

bout de papier

Vol. 27, No. 4

Gotham's Pinstriped Garbage Collectors and other Striking Tales

reportage de Joya Donnelly

L'ONU, le Canada et l'OACI

par Gilles Gingras

The Redemption of Oscar Wolf

an excerpt from James Bartleman's latest

L'Afrique noire est mal partie. Cinquante ans déjà.

par Georges Paquet



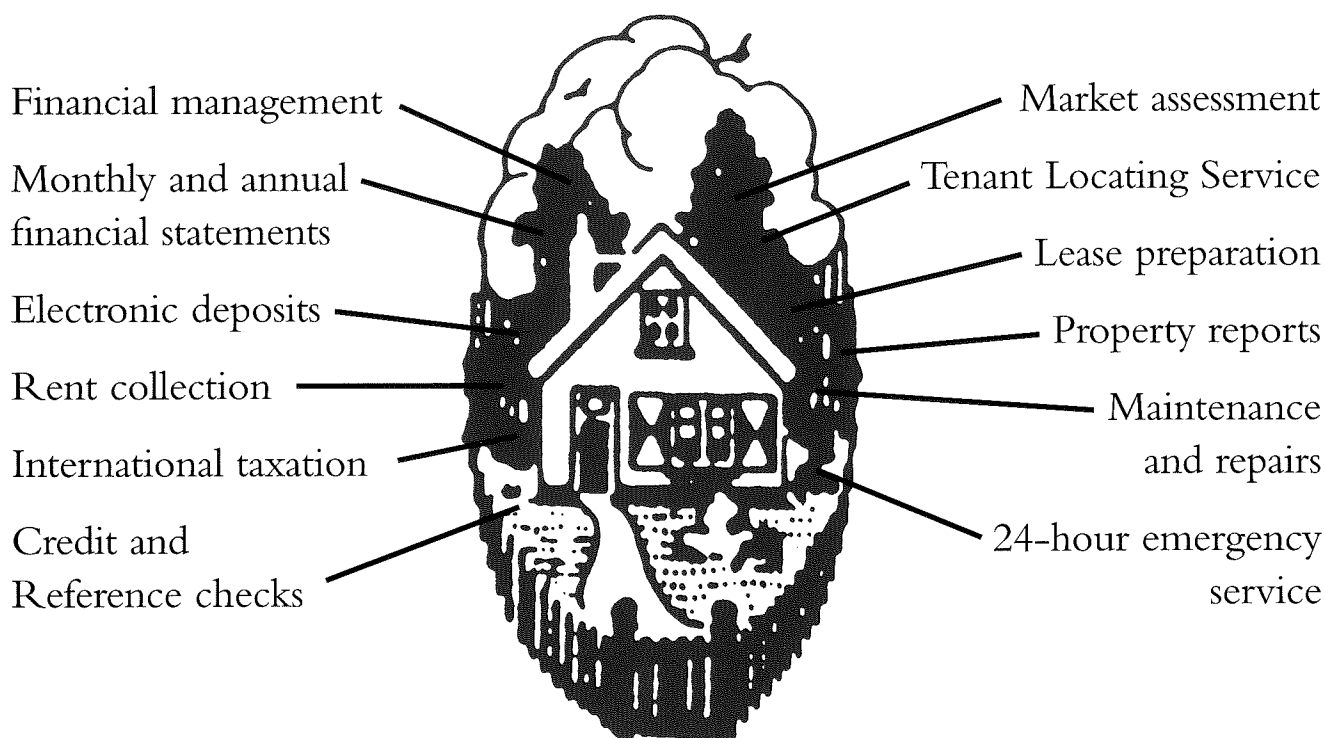
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Le magazine canadien de la diplomatie et du service extérieur



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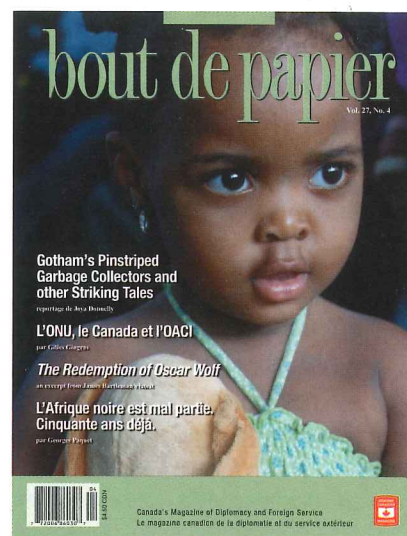
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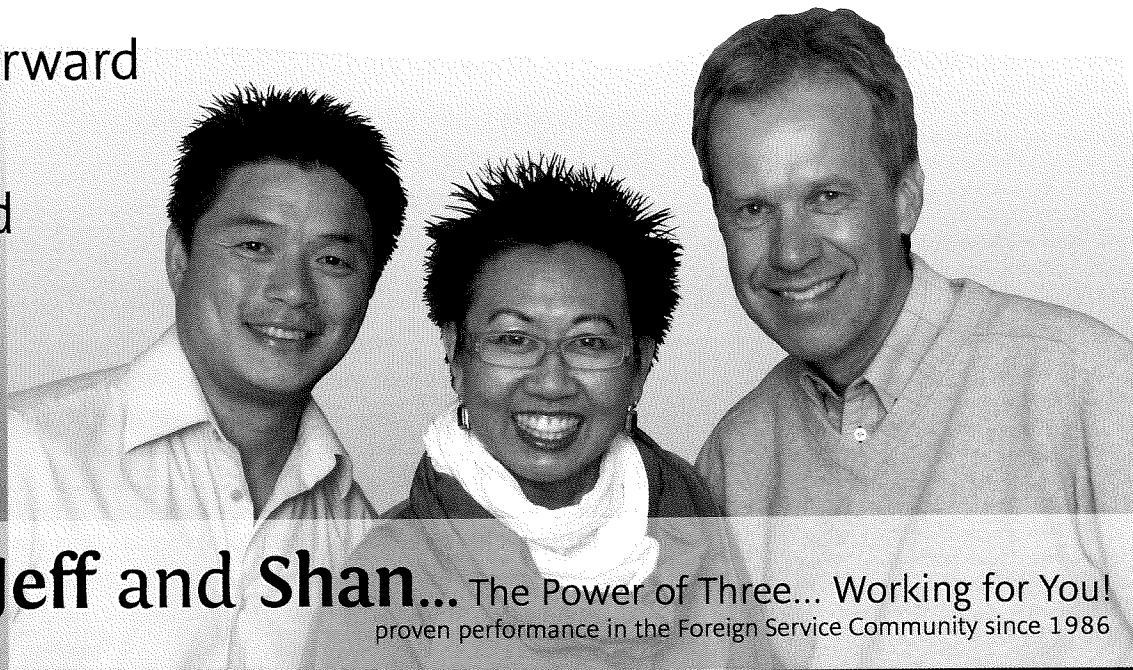
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Winter winds – Les vents d'hiver

Roland Paris, Director of the University of Ottawa's Centre for International Policy Studies, argued in a recent blog that Canada has no foreign policy – which begs the question: of what use is a Foreign Ministry without one? It also underscores the extent to which Canada has become something of a side show internationally (remember the UNSC vote?), and raises doubts about what the government thinks it will accomplish with restructuring and repurposing Canada's foreign affairs agencies.

Sommes-nous sans gouvernail? On le dirait... et si nous n'offrons pas de leadership international constructif, inclusif et compétent, le pays ne pourra que perdre encore plus sa pertinence. Pour renverser la situation, il faut travailler en équipe, autrefois une des grandes forces du Canada. Or, ce n'est plus le cas : les négociations de l'APASE avec le Conseil du Trésor ont abouti parce que, semble-t-il, le gouvernement voulait régler avant le discours du Trône la grève « d'un milliard de dollars » qu'il avait suscitée. Comme nous le savons, ça n'a pas grand-chose à voir avec la bonne foi. À l'heure actuelle, la négociation collective pour la fonction publique dans son ensemble fait l'objet d'attaques au moyen de méthodes peu démocratiques. Il semble que l'objectif primordial soit de conserver le pouvoir, de réduire radicalement l'empreinte du gouvernement par tous les moyens possibles (même s'il est crucial que le gouvernement joue un rôle actif dans les enjeux mondiaux) et de paver la voie à une gouvernance axée davantage sur l'idéologie avec les conséquences qui s'ensuivent. Dans ce contexte, le travail d'équipe et la politique étrangère importent peu.

Damage to team spirit in the many agencies of Canadian diplomacy, albeit anecdotal, is increasingly obvious. Following the funeral service for the late (and much missed) Senator Laurier LaPierre, I spoke with a Senator who called on a number of missions in developing countries earlier in the year. He met with several Canadian Heads of Mission. He was concerned when the first pulled him aside for a private chat about how frustrating it had become to be a HoM – muzzled, badly underfunded, nowhere to be found

on the government's radar. It almost became comical when every mission he visited ended with the same off the record, just between us "private" chat. Apparently they looked forward to early retirement.

Quand on a demandé à un ancien Cdm récemment à la retraite si l'ambassadeur du Canada n'est aujourd'hui guère plus qu'un agent d'administration glorifié, la réponse était, « c'est mon avis ». Un autre, qui a agi à titre de SMA, a eu la triste surprise de constater que, même à ce

Tim Edwards strikes an almost defiant tone when he says in his interview that the Foreign Service "...will continue to enthusiastically supply the same loyal, fearless, and expert advice which successive governments have relied upon to achieve their international priorities."

niveau, il n'avait pas vraiment d'influence sur la prise de décisions. J'étais peut-être trop éloigné de l'action, mais, lorsque le SM Rosenberg a pris sa retraite, il semble qu'il soit simplement parti, fatigué de jouer au Sysiphe sur une montagne immuable. Bref, même aux paliers le plus élevés, on trouve peu de preuves de motivation commune ou de but commun.

Need it be like that? Not according to Jillian Stirk (in this issue). Ever the mentor, her farewell to DFATD reasserts the professional values that informed her remarkable career. Her piece is so thoughtfully written one might miss the firm message wrapped in that velvet glove. Tim Edwards strikes an almost defiant tone when he says in his interview (again in this issue) that the Foreign Service "...will continue to enthusiastically supply the same loyal, fearless, and expert advice which successive governments have relied upon to achieve their international priorities." It couldn't be better said, but does anyone in authority truly care?

Au niveau FS, j'ai récemment parlé à une jeune agente qui fait vraiment partie de la crème de la crème. Elle a déclaré que de plus en plus de ses collègues pensent avoir commis une erreur dans leur choix de carrière et que bon nombre des moins

de 35 ans envisagent d'autres options. Le MAECD est devenu exaspérant sur le plan financier, et, compte tenu de l'assaut prévu contre les DSE, les conditions de travail ne sauraient que se détériorer. Les 35 ans et plus, a-t-elle ajouté, ont des familles et des hypothèques et gardent la tête basse; ils se sentent contraints à attendre que ça passe et à espérer que les choses s'améliorent.

I repeated this conversation to another friend at a book launch for **bout** contributor Bill Bhaneja. She laughed irritably and asked "what officers under 35? We haven't recruited in four years; we haven't seen a promotion in years!" She said advice is given and options proposed but few are interested and the demands made on staff seem endless, and often unformed or unreasonable. There was no pride or pleasure in her voice, rather something between depression and suppressed disgust.

Les « plus de 35 ans » ne se contentent pas tous d'attendre. Un ancien collègue délégué commercial cherche un moyen de s'en sortir : le programme qu'il gère est si sous-financé qu'il en devient presque inutile. Bien sûr, les agents n'ont pas tous le moral dans les talons – l'un d'eux s'occupe de questions de prolifération et estime qu'il est possible de vraiment progresser; il ne doit pas être le seul.

Is DFATD alone in its predicament? No, Canada's scientists – for one – have rallied on Parliament Hill for two years running to protest against the muzzling of scientists, huge cuts to basic research, the attacks on evidence-based policymaking, and the transformation of scientific establishments into handmaidens of private enterprise. Sound familiar?

Quoique la consolidation et la réorientation des entités des affaires étrangères du Canada puissent se révéler une réplique de ce qu'on a fait subir à nos scientifiques, la situation de ces entités à l'heure actuelle est telle que la seule option qui reste pourrait être de les réinventer, peu importe qui est responsable. Recommandons à ceux et celles qui dirigent le service extérieur du Canada de veiller à ce que le meilleur de ce que nous étions – et de ce que nous sommes encore – survive aux vents d'hiver et refleurisse un jour. ☺

– Stuart Hughes

"Post-Mortem" Interview with PAFSO President Tim Edwards

Note de la rédaction : l'interview de bout de papier avec le président de l'APASE, Tim Edwards, s'est déroulée en anglais et, par souci d'espace, d'économie et d'autres contraintes, c'est dans cette langue que nous la reproduisons ici. Merci de votre compréhension. La traduction du texte intégral sera accessible, parallèlement à la publication du présent numéro, sur le blogue de l'APASE. La réalité du service extérieur à : <http://foreignservicereality.com>.

bout: When you became President of PAFSO did you ever imagine you would lead the Association into a strike?

TE: When I was elected president in October 2011, PAFSO had already established its position for the bargaining round and negotiations had begun. We were under no illusion the employer would be very accommodating, especially in light of the damaging "pattern" settlement agreed to by the Public Service Alliance of Canada in late 2010. [This deal imposed annual salary increases of 1.5 per cent and eliminated severance pay for retirements or resignations.] But there wasn't even a whiff of Budget 2012's "deficit reduction action plan" at the time. Our pay grievances, which dated back to 2005, had been fully aired in the previous round of bargaining in 2009, though we were prevented from addressing them when the Government legislated wages across the public service as an anti-recession measure. So we were cautiously optimistic that, this time around, we could get our issues at least partially resolved without resorting to a strike.

bout: In essence, what was this strike about?

TE: At its core, this strike was about equal pay for equal work. We wanted to eliminate salary gaps of \$3,000 to \$14,000 between diplomats and other federal professionals doing the same or similar work in Ottawa, often in neighbouring offices. The latter include economists, lawyers, policy analysts, and commerce officers. The gaps were most acute at the FS-2 level (the second step in our four-level ranking system), our largest cohort of members. They first appeared in 2005

and were exacerbated by the influx of hundreds of non-FS professionals into DFAIT over the last decade to compensate for chronic under-recruitment of Foreign Service Officers.

bout: What was the point of no return in the negotiations that prompted the strike?

TE: On January 31, 2013, we conceded to Treasury Board's two key demands. We accepted annual increases of 1.5 per cent per year – well beneath inflation and wage growth in the wider Canadian economy – and the elimination of severance pay for a one-time salary boost of 0.75 per cent. In exchange, we asked the employer to address our long-standing wage gaps, which we saw as unfair, demoralizing, and a serious threat to retention. We were told on the spot there was no reason to offer Foreign Service Officers one cent more than what had been tabled the first day of negotiations 18 months earlier. At that point, it was clear to us that only a strike mandate could give us the leverage we needed to have our grievances addressed.

bout: What prompted the call for binding arbitration in July, a key turning point in the strike?

TE: By mid-July, we had been conducting targeted withdrawals of service for about eight weeks, including at some of Canada's largest visa-processing centres abroad. Media reports were suggesting that the economic impact of these walkouts on the tourism and education sectors as well as on industries which rely on temporary foreign workers was significant and would grow in severity if the strike persisted. To prevent further damage to the economy, PAFSO

formally proposed to Treasury Board president Tony Clement that we take our dispute to binding arbitration (which would allow us to immediately suspend strike measures). We stressed that if he was so confident his long-standing pay offer was "fair and reasonable," he would not hesitate to submit it to third-party scrutiny.

bout: Treasury Board argued at the Public Service Labour Relations Board that there was no need to act in good faith in "voluntary" arbitration. What do you think it hoped to gain by such logic?

TE: I can't speak to the rationale behind Treasury Board's approach. But the eventual ruling of the Labour Relations Board implied that the Government had backed itself into a corner in July when, instead of flatly refusing our offer of arbitration, they sought to impose paralyzing preconditions on the process which would have predetermined the outcome in their favour. Once we filed our bad-faith bargaining complaint, perhaps Treasury Board believed their only option at that point was to push a narrow textual interpretation of the *Public Service Labour Relations Act* – divorced from the guiding principles which underlie the law – where it says that parties can refer any outstanding issue to arbitration using whatever process they agree on. Their problem was that they intentionally proposed a process they knew we couldn't possibly accept.

bout: In the past, Ministers of Foreign Affairs have spoken up on behalf of Canada's diplomats. John Baird apparently did not, nor did CIC Minister Chris Alexander. Is that just realpolitik or symptomatic of a deeper problem?

