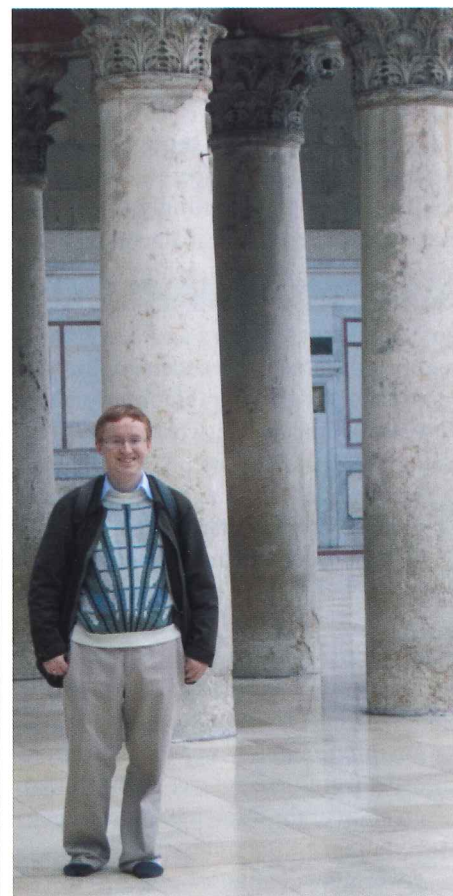
by Andrew Turner

Malgré l'image populaire qui continue de véhiculer des longs métrages comme *Argo*, de plus en plus de diplomates canadiens ne sont que trop conscients du fait que l'évacuation d'une ambassade dans la vraie vie est beaucoup moins prestigieuse que Hollywood ne le dépeint. On passe beaucoup moins de temps à des sauvetages par hélicoptère qu'au déchiquetage de documents. Telle fut du moins mon expérience en mars 2012, lors de la fermeture de l'ambassade du Canada à Damas (Syrie) – DMCUS dans la nomenclature interne du MAECI. Compte tenu de la fréquence croissante à laquelle les diplomates canadiens doivent composer avec de tels scénarios, il y a quelques leçons utiles à tirer de l'article « Last Days of DMCUS » – surtout la nécessité de déployer tous les efforts voulus pour prêter assistance aux employés recrutés sur place (ERP), qui pourraient aider d'autres personnes susceptibles de se retrouver dans des circonstances semblables.

I arrived in Syria in July 2011, several months after the start of the crisis but just in time for Bashar Al Assad's regime to launch a dramatic and violent intensification of its

security crackdown to quell growing unrest. The Arab Spring reached Syria in March 2011, when the government's heavy-handed response to what were very small incidents in the town of Dara'a triggered much larger protests that spread throughout the country. The Assad regime responded with military force and repression, which eventually pushed the peaceful protestors into taking up arms transforming demands for limited political reforms into a full-fledged civil war. The tragic consequences of Assad's obstinate brutality are likely to be felt in Syria for years to come.

For months Damascus remained an isolated bubble, protected by the regime's security forces; people carried on while much of the country descended into chaos. As things gradually deteriorated, many embassies started to reduce staff levels and evacuate families, particularly after a few orchestrated pro-regime demonstrators attacked several diplomatic missions, including France, Turkey, and the United States. While none of these incidents resulted in casualties or massive damage, clearly the regime could not be counted upon to respect its obligations under the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. It also imposed restrictions



Author by the old city of Damascus, January 2012



Damascus Immigration Section, January 2012

on diplomatic movements, effectively preventing diplomats from going anywhere in the country except for Damascus and, on rare occasions, Aleppo. Canadian and American diplomats were singled out needing special permits to travel to Jordan and Lebanon.

In mid-December DMCUS organized a month-long “voluntary evacuation” of Canadians from Syria. We offered extended hours and special procedures for processing documents for Canadians and their dependents returning to Canada. It was made clear that once the operation ended, the Embassy could not guarantee the provision of services – presciently as things turned out.

Later that month several large bombs exploded in Damascus, raising concerns about possible terrorist attacks (whether the opposition or the regime was responsible for the bombings remains unclear). It was significant for us given our exposed location on a major road, with very little setback to protect against car bombs. Moreover, our role as the regional hub for Citizenship and Immigration (CIC), combined with significant staff reductions at other countries’ embassies, meant that we were one of the largest diplomatic missions in Syria and a potentially tempting target. It was decided to close the CIC program and reduce to core staff by early February 2012.

By this point security deteriorated even further. I often heard gunfire during my short walk to the Embassy, and awoke to

the sound of explosions during the night – still distant but drawing closer. More and more, we found ourselves placed on security lockdown. The situation prompted the evacuation of several embassies – the US, UK, France, and Switzerland. Canada decided not to linger and the evacuation of DMCUS began.

The evacuation

Fortunately our evacuation resulted from a crisis that worsened over the course of nearly an entire year giving us plenty of time to plan, organize, and practice procedures. That would not have been possible had the evacuation been triggered by a sudden, unexpected event. Advance planning helped us develop detailed contingency plans, familiarize people with unusual procedures (such as setting up alternate command posts (ACP) and using satellite phones), and identify any gaps. Details of the evacuation did not necessarily unfold as anticipated. Some scenarios (such as using an ACP) did not arise. However, with plans in place (even if we deviated from them when needed), chaos became much easier to manage without overlooking important details that otherwise could have been missed.

We will not always have sufficient advance warning to develop evacuation plans and training exercises, so more Canadian missions should prepare for such contingencies now. Planning needs to be as extensive as ours, and it is always difficult

to prioritize contingency planning when we are faced with so many other competing demands, but advance preparation can literally make the difference between life and death in emergencies.

Fortunately the decision to evacuate DMCUS was made well before the mobs were at our gates. We had time to implement our deliberate closure plan, rather than the 24-hour emergency scenario. Despite this, it was a very difficult and stressful operation that would not have been possible without the tremendous effort of the embassy staff, the support we received from other Canadian missions, people at HQ, and most especially the DMCUS LES. They not only faced the loss of employment (of over 20 years for some) and much of their social network, but witnessed their country descend into chaos and were often at personal risk due to the fighting in their neighbourhoods.

Despite our advance work, the evacuation decision triggered a total effort to meet the rapidly approaching deadline. With the departure of spouses and non-core staff, DMCUS was down to 10 CBS and approximately 20 LES from a team that had numbered around 100 people prior to the crisis. We were evacuating by land to Lebanon, which allowed us to bring a lot of valuable equipment and material to our mission in Beirut – but sadly meant that we did not actually get to smash very much! That left much work to be done: dismantling equipment, shredding documents, administering LES severance packages, making arrangements for a protecting power, organizing the evacuation convoy, sorting out our personal packing, coordinating with Ottawa, continuing to monitor the situation in Syria, and countless details.

The search for sensitive materials turned up a few real surprises, including a Hezbollah flag in an old filing cabinet. Most interesting to me were old diplomatic cables (and I encourage everyone to switch to a paperless office and electronic records immediately to cut down on shredding), about Hafez Al Assad’s death and Bashar’s succession to the presidency in 2000. They highlighted the considerable uncertainty surrounding the transition but hinted at optimism about the potentially reformist new leader – even their bleakest forecasts stopped far short of the catastrophe that the



Damascus Flag Lowering Ceremony, March 5, 2013

younger Assad has become. There was certainly no expectation that his actions would lead to the closure of DMCUS in little more than a decade.

I developed a healthy respect for “Murphy’s Law” as things that could go wrong, frequently did. A fire alarm went off shortly after we finished shredding all the system guides/maps, forcing us to search the entire building to find the source. Once found, we could not notify anyone right away because we had already disconnected the phones! The SIM cards for several of the satellite phones intended to provide emergency communication for the convoy vehicles expired the day before we left. Our evacuation route to Lebanon nearly had to be abandoned due to a snow storm in the mountains (trapping the Swiss evacuation convoy for nearly a day). Attention to detail kept minor hiccups from becoming major problems.

To avoid any possible reaction from the Assad regime, evacuation preparations were made in secret (to the extent possible). The scale of the operation made this nearly impossible and we were not helped by some CBS posting farewell messages on Facebook. Explicit guidance on the use of social media is definitely called for: Syrian news reported our departure as we were preparing to drive away on the morning of March 5. Fortunately, the authorities chose not to interfere. Following a brief flag-lowering ceremony, our convoy set off for a thankfully uneventful drive to Beirut. I phoned my parents from the Syria-Lebanon

border to let them know the evacuation was underway. It was an unusual conversation, anecdotal material for the annual family Christmas letter!

The LES and the evacuation

Our evacuation was successful, but we left the LES behind – newly unemployed in a collapsing economy facing conditions that we deemed too dangerous for us to live in. Normal staffing policies and procedures are not really designed for these types of situations. We quickly learned to cooperate closely with relevant HQ divisions (notably the Locally Engaged Staff Services Bureau) to ensure sufficient flexibility was incorporated in decision-making. Excessively rigid application of Foreign Service Directive provisions can create serious delays and inconveniences for CBS on issues of relocation, personal effects, and dependants. A similar rigidity on issues of LES severance can literally determine whether they will be able to feed their families. Happily, the support from HQ was outstanding. Between the CIC closure in January and the Mission closure in March, HQ made every effort to ensure timely decisions, immediate response to queries, early provision of severance information, flexible interpretation of policy and other action to assist the LES.

Take severance pay. Our policy is to pay in local currency but with civil unrest, or other problems significant enough to force the evacuation and closure of an

embassy, it is hardly surprising to find that the local currency often loses much of its value – precisely when the price of many basic commodities is increasing. Our LES requested that severance be paid in \$US to preserve its value. While our policy normally precludes it, given extreme circumstances in Syria HQ authorized such payment. This practical action sent a strong message of Canada’s commitment to our LES while acknowledging their very difficult circumstances.

As LES were let go through no fault of their own, the Mission decided not to rub salt in the wound. We eliminated the policy of individually escorting staff out of the Embassy once their employment was terminated. We sought to treat the LES as we would wish to be treated ourselves and consulted with them. They asked to be allowed to leave as a group, to preserve their dignity, support each other, and say farewell to their Canadian and Syrian friends. While key aspects of the evacuation – such as the date of our departure – were kept secret for security purposes, the LES were generally kept informed of what was happening and given the opportunity to provide input when possible. The staff literally worked up to the hour before closure and we had no issues or concerns regarding their loyalty or security. They respected Canada and viewed the Embassy experience with great affection: both the CIC staff and the remaining LES asked for group photos before closure and created a “Former Employees of the Canadian Embassy” association.

For me the three great lessons of our evacuation were: at the first sign of real trouble, plan ahead; work as closely as possible with HQ as we all wish to do the right thing; and, last but not least, treat the LES as you would want to be treated yourselves – their dilemma is almost certainly far worse than yours. As for Syria itself, once touched by its beauty and its people the nightmare of its descent into chaos remains very hard to set aside. I should like to be there the day we reopen. ☺

Andrew Turner joined DFAIT in 2002. He served as Political Counsellor in DMCUS from July 2011 until the evacuation on March 2012, returning to become Deputy Director responsible for Syria. He now serves in Kabul.

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PRIVATE MILITARY COMPANIES UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW: COMBATANTS OR CIVILIANS?

by Peter McRae

When Canadian Master Corporal Josh Roberts was killed in Afghanistan in August 2008, he was reported to have been the victim of fire from a US-contracted Private Military Company (PMC). He died in chaotic circumstances involving coalition, Afghan security forces, members of a PMC, and insurgent groups.

With bullets flying in all directions, it is not surprising that perplexing questions would emerge with respect to who was responsible. An American commander, who arrived on the scene after the event, threatened to arrest all PMC personnel involved. An official DND inquiry subsequently concluded that although PMC personnel were on the scene, Roberts' death was the result of insurgent fire. No explanation for this conclusion was offered, despite media reports at the time that the concerns of Roberts' family were not met by the official DND report.

Whether Cpl Roberts was killed by PMC fire or not, his case is a dramatic illustration of the complications arising from the presence of PMCs in Afghanistan and Iraq. Their role has expanded to the point that their activities (duties that include the protection of diplomats) are almost indistinguishable from those of regular soldiers. Yet PMCs are not clearly accountable under national and international law. Should PMCs operate outside international law? Apparently so: research indicates that the Government of Canada has no coherent policy for dealing with PMCs in such volatile, armed conflict situations.

Developing coherent policy

A discussion of "coherent policy" requires a little background on International Humanitarian Law (IHL). The goal of IHL's founders was to expand the scope of humanitarian protection rather than simply protect the sovereign interests of states.

Thus legal status or legitimacy has been conferred by IHL on some non-state actors (NSAs) involved in armed conflict, specifically resistance fighters and national liberation movements. However, uncertainties surrounding the meaning of "combatants" (as the designation of those who may lawfully participate in hostilities)

led to a proliferation of terms, particularly in the US. These seek to exclude or stigmatize certain types of fighter – terms like: "rogue civilian"; "war criminal"; "unlawful combatant"; "unlawful enemy combatant"; or, "unprivileged combatant".

US and international usage sometimes diverge. The term "mercenary", as a



Master Corporal Joshua Brian Roberts, 2nd Battalion, Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (2 PPCLI), based out of Shilo, Manitoba

DND, Canadian Armed Forces

category of fighter, basically has been criminalized as a result of recent developments in IHL while the US position is that mercenaries can be considered lawful combatants entitled to prisoner of war status. To complicate matters, in light of experience in Iraq and Afghanistan, US jurisprudence minted a separate classification of “unlawful” combatants. These fighters effectively fall outside the scope of application of the law and are deprived of both civilian and military protection. This divergence supports the argument of one eminent IHL authority that it is up to each state to decide which fighters, beyond members of the regular armed forces, will receive recognition as combatants and prisoners of war.

A key problem with creative but ambiguous designations for insurgents such as “unlawful enemy combatants” is that although they are intended to criminalize the actions of certain combatants, (or put them beyond the reach of the law altogether), they can also be applied to other non-state actors whose legal status is dogged by definitional problems, notably PMCs. While the latter are deemed legitimately and lawfully engaged by the governments that hire them, what law applies to them is not always clear. Only two international bodies have attempted to fill the void and define the legal status of PMCs, a Working Group of the UN and – predictably – a Red Cross Experts Group.

Beyond definitional issues, there are serious practical problems associated with the involvement of PMCs in contemporary armed conflict. Their status is necessarily confusing as they substitute for regular forces that cannot meet all of the security demands placed on them in dangerous places like Afghanistan and Iraq. Their real status is further confused by the lack of oversight or control of PMCs by the military or civilian branches of the governments that hire them. Some may see an advantage to such ambiguity offering “plausible deniability” to governments when the use of real troops may be contentious. However, the adverse consequences of this uncertainty include a lack of accountability for the actions of PMCs when things go wrong – especially when national or international law is violated.

Despite these uncertainties, governments have become increasingly reliant

on PMCs having them take on roles traditionally carried out by regular military forces, notably in the US war effort in Afghanistan and Iraq. A kind of “mission creep” has evolved: PMCs now assume responsibilities formerly considered properly part of military functions including interrogation and guarding of prisoners, protection of diplomats (as mentioned) and of senior military commanders and, training and intelligence-gathering.

Observers argue that the role of PMCs has become indistinguishable from that of regular soldiers. The numbers would suggest as much: a US Congressional Research Services study found that, as of March 2010, there were 95,461 contractor personnel in Iraq compared to approximately 95,900 uniformed personnel in-country. Over 12 per cent of the contractor contingent performed security

It seems very likely that legal and other problems associated with the use of PMCs will persist and grow more contentious.

functions which most observers characterized as combat-related. In Afghanistan, the figures were even more striking: 112,092 Department of Defense contractors (like PMCs) compared to 79,100 uniforms, i.e. 58 per cent.

On the downside, numerous official US inquiries have identified a range of problems related to the use of PMCs (documented in official reports and in the media). They focused on the lack of contract oversight, a chain of command separated from that of the military, and the misuse and lack of accountability of funds. It seems very likely that legal and other problems associated with the use of PMCs will persist and grow more contentious if two incidents that received sensational media coverage in 2004 and 2007 are any indication:

- In March 2004, four Blackwater employees were ambushed by insurgents and killed. Their bodies were burned and strung up from the beams

of a bridge in Falluja, Iraq. The ensuing domestic outcry triggered a US military response described as the First Battle of Falluja. As such, the US military reacted as if the PMC dead were fellow combatants. Meanwhile, the families of the deceased contractors sued the company for wrongful death, something obviously reserved for civilians.

- On 16 September 2007, five Blackwater contractors providing security for US government personnel were called to Nisour Square in Baghdad. An improvised explosive device detonated close to a compound where US officials were meeting with Iraqi counterparts. Gunfire erupted with 14 civilian deaths and 20 wounded. The US government contended that the victims were unarmed civilians and the Blackwater defendants were charged with voluntary manslaughter and firearms violations; they were held to account as civilian actors.

Civil claims against PMCs are growing (with at least one criminal prosecution in US Courts). In civil cases, US Courts have been sympathetic to claims that PMC personnel are entitled to immunity from legal process equivalent to that of US soldiers. This runs counter to the preference of the US government and others for maintaining an arms-length relationship with PMCs (presumably to avoid liability for PMC actions). With highly negative US media coverage, PMCs also have had much congressional attention.

Canada’s military see PMCs as an asset. A military spokesman in Afghanistan said that Canadian troops could not do their jobs without the help of private security firms; PMCs have played a vital role in the Canadian military and post-conflict effort in Afghanistan. Nothing suggests that reliance on PMCs will decrease; their continuing or enhanced presence will undoubtedly have an impact on future deployment of Canadian forces operating as part of military coalitions – which is the most likely scenario for our involvement in future conflicts.

Canadian expenditure on private security is comparatively modest (\$41 million over the five-year period 2006–10), but as the Roberts case has shown, Canadian interests can be directly and adversely affected by the actions of PMCs in conflict situations – whether or not Canada hired them. However, the Canadian Government



Pallbearers carry their fallen comrade.

has nowhere acknowledged the existence of a problem in using PMCs, nor seen the need to develop policy to govern the practice of using PMCs in conflict situations. That needs to change: as the West comes to rely more and more on non-state actors (NSAs) like PMCs to support or substitute for their armed forces, it is obvious that Roberts will not be the last Canadian to die in engagements involving PMCs.

Dimensions of the legal problem

In layman's terms, the code of conduct for international armed conflict is set out in International Humanitarian Law, as articulated in the four Geneva Conventions and their Protocols. The main focus is the protection of persons "hors de combat" as the titles of the Conventions themselves suggest. These distinguish between different categories of actors, notably combatants and civilians. The latter helps determine the legality of actions undertaken in the course of armed conflict and sets out who may participate directly in hostilities – civilians are forbidden from doing so.

Any inquiry into accountability for the actions of PMCs in wartime immediately raises the question of their status under IHL. That is likely to affect the evaluation of the legal consequences of their actions which, in turn, also raises the question of whether PMCs should be

considered "combatants". Naturally, the answer is not simple.

Despite its widespread usage, the term "combatants" does not appear in the Geneva Conventions. What is generally understood to constitute the relevant definition actually consists of elements borrowed from the provisions on the qualifications necessary for the designation of prisoner of war status. However, the Conventions do contain provisions that allow for the integration into the armed forces of "militias" and "volunteer corps". These would seem to be categories applicable to PMCs, but there is no official record as yet of any government taking this essentially procedural step or currently contemplating it.

Very few governments have issued public policy positions on the status of PMCs, despite the prevalence of their use. For its part, the ICRC argues that there can be no vacuum in IHL: those involved in armed conflict situations are either civilians or combatants – it sees no intermediate categories. Consistent with this "either-or" approach, the US argues that PMCs are contract employees and therefore civilians. DND has not issued an official statement on the subject.

In the real world, PMCs do not act as civilians and are not treated as such by the governments that hire them. Civilians are normally subject to local law, but in the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, American PMCs were given immunity

The Red Cross provides a useful working definition:

Private Military and Security Companies (PMSC) are defined as private business entities that provide military and/or security services, irrespective of how they describe themselves. Military and security services include, in particular, armed guarding and protection of persons and objects, such as convoys, buildings and other places; maintenance and operation of weapons systems; prisoner detention; and advice to or training of local forces and security personnel.

from local jurisdiction. The only sanction for violations has been to pull PMCs out and send them home where some have been subject to the civil and criminal jurisdiction of American courts. In Canadian parlance it is a case of "combatants if necessary but not necessarily combatants".

Access to information requests did not identify any stated policy on the part of the Canadian government, although they revealed elements of a position reflected in internal documentation. The question of which legal regime controls the activities of PMCs seems to have been specifically avoided. DND documentation provided no comments on the legality of PMC activities other than to say that they do not encompass offensive (as opposed to defensive) operations – a distinction that has no legal basis in international law. In short, research confirms that we have no coherent policy, stated or implied.

What to do

PMCs are here to stay as governments contract out services and seek cost-efficient ways to fight wars. Governments may well see economic advantage in the "privatization" of war by contracting professional fighters – PMCs – rather than recruit conscripts or volunteers. PMCs also provide services more broadly: to governments, governments-in-waiting, international organizations, NGOs and transnational corporations.

Given the scope of their activities (which might soon extend to peace keeping), PMCs should be receptive to regularizing their status, improving licensing and training requirements, and otherwise facilitating their growth. Similarly, to exclude such increasingly significant players from the application of IHL undermines the rule of law and weakens accountability for violations of the law in life-and-death situations. It could risk

...the ICRC argues that there can be no vacuum in IHL: those involved in armed conflict situations are either civilians or combatants...

relegating international law to irrelevance, a worst case scenario for those genuinely committed to the rule of law.

Facts on the ground tell us that IHL needs renewal. The state-centric model of warfare began to break down by the middle of the 20th century following wars of national liberation and post-colonial power struggles. The privatization of war and growing role of NSAs in modern conflict reflects the now asymmetrical nature of warfare, the de-territorialization of networks of insurgents and terrorists, and the non-hierarchical organization of violence. Yet the regulation of and accountability for the acts of NSAs still depend on an international system created and controlled by states; governments must address this dilemma for their own sakes.

International law offers two solutions to the problem of PMCs operating outside its scope. One is to make use of the mechanism provided in the Geneva Conventions and Protocols and integrate PMCs as militias into the regular armed forces of states. From a legal point of view this would represent the easiest solution. Surprisingly, there is no precedent or state practice to refer to in this regard perhaps because there are practical, political or administrative reasons precluding this option for many governments.

A second option is to treat PMCs as combatant, non-state actors subject to international law, like resistance groups or

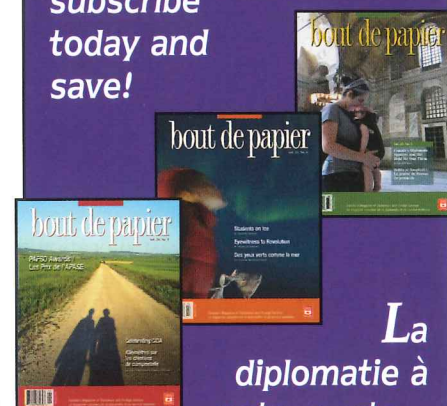
national liberation movements. That change of status could require amendments to IHL. Or, short of formal legal status as combatants for PMCs, states could consider them "de facto" lawful combatants in conflict-specific situations. That would be compatible with the views of the ICRC and some IHL experts. Such recognition could be granted by states unilaterally or collectively. In keeping with the Hague Regulations, these scenarios would require PMCs to abide by the law of armed conflict, and I suspect that most security companies should see their interests as best served with just such an undertaking.

To conclude, while the classic law of war no longer responds to today's circumstances, the humanitarian concerns that inspired the development of IHL remain real. While strengthening the regime for the protection of the victims of armed conflict calls for constructive and informed engagement with the international community, there is also a pressing need to put our own legal house in order so justice can be done – and be seen to be done.

If Canada's reputation as a leader in the development of international law seems a fading memory, we remain well placed to help solve the PMC dilemma. We played an important part in the development of IHL in the negotiation of the Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions and need only pick up where we left off. Canada should exercise a little moral leadership, fill its own policy vacuum, reinforce the rule of international law, and help ensure that PMCs are held accountable under international law wherever they operate. What we will have learned from Josh Roberts can only benefit those who follow. ☺

Peter McRae is a retired Foreign Service officer. Posted to Vienna, Havana and Geneva, he was seconded to the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty Organization in Vienna from 1997 to 2003 as its Legal Adviser. International Humanitarian Law was an area of concentration throughout his years with the Legal Bureau and formed the basis for his 2012 University of Ottawa LLM thesis (Unaccountable Soldiers: Private Military Companies and the Law of Armed Conflict). This article draws on that thesis.

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DOES CANADA NEED A DEPARTMENT OF PEACE?

by Bill Bhaneja

In my many years as a Science & Technology Counsellor with Canada's diplomatic service I was always struck by the vast allocation of resources to military establishments and related technology, understandable given global security concerns. However, it always begged the question: would ordinary people not be better off if these resources had been directed toward the critical issues in people's daily lives, in the sheer survival of the poorest? Can we, as a global community, not re-order our priorities?

As we all know, the cost of maintaining armed forces around the world, not least in developing countries, has been one of the great impediments to development. The cost of conflicts themselves in human terms is incalculable (I myself come from a family of refugees, survivors of the partition of India after independence which displaced some 12 million people and cost upwards of a million lives). In terms of dollars and cents the rough figures are even more difficult to grasp. Thus far the US is estimated to have spent 1.5 trillion in taxpayer dollars in conflicts it cannot resolve in Iraq and Afghanistan – enough, I am told, to provide every American with all the free health care and education they could hope for, and then some.

To put matters in perspective, what has been spent by one country on two conflicts alone represents almost seven times the funding needed for meeting global Millennium Development Goals. While it is easy to draw conclusions about our skewed priorities here in the West, and the waste they generate, how do we stimulate new thinking and solutions for the 21st century? You have to start somewhere and I concluded that the international movement to create Ministries of Peace (to supersede Ministries of War) made sense. Happily, perhaps even surprisingly, I was not alone in Canada with that thought. The history of Bill C-373 (*An Act to Establish a Department of Peace*) is proof of it.

With the Federal Government making organizational changes in the name of budget crises, improved efficiency and

policy effectiveness, it would be timely to ask whether Canada needs a Federal Department of Peace to meet those priorities. It is hardly a radical thought. Today, the global movement for Departments/Ministries of peace exists in 30 countries, including the USA, UK, Europe, Japan, and Australia. There are already Departments of Peace in three countries: Costa Rica (2009), Nepal (2007) and Solomon Islands (2004). In the USA, since 2001, a "Department of Peace Bill" (HR 808) has been tabled in the House of Representatives. Democrat Rep. Denis J. Kucinich in the last House garnered 64 votes in Congress in support of his bill. Over the past decade other approaches to creating civil peace infrastructure have been pursued in Europe, notably in Germany through the government's *Zivilian friedendienst* program. In the UK, a Peace Ministry initiative was introduced by MP John McDonnell in October 2003.

In Canada, Bill C-373 is awaiting second reading in Parliament. It was introduced in the House on November 30th, 2011 by NDP MP Alex Atamanenko and is co-sponsored by Green Party MP Elizabeth May and Liberal Party MP Jim Karygiannis. In the previous House, a similar "non-partisan" bill received the support of 23 NDP and Liberal MPs, including that of late NDP leader Jack Layton.

The mission of the proposed Department would be to work towards "developing a culture of peace and nonviolent ways of conflict resolution". Bill C-373 provides a strategic focus for peace building. This is through developing competencies, institutions, and programs preparing Canada for peace, in the same way public funds are devoted to prepare expertise and structures for fighting wars.