TE: Throughout the strike, many members of Cabinet, including Minister Baird, were lobbied by Foreign Service Officers while on official travel to intervene with Treasury Board and convey a more accurate picture of the value of FS work – work which they were seeing first-hand. All committed to follow up with Minister Clement. We were not privy to these subsequent discussions of course, but we are confident that our ministers would have underlined the indispensable contribution of Foreign Service Officers to advancing the Government's agenda. Sadly, any ministerial lobbying would have been overtaken by a decision made "at the top political levels" on June 5 to withhold a revised pay offer when negotiations with PAFSO resumed briefly. Once the Government had elevated our dispute into a political issue, any Cabinet-level interventions behind the scenes would likely have either been postponed or failed to gain traction.

bout: Why did the government allow this to go on so long and single out PAFSO given the settlements reached with other bargaining units that exceeded the pattern?

TE: What distinguishes us from other bargaining units is that we were the first – and to date only – union in the life of this government to enter into a legal strike position. While I can't speak to the government's thinking in taking such a hard line with PAFSO, our decision to use job action to pursue our wage demands was precedent-setting. It is possible Cabinet wanted to establish clear markers for other federal unions that might consider this course of action in future. The fact that the unity, determination, and stamina of PAFSO members had never before been tested in a strike, and that PAFSO had long been considered one of the weakest and least militant unions in the public service, probably also played into the Government's calculus.

bout: How much do you think this struggle has cost Canadians in terms of economic collateral damage?

TE: A precise figure may never be known. Calculating the cost is certainly beyond PAFSO's capacity given the countless

individual Canadians, businesses, and visa and permanent residency applicants affected in some way by the strike. But based strictly on the Tourism Industry Association of Canada's estimate of \$280 million in lost revenue during the summer season alone, and a 5–10 per cent shortfall in the number of study permits which trendlines had anticipated for 2013 (bearing in mind that international students inject \$8 billion annually into the Canadian economy), the impact would have to be expressed in many hundreds of millions of dollars, and perhaps even close to \$1 billion. It should be noted that our members consider this a regrettable and wholly disproportionate outcome which could have been easily avoided.

bout: How do you see this struggle evolving post-job action?

TE: Although the strike is over, many challenges remain – some arriving sooner than we would have liked after such a protracted and acrimonious dispute. On October 22, the Government unveiled the most sweeping changes to labour relations in the federal public service since collective bargaining was introduced in 1967. This unprecedented attack on the free negotiation of terms of employment, buried inside a fast-tracked budget bill, is undemocratic and deeply harmful to the collective rights and interests of PAFSO members and will be resisted. In addition, the Government signalled in Budget 2012 that it wants to slash the amount disbursed to employees under the Foreign Service Directives. [These payments offset differences in the cost and quality of living between Ottawa and posts abroad.] Then there are continuing cuts to departmental operating budgets, as well as persistent inconsistencies in the classification, staffing, and remuneration of jobs at DFATD which triggered the strike in the first place.

bout: Can the damage to relations between the government and its diplomats soon be healed?

TE: To the extent that salary is a barometer of the value and respect accorded a profession, this strike's outcome – notably the elimination of wage gaps at the FS-2 and

FS-4 levels – suggests that the Government ultimately recognized (if grudgingly) the excellent return on investment it gets for every Foreign Service Officer. Now that we are back at work, members are doing everything in their power to ensure a swift recovery and minimize the strike's long-term impact on Canada's reputation as a destination for travel, study, employment, and immigration. We also continue to enthusiastically supply the same loyal, fearless, and expert advice on which successive governments have relied to achieve their international priorities. But in a competitive global arena, a country with Canada's footprint, ambition, and scope of interests demands a motivated and well-resourced Foreign Service. A productive relationship between government and its diplomats over the long run will require not just one favourable contract, but a reversal of the systematic nickel-and-diming of our conditions of service and the essential tools of our trade in recent years – including travel, hospitality, training, and public diplomacy budgets.

bout: What more needs to be done to get the Canadian public to appreciate the value of the Foreign Service?

TE: One of the collateral benefits of job action is that it gave us a podium to counter many of the negative myths associated with diplomatic work and the circumstances under which it is performed. We were able to tell our story and control our narrative, offering an accurate and up-to-date picture of the professional and environmental challenges we face. As the strike progressed, it seemed that more Canadians – though certainly not all! – thought that equal pay was not such an outlandish request by those tasked with defending and promoting Canada overseas. Although it was never PAFSO's aim to carry the day in the court of public opinion (we simply wanted to be ready to rebut Government messaging as needed) media coverage turned out to be broadly sympathetic. PAFSO intends to use this attention, momentum, and our well-oiled advocacy machine to continue building a community of interest and presenting a current image of life in the Foreign Service. ☺

Jillian Stirk: Why Diplomacy Matters

***Editor's Note:** Widely admired throughout her career, Jillian Stirk recently retired from the Department of Foreign Affairs after diverse assignments in Ottawa and abroad that took her from Europe, to the Middle East, Afghanistan, Africa, NATO and the United Nations. Most recently she served as Assistant Deputy Minister – Strategic Policy, Global Issues and Europe, and as the Department's Chief Foreign Policy Officer responsible for engaging and mentoring the next generation of Foreign Service Officers. She served as Canada's Ambassador to Norway, she had postings to the Canadian delegations to NATO, the OSCE and the UN, and a first posting to Poland with cross accreditation to the GDR during the dark years of the 1980s after the imposition of martial law in Poland. Prior to her retirement last June she received the Deputy Ministers' Award of Excellence for Lifetime Achievement. Her acceptance speech has been amplified and adapted for **bout de papier**.*

At a time when the value of diplomacy is being called into question, with new horrors emerging each day in Syria and after nearly two years of diplomatic stalemate, it is important to recall how diplomacy has evolved and why it remains as relevant as ever in these complex and turbulent times. It is also essential that we encourage the next generation to think beyond the immediate challenges and to hone the skills that will ensure Canadians continue to make a difference on the world stage.

If we recall some of the great moments in Canadian diplomacy – from the Suez crisis to the struggle against apartheid, the signing of a ground breaking Land Mines Treaty, or perhaps most relevant today, the acceptance of the concept of the Responsibility to Protect or R2P, the task has often seemed insurmountable. Yet somehow diplomacy prevailed. Today, the view in some quarters is that only military force makes the difference. While military force or in some cases the threat of such force is a powerful tool of persuasion and often an essential counterpoint to diplomacy, lasting solutions are almost always the result of skillful diplomatic negotiations and a profound understanding of deep seated political, economic and cultural imperatives. The real diplomatic success stories involve difficult compromises and sometimes strange bedfellows. As diplomats we must deal with the world the way it is, without ever losing sight of the way we wish it could be.

And what of the future of diplomacy? A few months ago Roger Cohen, writing in the *New York Times*, lamented what he called the death of traditional diplomacy, at a time when it is so sorely needed. He

Today's diplomacy
is edgy, gritty and
sometimes dangerous.

talked about the essential characteristics of diplomacy – patience, persistence, discretion, empathy, boldness, and a willingness to talk to the enemy. Canada has a long and fine tradition of that kind of diplomacy. So let me offer some parting advice to the next generation on what I consider to be the essential professional diplomatic skills, through which we bring the greatest value and influence.

The first is knowledge – our breadth and depth of knowledge about global and local contexts. We should never underestimate the importance of understanding the history, the politics, the culture, the traditions, the myths and the realities that shape others' thinking.

Second, I would highlight our personal connections, in Canada and around the world. Diplomacy is all about relationships, and you are only as good as your networks. All we aspire to achieve for Canada can only be built and maintained through the kind of shared understanding and trust that develops through relationships. To be effective, we need to know whom to call and, just as importantly, who is prepared to answer at the other end.

Third is timing, and I like to say that timing is everything. Diplomacy requires

extraordinary patience, so-called "strategic patience", an instinct and a willingness to let issues play out, and a sixth sense of when the moment is right to step in with the elements of a solution.

Fourth, is a deeply-held collaborative spirit. Diplomacy is a team profession. Individuals bring vision and leadership, but nothing really happens until people come together – and of course we are learning that it is no longer enough just to work with our usual partners – both inside and outside of government.

Last, is our resilience and creativity. Today's problems require new approaches, and our diplomats need new skills – whether they are working in the villages of Afghanistan or South Sudan, building new social media networks, or talking to groups that operate in the shadows. Today's diplomacy is edgy, gritty and sometimes dangerous.

So here is my parting advice to a new generation of wonderful, talented and professional diplomats here in Ottawa, and around the world:

- Nurture these skills, share them with each other, and encourage them in everyone with whom you work.
- Capitalize on your experience; be creative; be bold; seize opportunities.
- Find meaning in your work, and your place in the larger effort.

And above all, remember that as diplomats we share the great privilege to work for and on behalf of Canada, and the long-term, enduring values and interests of Canadians. That, in my view, is our greatest honour and responsibility. It is also public service at its best. ☺



Gotham's Pinstriped Garbage Collectors and other Striking Tales

reportage de Joya Donnelly

Editor's Note: The Canadian Foreign Service, its officers, other staff and family members have a long history of voluntarism spanning the globe. The recent strike offered another opportunity for many to pitch in. Memorably, Team Canada in Gotham and "en grève", set out to collect garbage in Central Park...and can you imagine – not a glass of champagne or canapé on offer! From children's theatre in Islamabad to wool toques for Vietnamese children in chilly mountains, our volunteers have been quietly exploding stereotypes, offering our talents and time for the greater good. That may sound a little pious but, judging from the photos, it is also great fun!

Au Canada comme à l'étranger, les membres du service extérieur canadien offrent régulièrement leur temps, souvent accompagnés de leurs conjoints et de leur famille, afin d'appuyer leur communauté et les causes qui leur tiennent à cœur.

En poste, l'engagement bénévole fait partie des moyens qui s'offrent à nous afin de tisser des liens avec notre nouvel environnement et de bâtir un réseau social. C'est une façon d'aller à la rencontre de ceux qui deviendront nos concitoyens pour les trois, quatre ou cinq années à venir et de démontrer notre solidarité avec notre pays hôte.

Depuis le début du conflit de travail en mars 2013, les agents FS ont passé plusieurs journées en retrait de service. C'est dans un esprit de solidarité que plusieurs d'entre eux ont décidé de mettre à profit ces journées, en donnant de leur temps à la communauté.

Et comment! D'Ottawa à Pretoria, en passant par Hanoi, Abou Dhabi, Islamabad et New York, voici quelques histoires de dévouement partagées par les membres de l'APASE.

NO TIME WASTED: HELPING SUPPORT SOUTH AFRICA'S MOST VULNERABLE

Foreign Service officers in South Africa were among the first to withdraw services during the PAFSO job action in 2013. By the second day of withdrawal of services, we realized we needed to put to good effect this unprecedented period off of work. Looking for opportunities, PAFSO members on strike decided to volunteer for several days with the Tshwane Place of Safety. The organization includes a network of private homes in Tshwane (Pretoria) that take in orphaned or abandoned children. Part of the Tshwane Place of Safety network is the Tshwane Haven, which takes in children with significant medical conditions (e.g. disabilities or major illnesses, such as HIV/AIDS). The FS chose to spend some time at the Haven, which is in dire need of assistance, especially on week-end mornings when there is often only one or two employees to care for about 15 children.

PAFSO members snuggled and played with the babies and toddlers, and read stories to the older children. Their time with the children freed the workers to attend to a mountain of other

tasks that need tending. That experience inspired our volunteers to continue supporting this organization. They expanded efforts to include other colleagues of the High Commission, as well as their spouses, children, and other relatives who were keen to spend time with the babies. The mission organized volunteer days with the Place of Safety, both at the Haven and at a different Tshwane Place of Safety home. This was especially significant for our volunteers because we got to share this beautiful experience with colleagues, while demonstrating that no time was wasted even if services had been withdrawn.

C.J. Scott, a PAFSO member volunteer at the orphanage, said that "the courage and perseverance of the Place of Safety organizers is humbling and inspiring. We are proud to have been a part, even in a small way, of helping to support some of South Africa's most vulnerable." The Place of Safety will be a beneficiary of the mission's holiday fundraising campaign.



Craig Pointon, Audrey Loney, and Patrick Cram in the toddler playroom with several of the infants and some of the older children.



C.J. Scott and Barbara Giacomini, with a staffer at a home that cares for babies from the Tshwane Place of Safety.



Patrick Cram and one of the babies at the home.

OTTAWA HUMANE SOCIETY RUN

Le 18 septembre dernier, pendant la grève, une équipe de coureurs composée de six agents du service extérieur et d'une ancienne stagiaire du ministère s'est inscrite à la course de la société protectrice des animaux d'Ottawa afin de ramasser des fonds pour l'organisation: belle course, bonne cause!



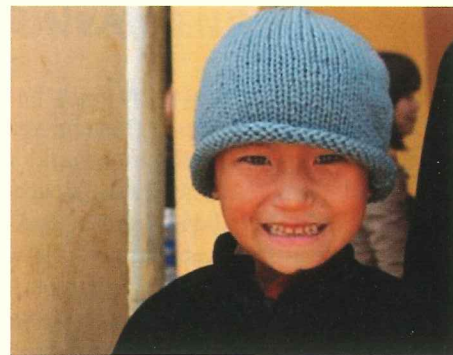
Jonathan Sauvé (avec Sammy dans ses bras), May Luong, Patricia Atkinson, Joya Donnelly, Karina Boutin et Caroline Mireault ont ramassé des fonds pour la société protectrice des animaux d'Ottawa.



Vietnamese baby receiving a hand knit hat from Mrs. Burley.



Mrs. Burley in her home in Canada knitting for disadvantaged children in Vietnam.



A happy recipient of the Rice Scholarship program.

“RICE SCHOLARSHIPS” AND TOQUES IN MOUNTAINOUS VIETNAM

Guided by one of our locally engaged colleagues, Huong Nguyen, many Canadian diplomats have contributed to the success of the Rice Scholarship Program in Vietnam. Since 2005, 17 diplomats posted in Hanoi, many of them Foreign Service officers, have raised funds from family and friends to provide scholarships to disadvantaged children in the mountainous regions of Vietnam. Thanks to donations from Canadians, nearly 900 disadvantaged students, most of them from ethnic minority groups, were provided

with “rice scholarships” to help them overcome financial difficulties and improve the children’s nutrition...the essential prerequisite to any good education.

The generosity of one FS family has become legendary in Hanoi, and in many villages across Northern Vietnam. Mrs. Gayle Burley visited Vietnam for the first time in 2007, when her son Robert served at the Embassy. Having witnessed the difficult conditions of children living in the northern mountains, once back home she decided that she would knit wool hats

to keep the children warm during winter months. Gayle Burley’s sister, Mrs. Sandy Ternoway, a professional seamstress, also pitched in. They spend long hours knitting small hats of various styles and colours for the children and have contributed more than 700 hats to the Rice Scholarship Program. The kids and their families are always excited to receive these gifts from the two “bà”, their “grandmothers”, from a country far away.

STRIKERS HELP ADULTS WITH LEARNING DISABILITIES IN HONG KONG

The Nesbitt Centre is a Hong Kong-based charitable organization that provides an English speaking educational program for adults with learning disabilities, together with a respite and a residential facility. Their goal is to help the students to achieve independence and develop their own potential and opportunities within the community. It was founded in 1993 by Mr. David Nesbitt, a Canadian originally

from Winnipeg, after he saw a gap in the social services for English speaking adults with learning disabilities in Hong Kong.

The Nesbitt family is well known to the staff of the Canadian Consulate General in Hong Kong, so PAFSO members seized the opportunity the strike presented to support the Centre’s good work done in the community. Not afraid to get a little dirty, they twice visited the centre to construct a

large storage system and sort through a few years’ worth of accumulated supplies. Of course, no visit to the Centre would be complete without some quality time with the students and the FS posted in Hong Kong were happy to make new friends. PAFSO members in Hong Kong plan to maintain their relationship with the Nesbitt Centre well into the future.



Hong Kong PAFSO members take a break to pose for a photo at the Nesbitt Centre (Left to right: Alex Johnston, Jean-Christian Brilliant, Karin Plyler, Stephen Hum, Rennie Soobrattee, Janice Vogtle)



Hong Kong PAFSO members remove an old storage unit at the Nesbitt Centre (Left to right: Jean-Christian Brilliant, Janice Vogtle, Rennie Soobrattee)

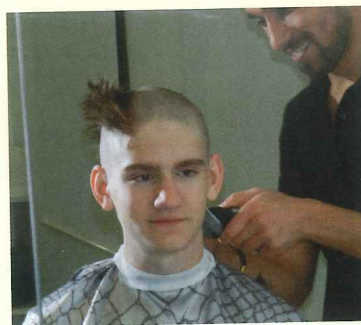


Hong Kong PAFSO members make new friends with students at the Nesbitt Centre (Left to right: Nesbitt Centre student Vicky, Stephen Hum)

SHAVING HEADS FOR CANCER RESEARCH

Mark Eichhorst and his son Seth have volunteered with St. Baldrick's Foundation for several years, raising money for cancer research. Head-shaving marks a signature event for the Foundation. "Shavees" ask friends and family to make donations "on their head" and attend one of thousands of volunteer-organized events around the world where heads are shaved in solidarity with kids fighting cancer.