Peace and Security related programs are currently managed in eight federal departments and agencies: DND, DFATD including former CIDA, Citizenship and Immigration, Health Canada, Finance



Bill Bhaneja

Canada, IDRC, Public Safety, and Justice. However, there is no department devoted to the science of fostering the general rule (peace) as opposed to the exception (war). A plethora of federal programs deal with human rights, genocide prevention, democratic governance, and post-conflict reconstruction. However these programs, without links to a cohesive strategy of peace-building, appear to have had little impact on Canada's peace or security concerns.

What Bill C-373 is meant to achieve

The Peace Department, as outlined in the bill, would be headed by a Cabinet level Minister. Its responsibilities would include:

- Promote justice and democratic principles to expand human rights;
- Strengthen non-military means of peace-making;
- Take pro-active approaches to promote national and international conflict prevention programs through nonviolent intervention;
- Support development of initiatives from local communities, faith groups and non-governmental organizations; and
- Assume leadership role among federal departments in addressing matters of peace, justice and good governance to protect Canadians from harm.

Building a Civil Peace Service

The most innovative component in the bill seeks to create a Civil Peace Service comprising 500 to 700 peace specialists trained in prevention, mediation, and reconciliation to work in conflict zones. Past and current practice has focused almost exclusively on “suits” and “boots” where suits (diplomats) go and talk to other suits and boots (soldiers) whose expertise is fighting wars, face other boots. However, in conflicts, near and far, the problems are more complex.

We have 192 sovereign nation-states worldwide, but these contain over 7,000 cultures within their boundaries. It is at the level of cultural communities that conflict is most likely to occur. Most of the West’s military interventions (often justified on humanitarian grounds) have failed because of lack of understanding of the grassroots issues of history, language, and culture of the parties involved – Iraq and Afghanistan being two obvious and painful examples.

The competencies required to understand conflict-related issues comprehensively do not fall within the scope of any of the individual Departments and agencies mentioned above. Sections 14, 15, and 16 of Bill C-373 underscore the importance of creating a Civil Peace Service going from candidates’ education and training as peace specialists to development of peace-related strategies and the deployment of such at home and abroad in all phases of conflict through “early detection, assessment and response mechanisms”. The latter requires, as pointed out earlier, a different skill set and a different type of engagement than current Departmental approaches.

When it comes to focus, leadership skills, and other expertise there is no concerted effort at present for peace-building in the Federal Government as is envisaged by the Department of Peace legislation. Unlike leading edge peace-building initiatives of the late 1990s (e.g. Human Security, the Land Mines Treaty or the International Criminal Court of Justice) which benefitted from strong Canadian leadership, the impetus for new program structures such as START and the Office of Religious Freedom seems to have come primarily from Washington and Westminster, with an eye to domestic politics.

Ironically, Canada now seems behind the US in refocusing our efforts. In November 2011, the US State Department announced a new Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations (CSO), which aims to adopt the security of challenges of the 21st century through “integrated civilian-led efforts to prevent, respond to, and stabilize crises in priority states, setting conditions for long-term peace”. The new Bureau aims for solutions guided by local dynamics and actors. This in its intent bears a strong resemblance to the Civil Peace Service in Bill C-373.

A consultative role for the Minister of Peace

Currently, the Prime Minister is meant to receive counsel on matters of peace and security from Ministers of National Defence and Foreign Affairs; however, there is little professional advice available to him on how to make use of alternate peaceful approaches to prevent conflict. The bill gives a Peace Minister a mandate for an objective review of armed interventions to assess their effectiveness in resolution of conflicts and to assess the lessons learnt in related circumstances.

The Peace Minister also would be empowered to initiate a consultative process with fellow ministers to address any issues that may arise in respect of: (a) potential or ongoing armed conflict involving Canada and another nation; and (b) use of Department of National Defence personnel within Canada for maintaining peace and order. Other Ministers would be required to consult the Peace Minister before entering into any pertinent treaty or peace agreement.

To the best of my knowledge, no major effort has been made since the early 1970s to look at the adequacy of machinery of government with respect to peace building. The last time a concerted review of any major sort was undertaken was in the post-War era as the government sought to respond to social and political crises of the day which resulted in the creation of new departmental structures such as Environment; Industry, Science and Technology; Regional Economic Expansion, and others. We need a similar effort to meet new challenges of the 21st century including new thinking and new machinery of government to deal with Canada’s future role in the rising number of conflicts worldwide. It also should be kept

Past and current practice has focused almost exclusively on “suits” and “boots” where suits (diplomats) go and talk to other suits and boots (soldiers) whose expertise is fighting wars, face other boots.

in mind that the quality of our political discourse is shaped by the kind of systemic structures and institutions in place, and if Iraq and Afghanistan teach us anything, the breadth and quality of that discourse needs major improvement.

Financial impact of Bill C-373

There have been concerns raised about the cost of creating yet another new Departmental structure. In my view it should be minimal as the proposed Department would be based on reallocating funds from existing departments (notably DFATD and DND), except for resources needed for a new Civilian Peace Service program. Such a civil service program could be phased in over a five-year period.

The idea of a Department of Peace came long before the latest wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Had such a Department been in place, perhaps our interventions in foreign conflicts would have been different. Imagine the financial costs and lives saved through utilizing violence prevention competencies. A Peace Department will contribute to better accountability and transparency for peace building and security work in the federal government. It will also better define our ethics and values, and raise our profile as an authentic global peace-builder. In short, this seems an idea whose time has already come even if we are slow to understand as much. ☺

Bill Bhaneja holds a Ph.D. in science policy from University of Manchester and served in London, Berlin and Bonn. Following retirement, he was a Senior Research Fellow at the University of Ottawa (2003–08). Related publications include: Journal of Parliamentary and Political Law, vol. 6. No. 3, Oct. 2012, pp. 572–581 and Nonkilling Security & the State, Creighton University and Center for Global Nonkilling, 2013.

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Unlocking the Wastebasket: How an Academic Built Canadian Foreign Intelligence

by Kurt F. Jensen

"They Lock Up Their Wastepaper Baskets" read the headline of the February 28, 1950, edition of *The Standard*. The article included a photograph of a tall, lanky man and described his job at the Joint Intelligence Bureau as supplementing "the intelligence on foreign military power which the intelligence directorates of the armed services gather." It added that foreign intelligence was principally gathered by the Department of External Affairs. This intelligence, the article went on, "is the knowledge on which cabinet decisions affecting our foreign relations are based."

The Standard article is a remarkable footnote to the early life of Canada's foreign intelligence establishment given the reluctance at the time (and for decades thereafter) of the government to reveal its intelligence involvement. The lanky gentleman was also, in fact, one of the architects of Canadian foreign intelligence: History Professor George Glazebrook of the University of Toronto.

When George Glazebrook died in 1989, his obituary in *The Globe and Mail* quoted a friend's depiction of him as a "spook," a description with which Glazebrook would have been uncomfortable. He would have presented his work as involving national security, downplaying the sensational and the dramatic. However, despite any possible disclaimers about his intelligence involvement, the fact remains that Glazebrook spent much of his government career at the core of Canadian foreign intelligence efforts, an early architect of what we know today.

Glazebrook was one of a number of respected academics that joined the Department of External Affairs (DEA) during the dramatic expansion which came with World War II. With the war, External

Affairs sought to attract the best and the brightest to help manage the significant international role Canada was about to assume. These individuals, (Lester Pearson, Norman Robertson, Glazebrook and Hume Wrong among others), became the partners in Canada's diplomatic "Golden Age".

The Globe and Mail quoted a friend's depiction of him as a "spook," a description with which Glazebrook would have been uncomfortable.

On Christmas Eve 1941, Undersecretary of State N.A. Robertson wrote the President of the University of Toronto requesting that the university release Glazebrook "for important work...in Ottawa." He reported for work the following week. Glazebrook was already a well-known academic achiever: he had written the definite Canadian book on the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, and the first edition of his seminal book, *A History of Canada's External Relations*, was completed and would be published in 1942.

Tall, angular and a pipe-smoker, Glazebrook was a shy, school-masterish man with a dry sense of humour. He had a penchant for the works of Dashiell Hammett, creator of the 1930s private detective, Sam Spade, and could quote at length from the dialogue of Spade in the many detective novels. He was a cultivated man, erudite and well-spoken, but – as the expression goes – did not suffer fools easily. He had high intellectual expectations of people involved in national security work and was disdainful of what he viewed as

lesser minds leading Canadian military intelligence. This trait caused repeated grief in his relations with the intelligence chiefs at National Defence who often did not accept his intellectual arguments.

Glazebrook reported to External at the beginning of 1942. Initially he worked for several months under Lester B. Pearson, who headed the Commonwealth and European Division. He recalled Pearson as having good knowledge of foreign intelligence, a subsidiary responsibility of the division. Pearson, Tommy Stone, and Glazebrook formed the early wartime foreign intelligence team, working closely with the Undersecretary. Tommy Stone, a childhood friend of Pearson, had joined the diplomatic service in 1927 only to leave after marrying an American Southern heiress. With the war, he returned to the fold and would end up as Ambassador to The Netherlands.

Over the next several years there would be a small number of others who contributed significantly to intelligence functions. One was Herbert Norman who ran the Special Intelligence Section (a highly secret assessment unit attached to the Examination Unit, Canada's wartime signals intelligence organization). Norman, as is well-known, became a victim of McCarthyism. American allegations of communist sympathies drove him to suicide in 1956.

By the spring of 1942 Pearson was posted to Washington, with Stone taking over management of intelligence activities. By 1943, in turn, Stone was becoming increasingly engaged in psychological warfare, leaving Glazebrook to carry on the intelligence work.

The foreign intelligence function at DEA was always small, and didn't exist as a separate identifiable entity until 1950.

The template for wartime foreign intelligence activity was for DEA, perennially short of qualified staff, to set policy and taskings while encouraging others to supply the resources to carry out the tasks. For the most part, the work was done by the Department of National Defence, but other organizations also were involved, including Censorship and Transport.

Only three months after starting at DEA, in March 1942, Glazebrook already showed real acumen for intelligence work. He persuaded senior ranks at DEA that valuable foreign intelligence could be gleaned from a centralized and coordinated approach to censorship activities, as opposed to the existing haphazard activities carried out at POW camps. His hypothesis was that significant information about the enemy could be obtained from the systemic analysis of economic, health and social information referred to innocently in correspondence to German POWs in Canada, and that censorship activities should not be limited to preventing secret messages reaching the POWs. Norman Robertson, then Undersecretary, wrote to the Prime Minister about the idea and within two months an Order-in-Council removed censorship from National Defence and gave the task to the National War Service Department, with guidance and some analysis coming from DEA.

Stone and Glazebrook also provided oversight of the Examination Unit, Canada's wartime signals intelligence (SIGINT) unit. They conducted liaison with British Security Coordination, the British secret intelligence unit in New York. That included issues pertaining to Camp X (a British intelligence training establishment in southern Ontario), intelligence exchanges, inter-allied intelligence communication, and the identification of Canadian residents for secondment to the Special Operations Executive (the wartime covert operations wing of British intelligence). Foreign intelligence in Canada was already viewed as the domain of External Affairs.

A rather peculiar episode took place involving Glazebrook at the end of World War II. Canada's wartime signals intelligence contribution, through the Examination Unit, had been small but important considering the resources of the country and its lack of previous experience in the field. By war's end the Examination Unit supported various Allied SIGINT activities, but had sole responsibility for signals intelligence

The template for wartime foreign intelligence activity was for DEA, perennially short of qualified staff, to set policy and taskings while encouraging others to supply the resources to carry out the tasks.

collection directed against Vichy France, as well as the Free French.

With the war coming to an end, DEA favoured the closure of the Examination Unit. Glazebrook strongly supported this position for reasons which are not entirely clear but which were presented as austerity measures. Both the British and the Americans were radically downsizing their own SIGINT activities but had no plans to end these activities altogether. The British informed Canada that a scaled down version of the Examination Unit would be inadequate for the tasks still at hand. For its part, External Affairs recognized that the status quo was financially untenable. In addition, Hume Wrong, newly returned to Ottawa from Washington, and in charge of the daily running of the department, did not share the perception of the importance of foreign intelligence which prevailed within DEA. He may well have influenced the debate.

National Defence begged to differ: it vehemently opposed the closure of the Examination Unit, making a case for postwar responsibility falling within the realm of DEA. It was only a DND threat to take over the signals intelligence function themselves which led to DEA reversing its stand in support of retention of the Examination Unit. Postwar intelligence planning already had begun in 1943 when the outcome of the war appeared increasingly certain. By the end of the war there were two postwar intelligence models in play for Canada: National Defence supported a format which was extensive and somewhat American in form and orientation. DEA came to support a British proposal for a smaller Canadian foreign intelligence structure interconnected with organizations also to be established in Great Britain and the other Dominions.

In the event, DEA's vision ultimately won out and Glazebrook was at the centre of the policy development for the new Canadian intelligence architecture. A Canadian Joint Intelligence Committee (CJIC) was ultimately agreed upon, with Glazebrook assuming the chairmanship at its first meeting on June 21, 1946. The CJIC was located at National Defence and

included representatives of all Canadian intelligence bodies, but was always directed by an officer from DEA. A Canadian Joint Intelligence Bureau (CJIB), the operational side of intelligence, was formed, somewhat belatedly, at the beginning of 1947 with a mandate for "the collection, collation, study, and dissemination of certain types of intelligence." It also was housed with National Defence.

In the meantime, at the end of 1946 and with Canada's postwar intelligence architecture in place, Glazebrook severed his relationship with DEA, and the chairmanship of the CJIC. He returned to the University of Toronto to resume his first love, teaching history. Nonetheless, he was continuously called back to Ottawa to clear up intelligence matters. These repeated visits to Ottawa eventually cost him a lucrative fellowship, although by this time he also appeared to have lost his zest for teaching.

While Glazebrook was in Toronto, External Affairs and National Defence proved unable to place the newly formed CJIB on a firm footing. After a year of squabbling DEA had had enough and approached Glazebrook in the fall of 1948 about assuming the Directorship of the CJIB, which was subservient to the CJIC. Glazebrook refused to join National Defence, the nominal home of the CJIB, and negotiated a return to DEA with a secondment from there to National Defence (with the option of returning to DEA). Whether he had an ulterior motive in being in the DEA fold is unknown. Likely, it reflected his view of the military which had grown in the course of the war.

The offer to Glazebrook was made in the middle of the academic year. To get Glazebrook back to Ottawa, the Minister of National Defence, B. Claxton, (then briefly the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs), wrote to the president of the university. He requested Glazebrook's release "on grounds of emergency," adding his own plea in his capacity as the Minister of National Defence.

Glazebrook assumed the directorship of CJIB in January 1949. He remained there for exactly one year before returning to

External Affairs as head of the intelligence segment of the Defence Liaison Division (and concomitant chairmanship of the CJIC). By the summer of 1950 the security and intelligence function had received its own designation with the creation of Defence Liaison 2 (DL2) (and with it, the first formal acknowledgment of a foreign intelligence function in the department). Glazebrook was its first director.

He most likely remained in that position until 1953 when he was posted to the Embassy in Washington. Upon his return to Ottawa in 1956, and in light of his expertise on the history of Canadian foreign relations, he was appointed director of the Historical Research and Reports Division (later the Historical Division), with concurrent directorship for the Commonwealth Division the following year. Glazebrook was the obvious choice as the department's historian at a time when there was considerable agitation to launch the *Documents on Canadian External Relations* series.

In 1960 Glazebrook moved from the Commonwealth Division to the Assistant Undersecretary level until his retirement in August 1963. He returned to teach at

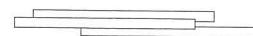
the University of Toronto until a second retirement in 1967. He died in 1989 at the age of 89.

George Glazebrook was part of a different era. This was a time in Canada's diplomatic history when a merging of academia, diplomacy, and political leadership was possible and where individuals could move relatively easily between these different realms. Glazebrook may have been exceptional but his case was not unique. He entered DEA, as did others, with strong credentials and a proven track record preceding his career in diplomacy (and in his case, intelligence). His remarkable career in public service reflected what was possible when a fluid and broad-based meritocracy prevailed, a meritocracy that we might well envy today. ☺

Kurt Jensen is a retired Foreign Service officer who concluded his career as Deputy Director for Foreign Intelligence. He is now an Adjunct Professor at Carleton University where he teaches courses on intelligence. His recent book, Cautious Beginnings, tells the early history of Canadian foreign intelligence involvement.

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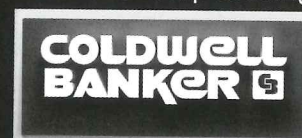
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Les Prix de l'APASE 2013 – Reconnaissance de l'excellence

2013 PAFSO Awards – Celebrating Excellence

event photography by Gordon King

On Thursday, June 13th, 270 colleagues and guests gathered to celebrate excellence in the Canadian Foreign Service at the 2013 PAFSO Dinner and Awards. Pipe Major of the Sons of Scotland, Bethany Bisaillon, piped in guests for another outstanding evening in the Panorama Room of the National Arts Centre in Ottawa and PAFSO President Tim Edwards offered words of welcome to all those attending the 24th Awards. Mr. Edwards also extended a very warm welcome to a special guest, the Right Honourable Joe Clark.

"This year's recipients are as impressive as any cohort in the last 24 years selected from what I am told was an especially strong field of candidates. They represent the very best of the ingenuity, the curiosity, the adaptability and the persuasive powers which all foreign service officers embody."

Pour commencer, Tim Edwards a présenté le maître de cérémonie de la soirée – M. Martin Charron. M. Charron a joint les rangs du service extérieur en qualité de délégué commercial en 1987 et il a connu des affectations à Beijing, à Hong Kong et à Taipei, ainsi que diverses affectations à l'administration centrale

(politique commerciale américaine, financement des exportations, Caraïbes et Chine). Depuis son retour de Beijing en 2011, M. Charron occupe le poste de vice-président de Canada Porc International, l'agence de développement des marchés pour l'industrie porcine du Canada.



Présentation des Prix de l'APASE



Robert Forest et le très honorable Joe Clark

ROBERT FOREST

« On attribue à Robert Forest, de Citoyenneté et Immigration, la formation d'une génération d'agents du service extérieur de la filière immigration auxquels il a inspiré une passion pour l'importance de leur rôle dans le choix des citoyens canadiens de l'avenir, tout en leur donnant un profond respect pour les lois qu'ils appliquent et pour la clientèle qu'ils desservent. Lorsque la Loi sur l'immigration et la protection des réfugiés est entrée en vigueur en 2002, Robert a hérité du surnom de "IRPA-man" et a donné des conseils aux bureaux des visas partout dans le monde, 24/7, allant même parfois jusqu'à dormir dans son bureau. Formateur et conférencier motivateur recherché, il livre sa matière qui fait autorité avec un enthousiasme divertissant pour les participants, tout en leur inculquant les valeurs du service à la clientèle, du travail d'équipe et de l'innovation. Robert reçoit le Prix de l'APASE pour sa capacité d'enseigner, d'inspirer et d'agir comme mentor et le rôle qu'il a joué dans le façonnement du professionnalisme au sein du service extérieur de la filière immigration du Canada. »



Thierry Weissenburger et le très honorable Joe Clark

THIERRY WEISSENBURGER

« Convaincu que les entreprises canadiennes de haute technologie tireraient avantage de liens avec la Silicon Valley en Californie, le délégué commercial Thierry Weissenburger a persuadé des dirigeants canadiens expatriés d'entreprises de haute technologie établis dans cette région de mettre en place le C100, un réseau de mentorat et de conseil. Ce réseau représente plus de 17 milliards de dollars en capital de risque. Il a ensuite bâti le mécanisme destiné à attirer les entrepreneurs de démarrage à la Valley, à l'incubateur commercial appelé l'Accélérateur technologique canadien (ATC). L'ATC vise à offrir aux entreprises canadiennes qui en sont à leurs premiers stades du soutien dans l'élaboration de modèles d'affaires défendables, la cueillette de renseignements sur les marchés, la recherche et le ciblage de clients clés, la recherche de financement et l'engagement de partenaires stratégiques. Plus de 170 entreprises canadiennes ont participé au réseau d'ATC de Silicon Valley, et les entreprises canadiennes de démarrage ont obtenu plus de 500 millions de dollars de financement. Le modèle que Thierry a créé s'est répandu à d'autres villes et aux secteurs de la technologie de la santé et de la technologie propre. Le Prix de l'APASE 2013 est décerné à Thierry Weissenburger pour son travail de transformation et d'inspiration axé sur la clientèle et la rigueur intellectuelle dont il fait preuve à cet égard. »



Claudie Senay et le très honorable Joe Clark

CLAUDIE SENAY

« Claudie Senay est reconnue pour son excellence durant quatre années mouvementées au Liban et des affectations exigeantes au Bureau du Conseil privé et à l'administration centrale par la suite. Au milieu de la violence intercommunale constante, elle a eu recours à son réseau étendu, aux ramifications profondes dans les communautés ethniques et religieuses du Liban, et à sa capacité d'analyser l'évolution des situations pour aider ses collègues à travailler avec efficacité tout en évitant de prendre des risques inutiles. Son calme, sa débrouillardise et ses talents de coordonnatrice lors de l'évacuation de 40 000 citoyens canadiens du Liban lui ont valu les plus grands éloges. Par la suite, au Bureau du Conseil privé, et dans son affectation actuelle, elle a fait preuve de solides compétences en gestion par l'action et en jugement sûr. Comme personne-ressource pour divers enjeux, Claudie a su puiser dans ses qualités en communication et en travail d'équipe pour servir de pont efficace entre le Bureau du Conseil privé et le MAECI, jouant un rôle très important en transmettant les exigences du Bureau du Conseil privé et du Cabinet de Premier ministre au ministère. Claudie Senay reçoit le Prix de l'APASE en reconnaissance de son professionnalisme consommé, son engagement à l'excellence, son jugement sûr, sa capacité d'analyse incisive et ses superbes qualités de communicatrice et de leader. »



Jennifer Hart and the Right Honourable Joe Clark

JENNIFER HART

"The main link between Headquarters and the Canadian Embassy in Kabul on operational issues, Jennifer Hart provided unstinting support to Canadian staff in exceptionally hazardous conditions. She has been their staunch ally in difficult times and has protected them from everything from unreasonable demands for visits to proposals to cut hazardous duty entitlements. Jennifer worked to enshrine the highest possible standards of care and championed measures to minimize the negative impacts of Afghanistan assignments on employees and their families. She is responsible for the Critical Civilian Incident Strategy which shapes Canada's response to the injury or death of employees in Afghanistan and has earned enormous respect for the brilliant manner in which she has ensured the Government of Canada is prepared for events we all hope will never happen. Jennifer receives her PAFSO Award for providing outstanding support to her colleagues on hazardous duty in Afghanistan."

2013 Panel of Judges / Jury de sélection 2013

The panel selecting this year's Award recipients comprised people of great distinction in their own fields:

Monsieur Claude Laverdure, président du jury, ancien agent du service extérieur, a été ambassadeur en Haïti, au Zaïre, en Belgique et, de 2003 à 2007, en France. Il a travaillé au Bureau du Conseil privé à titre de conseiller en politique étrangère auprès du Premier ministre et, en 2002 et 2003, il a été représentant du Premier ministre au Sommet du G8. Il est professionnel en résidence (Senior Fellow) à l'École d'affaires publiques et internationales de l'Université d'Ottawa. Il est aussi membre des Conseils d'administration de plusieurs fondations et autres organisations. M. Laverdure est Commandeur de la Légion d'honneur et Chevalier de l'Ordre de la Pléiade.

Mr. Scott Feschuk is a partner in the speechwriting and strategic communications firm Feschuk.Reid. He served as chief speechwriter to Prime Minister Paul Martin and as a writer on *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*. He is the author of two books and has been a reporter and columnist for *The Globe and Mail* and the *National Post*. He currently writes a column for both *Maclean's* and the new *Sportsnet* magazine. In 2008 and 2012 he won the gold award for humour at the National Magazine Awards.

Lt.-General (ret'd) Andrew Leslie served in the Canadian Forces for more than 30 years and has commanded at various levels at home and overseas. He has served or seen service across Canada, in Germany (NATO), the USA, England, Cyprus (UN), France, the former Yugoslavia (UN) and Afghanistan (NATO). He retired from the military in 2011 and became a Senior Vice President with a large Canadian multinational, responsible for intelligence, security and cyber resilience. As of 2013, he runs his own strategic and cyber security consulting practice, is a member of various charitable and corporate boards and is engaged in public speaking.

Ms Patricia Marsden-Dole, a former Trade Commissioner, was the first woman officer in the trade arm of the Canadian foreign service. She has been Deputy High Commissioner in India, High Commissioner to Tanzania and Ambassador to Portugal. Since her retirement, she is active in the managing groups of several retiree organizations and social and political NGOs and is editing a series of books on Canadians abroad for Penumbra Press. She is also pursuing a doctorate at Saint Paul University and is volunteer Social Justice Coordinator for the Roman Catholic Diocese of Ottawa.

Madame Maureen O'Neil est présidente de la Fondation canadienne pour l'amélioration des services de santé depuis 2008. Auparavant, elle a été notamment présidente du Centre de recherches pour le développement international, présidente intérimaire du Centre international des droits de la personne et du développement démocratique et sous-ministre de la Citoyenneté du gouvernement de l'Ontario. Mme O'Neil est également présidente ou membre de plusieurs conseils d'administration et en 2011, elle a été nommée officier de l'Ordre du Canada pour sa contribution à la fonction publique, en reconnaissance de son apport au développement international, à l'égalité des sexes et aux droits de la personne.

Ms Janet Siddall, also a former Foreign Service Officer, served abroad in India, Thailand, France, the Philippines, Hong Kong and Singapore and was High Commissioner to Tanzania. She also held senior positions in Citizenship and Immigration Canada, including Director General of the International Region and Associate Assistant Deputy Minister, Operations. Now retired, she is active in the not-for-profit sector, focused on addressing the AIDS pandemic in Africa.

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Nous tenons à remercier nos commanditaires, ministres, ambassadeurs et diplomates qui jouent un rôle important dans le succès constant du programme des Prix de l'APASE.

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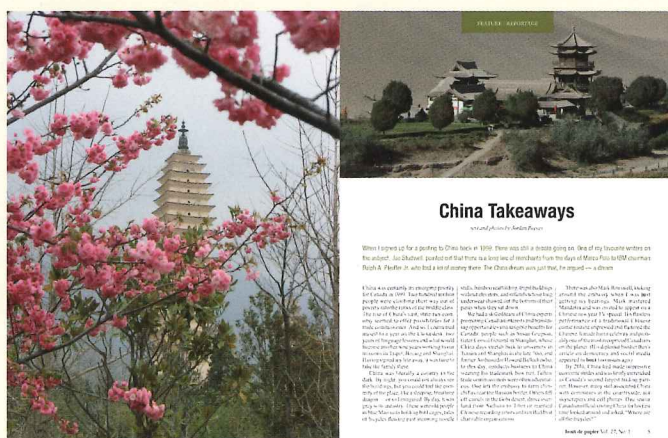
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De gauche à droite : le président de l'ACMAR, Jacques Roy et Jordan Reeves

Prix de l'ACMAR pour le meilleur article dans *bout de papier*

Outre les quatre Prix de l'APASE, un autre prix a été présenté lors du dîner de l'APASE. **M. Jordan Reeves** est le lauréat du prix parrainé par l'Association des chefs de mission à la retraite (ACMAR) pour le meilleur article rédigé par un membre ou un(e) associé(e) de l'APASE publié dans le magazine **bout de papier**. L'article de Jordan, « China Takeaways », a paru dans le volume 27, n° 1. Le prix se compose d'un certificat encadré et d'un chèque. Une mention honorable a été décernée à **Mme Jade Puddington** pour son article dans le volume 27, n° 1, intitulé « Once Upon a Crisis...My Experience with DFAIT's New Emergency Watch Response Centre ». ☺



2014

Why not prepare now for nominations for the 2014 PAFSO Awards? Although the deadline for submissions is April 5, 2014, nominations or indications of forthcoming nominations can be received at any time at awards@pafso-apase.com or by mail to Secretary, FS Awards Committee, 412-47 Clarence St., Ottawa, ON K1N 9K1. Next year's Awards will be presented on Thursday, June 12, 2014.