Mark decided to get involved with the St. Baldrick's Foundation back in 2005 while at the Canadian Consulate in Hong Kong. As he recalls, "we got involved when the dad of one of Seth's classmates at the Hong Kong International School came up to me one day and said, 'Mark, you have really great hair!' Then he went on to explain that his son was a cancer survivor, that he had learned about St. Baldrick's and wanted to try and organize an event in Hong Kong. I volunteered, and the rest is history (or hairstory, we love puns in the family!)." This was the first St. Baldrick's event in Asia, and it has continued to grow since. Seth joined his father the following year, and they have had their heads shaved every year since. The Eichhorst duo also has participated in three shaving events in Ottawa (including once in the lobby of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada!) and three more in Abu Dhabi. "Although we are thankful that we don't have any close, personal connections with childhood cancer, we know that so many families around the world have been affected deeply. Shaving our heads in solidarity with these young cancer fighters is a tiny sacrifice compared with what they have to go through," said Mark.



Top left: Seth Eichhorst

Top right: Mark Eichhorst getting his head shaved in Abu Dhabi.

Bottom: left to right: Seth Eichhorst, hairdressers and Mark Eichhorst



Cleaning up in Central Park



CLEANING CENTRAL PARK IN NEW YORK

For three mornings in September, striking Foreign Service officers at Canada's Permanent Mission to the UN volunteered with Central Park's "Pitch-in, Pick-up" program. They picked up litter and tidied up the grounds. Competition was fierce for greatest amount of trash recovered and most interesting piece of litter!

They also had the pleasure of answering all sorts of questions from confused tourists unaware that these would-be New York sanitation experts were Canadians...but their polite responses eventually gave them away!

AU PAKISTAN, LES CANADIENS FONT UNE SCÈNE!

Dès leur installation à Islamabad, Denis Chouinard, agent du MAECID et son épouse, Violette Paré, enseignante de langues et traductrice, se sont intégrés dans leur nouvelle communauté de la façon qui leur est habituelle, c'est-à-dire en réalisant et offrant bénévolement des spectacles. Depuis leur arrivée en septembre 2012, ce couple d'anciens professionnels du théâtre a réalisé et produit quatre spectacles de contes canadiens pour enfants et adultes ainsi qu'une pièce de théâtre, sur des scènes d'Islamabad et même de Karachi.

L'aventure des contes a commencé lorsque Kuch Khaas, centre culturel privé d'Islamabad, voué à la cause du changement social par la diffusion culturelle et l'éducation, a publié une invitation aux expatriés à venir lire des contes de leur pays aux jeunes usagers de leur bibliothèque. Pour Violette et Denis, répondre à

une telle invitation ne pouvait se faire sans un certain décorum! C'est ainsi qu'à leur tandem s'est ajoutée une petite compagnie de collègues et d'amis canadiens d'Islamabad. Les spectacles ont attiré à Kuch Khaas, un public nombreux et enthousiaste, d'enfants et d'adultes, ce qui a contribué à augmenter les fonds de cet organisme de charité qui soutient également une école pour enfants socialement désavantagés.

Les contes ont été conçus sur des thèmes saisonniers, sauf un. « French Canadian Christmas and New Year Tales » a été offert en décembre 2012; « Canadian Freezing Stories from Robert Munsch », en janvier 2013. « Tales from Gilles Vigneault of Natashquan, Québec » a été joué à Islamabad ainsi qu'à Karachi à l'occasion de la semaine de La Francophonie. Le dernier spectacle, « Canadian Summer Stories » a été joué

au début de septembre à l'International School of Islamabad.

Lorsque Denis et Violette ont pris l'initiative de créer un groupe de théâtre amateur, ils ont reçu une réponse enthousiaste et nombreuse de la part de comédiens amateurs de toutes origines! Denis a dirigé sa troupe dans la production d'un montage théâtral de pièces de Murray Schisgal qu'il a intitulé « All You Need Is Luv », une histoire d'amour rafraîchie par des acteurs de tous âges qui se sont découverts des talents inattendus! Cette comédie qui a fait salle comble pendant une semaine, a touché les cœurs, et le public y a répondu avec enthousiasme.

Le théâtre et les contes de Denis Chouinard et Violette Paré font écho à d'autres activités initiées par des bénévoles canadiens, permettant à la communauté canadienne de s'ouvrir et de s'adapter au quotidien, lors du séjour au Pakistan.



En haut à gauche : Violette Paré et Marie-Christine Paré, Alliance Française d'Islamabad
En haut à droite : Photo de la production théâtrale « All You Need Is Luv » : La troupe avec Denis Chouinard à gauche et Violette Paré au téléphone (1^{er} rang)
En bas : Violette Paré et Denis Chouinard (à droite) à Karachi.

IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE HAITI EARTHQUAKE: FS SKILLS PUT TO GOOD USE

Christine Climenhage started volunteering while on posting in Santo Domingo after the 2010 earthquake in Port au Prince, Haiti. Most people don't know that in the immediate aftermath of the earthquake, the Dominican Republic (which shares an island with Haiti) sent aid and opened its borders to the injured. Thousands of critically wounded Haitians arrived in Santo

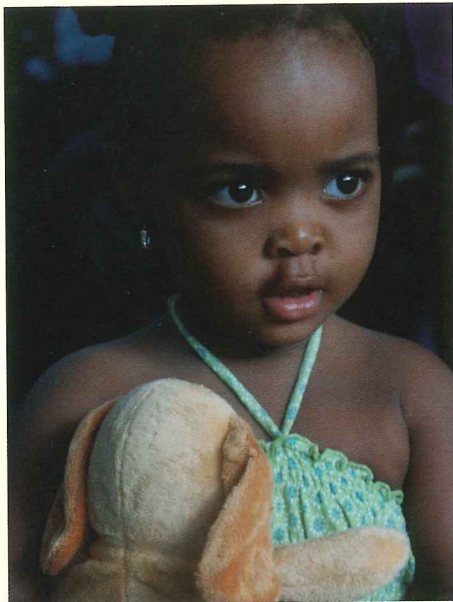
Domingo; injuries included amputations, full body casts, and other physical damage requiring months of recuperation. Many victims were children, some of whom were brought to the Dominican Republic without their families. None had a home to go home to.

Christine offered her time at a wonderful children's home, Hogar Vida y Esperanza,

which opened its doors to those who needed a shelter while recovering. Run by the remarkable Father Manuel Ruiz, the home provided shelter, medical care, and eventually education to more than 200 families. Christine spent time there with the children and their families, trying to identify needs and respond to them. In the beginning, the needs were very basic: medical supplies and food, and some activities for the children. The experience led Christine to volunteer with the International Women's Club of Santo Domingo, which created an earthquake committee to fundraise and distribute project money. She also travelled to Haiti to visit the projects the organization funded there.

Over next three years, Christine visited the Hogar regularly, making connections and helping where she could. Many children were amputees who needed prosthetics. Working with very talented women from the International Women's Club, they reached out to an international NGO specializing in making prosthetics and helped make appointments for the kids. One of Christine's most memorable moments was when she found herself doing three-way interpretation with a French/Creole-speaking mother of a young boy, a Spanish-speaking nurse and English-speaking doctor. Another was the visit of Governor General Michaëlle Jean to the home during her March 2010 visit.

Meanwhile, Father Ruiz worked tirelessly to re-unite unaccompanied children with their families back home and ensure that families were able to return to Haiti with livelihoods and skills. He expanded a community school and built a local medical clinic to improve the lives of the Haitian visitors and of the local community. The Canadian Embassy participated in a volunteer day with the visiting HCMS Toronto to help finish the clinic. "I was very proud to be present at the opening of the clinic in July 2012, a few days before I left the Dominican Republic for good," Christine recalls. "The experience left me a richer person; I had a strong sense of contributing something important during a time of crisis and of making a lasting difference."



Michelle was less than one year old when she was buried by the earthquake along with her mother. Both she and her mother lost a leg. They have both been furnished with prosthetics and remain in Santo Domingo.



Father Ruiz, the priest responsible for the Hogar Vida y Esperanza.



Christine and Johan, a young boy who spent eight days underneath rubble before being rescued in Port au Prince during the 2010 earthquake. When he arrived, he didn't speak. He has regained much of his speech and continues to improve.



De gauche à droite : Diana Tan, Karolina Guay, Sean Sunderland, Anita Baidwan, Alexandra Wood, Daniel Whalen, Marcia Burdette, Isabel Mainville, Yasemin Heinbecker, Kevin Gilhooly



De gauche à droite : Anita Baidwan, Karolina Guay

ET À OTTAWA...

Après quelques journées de retrait de service, les membres de l'équipe des conseillers départementaux et des conseillers principaux ont décidé de mettre leur temps hors du bureau à profit. Bien qu'il fut difficile de trouver un endroit qui accepte à la dernière minute une dizaine de bénévoles, après une suggestion d'un membre, une recherche rapide sur Internet et un appel à la coordonnatrice des volontaires de la Banque d'alimentation d'Ottawa, ces membres de l'APASE avaient un rendez-vous pour une période de bénévolat de deux heures. Les tâches confiées

consistaient à trier les différentes denrées reçues par la Banque d'alimentation. La Banque d'alimentation vient en appui à 140 programmes alimentaires d'urgence qui nourrissent environ 48 000 personnes par mois dans la région, dont près de 40% d'enfants.

Isabel Mainville conclue: « Ce fut une activité que nous avons grandement appréciée, qui nous a permis de rencontrer d'autres bénévoles, et de voir des résultats tangibles dans notre communauté ».

"PAYING FORWARD" IN MONGOLIA

Many Foreign Service parents volunteer at their children's school while on posting. Maxim Berdichevsky also wanted to contribute to his child's place of learning. He made an important commitment to his daughter's school and became its trustee and treasurer, adding a missing skillset to

a class in this new building, (it will be ready well after the end of their posting), Maxim decided it was important to "pay it forward" for the kids that will follow.

Since March, Maxim has spent an average of 10 to 20 hours a week negotiating a construction contract for the school, trying

Since March, Maxim has spent an average of 10 to 20 hours a week negotiating a construction contract for the school...

the school's board. The International School of Ulaanbaatar, which started from humble beginnings, is now going through a period of expansion and needed support to construct a new building to accommodate the students. While Maxim's daughter, who is five, will probably never attend

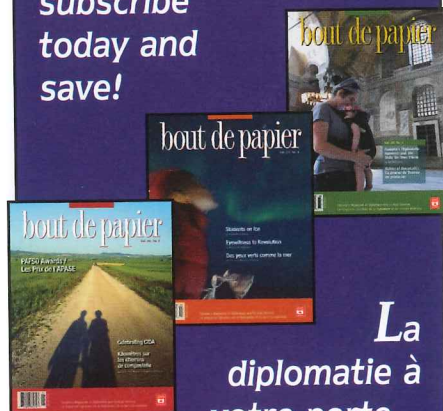
to obtain a loan from a bank, and getting financial reporting in shape. While most of this work has been done at night or on weekends, he used time away from work during the strike to advance this important project.

Un dernier mot, de Joya

Enfin, il ne faudrait surtout pas oublier de mentionner l'engagement constant et volontaire de plusieurs membres au sein de l'APASE même, que ce soit pour défendre nos intérêts ou dans les autres comités de notre association professionnelle. ☺

Joya Donnelly est un agent du Ministère d'affaires étrangères actuellement œuvrant au Conseil privé. Elle est un membre du Comité editorial de bout de papier.

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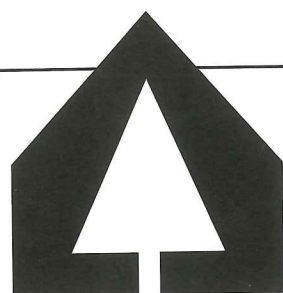
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L'ONU, le Canada et l'OACI

par Gilles Gingras

Installée à Montréal depuis 1947, l'Organisation de l'aviation civile internationale (OACI) appartient à la famille des quinze organisations spécialisées de l'ONU, au même titre que l'UNESCO à Paris, la FAO à Rome, l'UNICEF à New York, et la Banque mondiale à Washington.

Au Canada, l'OACI fait rarement la manchette. Et le Canada semble s'y intéresser uniquement lorsque le siège de celle-ci est menacé de quitter le pays. Ce qui fut le cas au printemps dernier. Le 1^{er} mai, *Le Devoir* titrait : « Ottawa doit éliminer les irritants et améliorer son offre », tandis que *The Globe and Mail* affichait « Canada's airline lobby joins fight to keep ICAO HQ in Montreal ». Désireux d'accueillir le siège de l'OACI à Doha, le Qatar, l'un des 191 pays membres de l'OACI, offrait alors des conditions plus avantageuses que celles du Canada.

L'histoire se répétait. En 1990, alors que les locaux de l'OACI s'avéraient inadéquats, discrètement, quelques pays avaient déjà proposé de déménager l'Organisation chez eux. Sans parler de l'offre de Singapour en 2009, de celle de la Chine en 2010, pas davantage ébruitées. Dans les années 1950, plusieurs États avaient aussi exercé des pressions semblables à cause de nombreux irritants (Hilliker, John et Barry, Donald, *Le Ministère des Affaires extérieures du Canada – L'essor, 1946-1968* vol. II, 1995).

Chaque fois, seule l'intervention d'élus politiques ayant l'autorité nécessaire pour modifier les règles de l'accord de siège aura permis d'éviter le pire.

À l'évidence, nous suscitons l'envie de plusieurs pays. Ils jugent inéquitable que la plupart des institutions spécialisées de l'ONU soient concentrées en Europe et en Amérique du Nord. Certes, dès l'après-guerre, le Canada a joué un rôle de premier plan en vue de la réglementation de l'aviation civile. La Convention de Chicago, qui a donné naissance à l'OACI en 1944, était fondée sur un document canadien (Hilliker, John, *Le Ministère des Affaires extérieures*

du Canada – Les années de formation, 1909-1946, vol. I, 1990).

À quoi bon l'OACI? Sur le plan économique et sécuritaire, c'est très impressionnant. Mais nous sommes dans un monde de vive concurrence qui exige de réviser régulièrement les conditions accordées à l'OACI. En juin 2013, à Montréal, l'Organisation a signé une prolongation de bail de 20 ans (2016-2036) après avoir obtenu de meilleures conditions financières et fiscales notamment.

L'aviation, cible privilégiée des terroristes, représente environ 8 % du PIB mondial. Depuis le 11 septembre 2001, le rôle de l'OACI s'est révélé essentiel pour une action efficace et harmonisée touchant la sûreté à l'échelle de la planète, en dépit des divergences politiques de ses pays membres. Chacun des 2,5 milliards de passagers aériens doit faire l'objet d'un contrôle de sûreté de plus en plus

sophistiqué. Pour renforcer ces systèmes de sûreté, l'OACI propose des techniques et procédures de contrôle fondées sur les études de ses propres experts. Une fois adoptées, il s'agit de vérifier leur mise en œuvre à travers le monde. L'OACI offre aussi une assistance technique aux États qui ne disposent pas de ressources et d'expertise en ce domaine. Les sept bureaux régionaux de l'OACI sont utiles à cette fin.

La sécurité aérienne fait partie du mandat de l'OACI depuis sa création. En dépit de l'augmentation régulière du trafic, le nombre d'accidents mortels est en diminution, un succès largement attribuable à l'OACI. Ainsi, les États membres doivent s'assurer que leurs avions, pilotes et mécaniciens répondent aux normes établies par l'OACI. Au besoin, ils bénéficient de son assistance technique. En concertation avec quelques organisations consacrées à l'aviation civile, l'OACI énonce aussi les normes



de conception et d'utilisation du système d'enregistrement des données de vol, communément appelé « la boîte noire ».

Pour la protection de l'environnement, l'OACI vise à réduire les 2 % d'émissions de gaz à effet de serre produites par l'aviation. L'objectif est de taille. Néanmoins, en octobre 2012, en coopération avec l'industrie du transport aérien, des États représentant la majeure partie du trafic aérien commercial mondial sont parvenus à s'entendre sur des objectifs précis concernant, entre autres, l'amélioration du rendement du carburant, et le développement de carburants alternatifs. En 1992 c'est aussi à l'OACI que les vols non-fumeurs ont d'abord été proposés (résolution A. 29-15 parrainée par le Canada). Peu populaires au départ, ces vols sont devenus chose courante pour le confort de millions de passagers.

Enfin, par le biais de son programme de coopération technique, l'OACI contribue présentement à la reconstruction des infrastructures aéroportuaires en Haïti, comme ce fut le cas, entre autres, dans certains pays d'Afrique, en Afghanistan, au Kosovo.

Dans le sillage de l'OACI, neuf autres organisations liées à l'aviation internationale se sont installées à Montréal, notamment l'Association internationale du transport aérien (IATA), le Conseil international des aéroports (ACI), basé à Genève jusqu'en 2010, et la Fédération internationale des associations de pilotes de ligne (IFALPA), déménagée de Londres en 2012. À son tour, ce noyau a permis d'attirer à Montréal plusieurs autres organisations internationales, dont l'Institut de statistique de l'UNESCO, et a favorisé la croissance de l'important Secrétariat de la convention sur la diversité biologique (SCDB).

En septembre 2013, la 38^e Assemblée triennale de l'OACI aura attiré plus de 1 500 délégués internationaux de haut niveau. Sans compter les centaines de représentants qui, chaque année, se rendent à l'OACI et dans les autres organisations et entreprises locales liées à l'aviation civile. Ce tourisme d'affaires est précieux, non seulement en raison de ses retombées économiques, mais aussi et surtout parce qu'il contribue de manière significative au rayonnement international du Canada.

Telle une onde de choc, la proposition du Qatar a provoqué un sursaut d'intérêt envers l'OACI et fait monter les enchères. Il en est résulté un consensus politique plus étroit entre Ottawa, Québec et Montréal. Comment pouvons-nous nous assurer que dorénavant ces trois paliers de gouvernement demeurent vigilants? Que les conditions d'accueil de l'OACI et autres formalités soient révisées et mises à jour régulièrement? Que la présence et le rôle essentiel de l'OACI soient proclamés haut et fort par nos leaders politiques?

Il est temps que les Canadiens sachent que l'ONU est à l'œuvre chez-nous, que nous contribuons à la paix et à la sécurité dans le monde. Et que nous en soyons fiers. ☺

Gilles Gingras a œuvré à New York, Abidjan, Paris, Washington et Oslo. A été chargé de cours en Organisations internationales à l'École de Politique appliquée de l'Université de Sherbrooke. Il est vice-président de l'Association canadienne pour les Nations unies – Grand Montréal.

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Ahmed Rashid on Pakistan's Next Chapter

by Stuart Hughes

On September 12th Ahmed Rashid spoke to a well-attended and open gathering at CIPS (the Centre for International Policy Studies) at the University of Ottawa (sponsored by CIPS and the Fragile States Research Network). His topic was characteristically sweeping: "Pakistan's Next Chapter".

Widely considered *primus inter pares* among journalists and analysts dealing with Afghanistan and Pakistan, Ahmed Rashid is the author of several books that are essential reading for anyone wishing to understand the complexity, severity and geo-strategic significance of militant Islam in South and Central Asia. These include *Taliban* (2000 and 2010, which sold over a million copies in English alone), *Jihad* (2002), *Descent into Chaos* (2008) and *Pakistan on the Brink* (2012).

In a word, Rashid is deeply worried about the prospects for peace and stability in the entire region in the period leading up to and after the US withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2014. He sees the potential for a "Syrian scenario" for much of the region (notably Central Asia) and believes many, if not all, of the elements for it are already there. Granted, evolving dynamics in the region are difficult to predict and so there remains hope for better, but he maintains that key indicators are not encouraging and the West needs to prepare. He focused on Pakistan, Afghanistan, India and China.

Pakistan

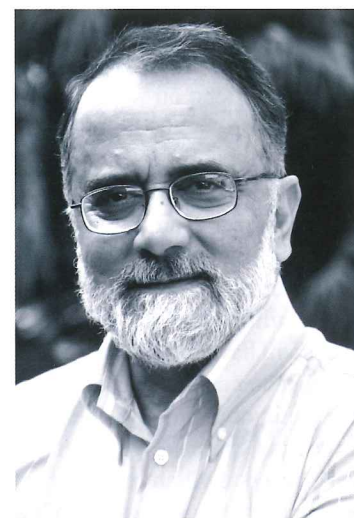
The country is in deep trouble. With respect to national security, while it adds rapidly to its costly nuclear arsenal, it faces serious insurgencies in the North West (the Tribal Areas) with the Taliban, in Baluchistan to the west with the separatists, and in Karachi with multiple insurgencies. The latter is now a city of 22 million with between 12 and 36 deaths by conflict a day. Meanwhile

the economy is crumbling, the elite refuses to reform, and the ongoing energy crisis means that a great many ordinary Pakistanis face "load-shedding" (power outages) 16 to 18 hours a day. Everyone suffers and it takes a heavy toll on industry and the economy.

Demographics certainly add to the country's challenges. Not only is population growth very high and unsustainable, socially there are a great many divides. Class is always an issue, but unlike other Muslim states, Pakistan also is home to all Muslim sects and their rivalries. A country that was 23 per cent non-Muslim at birth now only has a minority population of 3 per cent as a great many have left. As the last figure suggests, the state has done little to stop the growth of sectarianism and militancy and, arguably, actually fuelled it.

Mindsets are another issue. Pakistanis, Rashid suggests, blame everyone but themselves for what has gone wrong. The country is full of conspiracy theories. However, he points to three major opportunities in recent years that Pakistan missed that otherwise might have helped prevent today's predicament:

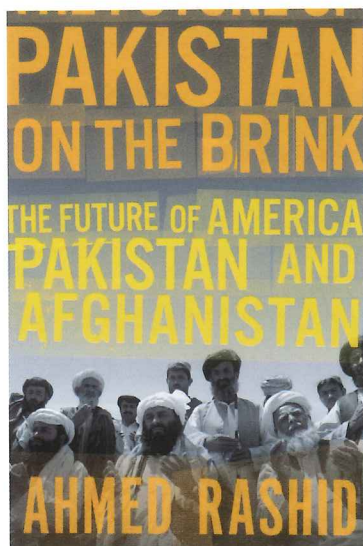
- With the end of the Cold War in 1992 and with India then unpopular within the region and with the West, Pakistan had a golden opportunity to displace India and recruit Western partnership to further its development. Instead, it used the opportunity to infiltrate jihadists into Kashmir, with results we all know.
- Post 9/11, when the international community declared war against extremists, everyone wanted to help Pakistan. But it did not follow up. Previously,



Pakistan had adopted a practice used by other countries to pay terrorists not to bomb in their territory and pursue their agenda elsewhere. Pakistan continued to support the Taliban in Afghanistan (which spawned the Taliban in Pakistan itself). With international support Pakistan should have reformed education (including the madrassahs), and pursued other reforms but then-President Musharraf's top priority in dealings with Washington was the procurement of 90 F-16s – not exactly what was needed to fight the extremists or the conditions that spawn them.

- President Obama's 2009 surge in Afghanistan was deeply flawed but presented Pakistan with another opportunity to play a major role. It didn't.

There is some good news. The recent elections, that saw Nawaz Sharif returned to power, represented the first time in



Pakistan's history that one civilian government was succeeded by another. But, he added, the key to this government's success will depend on what kind of relations it develops with the military. The preceding government of Azif Zadari (Benazir Bhutto's husband) did little or nothing to assert civil authority for key issues including relations with the USA and India and had no control over the immense military budget.

Sharif will have to persuade the military to work together and respect civil authority, temper their demands on the country's resources (as the cake gets smaller and smaller), accept civilian oversight over the military budget, focus on issues of national security as the civilian government sees them, share intelligence with civil authorities and, in so doing, work with the government in setting security priorities. In short, to behave as the military do in any other functional modern state. A National Security Council that brings together national security issues with other key aspects of nation building also is badly needed if the government is to develop and implement a comprehensive strategy to get the country working well.

Expanding on the challenges already identified, Rashid sees another four critical issues: the need for the wholesale rebuilding of relations with India; fighting the pervasive rot of corruption (which in the previous government was part of the larger problem of incompetence); growing a middle class party predicated on the concept of public service (as opposed to personal enrichment); and, zero tolerance toward extremism. On the latter he explained that there can't be a "good" Taliban and a "bad" Taliban unless

you mean that the former bomb your neighbours but leave you in peace. The distinction is an illusion; extremism is the issue, not labels. Pakistan's Taliban used to attack NATO forces in Afghanistan but today the insurgency in the Tribal Areas is spreading and is perhaps the greatest single threat to national security. Rashid sees Pakistan's "next chapter" as a long one, fraught with immense challenges and serious implications for the region and the globe.

Afghanistan

Rashid began with the simple assertion that the entire Taliban leadership lives in Pakistan and it necessarily will play a very important role in Afghanistan's future. He argues that the key issue is not military transition but political transition in Afghanistan, and more specifically whether President Karzai will attempt to rig the next elections (scheduled for April 2014) as he did the last. Afghanistan has not had legitimate government since the fall of the King in 1973 and needs one very badly. The danger in a rigged election is the very real prospect of another war between the Pashtoon and non-Pashtoon in its aftermath.

Will the West ensure an equitable political transition? Not likely: while he appreciates the reality of war fatigue in the US and beyond (given the \$1 trillion and many lives spent on wars in Iraq and Afghanistan that have accomplished almost nothing), he describes the US intention to withdraw its troops during the elections as a tragic mistake. He believes that without boots on the ground the West will have no tools left to help ensure legitimacy.

Rashid criticizes the West for not helping Afghanistan sufficiently in developing its economy, notably agriculture. The sector has never regained its vitality since the fall of the King (then Afghanistan exported food, now it imports) – which he described as a terrible vacuum – he sees little light at the end of Afghanistan's tunnel with so little economic hope in sight. To compound matters, he senses that the US Congress is in no mood to offer the country significant financial help after 2014, and aid from other sources also may decline significantly as governments change.

Essential to Afghanistan's stability, and its prospects for legitimate government, is a regional agreement not to interfere in its internal affairs. However, he sees nothing

of the kind on the horizon with US relations with both Iran and Russia fraught with tension, India and Pakistan no closer to cooperation amongst themselves let alone in Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia needs to be brought in, and no other regionally significant country is championing the need for one. It needs a third-party broker with credibility (perhaps like Canada), but none has stepped forward.

An agreement between the Afghan government and the "peace lobby" within the Taliban also is essential. Rashid is cautious about suggesting what it might comprise, but he sees the need for at least three elements:

- a) a ceasefire with the Taliban (Afghanistan's "garrison" army post-2014 may be able to keep roads near term open but can't fight a prolonged civil war);
- b) a dialogue with the government over power sharing both by region and social sector; and
- c) a new constitution as a great many Afghans do not want their Presidential system as it exists today but prefer a Parliamentary system with a President, PM and real parties. [Responding to the comment that progress thus far achieved on the role of women would be put at great risk in any such negotiation, Rashid agreed. However, he added that a practical negotiation with the Taliban, emphasizing the value of women in the workforce and the huge cost of withdrawing their services (in the education of all children, health services and others) might mitigate some of the potential damage.]

India and China

Rashid also is not optimistic about strong leadership from the region's heavyweights. Although he believes that India, as the region's great democracy and big economy, has a potentially important role to play in Afghanistan and beyond, the renewed nationalist bent of the government offers little hope of constructive initiatives from that quarter. Nonetheless, he hopes that India, Pakistan and Afghanistan can overcome some of their differences, engage in serious military-civil dialogue and generate a lot more diplomacy to create regional peace.

Obtaining Indian cooperation on Afghanistan will not be easy for either party. India must see that it cannot treat

relations with Afghanistan as a strictly bilateral matter with Pakistan squarely in the middle, while Pakistan needs to appreciate that if India has given Afghanistan \$2 billion in aid, it is not going to be displaced by Pakistan any time soon. Nawaz Sharif, he adds, is strongly committed to improved relations with India but the new nationalist government in Delhi is reluctant to meet with him even on the margins of UN gatherings.

China, Rashid asserts, also should play a major role in creating regional stability but is not likely to rise to the challenge. Despite its huge economic stake in Afghanistan (in resource extraction), he suspects China will take a wait and see attitude in the mistaken belief that if it waits a decade or two things will sort themselves out. Complicating matters is the fact that Islamist Uighur extremists have trained with the Taliban in Pakistan; China may see Pakistan today to be both a threat and an ally and the two countries are not as close as they once were.

The Road Ahead

Rashid doesn't think China or the international community writ large has the luxury of a decade or so to sit back and let the region sort itself out. He wonders if we even have five years. He suggests that instability in Pakistan, with its many insurgencies, has every potential to deteriorate further, that Kashmir may re-ignite as militants gather strength, and that the lack of legitimate government in Afghanistan will spur new levels of conflict there.

Moreover, the whole mess could spill over into other parts of Central Asia. Its authoritarian regimes are creating more fuel for the coming fire by not allowing politics while its Islamist militants take on a pan-Central Asian character. He wonders if Kabul will become the next Kashmir, or worse, the whole region another Syria. Food for thought if ever there was, but he insists there is still room for optimism. The CIPS website report by Natalie Brender highlights Rashid's perception that Pakistan's military has developed a much greater appreciation of the need to reform civil-military relations and now seems ready to help, in Rashid's words, "...dig us out of this hole". ☺

*Stuart Hughes is a retired Foreign Service officer and Editor of **bout de papier**.*

INTERVIEW WITH ROLAND PARIS

bout: As the Executive Director for CIPS, what do you see as the Centre's role in foreign policy development in the capital region and in Canada as a whole?

Paris: CIPS contributes in four ways. First, we organize 65–70 public events per year on international policy issues, many involving prominent international thinkers and practitioners. Most of these events are free and open to the public. Second, whenever possible, we make our visiting speakers available to government departments for private consultations. Third, the University of Ottawa is home to many international relations scholars who are leading experts in their respective fields and whose research we disseminate through our meetings and networks. Finally, we maintain Canada's best international affairs blog – and the only one written exclusively by subject matter experts – which often comments on Canadian foreign policy. I would encourage your readers to sign up for the weekly CIPS email newsletter, which provides advanced notice of our events and links to our latest blogposts.

bout: You are helping to educate and train a new generation of Canadians on foreign policy issues, what are some of your priorities for the Centre in terms of education?

Paris: CIPS, itself, does not have a teaching program, but it works closely with degree programs in international affairs at the University of Ottawa, including the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, where I teach as a faculty member. These are exciting days at the University. Our newest teaching programs are very much focused on producing the next generation of policy leaders, including in foreign policy.

bout: The Centre has welcomed a number of associates from DFATD, how can we strengthen that relationship?

Paris: Our links to DFATD are already strong, but could be even stronger. I would like to see more policy practitioners at our events, engaging in our discussions, and visiting or teaching in our classrooms.

bout: Canada's former Ambassador to the UN, Allan Rock, is President of the University – is the University of Ottawa quietly becoming *primus inter pares* among Canadian institutions of higher learning dealing with foreign policy issues, or are your sights aimed at a more specialized niche?

Paris: Allan Rock's tenure as president has been a tremendous boost to institution-building efforts, particularly as they relate to foreign policy programming. He is a great supporter of CIPS and a frequent participant in our events. That said, we could not have propelled the University of Ottawa into the front rank of Canadian academic institutions dealing with foreign policy were it not for a very strong group of academics and senior fellows. Since 2006, the University has hired about three dozen new professors and fellows in public and international affairs. That is a tremendous investment in intellectual leadership.

Readers may watch the session with Ahmed Rashid by going to the CIPS website www.cips.ca.

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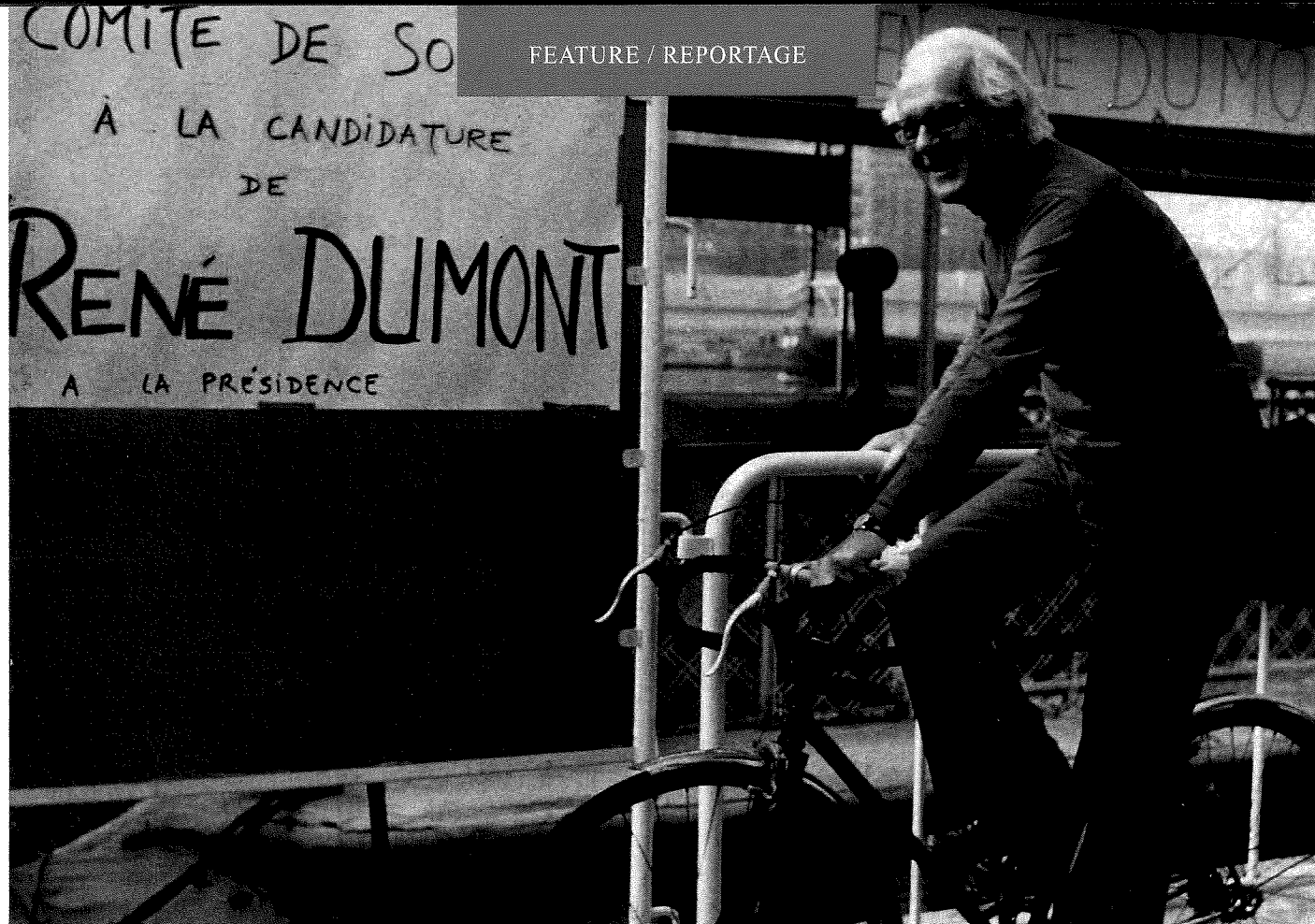
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René Dumont, 1974

L'Afrique noire est mal partie. Cinquante ans déjà.