Pourquoi ne pas envisager dès maintenant de présenter une ou des candidatures aux Prix de l'APASE de 2014? La date limite de réception des candidatures est fixée au 5 avril 2014, mais il est possible en tout temps d'envoyer une candidature ou un avis de candidature, soit par courriel à prix@pafso-apase.com, soit par la poste à : Secrétaire, Comité des Prix FS, 412-47 rue Clarence, Ottawa (Ontario) K1N 9K1. Les prix 2014 seront présentés le 12 juin 2014.

See the PAFSO website
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Voir le site Web de l'APASE :
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Il suffit de cliquer sur
le lien aux prix.

Basil Robinson

1919–2012

Basil Robinson, who died on December 21, 2012, at the age of 93, entered the Department with the classic background for a foreign service officer of his generation. Although born in England, he grew up in Vancouver, where his parents settled in the year of his birth, 1919. A talented athlete, he graduated from the University of British Columbia in history and classics and in 1940 was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship. At this time, however, Canada was at war, and he deferred going to Oxford in order to join the Canadian Army, serving in the United Kingdom and as an intelligence officer in the Netherlands. In recognition of his service there he was made an officer of the Order of Oranje-Nassau. At the end of the war he joined the Department as a foreign service officer, but almost immediately was granted educational leave to take up his Rhodes Scholarship, returning to the Department in 1949 after studying philosophy, politics and economics at Oxford. Thus began a career of high achievement in the foreign service, culminating in his years as under-secretary from 1974 to 1977. At the same time he was a family man, and that side of his life was very important to him. In 1950 he married Elizabeth Gooderham, his wife of 62 years, and they had four children, Katharine, David, Brigitte Ann and Geoffrey. As he rose through the ranks in the foreign service, his hours of work became increasingly long, but he did his best to find time for his children and make it worthwhile. “We didn’t have much time with him,” his son David told *The Globe and Mail*, “but it was quality time.”

After serving in Ottawa for about a year and a half, Robinson was posted to London in October 1951 as a second (later first) secretary, and in January 1955 he was cross-posted to Paris. These assignments, he observed in a family history he wrote in his retirement, *This Family Robinson*, “served as an apprenticeship in the diplomatic trade.” The time in London, however, turned out to be more than that. One of the subjects on which he reported to Ottawa was Britain’s policy in the Middle East and Iran, a file that became highly topical as a result of the Suez crisis in the autumn of 1956. In November of that year,

Robinson was recalled to Ottawa on a week’s notice to head the department’s newly created Middle Eastern Division. “Those,” he recalled, “were exciting days in the Department.” The pressure was intense, but the experience was valuable, not least for the opportunity to observe the minister at work. “It was,” Robinson wrote, “an education to see the last-minute improvements Mike Pearson made in our drafts of speeches and replies to parliamentary questions.”

of August 1957. The arrangement initially was considered to be experimental, and Bryce had other names to suggest if Robinson did not work out. Those names proved to be unnecessary, for Robinson remained with the Prime Minister until July 1962.

As he gained Diefenbaker’s confidence, Robinson was recognized in the PMO as the channel of communication on matters related to foreign policy. He kept in close touch with the Department, thereby

“It was an education to see the last-minute improvements Mike Pearson made in our drafts of speeches and replies to parliamentary questions.”

– Basil Robinson

The opportunity to observe Pearson at work was short-lived, for the Liberals were defeated in the election of June 10, 1957 by the Progressive Conservatives under John Diefenbaker. One problem that emerged from the change was lack of communication between the prime minister and the Department of External Affairs. His party having been out of power for 22 years, Diefenbaker, like many Conservatives, regarded the public service as a Liberal creation, and External Affairs as especially suspect because of its long association with Pearson. The prime minister therefore sought foreign policy advice from a variety of outside sources, often keeping his findings to himself rather than sharing them with officials responsible for actions taken on his behalf. A similar problem arose from meetings, without officials present, with important callers, an early example being a visit from the US Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, at the end of July 1957. With no one from the Department in the room when the two met, the External Affairs record had to be based on information from the US ambassador. This situation was troubling to the Clerk of the Privy Council, Robert Bryce, who recommended the appointment, for the first time, of a senior liaison officer in the Prime Minister’s Office. The choice was Robinson, who joined the PMO at the end

avoiding misunderstandings. He also provided advice on how best to meet the Prime Minister’s requirements and was frank when he considered that the Department had not done so. He was, for example, critical of material prepared for Diefenbaker’s world tour in the autumn of 1958. “Mr. Diefenbaker,” he noted, “went from major speech to major speech rather than from one official conversation to another and I sometimes had the feeling that he could not understand why so much trouble had been gone to in telling him what to say to other Prime Ministers when what he really needed was some meat to put into his speeches.” Despite such problems, however, the relationship between the PMO and the Department improved – notwithstanding Diefenbaker’s fondness for referring to members of the foreign service as “Pearsonalities” – and Robinson had the satisfaction of seeing it accepted as the most reliable source of information and advice on foreign policy. Speech writing, meanwhile, turned out to be an important part of his job. This could be an arduous process, involving numerous drafts from numerous contributors, all pulled together by Diefenbaker at the last minute. The last person to talk to the Prime Minister before a speech was given, Robinson noted, often had the most influence on what was actually said, and he

therefore tried to stay as close as possible to the Prime Minister when a major address was on the agenda.

In August 1962, after five years with the Prime Minister, Robinson was posted to Washington as deputy head of mission. This was not an easy time, because of the difficult relationship that had developed between Diefenbaker and President Kennedy, but Robinson found it nonetheless "constantly fascinating," because of the "fresh, optimistic and energetic quality" of the administration. The atmosphere improved after Diefenbaker's defeat in the election of 1963, for Kennedy was an admirer of the new prime minister, Pearson. Robinson had the opportunity to observe their relationship taking shape, as the note taker at the meeting between Kennedy and Pearson at Hyannisport in May 1963. The President's assassination in November, however, brought this promising development to a tragic end. The Johnson administration was less friendly, but Robinson did not have to deal with it for long in Washington, since he was recalled to Ottawa a few months later on appointment as an assistant (later deputy) under-secretary. In 1970 he was named deputy minister of Indian affairs and northern development, and five years later he returned to External Affairs as under-secretary, an appointment that he had neither sought nor anticipated.

Robinson was widely admired in the Department, and his appointment, Arthur Andrew (one of his assistant under-secretaries) wrote, was greeted with "general rejoicing." The transition, however, was not easy. The previous under-secretary, Ed Ritchie, had suffered a serious stroke in September 1974, but Robinson's appointment

did not take place until December. This was outside the normal posting cycle, which meant that it was not until the latter half of 1975 that he was able to complete putting together his own management team. He meanwhile had to refamiliarize himself with the Department, which had grown substantially since he left, and he was taken aback by the amount of time he had to spend on administrative and personnel matters. He also had to deal with a very different operational structure, for Ritchie had carried out a major reorganization that made it less hierarchical and increased the burden on the under-secretary. Reversing these changes inevitably brought objections from those who feared losing access, but Robinson succeeded in restoring the hierarchical structure that was more suited to his management style and also was favoured by the minister, Allan MacEachen. As he had done with Diefenbaker, Robinson worked hard on the relationship and adapted to the minister's requirements, limiting his demands on his time, focussing their meetings on MacEachen's priorities, and encouraging the Department to provide concise and timely written material. This worked well, and Robinson remembered his time with MacEachen as a high point of his career.

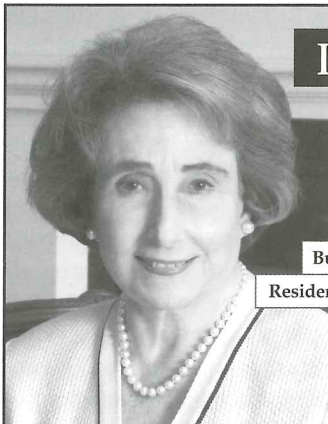
In a cabinet shuffle in September 1976, MacEachen was named Government House Leader, with the External Affairs portfolio going to Don Jamieson. This was not a change that MacEachen wanted, and to sweeten the arrangement Prime Minister Trudeau agreed that he should keep responsibility for the Canadian International Development Agency. Robinson and Jamieson had a number of objections to this idea, most notably that it would make it

difficult to coordinate foreign and aid policy. They mounted a vigorous campaign against the proposal, and in due course Trudeau withdrew the offer.

By now it was time to move on. In the spring of 1977 Robinson accepted the position of commissioner of the Northern Pipeline, a subject he knew well from his time at Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Subsequently, he served as a special assistant to the under-secretary and as principal of the Public Service Management Centre. He retired in October 1982. His public service was recognized when he was made an Officer of the Order of Canada in 1990.

An important project of Robinson's retirement was the preparation of his account of Diefenbaker's handling of foreign affairs, *Diefenbaker's World: A Populist in Foreign Affairs*, published by the University of Toronto Press in 1989. Meticulous in research, fair-minded, and written with grace and humour, the book is the standard work on Canada's international relations during the Diefenbaker years. It also stands as proof of the commitment of the public service to nonpartisanship. Because of his closeness to the prime minister and the sensitivity with which he handled his responsibilities, Robinson played a key role in developing a productive relationship with the politicians during a severe testing time for the public service. This was perhaps the greatest of his many achievements in the service of his country. ☺

John Hilliker retired in 2003 as head of the Department's Historical Section. He is co-author, with Donald Barry, of Canada's Department of External Affairs: Coming of Age, 1946-1968.



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Finding JAPAN: Early Canadian Encounters with Asia

reviewed by Hugh Stephens

FINDING JAPAN: EARLY CANADIAN ENCOUNTERS WITH ASIA by Anne Park Shannon, Heritage House Publishing Co. Ltd., 2012, 256 pp., \$22.95 CDN.

Canada's fascination with Japan, and Asia generally, seems to come back into fashion every generation or so. We are currently going through another of those surges of interest as a result of trade and diplomatic initiatives. A trade agreement with Japan is under negotiation; Canada and Japan are now negotiating partners within the Trans-Pacific Partnership; and there is frequent talk of LNG plants to ship Canadian gas west across the Pacific to Japan and other markets.

The trade and economic imperatives are clear enough, but a relationship is more than just the flow of goods and money. It is built on and sustained through personal connections, people-to-people linkages and individual lives committed to bridging cultures. These stories are the essence of Anne Park Shannon's collection of vignettes on early Canadian connections westward across the Pacific.

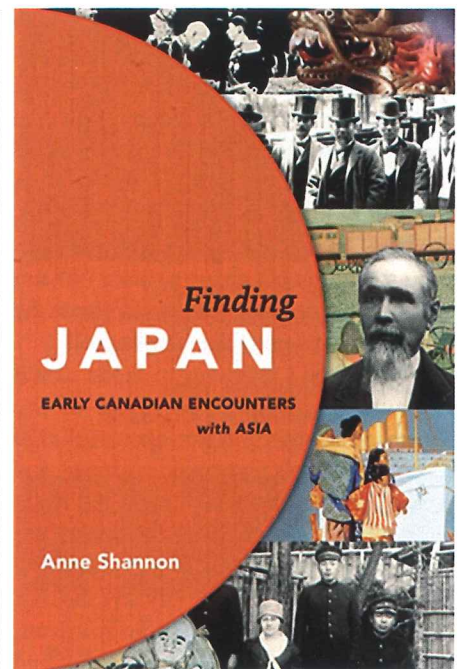
Finding JAPAN covers a hundred years, beginning with the first documented contact by a Canadian, the Métis adventurer Ranald MacDonald who smuggled his way into Japan in 1848, and concluding with Canada's scholar-diplomat, Herbert Norman, in the immediate post WWII era. The book is an intriguing, informative and well-illustrated overview of a cast of individual characters – rogues and heroes, scholars and diplomats, missionaries, naval officers, adventurers, educators, politicians, traders and business tycoons – drawn by the exotic world of Japan over a century of contact. As part of the narrative, we meet a host of Canadians and those with ties to Canada who played a multitude of roles in the opening up and modernization of Japan.

After Commodore Perry's Black Ships forced open its ports in the mid-19th century, Japan had to come to grips with its future path. Would it fight change and try to cling to the closed and traditional ways of the past, despite the disrupting influence of the "foreign barbarians", or would it embrace what the outside world had to offer and to

become as good, or better, than the foreigners? After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the die was cast. In urban centres Japanese men adopted Victorian attire, Japanese ladies held tea parties in salons and the door was open for western education. Servants of the British Empire who had spent formative years in Canada helped train the Imperial Navy and build the port of Yokohama. Canadian missionaries hoped to save souls, but even if their converts were few, they helped lay the foundation for some of Japan's most prestigious educational institutions.

Surprisingly for a supposed male-oriented society, some of the most adventurous and intrepid pioneers documented in *Finding JAPAN*, were women. There was the remarkable Martha Cartmell who opened her own girls' school, with the help of Japanese benefactors, in 1884. There was Caroline Macdonald who went to Japan in 1904 and became a well-known prison reformer and labour activist. Agnes Wintemute Coates, a Methodist wife-cum-nutritionist resisted entreaties by her family to be repatriated from Japan during the Second World War, and died in Tokyo in 1943. Margaret Elizabeth Armstrong, who had operated a kindergarten, opted to stay after she retired in 1940 and became a Japanese citizen. She survived the fire-bombing by the USAF and became the official interpreter for her prefecture for the Occupation Forces after the war.

The stories are not simply about the esoteric and the eccentric; they also extend well into the mainstream of Canadian history, notably the origins of the Canadian Pacific Railway which was as much about the business and strategic imperative of a combined rail and ocean service to Japan and China as it was about Canadian nation building. Sir William Cornelius Van Horne, the energetic entrepreneur who became the railway's president in 1888, turned to building traffic for the line once it reached tidewater on the Pacific. There was the attraction of the Rockies of course but better still, Vancouver was the gateway to the Orient. Van Horne, a notable collector of Japanese porcelains although he never visited there, publicized the CPR as "the New Highway to the East", with



the railway connecting in Vancouver to a new fleet of CPR steamers to take passengers in comfort to Japan and beyond. *Finding JAPAN* has several beautiful colour reproductions of fanciful travel posters designed to lure passengers from Europe, eastern Canada and the US to the exotic Orient...Japan, Burma, Siam...via the White Empress route.

Nor is the mounting of commercial exhibitions and the leading of trade missions to Asia a recent phenomenon. Early Canadian leaders, including Governor-General Earl Grey and Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier, saw Japan as a major market for Canadian wheat from the newly opening Canadian west. In 1903, the Canadian government sponsored a major pavilion at the Osaka Exhibition, featuring Canadian products as varied as apples and wood pulp, bicycles and pianos. And it wasn't all about Canadian entrepreneurs trying to make their fortune in Japan. Business, then as now, went both ways. Tamura Shinkichi established a thriving business in the 1890s in BC, importing Japanese goods and exporting Canadian fish, wheat and flour to Japan. The company's headquarters, the sturdy Tamura Building at the corner of Powell and Dunlevy in Vancouver, is now a historic landmark.

It is worth remembering that by the 1920s Japan was not only a military ally but an economic powerhouse in its own right and therefore treated somewhat differently from other Asian nations, notably China. While Canada imposed the infamous head tax on Chinese and ultimately used the blunt instrument of the Chinese Immigration Act to limit access by ethnic Chinese to Canada, Japanese immigration was handled through the more diplomatically palatable vehicle of a "Gentleman's Agreement" reached in 1908, reinforced by a little known visit by the then Deputy Minister of Labour, a young William Lyon Mackenzie King, who went to Japan the following year – and fell under its spell.

No book on Canadians in Japan would be complete without coverage of the Canadian Legation to Japan, opened in 1929 as one of Canada's first missions abroad, and *Finding JAPAN* does not disappoint. From Hugh Keenleyside's advance mission, where he strove to distance himself from the smothering embrace of the British Embassy, to the arrival of the Canadian minister, Herbert Marler, who had the money and temerity to challenge the British ambassador in everything he did, Ms. Shannon takes us on a humorous journey through the saga of establishing Canada's presence. Marler, a wealthy notary from Montreal and former cabinet minister in Mackenzie King's government, was not an obvious choice. Although an anglophile, Marler was determined not be treated as a country cousin.

"His five and a half years in Tokyo were a saga of relentless determination to ensure he was never, ever, perceived as inferior to the British ambassador". Ms. Shannon tells us that Sir John Tilley, the British ambassador, once ruefully remarked, "Herbert Marler makes me feel like a man who late in life finds that he is a twin".

But while Marler may have been obsessed with protocol, he had a sharp eye for Canadian interests and the strategically located property on which today sits Marler House, the official residence, the Chancery and staff accommodation, is his legacy. The residence itself, built to Marler's specifications in the early 1930s with his money (later grudgingly reimbursed by the Government), is one of the well-known jewels among Canada's diplomatic holdings. Today, Canada's embassy in Japan is one of its largest abroad.

The last chapters of *Finding JAPAN* deal with the end of the war, the liberation of Canadian prisoners in Japan, and the modern day monument in Onagawa Bay to Lt. Robert Hampton Gray, the last Canadian to win the Victoria Cross (posthumously) on August 9, the day before Japan's surrender. The book closes with the sad story of Herbert Norman, hounded to his death by the McCarthyites, his scholarly work on Japan all but eclipsed. It is a fitting place to bring the story to a close for from the 1950s on, Japan was re-invented and the sometimes influential, sometimes quixotic quest of individual Canadians to shape Japan came largely to an end. Soon,

however, Canadians rediscovered Japan all over again – as a post war market for raw materials and finished products, as a producer of increasingly higher quality consumer products, as a source of substantial investment, and as a home to a rich and deep culture. And they continue to rediscover.

The book is a fascinating insight on a little known era of Japanese-Canadian relations. It helps situate perceptions of Japan in Canada during the pre-WW2 period and foreshadows some of our current interests in Japan and the rest of Asia; fascination with an exotic culture, hope that rising markets can be a bonanza for Canadian exports, a desire on the part of adventurous individuals to plunge into a new world and make their way in it. *Finding JAPAN* is a not only valuable documentary of the early period of trans-Pacific contact and a well written and very entertaining read, but it reminds us that we owe much to those pioneers who helped shape our perceptions of Asia and who laid the foundations for the relationships that we seek to develop and deepen today.

Hugh Stephens is an Executive-in-Residence at the Asia Pacific Foundation, enjoying life in Victoria, BC. During his 28 years with DFAIT he served at six posts and as ADM for Policy and Communications. In 2001 he joined Time Warner as Senior VP for Public Policy (Asia Pacific) based in Hong Kong, retiring early this year.

Warlords: Borden, Mackenzie King, and Canada's World Wars

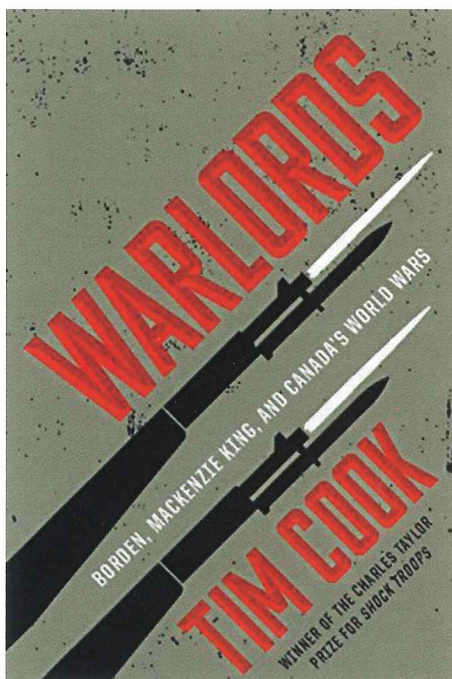
reviewed by Hector Mackenzie

WARLORDS: BORDEN, MACKENZIE KING, AND CANADA'S WORLD WARS by Tim Cook, Allen Lane Canada, The Penguin Group, 2012, 472 pp., \$34.00.

In this carefully researched and clearly written volume, award-winning military historian Dr. Tim Cook of the Canadian War Museum steps well back from the front lines with a comparative study of

how Canada's unwarlike prime ministers dealt with the national strains and difficult decisions of the two world wars of the twentieth century. Neither Sir Robert Borden nor William Lyon Mackenzie King would conform to anyone's preconception of a "warlord," unlike other political leaders in both conflicts. Moreover, Canadians are understandably not accustomed to evaluating or understanding their prime ministers according to the criteria usually

associated with that term. However, as Cook eloquently and ably argues, it is not unreasonable to assess their respective performance in ultimately directing the war effort of a significant participant on the victorious side in both conflicts. Unsurprisingly, neither politician was prepared for the demands that would be made on Canada and Canadians in these exceptional circumstances, though their differing responses to the challenges posed



undoubtedly demonstrated differences in personal character as well as political approach.

In what became known as the Great War and later as the First World War when a sequel unfortunately afflicted the global community, the Canadian contribution soon escalated well beyond any prior expectations, as was the case for allies and enemies alike. Although the government appropriated unprecedented powers under the War Measures Act, its restraint in exercising that authority was at least as noteworthy as its greater intrusion into the daily lives of Canadians. As the war dragged on and its toll increased, the first example of modern mass warfare transformed Canada's economy and society, and ultimately national politics as well. In a familiar story well told, Cook notes how Borden himself raised the recruiting objectives for the Canadian army to levels which strained voluntary enlistment beyond the breaking point. When Borden convinced himself that compulsory overseas military service (or conscription) was essential – in spite of its likely harm to national unity – to meet those targets, that attitude also prompted a series of decisions about the franchise and voting procedure for the overdue general election of 1917. As Cook notes, that electoral contest, more than any other in our history, was marked by “bitter arguments, wild accusations, shocking statements, and deliberate

provocation.” Under the banner of patriotism and to assure the election of a “Union Government” to implement conscription, the Canadian government used its majority to manipulate the franchise and the distribution of the service

without rivals in national politics, whether in wartime or in the peace that preceded and followed the global struggle.

What then did these leaders have in common? With varying consequences, both demonstrated firm political leadership in

...both demonstrated firm political leadership in wartime, which tended to contradict the expectations of friends and foes alike.

vote to assure the outcome in a blatant way never seen before or since. Moreover, as Cook demonstrates, the longer-term consequences of this short-term action ultimately damaged the governing party, including Borden's successor Arthur Meighen, much more than the opposition Liberals led by Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

The political beneficiary of this damage to the Conservatives – and their erstwhile Liberal colleagues in the Union government – was a Laurier loyalist who had lost elections more often than he had won when he triumphed at the first leadership convention for a major party in Canadian political history, King. Whatever his limitations as a constituency candidate – through seven general elections as leader, he frequently had difficulty winning his own seat, even when he led his party to a national victory – King soon demonstrated a remarkable knack for leadership of party and government. As Cook observes, King may have earned a reputation for fostering conciliation and arbitration in relations between industry and labour, but his approach to politics demonstrated that he could be ruthless and uncompromising when his position was threatened. To his personal discomfort with military questions, King added lessons learned from Borden's experience in the previous war, so that when he attempted to identify and uphold priorities for Canada in its war effort, he deliberately sought to avoid escalating commitments and the consequent resort to conscription that had so divided the country when Borden was prime minister. King was both tactically astute and lucky when he was able to hold and win decisively a wartime election before casualties mounted, then defer its sequel until the fighting in Europe was over. As Cook shows convincingly, King was no warlord in the military realm, though he never let the generals or his defence ministers forget who was ultimately in charge. Moreover, he was

wartime, which tended to contradict the expectations of friends and foes alike. Perhaps inevitably, both identified their own aims and policies, as well as their own electoral success, with the good of the country – though King was unquestionably better positioned politically to withstand challenges after he won the greatest victory to that point in Canadian national politics in April 1940. Both leaders were often underestimated by colleagues and followers as well as by opponents, but they proved their mettle in the demanding context of the world wars. As Cook justifiably concludes, both were “adept at wielding power” and, though differing markedly in approach, “they guided their country to victory in the two most traumatic events in Canadian history.” Though neither resembled the traditional image of a “warlord,” each in his own way provided the guidance essential for the war effort, in all its varied aspects.

This is an excellent and highly readable analysis of how these different politicians reached the pinnacle of authority and how they exercised power once they reached the summit. Cook has made superb use of primary and secondary sources to tell an important story that tells us much about our country and our leaders. In a book of such breadth, there are inevitably some minor errors (notably in relation to some of the bit players in this drama), but these in no way detract from the validity of the judgments or from the lessons therein concerning the challenges of governing Canada – and of advancing its values and interests abroad. This is an excellent account, which deserves a wide readership, including amongst past and present diplomats. ☺

Hector Mackenzie is Senior Departmental Historian and Academic Outreach Advisor, DFATD.

FSCA ART EXPO/ EXPO D'ART DE L'ACSE

The Annual FSCA Art Exhibition has graced the Skelton Lobby of the Pearson Building since 1988, transforming it into a welcoming and colourful gallery. It

provides a unique opportunity for FSCA members, foreign service employees, the diplomatic community, and their families, to exhibit and sell their artworks and published books.

Ces expositions attirent une grande gamme d'artistes, des chevronnés comme d'autres qui exposent pour la première fois. Pour les artistes débutants, cette entrée « en douceur » dans la communauté artistique de la région de la capitale représente un premier pas important pour développer leurs contacts et la confiance. En plus d'œuvres en huile et en acrylique, la photographie, le verre coloré, la céramique, la poterie et la sculpture y sont représentés.

The Vernissage for the 2013 Art Exhibition will open on Monday, November 4 by invitation. It is open to the general public during business hours from Tuesday, November 5 to Thursday, November 7.

La planification de la 28^e Exposition est en cours, et les nouveaux artistes sont encouragés à y participer. Pour parler à un artiste ou à un écrivain de leur expérience, poser des questions ou signaler votre intérêt à participer à cette exposition, veuillez contacter le plus tôt possible le bureau de la FSCA/ACSE à fsca.acse@international.gc.ca.

Please join us! Soyez des nôtres!

For further information on the FSCA, please see *bout de papier* Vol. 27, No. 1 or contact us at the above e-mail address; pour plus de renseignements sur l'ACSE, veuillez consulter le Vol. 27, N° 1 de *bout de papier* ou nous écrire à l'adresse de courriel indiquée ci-dessus.



Glen Dixon and
Helen Boutilier-Inglis

Présentation de la série « La vie dans les valises »

Conçue exclusivement pour les lecteurs de la revue *bout de papier*, la série traite de la vie de famille dans le contexte de l'expatriation professionnelle, à travers du regard d'une épouse. Quatre planches dessinées, telles quatre fenêtres offertes aux regards curieux, offriront aux lecteurs une perspective inusitée sur ce que l'âme publique conçoit comme une vie de rêve.

Bye Bye Blues

by Stuart Hughes

Washington doesn't have winters, just bad weather. I was suffering the blues when a colleague at the Embassy said, "Let's go explore Savannah, must be fun." I had just read about Savannah in *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*, a gothic account of a dodgy gay antique dealer, his rough trade partner, drugs, loose money and a dubious death. Sounded great.

The highlight was a splendid historic home on one of the city's fabled squares – but not for the reasons you might expect. Our guide was a somewhat faded blonde apparently given to the occasional "beverage". We began with a puzzler: the semi-circular windows way up there, she explained, were demi-luminettes. Hmmm thought I, time to brush up on my *Architectural Digest*. She then drew our attention to a lovely, if diminutive, rosewood desk...which she ventured was made for people "small of statue". Ehhh, thought I, my hearing must be going already. Then, with a flourish worthy of Margot Fonteyn in her dotage, she gestured grandly toward the fireplace. It was lovely, Grecian caryatids supporting the mantle. It was, she continued, "made of the finest Italian statutory marble". It finally hit me that if the fireplace was marbelled, our comely docent was plastered.