Un hommage à son auteur, René Dumont

par Georges Paquet

En collaboration avec la Fondation René Dumont, les Éditions du Seuil viennent de lancer une réédition de *L'Afrique noire est mal partie*, 50 ans tout juste après sa première parution et 11 ans après la mort de son auteur.

On se souvient du livre, qui fit scandale au moment de sa parution, comme un véritable défi lancé aux agriculteurs africains.

On se souvient de l'auteur comme d'un visionnaire et d'un prophète. C'est du moins ce qu'en dit Jean Ziegler, Rapporteur spécial de l'ONU pour le droit à l'alimentation de 2001 à 2008, dans la préface de la réédition du livre. René Dumont était un combattant et un travailleur infatigable, avide et incorrigible lecteur, auditeur de

tout ce qui se disait et s'écrivait sur la condition humaine et sur l'avenir de notre planète, complété par le talent d'un écrivain discipliné et rigoureux. C'était aussi mon beau-frère.

Né en France, fils d'un conseiller agricole qui fut à l'origine du premier Larousse agricole, René Dumont a choisi les études agronomiques. Mais comme il voulait « voir, connaître et comprendre le monde, et essayer d'agir pour changer le cours des

choses », il a donc opté pour une carrière coloniale en Indochine. Il en est ressorti le premier de la trentaine de livres qu'il aura écrits : *La Culture du riz dans le Delta du Tonkin*, en 1935, réédité et commenté par Igor Besson, en 1995.

De retour en France, René Dumont a enseigné à l'Institut national agronomique Paris Grignon qu'il appelait « sa maison ». Il y est resté 41 ans. Pédagogue hors du commun, nombreux sont ses anciens



Charlotte Paquet-Dumont et René Dumont

Ce qui rend universel le message de René Dumont c'est aussi le grand nombre de pays qui ont fait appel à ses analyses et à ses conseils.

élèves qui ont été marqués par son enseignement. Il a aussi donné des cours à l'Université d'Ottawa et a reçu un doctorat honorifique de l'Université Laval et de l'Université McGill.

Avant de devenir un tiers-mondialiste renommé, René Dumont a d'abord étudié l'état du système agricole français. Après avoir visité de très nombreux villages et mené plusieurs études sur l'agriculture française, il a publié *Misère ou prospérité paysanne*, et *Voyage en France d'un agronome*. Le développement de ces connaissances et de cette expertise lui ont donné l'occasion de participer directement à la mise en place du Plan Marshall pour la reconstruction de l'Europe après la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Par la suite, il s'est résolument tourné vers la paysannerie des pays en voie de développement.

Sa rencontre en 1972 avec René Dubos et Barbara Ward, qui publiaient *Nous n'avons qu'une terre* l'a confirmé dans sa conviction qu'il fallait s'engager. Il publia *L'utopie ou la mort*. Ce bouquin devait à l'origine s'intituler *Pour une autre civilisation*. Mais lorsque son directeur de collection, Jean Lacouture, lui dit : « En somme c'est l'utopie que vous prônez ? » René Dumont lui aurait répondu : « C'est cela ou la mort ». Ce fut l'ouvrage le plus percutant de son combat contre la destruction insensée de notre milieu de vie.

C'est d'ailleurs ce livre qui a incité les mouvements de protection de la nature et les écologistes à lui demander d'être leur candidat aux élections présidentielles de 1974. Il s'y est engagé avec toute sa fougue et son désir de convaincre que seuls des changements dans leurs modes de vie, de production et de consommation pourraient amener les Français vers de meilleurs lendemains. C'est dans ce contexte que René Dumont fut l'un des premiers à mettre en garde l'opinion publique contre

le gaspillage des ressources naturelles, l'érosion inconsidérée des sols, la raréfaction des eaux disponibles, les conséquences du « tout automobile » et l'effet de serre. Ce discours, très avant-gardiste pour l'époque, n'a su rallier la population mais a permis de donner une tribune et une voie politique à la cause. Militant infatigable, il n'a plus cessé d'encourager et d'accompagner les écologistes dans leur combat pour un monde plus respectueux de l'environnement.

Avec ma sœur Charlotte, qui fût plus tard son épouse, René Dumont, ayant terminé sa carrière universitaire, a poursuivi son parcours du monde, approfondissant sa connaissance des particularités de chaque pays et de chaque région, prodiguant ses remarques et ses conseils aux plus humbles comme aux plus puissants. De la Chine au Guatemala, du Bangladesh au Burkina Faso, de Cuba à l'Arménie, il a patiemment étudié les conditions des sols, les méthodes d'exploitation aussi bien que les politiques nationales d'éducation, de même que les perspectives d'avenir des jeunes populations, autant en terme d'auto-suffisance alimentaire que de développement économique et social.

Au début des années 1980, René Dumont, invité à participer à des colloques au siège de l'Agence canadienne de développement international, a provoqué d'importants débats et forcé les gestionnaires à revoir l'implication du Canada dans le projet de barrage sur le fleuve Sénégal. Il s'agissait du grand barrage de Manatali. De l'avis de Dumont, ce projet allait avoir des impacts sociaux et environnementaux néfastes, affectant en premier les agriculteurs et la paysannerie.

« Continuons le combat... » Inlassablement, René Dumont a repris cette formule, encourageant chacun de ses élèves, de ses collègues, de ses amis, des

responsables politiques jusqu'aux humbles agriculteurs à travailler pour un monde meilleur. Il n'y a pas de mission plus noble et essentielle, disait-il, que celle de chercher à nourrir tous nos semblables. Lui, l'agronome de la faim, pacifiste et écologique, a lancé avec lucidité et rigueur des avertissements que tous les observateurs sérieux ne pouvaient ignorer ni contredire.

Ce combat a toujours eu deux objectifs complémentaires. D'abord, permettre, avec une aide appropriée, à tous les citoyens, surtout ceux des pays en voie de développement, de se nourrir convenablement. Il plaçait le développement d'une agriculture à dimension humaine comme fondement du développement économique et social des pays du Sud. René Dumont ne pouvait pas parler de son premier objectif sans insister avec toute la force de ses convictions sur la nécessité absolue de prévenir et de stopper la dégradation de notre environnement.

Ce qui rend universel le message de René Dumont c'est aussi le grand nombre de pays qui ont fait appel à ses analyses et à ses conseils. Car René Dumont était avant tout un scientifique. Il tenait à partager ce qu'il découvrait dans ses missions d'études. Et ses recommandations étaient sérieusement étudiées et appliquées. On savait que lorsqu'il parlait de respecter la terre, ce n'était pas qu'un vœu pieu, mais c'était fondé sur des analyses scientifiques et sur sa préoccupation permanente de contribuer à ce qu'un jour tout le monde puisse se nourrir convenablement.

Il a vu bien avant d'autres que la croissance démographique des pays africains, notamment, étaient une source d'appauvrissement et de conditions de vie difficiles. Il a patiemment soutenu que l'éducation de filles devait être une priorité pour tous les pays, mais surtout pour les pays en voie de développement, où la

condition féminine a tant de place à gagner. Il a conséquemment demandé et appuyé les efforts pour un meilleur contrôle des naissances, ainsi que pour de meilleures conditions sanitaires et une éducation de base généralisée.

J'ai appris de René Dumont que les fondements essentiels de notre humanité reposent sur le respect de la vie et de la vérité. Il trouvait profondément injuste que des milliers de nos concitoyens, partageant notre petite planète, meurent de faim dans un monde tout à fait capable de les nourrir. Son instinct, ses connaissances scientifiques et ses observations sur le terrain l'ont constamment soutenu dans le combat vigoureux qu'il a mené pour changer ce monde parfois si injuste. Il a mené une carrière universitaire durant laquelle il a formé et influencé des générations d'agronomes passionnés par leur métier mais surtout conscients avec lui et après lui que ce combat contre les insoutenables famines et autres dégradations humaines et environnementales qui persistent doit être connu et poursuivi sans relâche.

Aux côtés de Charlotte, dont Jean Ziegler dit qu'elle a exercé sur lui une influence décisive, René Dumont a mené tambour battant les 20 dernières années de sa vie. René et Charlotte ont parcouru le monde, que ce soit à l'invitation de chefs d'État ou d'associations de paysans, afin d'étudier les conditions locales et de fournir aux uns et aux autres analyses et recommandations pertinentes, ce qui a donné lieu à la publication de plus de 45 livres dont plusieurs ont été traduits en cinq langues. Jean Ziegler a aussi souligné qu'en 1994, Charlotte et René, alors âgé de 90 ans, ont cosigné un de leurs plus beaux livres *Misère et chômage. Libéralisme ou démocratie*.

Aux derniers jours de sa vie, René Dumont résumait son action en disant qu'il avait simplement « fait son boulot ». Charlotte l'a rassuré en lui répondant que ce fut « un énorme et indispensable boulot ».

Son pays lui a fait grand plaisir en lui décernant la Légion d'honneur. Charlotte pour sa part a reçu la médaille du mérite.

Le privilège que nous avons eu de côtoyer René Dumont, de partager ses espoirs et ses ambitions, de nous nourrir à ses écrits et de ses paroles, nous donne l'impression de faire un peu partie de l'histoire.

Le 8 janvier 2013, Charlotte s'est éteinte à son tour. Il serait trop long d'énumérer les moments où le hasard a joué un rôle déterminant dans la vie de ma sœur. Le principal tournant aura sans doute été sa rencontre avec René Dumont à l'Université d'Ottawa, en 1969. 🍷

Georges Paquet est un ancien diplomate canadien, récipiendaire du Prix de l'APASE 1990. Il s'est joint au Ministère des Affaires étrangères en 1967. Il a travaillé dans les directions des Nations Unies, des Affaires économiques, de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, et de l'Europe de l'Ouest. Il a été en poste au Nigéria, en France, à Bruxelles à la Mission du Canada auprès de l'Union européenne, à Haïti, à Rome à la Mission du Canada auprès du Saint-Siège et en Côte d'Ivoire.

L'AFRIQUE NOIRE EST MAL PARTIE

En 1962, convaincu que pour sauver des vies et pour conserver une bonne partie la qualité de notre environnement, toute vérité était bonne à dire, René Dumont n'a pas résisté à la nécessité d'écrire, deux ans seulement après ce qu'on a appelé les indépendances africaines, que l'Afrique noire était « mal partie ». Parlant des pays qu'il connaissait le mieux, le sien, la France, et des pays francophones d'Afrique, René Dumont voulait dire tout haut que les dirigeants africains et leur entourage, qu'on disait officiellement autonomes, demeuraient toujours fermement attachés, de gré ou de force, aux capitales européennes. Il observait aussi que ces dernières trouvaient bénéfique de continuer à exporter vers l'Afrique, bien souvent sous couvert d'un budget d'aide au développement, toute une variété de produits alimentaires, souvent des surplus, que les Africains, auraient pu et auraient dû produire eux-mêmes avec un peu d'encouragement.

René Dumont n'a pas douté un instant qu'il était absolument essentiel que les Africains reprennent en main les leviers de leur alimentation, de leur éducation et de leur économie. L'agriculture devait, en pays industrialisés comme partout ailleurs, être source de vie, fondement de l'économie et moteur d'un développement durable. Ce qu'il constatait, c'étaient les régimes politiques forts, peu démocratiques et souvent dictatoriaux, de même que la présence de bases militaires dans les anciennes colonies, sans compter les

châteaux et autres résidences de luxe que possédaient ces leaders africains en Europe. Ajoutant à cela l'absence de vision de ces régimes, c'en était trop pour empêcher le professeur rigoureux de décrier tout haut ce qui était partout visible.

Ce livre est un appel à une véritable « révolution agricole » qui passe par l'écoute des paysans, l'adaptation de l'école à leurs besoins, et qui propose comme point de départ les réalités africaines plutôt que d'essayer de copier des recettes étrangères et de trop compter sur l'aide extérieure.

La réédition du livre de René Dumont est précédée d'un avertissement signé par Charlotte Paquet-Dumont et par deux préfaces. L'une d'Abdou Diouf, ancien président du Sénégal et Secrétaire général de l'Organisation internationale de la Francophonie, et l'autre de Jean Ziegler, auteur prolifique, professeur émérite de sociologie et Rapporteur spécial de l'ONU pour le droit à l'alimentation de 2001 à 2008.

René Dumont. L'Afrique noire est mal partie. Éditions du Seuil. Octobre 1962 pour l'édition originale et octobre 2012 pour la réédition.



The Redemption of Oscar Wolf

an excerpt from James Bartleman's latest

James Bartleman is a member of the Chippewas of Rama First Nation. A much-admired public servant, now retired, he was aptly described by the *Globe and Mail* as one of Canada's "most distinguished elders."

Following graduation from the University of Western Ontario, he served thirty five years with Foreign Affairs and worked closely with the country's top leaders. He was later appointed Lieutenant Governor of Ontario from 2002 to 2007, is an Officer of the Order of Canada and an Officer of the Order of Ontario, as well as a recipient of the Aboriginal Achievement Award. He has been awarded 14 honorary doctorates, the latest from Carleton University in Ottawa. That might be enough for some, but "Jim" Bartleman is also the author of six books, the latest of which is

The Redemption of Oscar Wolf, an excerpt from which follows.

The theme for his acceptance speech at Carleton University speaks volumes about Jim Bartleman's vision and mission – "Aboriginal Canadians: The struggle to be seen as human". As he explained to *bout*, his books were written for social causes. *Redemption* is no exception.

Set in the period prior to and following World War II, Oscar suffers frustration, the sense of injustice and the humiliation that prompt a horrible act – an act that leads to his need to redeem himself, to "fit

in" with the larger Canadian society. It leads to a career in the country's diplomatic service but hopes raised soon wither. Bartleman notes that even in today's Canada children on reserves can expect to receive between 50 and 80 per cent of the support that non-native children receive for education and child welfare. Oscar Wolf, it seems, has no monopoly on the need for redemption; the key issue is whether redemption is to be achieved by fitting in or in the fight for fundamental social change in Canada.

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Oscar Wolf Extract

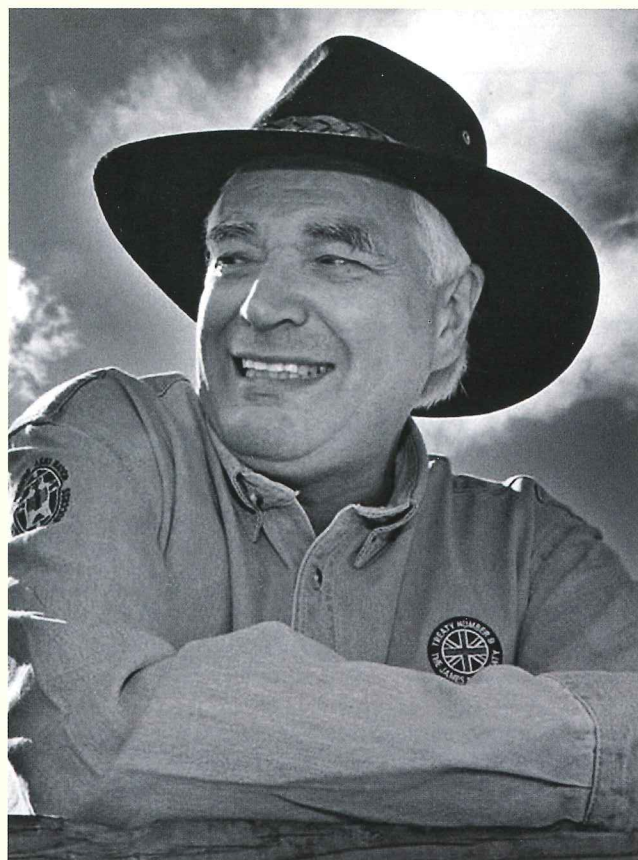
The boys were horsing around, playing marbles and kicking around a soccer ball, but they would not invite Oscar to join in. He would go inside and ask the teacher if he could attend classes for the rest of the term. The teacher would say yes, as he always did when Oscar appeared at his door at this time of year. He seemed to like Oscar, but, with a mocking smile never called him by his name, always addressing him as Chief. The kids called him Chief, as well, but never with a smile. To them, he was the outsider, even if most of them treated him with good-natured tolerance. Several others, big raw-boned members of an old pioneer family, however, called him a dirty Indian and had been bullying him for years. Once when he was a seven-year-old in grade two and fought back, they had ganged up on him, threw him to the ground, and pushed his face into the dirt.