We proceeded up the stairs, all of us tightly packed together, me furtively looking for a washroom given the two big coffees I had consumed just before. Fellow guests listened with rapt attention as she noted that the Marquis de la Fayette (of Revolutionary war fame) had slept there once, adding that although he was not so much admired "in his homeland of France", he was truly – now lending emphasis to gravitas – "an American hero of PRODIGIOUS proportions..." Oy, the vision of her fervently extolling an all-American "hero", all belly and backside, was too much! I crept down the stairs heaving with laughter inside. Some diplomat I was: although Marilyn Monroe called sophisticated folks "continental", my problem was just the opposite – one more *bon mot* from our docent and I was going to be incontinential. Bye bye blues, I loved Savannah. ☺

Stuart Hughes is a retired Foreign Service officer and Editor of bout de papier. (Have a favourite vignette? Send it!)

PREMIERS MATINS...

par: **Violette Paré**

Série: La vie dans les valises - n. 2

6:30 UTC-4 GEORGETOWN -02/09/87



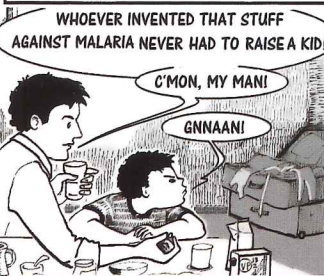
6:45 UTC+5 NEW YORK - 03/09/91



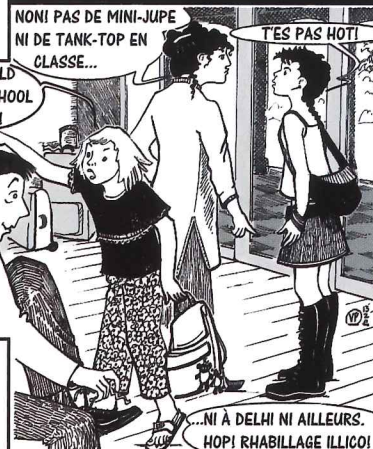
7:10 UTC+1 STOKHOLM, 06/09/93



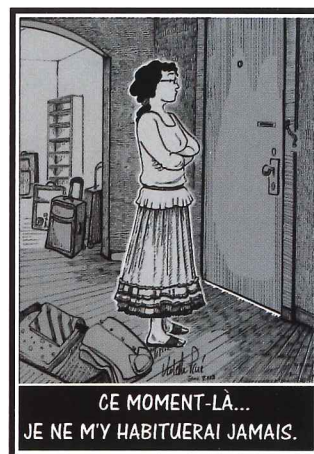
7:30 UTC+2 BAMAKO, 25/09/97



7:45 UTC+7 NEW DELHI, 06/09/04



7h59 UTC+4 MOSCOU, 03/09/09



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Lors de leur affectation récente à Moscou, elle a conçu des bandes dessinées sur sa vie d'expatriée, qui ont été publiées mensuellement dans la revue *Moscou-Accueil* en 2011-2012, et ont été exposées par la suite dans le cadre de l'exposition annuelle de l'International Women's Club à Moscou. D'Islamabad, voici maintenant sa nouvelle série : « La vie dans les valises »!

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Stones, Sacred Trusts and the Prime Minister's Ruins

Readers of **bout de papier** likely are familiar with the story of the Stone of Scone or Stone of Destiny, traditional coronation stone of Scottish Kings, which was stolen by King Edward I of England and installed in a specially-designed "Coronation Chair" at Westminster Abbey in 1296. Although the Kingdom of England, by treaty with the Kingdom of Scotland in 1328, agreed to return the renamed Coronation Stone, it was unable to fulfill this pledge when unruly Londoners prevented its removal from the Abbey. There it remained, with the exception of the measures mentioned below and a celebrated action on Christmas Day, 1950, when a quartet of Scottish students retrieved it and (after accidentally breaking it in two pieces) returned it (in two pieces on separate journeys) briefly to Scotland. It was repaired before it was recaptured by the Sassenachs in April of the following year, so that Queen Elizabeth II was duly crowned while sitting above it. Finally, only seven centuries after it was taken, the Stone of Scone was returned to Scotland (this time to Edinburgh Castle), where it now rests between coronations. The action of the students was celebrated in the film, *Stone of Destiny*, perhaps appropriately a Scottish-Canadian collaborative project.

There is another, less well-known, Canadian connection to the fate of the Stone of Scone. On the eve of the Second World War, to prevent damage in wartime and to secure it against the possibility of enemy capture, the Stone was taken out of Westminster Abbey and placed in a secure hiding place. There was sufficient doubt about the fate of Britain and its form of government, that it was decided to entrust the secret to a leader in the British Commonwealth. The chosen recipient was William Lyon Mackenzie King and he received the news (and the sealed envelope containing the location) appropriately enough in the gardens of his estate at Kingsmere, Quebec, where he had assembled a peculiar collection of ruins as a meaningful (at least to him) decorative feature. This envelope was delivered personally to him by the British High Commissioner, Sir Gerald Campbell. As the following account from the diary of the prime minister notes, this came amidst major developments in wartime relations with the still-neutral United States. The "Destroyer-Bases Deal" between the United Kingdom and the United States had been concluded shortly before this encounter. King would receive a telephone call that afternoon from American President Franklin Delano Roosevelt inviting him to meet in Ogdensburg, New York, where they would agree to set up the Permanent Joint Board on Defence as part of a concerted approach to continental security. As always, King detected the influences "from the Beyond" which were guiding his destiny!

The King Diary is part of the William Lyon Mackenzie King Papers in the manuscript collections of Library and Archives Canada. For the truly curious (other explanations are possible), it is also available on-line. Although this entry is dated 16 August 1940, the early passages evidently refer to events of the day before.

– Hector Mackenzie

Kingsmere
Friday, August 16, 1940

Re Foundation Stone

Yesterday afternoon, while Sir Gerald Campbell and I were conversing at the little table, under the trees near the flag-pole, concerning plans between Great Britain and the United States for the disposition of the British fleet in the event of Britain being driven to extremities, and concerning the furnishing immediately of destroyers by the United States to Great Britain, Sir Gerald drew from his pocket a document which he said he had brought to me for safe keeping. It read:

"Plan of the hiding place of the Coronation Stone
To be surrendered only to the Lord Chamberlain
or myself.

Paul de Labilliere
Bishop, Dean of Westminster
Deposited
August 29, 1939"

The envelope bears No. 1391. It is sealed with two seals of the Dean (P. de L.) Paul de Labilliere.

I thanked Sir Gerald warmly for this expression of his confidence. Spoke of what was represented by the document as being significant of all that was most precious in the life of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the Coronation Stone having its association with both the parliament and the church: Westminster and Westminster Abbey. The Stone united England and Scotland and carries the tradition of its sovereigns. It would probably be the last thing of all which the peoples of the United Kingdom would wish to fall into the hands of an enemy. That the hiding place of this Stone should be entrusted to my care, brought to me by the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, while discussing the particular matters which we were, is, I believe, more significant than words can well express.

I felt there was no chance about this happening, but there was something in it which was being revealed to me of the presence of others who were in part controlling and directing our lives, and of a purpose of God and of my own. I said to Sir Gerald, I thought perhaps the best place to have the document kept would be among the records of the Privy Council. I thought once of the Archives, also of the Bank of Canada. Sir Gerald said to me that he had thought of the vaults of the Bank of Canada. I said I would arrange to have the document deposited there. He said he would write me officially concerning it.

Just before he had handed me this document I had given him to read the letter which I had received from Lord Lothian [the British Ambassador in Washington] the day before and which is dated August 12th and

which came to me "by safe hand". I remarked on this expression to Sir Gerald as it was not one to which I had before been familiar. It was from the British Embassy, Washington. Sir Campbell [sic] himself brought out important cypher telegrams of August 14th, giving me information of communications sent by [British Prime Minister Winston] Churchill to the President regarding the United States supplying Great Britain with destroyers, the first of which indicated that if this aid were not forthcoming the day might be lost for the British, and, inferentially, subsequently for the Americans. The second telegram fortunately indicated that Great Britain had agreed to give the United States an undertaking that in certain eventualities her fleet would be brought to this side [of the Atlantic], not permitted to fall into German hands, and the United States agreed to supply Britain with the destroyers. I learned tonight from J. [his friend and neighbour, Joan Patteson] that the announcement of the latter had been made by [Henry] Morgenthau [Jr., Secretary of the Treasury] yesterday afternoon. Here, at last, is what I suggested should be done between two or three months ago. It is a bringing together of the peoples of the United Kingdom and the United States, much as those of Scotland and England were brought together years ago.

Last night after dinner, G. [Godfroy Patteson, husband of Joan] brought J. over for a little reading. I have been waiting all year to begin the season as I have other years with the reading of Grey's *Elegy* at the abbey ruin. We walked there and in the quiet of the evening I read aloud the *Elegy* in a Country Churchyard. When we came back I told J. of the document Sir Gerald had entrusted to my care. I went to the despatch case and took it out and looking through some other papers there came across what I had dictated three months ago - May 25, I think it was - after the return of [Hugh] Keenleyside [of the Department of External Affairs] from Washington [where he had been sent by King as a personal emissary] with the word from Roosevelt and Mr. [Cordell] Hull [Secretary of State] of the possible defeat of the French and the necessity for plans being laid to secure the Atlantic fleets. In that dictation I had recorded belief in communion with my mother and others which came strongly to me at the time of waking, after seeking a quiet rest, before undertaking to decide upon what I should do with the information obtained.

J. asked me if I had any particular things which had come from Westminster Abbey. I told her of the chair in my bedroom at Laurier House. I might have added the oak chair at the farm [King's nearby property at Moorside, now a residence for the Speaker of the House of Commons]. It was interesting that she should have referred to the word Abbey as it brought to mind the abbey ruin which we had just visited. There are of course a collection of stones linking together the parliamentary institutions of the old world and our

own with associations that are those of the Abbey. It was clear that the whole evening was significantly related to historical stones.

The evening papers had brought word of the largest attack thus far in the air – a beginning, clearly, of Germany's blitzkrieg – and the loss of some of the British forces in Somaliland.

...This morning [presumably 16 August] I walked out as usual to the abbey ruin and after breakfast on the lawn had regular reading [from the Bible] in the garden seat, little Pat [his Irish terrier] lying asleep close by. The chapter was the XXIV (?) of Ezekiel in which reference is made to Ezekiel being intended as a sign to his people of his generation. It contains the words "to remember this particular day". A day or two ago I had read a couple of chapters in succession and but for that would not have had this particular chapter fall where it did today. As I was reading the little picture of the stone commemorating [presumably William Lyon] Mackenzie's [the rebel, King's maternal grandfather] birthplace at Niagara [this seems to be a convoluted reference to the Mackenzie panel in the Clifton Gate Memorial Arch in Niagara, which celebrates the origins or birth of responsible government in Upper Canada], and the communion card I have had along with it as a marker, fell out. I replaced them later as markers, but was struck at once in looking at the picture with the resemblance of the stone at the base of the Memorial Arch at Niagara and that of the Coronation Stone.

Something kept saying to me to tell MacLeod of having the Coronation Stone document in my keeping: that it would interest him. Later when I returned to the house and was getting ready to go to the farm, I went with the document to show it to him. He at once expressed appreciation of its importance and gave me the history of the stone as he knew it. It is the one on which James VI of Scotland, James I of England, had been crowned. Also Robert of Bruce and running back to the beginning of the Scottish kings. He spoke of it as the Scone Stone and then went on to say that it is from where my grandfather William Lyon Mackenzie lived – from Scone Castle [actually Scone Abbey], in Glenshee, Perthshire. It would make a great story to have this told as showing how history brings about and unites things – the past with the present.

It was quite remarkable the way he outlined all this in his own words and how strongly it seemed to impress itself upon him. He felt as I did that it was not a matter of chance, but most significant that this document should pass into my safe keeping in this country at this time. I brought the document over to the farm and immediately dictated this record to [Edouard] H.[andy, his private secretary] as I felt strongly impressed about the significance of the whole business.

Curiously enough when I was getting ready to dictate I moved the little Jacobean table which I like to work on to the front of the statue of "Victory" and placed on it the different documents to which I have referred, including a précis of the report submitted by three officers of the Defence Department who, at my insistence, recently visited the United States. They were dictated just a month ago – 18th July 1940. The purpose was to effect in concrete and particular ways the very thing between the United Kingdom and the United States which at last the United Kingdom is seeking to arrange with the United States.

There came to my mind as I thought of these matters and how they link up with the chair from the Abbey, another chair which I have in my bedroom at Laurier House and which strangely enough is the one on which it is believed that James I of Scotland was crowned. It is indeed remarkable that that particular chair should have come into my possession at Glasgow, especially when one recalls that at present the Coronation Chair is so arranged that the Coronation Stone is immediately beneath its seat – the chair as it were superimposed upon the Stone. I cannot but believe that I am being shown by all of these things that my life's purpose is to fulfil that of my grandfather and help to establish, as the basis of freedom, responsible government on a wider basis than ever in different parts of the world. I believe that what has been accomplished within the last 24 hours does really mark a dividing place in the fortunes of the British peoples and a closer union between the Anglo-Saxon race.

Stones, chairs and seats are the particular objects that have been closely associated with this, I believe, mystic revelation of some great truth. There is the seat at the abbey ruin where I read the Elegy and which by the way concludes with the epitaph engraved upon the stone. I talked with J. about these stones at Stokespages (?) [this likely is a reference to the village of Stokespages in Buckinghamshire] which she remarked as having seen when in England at the time of the Coronation. Then there is the garden seat where I enjoy the morning reading, reflection and prayer and now the seat where I work at the Farm and which has its association with the chair at Laurier House. It is remarkable too how in all this James VI of Scotland and I of England keeps coming into my life. I would not be at all surprised to find, on my father's side, a relationship that goes back to some of the ancient kings of Scotland. The Mackenzie side is already known. I have never attached importance to anything of the kind but some facts are being borne so continually upon me that I cannot but believe I am being shown something that it is desired I should know, not for purposes of pride but rather as disclosing the invisible hand which helps to control the destinies of individual lives and nations. ☺

Knucklesworth

An amalgamated enigma for Hairy Harry January by A Aalto

The brightly-lit mugs of Shamus Dikk and D Essex Mackinaw on the laptop screen push back the dark fog shrouding the marsh behind Knucklesworth Manor. A shot rings out and a voice screams "Aargh! Ribbit! They got me." A small splash. "What was that noise?" asks Mackinaw hoarsely. "Just some frog croaking," I reply from my seat at the moss-covered table.