"Say 'I'm a dirty Indian,'" they said, "and we'll let you go." But Oscar refused to give in, and his tormentors yanked him to his feet, and two of them held his arms, a third pulled down his pants to show off his underwear.

"Wanna see this Redskin's dick?" the older of the two asked the kids who had gathered around.

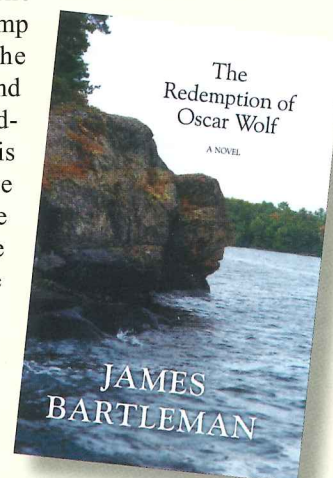
"I would," Gloria Sunderland, the butcher-shop owner's daughter said with a smirk. And after the big boys pulled down his underwear, Oscar ran back to the shack at the Indian Camp in tears to tell his grandfather what had happened. He expected Jacob would immediately go up to school to tell those kids never to touch his grandson again or he would teach them a lesson they would never forget. And if their fathers got mad and came down to the Indian Camp to complain, his grandfather would pull their pants down to let them know how his grandson had felt when their sons had done that to them. After all, Jacob had killed Germans with his bare hands and was a war hero and had the medals to prove it. Dealing with the fathers of a couple of bullies in Port Carling shouldn't be all that hard.

But his grandfather took him by the hand and led him to the shore and sat down with him on a piece of driftwood. "I have seen and learned a lot of things in my life," he said. "To avoid torturing and poisoning myself with feelings of hatred, I banished from my heart the bitterness I once felt toward the people who expelled my people from Obagawanung. I discovered that the best way Indians can survive in the world of the white man is to fit in and wait for better days. I sent your mother to residential school so she would learn to fit in; I joined the army and fought the white man's war so I would fit in; and to fit in today, I smile and say nothing when youngsters half my age call me Chief at the guest house. That's why I think you should say nothing when the white children give you a hard time at school. Just remember: keep your heart



free from anger, fit in, and wait for a better day and all will be well."

Oscar would never forget his grandfather's words, but as he grew older and listened to Old Mary's stories about the deeds of the ancestors in past wars, and to veterans talking in the evenings around the campfires at the Indian Camp about their exploits in the Great War, he grew more and more ashamed of his grandfather for not coming to his defence. If his father were alive, Oscar was sure that he wouldn't have let anyone push his son around. And he vowed to get even, not just with the two white boys and Gloria Sunderland, but with everyone in the village, no matter how long it took. ☺



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Black Code: Inside the Battle for Cyberspace

reviewed by Paul Meyer

BLACK CODE: INSIDE THE BATTLE FOR CYBERSPACE by Ronald J. Deibert, McClelland & Stewart Random House of Canada, 2013, 298 pp., \$32.99 CDN.

The term “cyberspace” was coined by the Vancouver science-fiction writer William Gibson. In his 1984 novel *Neuromancer*, he defined it as “a consensual hallucination experienced daily by billions...” This prescient metaphor has become a household term in a world increasingly engaged in an on-line existence. This omnipresent cyber world is not without its dark forces however and these are well illuminated in a timely and insightful work by Ron Deibert, Director of the Citizen Lab at the Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto. As he explains in the preface Citizen Lab was born out of a desire to study cyberspace from an international security perspective while working to sustain it as an open and secure commons for all. This led to an unorthodox combination of technical investigation, field research and social science analysis being brought to bear under academic auspices with a mission to “watch the watchers” and report its findings to the public. What Deibert and his colleagues at the Lab uncovered was disturbing and its retelling, in a refreshing and largely jargon-free style, constitutes the core of the book.

In order to properly appreciate the dangers to cyberspace one has to have an understanding of its scope and importance. Deibert sets out, often via anecdotes derived from actual investigations undertaken by Citizen Lab, a series of facts that serve to put the current threats to cyberspace freedoms into context. It is estimated that there are over 10 billion devices connected to the Internet. Once dominated by Western actors, by 2012 two-thirds of Internet users were outside of North America and Europe, with over one-quarter residing in China. The volume of the meta-data being generated in cyberspace is mind-blowing. Deibert cites IBM research which concluded that humanity produced from the dawn of time to the year 2003 some five exabytes of data (one exabyte = a billion gigabytes) and estimated that by

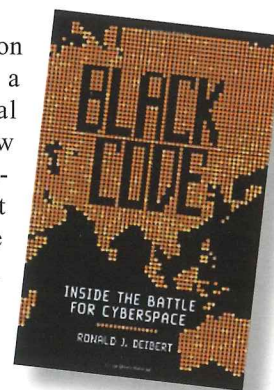
2013 an equivalent amount will be produced every ten minutes. This immense data store and its exploitation is an underlying theme of the book. Deibert outlines the political economy of cyberspace that is based on the collecting, analysis and dissemination of what he jokingly refers to as “our digital droppings”. The fact that this mining of metadata occurs essentially outside of our awareness and with the dubious authorization of “I agree” activation based on lengthy and obtuse text is one of the realities Deibert expounds upon. He notes that this business model creates significant vulnerabilities for the consumer with respect to privacy. Moreover, as the same techniques for amassing and exploiting this data are employed by official as well as commercial actors, these processes can result in abuse of civil rights.

The chief threats to cyberspace and its users, enumerated by Deibert, originate in the corporate, criminal and state realms. The tendencies of corporate players to increase the data collected from users and to erode privacy limits is decried. Deibert at one point compares Facebook to a giant python that “captures, swallows and slowly digests its users”. Corporate transgressions pale, however, in comparison with the actions of criminal gangs. Deibert describes how the Citizen Lab team exposed a cyber crime syndicate called Koobface that operated out of St. Petersburg, Russia. This gang had control of some 800,000 computers worldwide having compromised them through a variety of on-line tricks and used this “botnet” to amass millions through taking advantage of legitimate “pay per click” and “pay per install” schemes. With a solid dossier in hand as to Koobface illicit actions Deibert tried to interest the RCMP in the affair, but to no avail as the problems of jurisdiction, differing legal codes and limited capacity for international cooperation rendered any prosecution of the culprits extremely unlikely.

The most ominous of the threats that *Black Code* discusses is that originating with state authorities. This in turn reflects the “securitization of cyberspace” a concept that Deibert explains means: “the

slow transformation of an issue into a matter of national security, with new policies and controls attached.” It follows therefore that authoritarian regimes, which consider any dissent against the existing order a threat to national security, are quick to employ cyber surveillance tools to identify and repress activists. Deibert laments the fact that the Internet has not always proven to be an effective counter to authoritarian regimes and some of these have successfully employed sophisticated control techniques to neutralize opposition groups and instill a climate of fear and self-censorship. Deibert effectively illustrates these actions, drawing from Citizen Lab studies of Chinese cyber espionage campaigns directed at Tibetan and other dissident groups as well as foreign governmental entities. But “securitization” is not only a process that favours authoritarian regimes, it also provides a justification for those in democratic states who support extensive and intrusive surveillance of individuals in the interests of “national security”. As Deibert notes: “Securitization opens the door to clandestine arrangements, over-classification, and lack of accountability”. Although published prior to the revelations of Edward Snowden regarding the massive collection programs of the National Security Agency, Deibert has identified the inherent risks to open societies when their “protectors” assume secret and far-reaching powers.

If states exploit cyberspace for surveillance of their own and foreign citizens, they also increasingly have the capacity to deploy offensive cyber weapons and conduct cyber warfare. Although self-restraint has been practiced by the major powers there is clearly a danger that cyberspace could readily be turned into another battleground for warring states to the detriment of all. In a chapter devoted to the Stuxnet cyber weapon, a sophisticated



computer “worm” designed to disrupt the Iranian nuclear program, Deibert lays out the disturbing implications of this resort to destructive force in cyberspace. Its real significance Deibert notes lies “in the threshold that it crossed: major governments taking at least implicit credit for a cyber weapon that sabotaged a critical infrastructure facility through computer coding”. In this domain, where potential weaponry is cheap and a countervailing normative structure largely absent, the risks of proliferation and escalation of offensive action are real and frightening.

Having alarmed his readers with disturbing portraits of the dark forces in cyberspace, what does Deibert offer by way of prescriptions for corrective action? In a concluding chapter Deibert sets out two core concepts which he suggests can reconcile the security versus openness dichotomy. The first is “distributed security” with origins in the “checks and

balances” systems developed by America’s founding fathers. Distributed security is concerned with “building structures that rein in and tie down political power, both domestically and internationally, as a way to secure rights and freedoms”. Deibert advocates the development of oversight and accountability mechanisms to ensure that national security programs are consistent with legal and human rights standards. The second concept is that of “stewardship” which Deibert sees as particularly relevant to the human-created environment of cyberspace. Deibert rejects the notion of a single global body taking on the stewardship role and favours a decentralized network in which the scientists and engineers who have developed and maintained cyberspace should play a central role. While Deibert offers no precise blueprint for the construction of such a decentralized governance arrangement for cyberspace, he clearly sees an

inclusive approach as vital. He also views a civil society-animating stewardship as necessary to “moderate the dangerously escalating exercise of state power in cyberspace by defining limits and setting thresholds of accountability and mutual restraint”. In both the domestic and foreign spheres, Deibert argues it is urgent for those who support liberal democratic values “to articulate a compelling counter-narrative to reflexive state and corporate control over cyberspace”. In *Black Code*, Ron Deibert has made a major contribution to the development of such a narrative.

Paul Meyer retired in 2010 after a 35 year career in Canada’s Foreign Service. He is currently a Fellow in International Security at Simon Fraser University’s Centre for Dialogue and a Senior Fellow at the Simons Foundation in Vancouver.

The Dogs Are Eating Them Now, Our War in Afghanistan

reviewed by Stuart Hughes

THE DOGS ARE EATING THEM NOW, OUR WAR IN AFGHANISTAN by Graeme Smith, Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2013, 299 pp., \$32.00 CDN.

At a recent gathering at CIPS (the Centre for International Policy Studies of the University of Ottawa), Graeme Smith spoke candidly about his years from 2006 to 2009 as the correspondent for the *Globe and Mail* in Kandahar. Self-deprecating, he emphasized that he was still a very young journalist during his assignment in Afghanistan and hadn’t lingered over-long in university before it. He also spoke somewhat apologetically about the book, almost dismissing it as a “300 page rant”. The title, *The Dogs Are Eating Them Now, Our War in Afghanistan*, is a grim reference to the fate of bodies left in the field.

Smith’s modesty is disarming, but don’t be fooled. The book is not about an innocent coming of age, it is about a thoroughly professional reporter and guarded idealist become an often chagrined and exasperated realist. Neither foolhardy nor risk

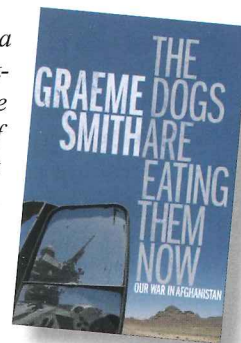
averse, he set about relentlessly collecting facts on the ground – increasingly dangerous work in Afghanistan and neighbouring Pakistan. The keen observation and pointed questions that are the journalist’s métier soon had him seeing things as they are, and not as western politicians and their spin doctors would have us see them. Some of them will not like this account, perhaps a few of our own diplomats included. However, he never quite abandons his idealism and concludes his narrative on a hopeful note that Afghanistan’s government may prove more resilient than we suppose.

From the diplomat’s perspective, there is much to like in Smith’s book. He has a gift for capturing the subtleties of situations many of us may have witnessed ourselves:

“The war attracted young professionals who saw themselves in a heroic role, saving locals from misery, or fighting the evil darkness of terrorism, or perhaps both at the same time. Somehow those glamorous pursuits also required lots of alcohol...

There was often a grimness to the drinking, a deliberate grinding down of consciousness, but occasionally women would show up in something shimmering, or sparkly, or wearing a tiara. This added a frisson to the dancing, and gave momentum to the evenings beyond the need to blur awareness. By the end of the night you could see the disappointment on the faces of the people who realized they could not drink themselves out of Afghanistan.”

Smith does not simply recap his many articles hoping that the sum would be greater than its parts. As an eyewitness and non-combatant participant, he documents the events and times that gave rise to his reporting and places the whole in a broad and thoughtful context. Underlying questions came sharply into focus as security conditions worsened, the pervasive climate



of seeming duplicity intensified, body counts rose, and frustration mounted with getting anything meaningful done in such a foreign, tribal and feudal environment. Those questions went to the heart of matters: Why are we here? What are we trying to accomplish? What is this savage war really about? Do we actually know much about the people we are fighting? How do we salvage something real from the mess we may have made?

The narrative also ventures into narrower territory of our own. Regarding the neuralgic question of whether the Canadian military knowingly handed Afghan prisoners over to local authorities that tortured their captives, he acknowledges the confusion of the times but continues: "My great fear is that somewhere in the buzz of information, there was a terrible calculation, a decision to avoid fighting by the rules". He writes of Richard Colvin and the issues he and others raised, concluding broadly that "...Westerners became intimately embroiled with a dirty war, and the filthy awfulness of it will remain a stain on their reputation."

Smith writes of the real difficulty faced by Canadian troops in identifying who was the enemy among so many ordinary Afghans. He asks if such hugely extensive "collateral damage" can be justified if the enemy cannot be clearly identified? Did our troops unwittingly serve as enablers for Afghan government troops and officials that extorted their fellow citizens as ruthlessly as the Taliban themselves (and so greatly undermined our own efforts)? He uses Canada's huge investment in the Kandahar prison (that nonetheless saw two massive prisoner breakouts) as a metaphor for the near futility of well-meaning investment in an environment and among people we scarcely understand. He also warns against the mindset that comes from over-exposure to such frustrations, as seen on a military bathroom wall: "Nuke Afghanistan".

There are moments that speak to the dangers and moral dilemma of reporting as closely as Smith has done – a source very likely was killed for what he revealed to him, and Smith himself faced a de facto death warrant for naming a narcotics kingpin and pillar of the government who just happened to be the head of the Anti-narcotics police. The kingpin met

his own violent end a couple of years later which allowed Smith to return to Afghanistan, this time with the International Crisis Group.

Smith will put his analytical skills to the test with the ICG and is determined to see how the final troop withdrawal in 2014 will affect the country. He wonders if the legacy of the West's long involvement in Afghanistan will be a repeat of the end of communist rule, the civil wars of the warlords or, more optimistically, a period of relative peace with a negotiated truce between the Taliban (no longer fighting "infidel invaders") and a government in Kabul capable of maintaining a modicum of security.

One wishes Smith could have focused more on Canada's overall performance in Afghanistan. The book also would have benefitted from a more regional perspective – Pakistan's continued descent into chaos could have huge destabilizing consequences for Afghanistan and is itself in part the result of the turmoil in Afghanistan in which the Pakistani military played a role.

The foregoing is not criticism; he was there to report on events in Kandahar and the immediate region. However, as it seems unlikely we will get a candid and transparent assessment of our performance from government sources, his book may be the next best thing. It should be recommended reading for future decision makers and public servants.

According to Ahmed Rashid (in this issue), Canadians may find themselves contemplating renewed involvement in a turbulent Central and South Asia sooner than we think. Smith suggests that the West dug itself into a hole in Afghanistan... and as the then US Ambassador to Pakistan, Ryan Crocker, once said to President-General Musharraf: "We have a saying in our country – If you dig yourself into a hole, stop digging". Smith helps us learn from our role in Afghanistan while the experience is fresh and before we pick up that shovel. ☺

*Stuart Hughes is a retired Foreign Service officer and Editor of **bout de papier**.*

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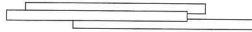
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A “down under” Encounter...

by Stuart Hughes

Many years ago in a galaxy far away (aka: my first posting, in Mexico) I had what might have been described as the consular job from hell – there were two of us with over 230,000 Canadian tourists a year in the country, some portion of whom had an unerring instinct for trouble. Our job was to help get them out of it and, more important to the Ambassador, never let a case find its way into question period in Parliament – never. Not to overdramatize, but basically we had two options: a) find every opportunity for fun and stay sane; or, b) shoot yourself.

I opted for Plan A. Trudeau had visited Mexico some time earlier, planning to scuba dive; the Ambassador wasn't going to let the PM out of his sight, knew the RCMP officer was a NAUI trainer, and so began a short tradition of scuba instruction at the Embassy. Eight weekends of six hours each in a murky, cold pool with an instructor who would step firmly on your hand if you dared rest for a moment hanging onto the side of the pool. However, the open sea test over Palancar reef in Cozumel was absolutely fantastic and the rigours of the pool were instantly forgotten.

What has any of that to do with Australia? Well, there's a buddy system in diving and mine was the Australian Ambassador, a bachelor and somewhat eccentric intellectual. Do you know what damage was wrought by Walt Disney's trivialization of nature? He did. But I digress; the Ambassador needed hydrotherapy after a nasty car crash and had joined the scuba training course.

One evening I was invited to the Algerian Ambassador's for dinner; his spouse was an anthropologist by training, something we shared. The Australian ambassador was the guest of honour... and he clearly had no idea who this third secretary and vice consul might be. Amused, and a bit of a tease, I chatted amiably but did not give him the slightest clue as to why I should address him so familiarly.

We were soon called to dinner. Toasts, mercifully brief remarks, and then liqueurs in the living room. I found myself with the Ambassador again. Taking pity (that, or he was visibly annoyed by now), I explained that we were diving buddies. God's truth, he looked at me with astonishment and said loud enough for all to hear in that unmistakable down under speak: “Oh my GAWD, I didn't recognize you with your clothes on”. Ouch. Purely a coincidence I am sure, but I don't remember being invited back.

Flash forward a few weeks and we are in Cozumel. His Excellency, commenting on our first dive, offered a few thoughts to the lot of us on good aspects and a suggestion for the not so good. Thinking earnestly in my Canadian way, I said, “you know that's not such a stupid idea!” How was I to know that Ambassadors are a sensitive bunch? Brow furrowed and eyes narrowed, he pointed his nose at me and said: “Thank you VERY much”. Afterwards he always turned to me first in making a suggestion, cock his head to one side, and say “With your permission...”. My “revenge” may have been completely inadvertent, but still delicious. I have opted for Plan A ever since. ☺

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

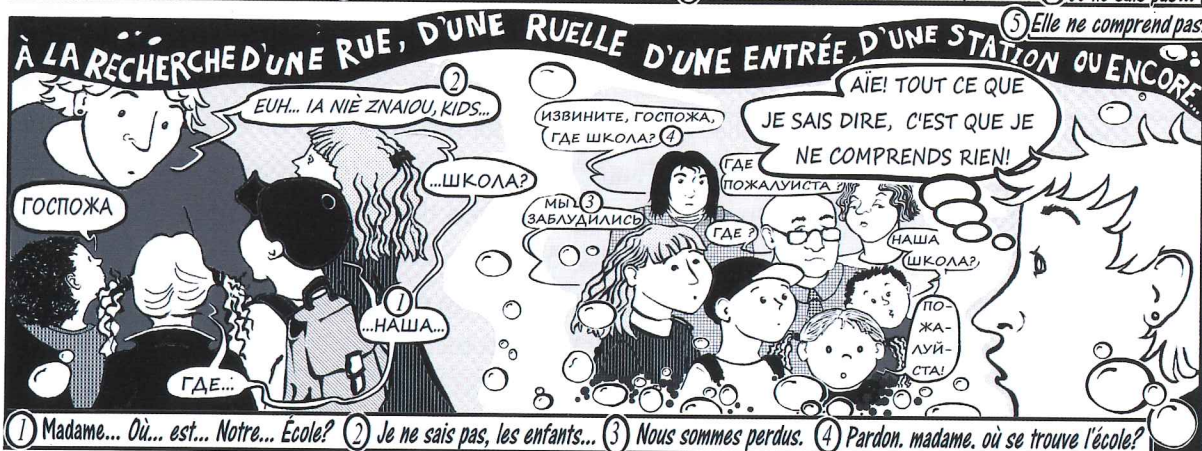
Présentation de la série « La vie dans les valises »

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.

par: Violette Paré



VIOLETTE PARÉ. Née à Montréal le 3 mai 1956. Au sortir de sa petite enfance, elle part vivre avec sa famille en Afrique de l'Ouest dont elle revient définitivement à 17 ans. S'ensuivent plusieurs années d'exploration du Canada, et d'études, notamment en scénographie théâtrale ainsi qu'en enseignement. Depuis 1991, elle fait plusieurs séjours à l'étranger en compagnie de son mari, agent des Affaires étrangères du Canada, et de leurs trois enfants. 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 »!



The General Makes Himself a Major (Nuisance)

Readers of **bout de papier** will be familiar with the Official Visit which marred the celebratory mood of Canada's centennial in 1967 and likely still haunts those who then worked in the Office of Protocol. In that year, a procession of international heads of state visited Ottawa and then the International and Universal Exhibition or Expo 67, as it was more commonly known, in Montréal – almost always in that order. An exception to that rule, perhaps inevitably, was the President of France, General Charles de Gaulle, whose itinerary had been contested between the Government of Canada, with Lester B. Pearson as Prime Minister, and the Government of Québec, headed by Premier Daniel Johnson. Ultimately, the President's chosen mode of transportation – aboard the French cruiser *Colbert* – made it impossible for him to visit the national capital first, so that the Government of Québec effectively hosted the early (and ultimately the only) part of his visit.

Many recollections, biographies, historical analyses and other commentaries have been published about the sequence of events – a grand reception for de Gaulle in Québec (where federal representatives were slighted), popular enthusiasm as his motorcade travelled to Montréal, his unfortunate comparison of that welcome to the one that he received when Paris was liberated and then his echoing of a separatist rallying cry (« *Vive le Québec libre* ») from the balcony of the Hôtel de ville, for which he was rebuked first at a banquet that evening by the Mayor of Montréal, Jean Drapeau, before the Government of Canada issued its own critical statement the following day which prompted the President to curtail his visit and return to Paris by a quicker mode of transportation, airplane.

As is well known from the various accounts of these events, the Cabinet carefully considered and deliberately revised its statement, which would be read by Prime Minister Pearson at a televised press conference, before it agreed on a text that it hoped would not amplify national divisions in Canada. Readers may be interested in the official record (in the Cabinet Conclusions) of the discussions, which occupied two meetings on 25 July 1967, with a follow-up discussion the next day, after de Gaulle indicated that he would avoid Ottawa. As always with such records, the prose captures little of the spirit of the exchanges in the Privy Council Chamber; nonetheless, it is possible to sense the tension of the meetings and the worry about how the Government's response would be perceived in Canada and especially in Québec. In the minutes reproduced below, the formal list of attendees and the Agenda have been omitted (in fact, "General de Gaulle" was the only item for the first two meetings) and names have been inserted (in parentheses) for those whose titles identify them as speakers (a list of those for whom no remarks are cited is added as an editorial note at the bottom of this item).

The original documents are preserved in the Records of the Privy Council in Library and Archives Canada. Cabinet Conclusions may also be viewed on-line.

– Hector Mackenzie

CABINET MINUTES

Tuesday, July 25th, 1967, at 12:00 noon

General de Gaulle (Previous reference June 29)

The Cabinet considered what action if any the Government ought to take further to General de Gaulle's statements in Quebec and especially in Montreal.

The Minister of Trade and Commerce (Robert Winters) said the Government could not let General de Gaulle's statements go unnoticed or unchallenged; the Government could not either tell him to leave the country; but perhaps the Prime Minister ought not to receive him.

The Minister of Finance (Mitchell Sharp) said he had originally thought along the same lines but he now believed the Prime Minister should proceed with his luncheon invitation in a frigid, formal way.

The Prime Minister (Lester B. Pearson) said, if he received General de Gaulle, he could not, while remaining courteous, ignore his declarations. The possibility of advising him that the visit to Ottawa could not take place ought not to be excluded.

The Minister of Industry (Charles M. "Bud" Drury) said he thought as the Minister of Finance; what really mattered was the reaction of the French-speaking population, which did not seem favourable to the General, except, of course, for separatist elements. Mayor Drapeau of the City of Montreal had already begun to re-establish the situation.

The Prime Minister said the Government had to think of the reaction of all the country. He had received several hundreds telegrams from across Canada, including Quebec, most of which were unfavourable to de Gaulle.

Mr. Pearson also said if the General came to Ottawa the program of his visit would have to be reconsidered. A counter-demonstration was possible and added security precautions would have to be taken, all of which would have a disastrous effect in Quebec. It might be more advisable for instance to greet the General at the railway station than on Parliament Hill. The General could not seriously object and decide to go back to France since such modifications would have been dictated by a change in the situation which he himself would have brought about. The luncheon at the Chateau Laurier and the dinner at Government House could go on as planned, but there was no reason why the General should meet the Cabinet, as this part of the program, in any event, had not been made public.

The Associate Minister of National Defence (Léo Cadieux) said the General was also scheduled to lay a wreath at the Cenotaph and several high-ranking members of the armed forces had let him know they would rather resign than attend a ceremony with him. Everybody expected the Government to react strongly; this was a matter of self-respect; it could not be accepted

either that de Gaulle destroy the French-speaking representation in the Government, which was the implication of his statements.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs (Paul Martin) said he had been outraged listening over television to de Gaulle's speech at the Montreal Hôtel de Ville. There could be no ambiguity as to what it meant. He had tried in vain to obtain copy of the General's speech; he had just spoken to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs (Maurice Couve de Murville) who had said he understood how he felt; the whole French delegation was most embarrassed and there was every indication that Premier (Daniel) Johnson himself was concerned at the turn of events.

Mr. Martin added his own first reaction had been to cancel the General's visit to Ottawa but he no longer thought so. The Government had to take into consideration not only public opinion in Quebec but also the implications and the long-range consequences of a possible break in diplomatic relations with France. Such a dramatic gesture would be remembered in Quebec for years to come.

The Prime Minister said the Government's attitude would also be remembered for years to come if it did nothing adequate in the face of the provocation.

The Minister of National Health and Welfare (Allan J. MacEachen) said the General was scheduled to make other speeches that day which would provide him with the opportunity to qualify his previous statements.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs said the Government should entertain no illusion about the possibility that de Gaulle would retract; he believed every word he said and did not even care whether his government agreed with him or not. The Commissioner for State Visits, Mr. (Lionel) Chevrier, had driven with him and the General had spoken about nothing else but the people's reaction to his speeches and the strength of the separatist movement.

The Minister of National Health and Welfare said the General was trying to split the country and it was not possible to act normally in such circumstances.

The Minister of National Defence (sic: Paul Hellyer, who was absent - this presumably refers to the Associate Minister of National Defence, Léo Cadieux) said there was no excuse for a man of General de Gaulle's experience to have acted as he did.

The Minister of Justice (Pierre E. Trudeau) said the people in France would think the Government was weak if it did not react; the General had not the support of the intellectuals in his own country and the French press was opposed to him.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs said a dramatic gesture on the part of the Government might provoke applause in several places such as the United States but this would be of little help internally; there was no mistaking the enthusiasm for de Gaulle in Montreal and at Expo.

The Minister without Portfolio, Mr. (Jean) Chrétien, said that the provincial government had chartered buses to transport children and many others from his constituency to Three Rivers (Trois-Rivières) for an organized demonstration. In his view the Government should show no weakness.

The Prime Minister said a statement should be drafted for publication after the meeting of the Cabinet and this statement should refer to the General's intervention into Canadian domestic affairs.

The Minister of Manpower and Immigration (Jean Marchand) said the statement should be drafted with the utmost care. It should in no way be susceptible to being interpreted as being either anti-French or anti-Quebec; indeed, the Government should express its happiness about the reception accorded by Quebec to the President of France. de Gaulle should, in so far as possible, be separated from France and from Quebec.

Mr. Pearson said Mr. Martin, Mr. Marchand and his other Quebec colleagues could come to his office to help him draft a statement during the lunch hour, after which it could be decided whether the Cabinet should reconvene to consider the draft.

The Cabinet agreed that a public statement be drafted by the Prime Minister in consultation with a few Ministers to express the Government's position further to General de Gaulle's speeches in Quebec.

CABINET MINUTES

Tuesday, July 25th, 1967, at 3:45 p.m.

General de Gaulle (Previous reference July 25 (noon meeting))

The Prime Minister read a draft statement concerning General de Gaulle's speeches in Quebec, which he had prepared during the noon hour in consultation with the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, the Minister of National Health and Welfare and the Minister of Industry.

Mr. Pearson asked whether the draft statement appeared too strong.

The Secretary of State (Judy LaMarsh) replied it was far from being too strong.

The Prime Minister said the draft statement had to be looked at in the diplomatic context; it was a rebuke to a head of state; it was worded in terms which were as strong as the diplomatic language would allow; even a mild-mannered head of state was bound to react to such a statement.

Some Ministers said they doubted General de Gaulle would come to Ottawa after such a statement.

The Minister of Trade and Commerce said he felt it was a mistake directly or indirectly to drive General de Gaulle from Canada. He could break diplomatic relations and extend recognition to Quebec and to Quebec's Délégation Générale in Paris.

The Government should rather reconsider receiving the General in Ottawa, review the situation with him and issue a statement immediately afterwards. If the General then left sooner than had been planned, it would be his own choice; but the consequences of his leaving before coming to Ottawa as a result of this earlier statement were extremely serious.

The Minister of Industry said he concurred with the view that General de Gaulle should not be driven from

Canada. On the other hand, the Government could not accept his espousal of separatism and would look weak if it followed the course suggested. The Associate Minister of National Defence said he shared this view.

The President of the Treasury Board (Edgar Benson) said the draft statement should perhaps be modified so as not to refer directly to General de Gaulle.

The Minister of Finance said he felt the draft statement ought to be amended so as to leave an opening for General de Gaulle to remain in the country.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs said no newspaper would appear before the next morning and the General was scheduled to make another speech that evening; the Government would not lose a great deal of time by waiting until after the General's speech to reach a decision.

The Associate Minister of National Defence said the Prime Minister's statement should be made before the General's speech so as to provide the latter with an opportunity to qualify his position.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs replied he doubted the General would be influenced by any statement.

The Minister of Manpower and Immigration said ninety per cent of the population of Quebec failed to see a relationship between General de Gaulle's speeches and separatism. People applauded him because he was a great man and a French-speaking great man at that. If he left the country saying that he was compelled to do so on account of the Government, people would not understand the reasons for his departure and the burden of explaining them would rest on the Government which would greatly suffer from such a situation.

The Minister of Finance said that, putting himself in the General's place, he would not come to Ottawa under rebuke. Consequently the draft statement had to be modified to leave an opening for the General and to make it clear that the invitation to proceed with his visit was still standing. If the General shortened his sojourn after that, it would be his own doing.

The Prime Minister said he was prepared to modify the draft statement along those lines. He was still uncertain, however, whether the General would come to Ottawa in such circumstances although he doubted very much that he would go to the extent of severing diplomatic relations with the Canadian Government. On the assumption that the General would pursue his visit, his program would not be modified except with respect to his reception on Parliament Hill and his meeting with the Cabinet. The French Embassy would be informed of these changes.

The Cabinet agreed

a) That a statement be issued by the Prime Minister at a press conference immediately following the meeting of the Cabinet, such statement to read as follows:

"I am sure that Canadians in all parts of our country were pleased when the President of France received such a warm welcome in Quebec.

"However, certain statements by the President tend to encourage the small minority of our population whose aim is to destroy Canada; and, as such, they are unacceptable to the Canadian people and its Government.

"The people of Canada are free. Every province of Canada is free. Canadians do not need to be liberated. Indeed, many thousands of Canadians gave their lives in two World Wars in the liberation of France and other European countries.

"Canada will remain united and will reject any effort to destroy her unity.

"Canada has always had a special relationship with France, the motherland of so many of her citizens. We attach the greatest importance to our friendship with the French people. It has been, and remains, the strong purpose of the Government of Canada to foster that friendship. I hope that my discussions later this week with General de Gaulle will demonstrate that this purpose is one which he shares"; and

b) That the program of General de Gaulle's visit to Ottawa be maintained except with respect to his reception on Parliament Hill, to be replaced by his reception at Government House, and his meeting with the Cabinet, to be cancelled, and that the French Embassy be informed of these changes.

CABINET MINUTES

Wednesday, July 26th, 1967, at 9:00 a.m.

Visit of General de Gaulle
(Previous reference July 25 (afternoon meeting))

The Secretary of State for External Affairs said that at about 1:30 a.m. the Canadian Ambassador to France, Mr. (Jules) Léger, had been informed by the Foreign Minister of France, Mr. Couve de Murville, that General de Gaulle had indicated that he did not intend to come to Ottawa. Mr. Martin said that he had indicated to Mr. Léger that there was nothing to add to the Prime Minister's statement; that in Ottawa preparations for the visit of General de Gaulle had been going ahead; that we had no reason to assume the visit would not take place and that, if it did not, it would not be because of any decision to that effect by the Canadian government. Mr. Martin also said that he had spoken directly to the Foreign Minister of France who had indicated that, in his judgment, pressing matters with the General would not alter his decision and that the best course was to let him depart.