I am here because Shamus needs eyes-and-ears at a big Syndicate conference. The capo di tutti capi, Steffi de Lyre, is pushing for his "corporate services" capos to "amalgamate", to create what he calls "coherence" and "synergy". Nobody knows what he is talking about or why the pow-wow to settle the details is being held in a Gothic make-believe hotel, but then no-one who looks forward to a vertical future questions the Godfather. The place looks like Frank Lloyd Wright channeling Charles Addams and I keep looking up for falling gargoyles.

Dikk and Mackinaw come to see me one day and lay this out. I ask where they fit in. Shamus explains that Maurie Rose, one of the consiglieri involved in the merger, passes the quiet word to Mackinaw that the competition, namely Rialto Sleazewagon, is trying to make a play. None of the three capos in the mix are all that happy about the merger and so everyone is on a knife edge, usually held by somebody else's goombah. Sleazewagon sends in his top shooter, Bertha de Kuhl, with instructions to bump off one of the Syndicate's about-to-be-appointed lieutenants, but make it look like an insider did it. When war breaks out in the Syndicate, outsiders will pick up the pieces – and the rackets.

"It's a strange situation, Harry," says Shamus. "First, we know the murderer but not the victim. Secondly, we have no idea what the new structure looks like, so we can't

make any guesses from that. And finally, there seem to be other bozos sniffing around, on top of Sleazewagon."

Mackinaw adds, "Maurie plans to retire soon and the last thing he needs is a gang war. The police don't care if the bad guys eliminate each other, so I've been hired to see if I can help. All the consiglieri need is the name of the intended victim and then they can make sure the assassination doesn't happen. Getting rid of Bertha would not help because Sleazewagon always has back-ups – besides, she is a very skilled operator and would therefore make a difficult target."

So I show up as a guest at Knucklesworth. I need an inside operator of my own and find a good one, an actor playing a character named Heathcliff. Over the top, but knows a lot about the place. Before this gig, he tries to start his own hotel with a couple named Hubert and Hermione Fisch, but somehow "Sleep with the Fisches" never takes off. Then he tries a home delivery vegetable shop with a gift option, but "Say it with Rutabagas" bombs too. Branding is clearly not his thing, but he's good at brooding. So he signs on at the hotel as the tall, dark and handsome type, forever glooming around under a one-man dark cloud and shaking his fist at the sky. For some reason, the dames like him. He also trips over the furniture a lot, although that is not in the script.

He tells me that Bertha already arrives at the hotel and takes a job playing Mrs. Rochester, the mad wife from some book called *Jane Eyre*. This means she can spend the day hiding in her attic, come down at night to tear up Jane's clothes and otherwise paint herself the harmless nutjob, meanwhile casing the joint on the QT.

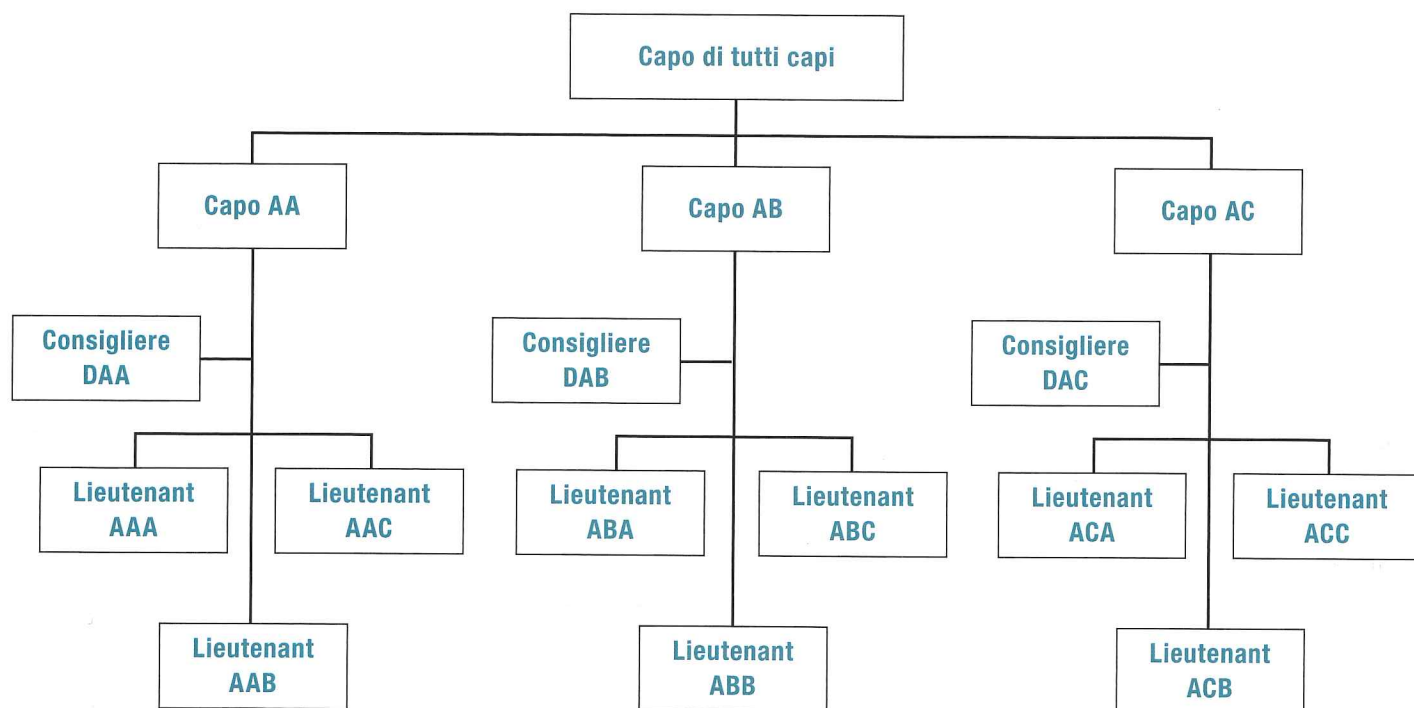
Heathcliff and I go our separate ways to get the inside dope. I put on Bermuda shorts and a Hawaiian shirt to mooch around making friendly with everyone I meet, getting more than they figure, a little here, a little there. He dresses up all in black, making eyes at every skirt in the place and saying things like "Will I never see her face again? I must throw myself off yon lowering tower". But they lean their curly heads on his manly chest and tell him everything. Takes all types, like a thief that is not so choosy, so I am telling myself.

By the end of our third day, I have a report to send Shamus and Mackinaw about the merger, smuggled out from behind the wall of *omerta*. This matches up with a chart of the merger, which I rescue from under a gunsels grappa while he is under the table where the grappa puts him. Capos, consiglieri and lieutenants divided into three caporegimes, but no names.

There are 15 people in the new leadership, at least one from every province and territory, including two women. (The Syndicate is not an equal opportunity employer.) Everyone comes from a different town.

- Of the three capos, Mr. Heavenly is in charge of Personnel Services, the man from Ear Falls handles Transport and Logistics and AA is Juan Orso.
- The three consiglieri are Gatineau Pierre, the man from Magog and the one who reports to Fast Eddy Fraser.
- ABA, who is in charge of Unofficial Imports, is from Sanirajak.
- Tough Tony Smiles is in charge of Extractive Industries ("materiel acquisition"); the other lieutenants in his caporegime are the man from Baddeck and P'tit Michel Petite.

SYMBOL	NAME	RANK	DUTIES	BIRTHPLACE
AA		Capo		
AB		Capo		
AC		Capo		
DAA		Consigliere	Advisor	
DAB		Consigliere	Advisor	
DAC		Consigliere	Advisor	
AAA		Lieutenant		
AAB		Lieutenant		
AAC		Lieutenant		
ABA		Lieutenant		
ABB		Lieutenant		
ABC		Lieutenant		
ACA		Lieutenant		
ACB		Lieutenant		
ACC		Lieutenant		



- Marsha Seraphim (ACC) handles Negotiable Entertainment and reports to the capo from Tignish.
- Low-point Louis Flowers, who handles Financial Dry Cleaning, works in the same caporegime as the man from Summer Beaver.
- Cousin Stevie L'Araignée, who handles the Web of Evil (Internet scams), is in the same caporegime as the man from Bouctouche.
- Honey Fitz is the consigliere from Miner's Prayer; one of the lieutenants in his caporegime is Jean Laflamme, who handles Involuntary Exports.
- The consigliere from Paddle Prairie **does not** work for the Finance and High Tech capo from Horsefly.
- ACC is Wriggly Finns, the lieutenant in charge of the Policy Racket (ie the numbers game).
- Canny Carey Doe, who handles Inhumane Resources (guns for hire) works closely with another lieutenant in her caporegime, the man from Winkle.
- AAA is from Port aux Choix; ABC is from the Maritimes and ACB is from Manitoba; AB and AAB are both from the same province while ACC and DAA are both from another province.
- Maurie Rose, the man from Biggar and the lieutenant who handles the Partnership for Protection each work for a different capo.
- Kid Hercules, the woman born in Rae-Edso and the lieutenant from Malartic all work for the same capo.

I lean into the laptop. "One other thing. Last night, I am on the prowl for a little midnight moonshine when I hear a noise like someone steps on a tiger's tail and lives to regret it – maybe not for long. I follow the sound into the old library, where I see two stiffies on the floor and a woman standing over them with a gun. The frail, who I am thinking is probably Bertha, dashes out another door before I can stop her and I hear the lock turn, so I check out the recently horizontal. One of them is clearly stopped by a bullet. I know him – Van Helsing the vampire hunter. For a week, he is hunting the resident vegetarian Dracula – only goes for vegans and devout Buddhists – and sure enough, there beside him is the monster, finished the only way they can be, a steak through the heart. T-bone, I notice, medium rare. The way I read the scene, Van Helsing is just finishing the vampire off when his own killer shows."

"But why the kill? I see Van Helsing has a death grip on a torn corner of paper. I figure

the moll took the rest, but what is left reads: 'Book of St Albans (1486): Elephant, caterpillar, mole, puppy. Monkey, lark, caterpillar, goldfinch, sparrow. Caterpillar, leopard, magpie, lark, wolf, wasp, caterpillar, magpie, lark. Viper, caterpillar, crow, lark.' Hell of a note, no idea what it means, but he dies holding onto it so it must be important."

Mackinaw wheezes out, "I can help there. Van Helsing worked for one of our rivals in this affair, Special Agent Pilgrim. The code he was using relates to a medieval book written in the monastery of St Albans, probably by one of my legal predecessors. The list of animals is from the famous Terms of Venery appended to that book, which gives the correct collective nouns for all sorts and conditions of animals – like a flock of sheep or a plague of locusts. My supposition would be that, if you determine the collectives for each of the named animals, their first letters will spell out a clue to the intended victim."

Mackinaw and Dikk fill in the chart, work out Van Helsing's message and contact Rose to block the hit. Once that is settled, I exit Skype, kill the laptop and stand up to go back. But suddenly, Heathcliff crashes out of the mist chasing the Eyre dame. She wears a T-shirt that says, "Conserve Wildlife". As they pass me, Heathcliff trips over a fallen gargoyle and plants his face in the swamp. Jane goes down laughing. Lifting his head, Heathcliff moans, "Oh God, will this puzzle never end?" And then it does.

Can you duplicate Shamus' and Mackinaw's feat by providing the plaintext of Van Helsing's message and the name of the planned victim? **bout de papier** will declare a winner by drawing from all correct answers received by November 30. The winner will receive a book signed by A Aalto. The towns can all be verified on the web (type in the name plus "Canada"). The St Alban's list is found (among other sites) at <http://mzminola.tumblr.com/post/47487392558/qualapeck-kellysue-kathoward>. Not necessary to enter the contest, but can you also fill in the full amalgamation chart?

Free-lance prestidigitator and Tannu Tuva's 2012 "Alleged Human of the Year", A Aalto is back at headquarters and busy trying to get it together. This is his 100th puzzle for bout, since being recruited in 1983 by the inestimable Ms Hulley. It is dedicated to Maurie Rose and P'tit Michel. Kudos to The New Yorker for Heathcliff's last words and as always to the perspicacious Mrs. Aalto.

The Perfect (Religious) Storm A Aalto Propounds a Crisis of Faith

Answers to Vol. 27, No. 2

Winner: Julia Drew-Watt, Ottawa

The cipher reads in plaintext: **ST PANTELEIMON MONASTERY MOUNT ATHOS**. This is where Dr. Goodenuff can be found. As a side comment, St. Panteleimon's is the only monastery I know to have been attacked by the Russian Navy over a theological disagreement.

The chart linkages are as follows: Christianity (Catholic) – Jerusalem Bible, Shinto – Nihon Shoki, Islam – Quran, Jain – Svetambara, Druze – Rasa'il al-hikmah, Latter Day Saints – Doctrine and Covenants, Bahai – Epistle to the Son of the Wolf, Quiché Mayan – Popul Vuh, Hindu – Vedas, Theosophy – Isis Unveiled, Rastafarian – Holy Piby, Judaism – Zohar, Yorùbá – Odù Itá, Mulderism (invented) – X-Files, Sikh – Guru Granth Sahib, Ancient Egyptian – Book of the Dead, Druid – Mabinogion, Taoism – Yi Jing, Christianity (Protestant) – King James Bible, Buddhism – Lotus Sutra, Etruscan – Cippus of Perugia, Confucian – Five Classics, Manichaeism – Treasure of Life, New Age – Urantia Book, Zoroastrian – Avesta, Seventh Day Adventists – Writings of Ellen White.

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