In the discussion, the following points were mentioned:

a) The Prime Minister indicated that it might be necessary for him to issue some statement on the fact that General de Gaulle was cutting short his visit and was not coming to Ottawa. However, it would be best to leave any statement to the French if possible.

b) It was suggested that, in the circumstances, it would not be appropriate for a Cabinet Minister to travel to Montreal to be on hand for General de Gaulle's departure from Dorval Airport but that this protocol duty should be performed by the Honourable Lionel Chevrier.

The Cabinet noted the report of the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the comments of the Prime Minister relating to the cancellation of the visit to Ottawa by General de Gaulle.

Editorial note: Ministers present for all meetings but with no attributed remarks: the Postmaster General (Jean-Pierre Côté) and the Minister of Labour (John Robert "Jack" Nicholson) - Ministers present for only the third meeting but with no attributed remarks: the Minister of Transport (J. W. "Jack" Pickersgill); the Minister of Public Works (George W. McIlraith); the Minister of Forestry and Rural Development (Maurice Sauvé); the Solicitor General (Lawrence Pennell) and the Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources (Jean-Luc Pépin). ③

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Five Lacquer Boxes

A fabulous Japanese puzzle by A Aalto

Effie was working on a new vision statement. I was seeking new vision in the bottom of a glass of rye. He showed me another design for our letterhead. It said:

SHAMUS DIKK, Private Investigations
 "If you think your case is hopeless,
 you don't know Dikk"

I told him, "Don't quit the day job." "But this *is* my day job." "I wouldn't go there."

The world went "pop" and a figure appeared from nowhere in the client chair. "Yi Xing," I said, "What's new with the Jade Emperor?" The Chinese immortal winced. "There is nothing new with the Jade Emperor, who is eternal and unchanging. But for me, something new every day. I am here to enlist your help again. This time, in Japan." "But we have no contacts there," I replied. "I threw the I Ching. It told me a Western expert was needed. And there is little time. If we don't control Hitokotonushi within half a day, he will tear the country apart. Bare-handed."

Effie gulped. "Such a pity," he said. "There's no way we can get to Japan that fast. Passports, visas, long plane ride, you know." "Fortunately," replied Yi Xing, standing up and taking our hands, "I am not so bound." And then we were sitting in what turned out to be a teahouse in Kyoto, panelled in paper screens, with low tables on straw mats and a woman in brocade playing some sort of guitar. Our host set things out.

"A thousand years ago, a powerful Buddhist magician named En no Gyoja fought and defeated a mountain god named

Hitokotonushi, who was tearing up Nara. The god was sealed in a boulder down a ravine on Mount Katsuragi, bound by layers of magic vines. But En no Gyoja knew that Hitokotonushi wasn't going to die. He could afford to wait and plot. So the magician kept an eye out. One day, a monk named Taicho stumbled across the boulder and was conned by Hitokotonushi into speaking a spell of release. Before he could finish it, En no Gyoja showed up in a fury and reset the magical boundaries. He made Taicho guardian of the boulder, with a magical flute to refresh the wards around Hitokotonushi. He also made the monk immortal but really ugly."

"What was this flute?" I asked. "It was the most wonderful shakuhachi ever crafted, called Twinleaf for the single red and green leaves lacquered on it. Only one person could play it, until they died and it passed to someone else. Once a year, Taicho would go to the ravine and play before the boulder. For a long time things stayed quiet. But Hitokotonushi was devious, and even from the rock he could reach into the world. He found the monk's one true love, a Kyoto merchant's daughter named Mariko, and arranged that they meet. They fell in love and were happy for a year. Then, when Taicho was on Mount Katsuragi, she fell ill and died - Hitokotonushi's doing. When Taicho got back, all the life went out of him. He rarely left his cell and he stopped his pilgrimages to the mountain. Then one day he woke to find that the red lacquer leaf had disappeared from the shakuhachi, and a real one was lying on the floor. He gave the

leaf to his abbot and disappeared into the streets. He has never since been seen."

"That was centuries ago. En no Gyoja's spells are strong, but all magic weakens. It's clear that Hitokotonushi is about to break out. He is strong and crazy and he's been stuffed inside a rock for a thousand years. The spells must be renewed. The shakuhachi is kept in a temple in Uji, but no-one can play it. That means Taicho is alive, but no-one knows where, or whether he would set aside his grief to help us. And the red leaf is missing too."

"We have 12 hours?" asked Effie brightly. "Piece of cake. Which reminds me, I left a cake in the oven back home. Can I go back?" "No," Yi Xing said, "We'll need you." I said, "Where do we start?" The immortal stroked his thin beard. "Mariko never rejoined the Great Wheel, so she remains on this plane. If we find her, she might help us with Taicho. Let's begin at her old house - it's not far from here."

We paid and went out. As we left the teahouse, we saw a man in antique dress with a wicker basket over his head, playing a wooden flute. "A komuso Zen monk," said Yi Xing. "I didn't know there were any left." Effie just said, "Cool music, whoever he is," and gave the monk some money. The musician pulled out a magazine and handed it to Effie, saying, "You may need this." We pulled Effie away. The komuso went back to his music.

Mariko's place was wildly overgrown. We saw no-one. An old woman approached. She had a sharp wrinkled face with high cheekbones and a long nose, surrounded

by a bush of dyed red hair. She barked, "Who are you? And why is a man wearing that dress?" I looked at Effie. I forget that he is a transvestite. He replied, "It's Balenciaga, grandma." "Flamingo pink isn't your colour, dear. I'd try something darker." The two began to talk fabric. I checked my watch and started to interrupt, but Yi Xing put a hand on my arm.

Then the woman said, "Enough. Why are you hanging around on a day this cold?" Effie replied, "We're looking for someone who died, um, about a thousand years ago." The woman said, "You mean Mariko?" "Yes. Is she here?" "Where else? When she died, her family took her to the cemetery, but when they got there, the coffin was empty. They got back and found her here, laid out in her prettiest gown. This happened four or five times, so they gave up, abandoned the house with her in it. No-one would come near, and it crumbled into nothing over the years. Now it's under that mound." "Wow. So she's... not available?" "Oh, she'll show up if asked politely. But all she'll talk about is her lover, who must be dust by now."

Yi Xing interjected, "That would suit us fine. Could you call her?" The woman nodded and walked to the mound. She pounded her cane on a flat rock and called "Mariko, visitors!" A ghostly woman in a many-layered loose silk gown appeared, her hair down and her eyes sad. "Mariko? My name is Yi Xing. We need your help." A small puzzled frown crossing her face. "And we can take you to Taicho." She gave a little cry like a wounded animal and said, "My Taicho? But where is he? I have waited so long." "He knows not you still live. So he has given up hope and withdrawn from the world. Because of this, terrible things are about to happen." "Happily I would come with you to find

him, but I am a ghost and tied to this mound, my grave." The immortal smiled. "There I can help. Your love has kept a spark of life within you."

He pulled out a silk wallet, extracted a sheet of gold-flecked rice paper and folded it into a bird shape. "A phoenix rises from the ashes. Take this and think of Taicho." She closed her eyes. The phoenix burst into flames, and the ghost went up in a flash. When our sight cleared, a young woman stood there, saying "Let's go to him. Now." I saw Xi Ying bow to the old woman, who bowed in return. The pale winter sunlight glinted off her silver fox brooch.

Another dark flicker and we stood below a huge old gatehouse in the middle of a traffic circle. Yi Xing took pity. "We're still in Kyoto. This is the Suzaku Gate from the old imperial palace. The last place anyone saw Taicho." Mariko looked around frantically, but saw only cars. Then two young Japanese in leather coats ran up to Yi Xing. "Shamus, Effie, Mariko, these are Sammi and Jozo. They are dead, but helping me out." "Taicho gave me Twinleaf when he left the monastery," Sammi said. "I won it from him at a game of go, but he lost on purpose. He had played the flute for me once. Unbelievable." He shivered. "I'm a musician myself and it damn near convinced me to give up. Especially when I couldn't play a note on it. Neither could Jozo, who played for the Emperor. Eventually we presented it to the temple."

Yi Xing nodded. "So where is Taicho now?" Mariko spoke. "He is here. I can feel him." She stood on the windswept pavement, trembling. A voice spoke. "Mariko?" A light went on in the dark second storey of the gatehouse. A window opened and a hideous head emerged. Green mottled skin, three red eyes, jagged teeth – and those were the pretty parts. Jozo gulped, "No wonder people never speak about the demon of the gate." The demon leaped down and swept Mariko into his arms. "My tambo, I thought you dead." I could see where this was going and waded in: "We're running out of time, lovebirds, so let's cut to the chase. You've been separated for a thousand years by a malevolent god. But catch up on old times later. Taicho, Hitokotonushi is breaking out of the boulder on Mount Katsuragi. We need you to play Twinleaf. Are you up for it? Most of central Japan will be slag tomorrow if you aren't." Taicho hadn't

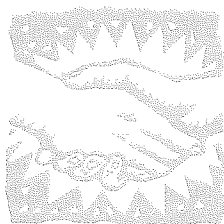
for a second torn his eyes away from her face. "Yeah, fine," he murmured, then shook himself. "But I haven't got the shakuhachi. And the red leaf is missing too – the flute won't sound without it."

Yi Xing said, "We can take care of that. Sammi? Jozo?" Sammi pulled a long parcel in white silk from under his coat. "Here's the flute. The monks haven't missed it yet. We'll either get it back to them tonight or they'll have bigger things to worry about." Jozo added, "And the leaf is in a hidden room at Kiyomizudera. It's a bit complicated, though..."

A few hours later, a saffron-robed bonze led us into a dim, incense-filled hall. A last ray of sunlight filtered through the forest of polished wood columns, creeping slowly closer to a golden Buddha before the east wall. The sunbeam reached a large prism in its raised left hand. "Winter solstice, the one sunset of the year this happens," murmured Yi Xing. Split by the crystal, the light formed a rainbow. Where it stuck the far wall, five tall narrow tokonomas opened. Each held a lacquer box with a different colour, shape and pattern of decoration. Each alcove also contained a second object. The bonze said, "Time to choose. You can only open one box, and only while the sun illuminates the Buddha." I jotted a few notes in my book.

1. The first box was gold in a flat square shape.
2. The black cubic box was immediately between the box with the chrysanthemum pattern and the one with the netsuke in the tokonoma.
3. The fourth box had a crane pattern, while the oval box was in the third tokonoma to the right of the tokonoma with the painted scroll.
4. Of the box with the maple leaf pattern, the white box and the box in the tokonoma with the sake cup, none are adjacent to any other.
5. The box with the Fuji pattern was at one end of the row, the tokonoma with the dwarf pine at the other.
6. The red box in the second tokonoma was in the shape of a miniature chest of drawers.
7. The round box with clear lacquer was in the tokonoma to the immediate left of the one with the kabuki doll.
8. The third box had a pattern of dragonflies.

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Five Lacquer Boxes: Puzzle Chart One

Tokonoma (left to right)	1	2	3	4	5
Colour					
Shape					
Pattern					
Object in tokonoma					

Five Lacquer Boxes: Puzzle Chart Two

Match each definition at left with the corresponding word at right	
Bicycle of sorts, sideways	Akita
Knowing when to fold	Bonsai
Picture the floating world	Chanoyu
That wind's divine	Edo
Cartoons not for kids	Futon
New wave, unfortunately	Geisha
After enlightenment, chop wood and draw water	Hibachi
Shogun's roost	Ikebana
Northern dog, not husky	Jujitsu
Green fire	Kamikaze
Heroic cards	Manga
Ceremony, to a T	Noh
Lady of culture	Origami
Where you go to get grilled	Pokemon
This one will throw you	Rickshaw
This one will floor you	Sudoku
Negative drama	Tsunami
Numerical nightmare	Ukiyo-e
Not your average pocketful of posies	Wasabi
	Zen

But which one to open? Effie came up to me. "Shamus, that magazine the komuso gave me. On one page, someone's written 'When it's time to decide'. The puzzle below is about Japanese stuff. Gotta mean something." The puzzle had two columns, one of Japanese words, the other some odd definitions. The words and definitions didn't match up. Effie said, "There is one more word than definition. That undefined word must be important."

I thought about it. The basket-headed samurai couldn't be a coincidence, not the way this caper was moving. So we put our

heads together. When we solved the puzzle, the extra word did point to one of the tokonoma. As sunlight faded, Taicho stepped up to it and carefully opened the box. Out of it he plucked a bright red leaf, its surface sparkling with dew. He and Mariko drew close together. The alcoves silently closed.

Later, we were high on Mount Katsuragi. A huge, vine-covered boulder stood in a moonlit grove within the steep walls of a ravine. The vines were dry and had snapped in places. Little bits of the rock flaked off as we watched.

Taicho unwrapped the flute. Yi Xing opened his silk folder and pulled out the red leaf. Mariko took it and laid it beside its green twin. Nobody breathed, then there was a soft chime. "Thus is Twinleaf reborn," said Taicho. He raised the shakuhachi and blew a single note, then another. Clear water, bright moonlight, birdsong at night, a lover's kiss, I heard all these things. As he played, his eyes locked on Mariko's, Taicho's ugliness was replaced by a strange beauty. As she watched, you could tell this was the way she always saw him.

Tears ran down Effie's face. Yi Xing looked relieved. As Taicho played, mist rose from the ground, lit as if by a thousand fireflies. All around, trees and other plants were setting out the green shoots of spring – in the middle of winter – and the vines around the boulder grew thicker and smoother. As they renewed their grip, a flush of ugly red light flared from the rock, but as quickly vanished. The music faded away as if picking its way across the river of stars.

I turned to Yi Xing. "Very Disney." "You should not work so hard to be cynical, Shamus." "I'm a noir character who stumbled into an oriental fable. I'll never be part of anything this haunting again. I need to keep my armour on." "Often enough, my friend, ugliness happens. But sometimes, so does beauty. If you know where to find one without the other, then I will be most grateful to share your wisdom." Taicho and Mariko walked, hand in hand, down the ravine. Effie and I made to follow them, but Yi Xing led us upward instead. "That path is for their steps alone. Our way leads back to your normal world, theirs leads... elsewhere."

Can you duplicate Shamus' feat by providing (a) the undefined word identifying the tokonoma with the right box, and (b) the pattern on the box containing the leaf? **bout de papier** will declare a winner by drawing from all correct answers received by February 28, 2014. The winner will receive a book signed by A Aalto. Not necessary to win, but can you also work out the two full charts? ☺

Free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto is re-learning how to survive an Ottawa winter after five years in the tropics. The background of this puzzle is found in three medieval Japanese fairy tales, combined and re-written with homage to Barry Hughart. The komuso existed: originally Zen Buddhist mendicants with the basket hats and shakuhachis, they were also often disguised masterless samurai (ronin) on the prowl. Offered with respect to the foxes of Ishisuge shrine.

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Knucklesworth

An amalgamated enigma for Hairy Harry January by A Aalto

Answers to Vol. 27, No. 3

Winner: Julia Drew-Watt, Ottawa

The text of Van Helsing's message reads HALL BEACH ALTERNATE NAME. The restored name for Hall Beach is Sanirajak in Nunavut, the indicated birthplace of P'TIT MICHEL PETITE, who is therefore the intended victim. The full answer chart follows.

SYMBOL	NAME	RANK	DUTIES	BIRTHPLACE
AA	Juan Orso	Capo	Finance and high tech	Horsefly (BC)
AB	Fast Eddy Fraser	Capo	Transport and logistics	Ear Falls (Ontario)
AC	Mr Heavenly	Capo	Personnel services	Tignish (PEI)
DAA	Maurie Rose	Consigliere	Advisor	Magog (Quebec)
DAB	Honey Fitz	Consigliere	Advisor	Miner's Prayer (Yukon)
DAC	Gatineau Pierre	Consigliere	Advisor	Paddle Prairie (Alberta)
AAA	Lowpoint Louis Flowers	Lieutenant	Money laundering (financial dry-cleaning)	Port aux Choix (Newfoundland)
AAB	Cousin Stevie L'Araignée	Lieutenant	Internet scams (the Web of Evil)	Summer Beaver (Ontario)
AAC	Wriggly Finns	Lieutenant	Policy racket (numbers)	Bouctouche (NB)
ABA	P'tit Michel Petite	Lieutenant	Unofficial imports	Sanirajak (Nunavut) AKA Hall Beach
ABB	Tough Tony Smiles	Lieutenant	Materiel acquisition (extractive industries)	Biggar (Saskatchewan)
ABC	Jean Laflamme	Lieutenant	Involuntary exports	Baddeck (NS)
ACA	Canny Carey Doe	Lieutenant	Inhumane resources (mercenaries)	Rae-Edso (NWT)
ACB	Kid Hercules	Lieutenant	Partnerships for protection	Winkle (Manitoba)
ACC	Marsha Seraphim	Lieutenant	Negotiable entertainment	Malartic (Quebec)

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