

# bout de papier

Vol. 30, No. 2

## **A FEMINIST GLOBAL POLICY FOR CANADA** A Civil Society Perspective

Julie Delahanty

## **ENTREVUE AVEC DEUX CHAMPIONNES DES FEMMES À AFFAIRES MONDIALES CANADA**

Laura Atar

## **LES FEMMES DU SERVICE DE L'IMMIGRATION DANS LES ANNÉES 1960**

Sheena Trimble

**Twenty-Five Years On,  
Some Ghosts Are Still With Us**

Mark Allen

**Les Prix de l'APASE 2017**



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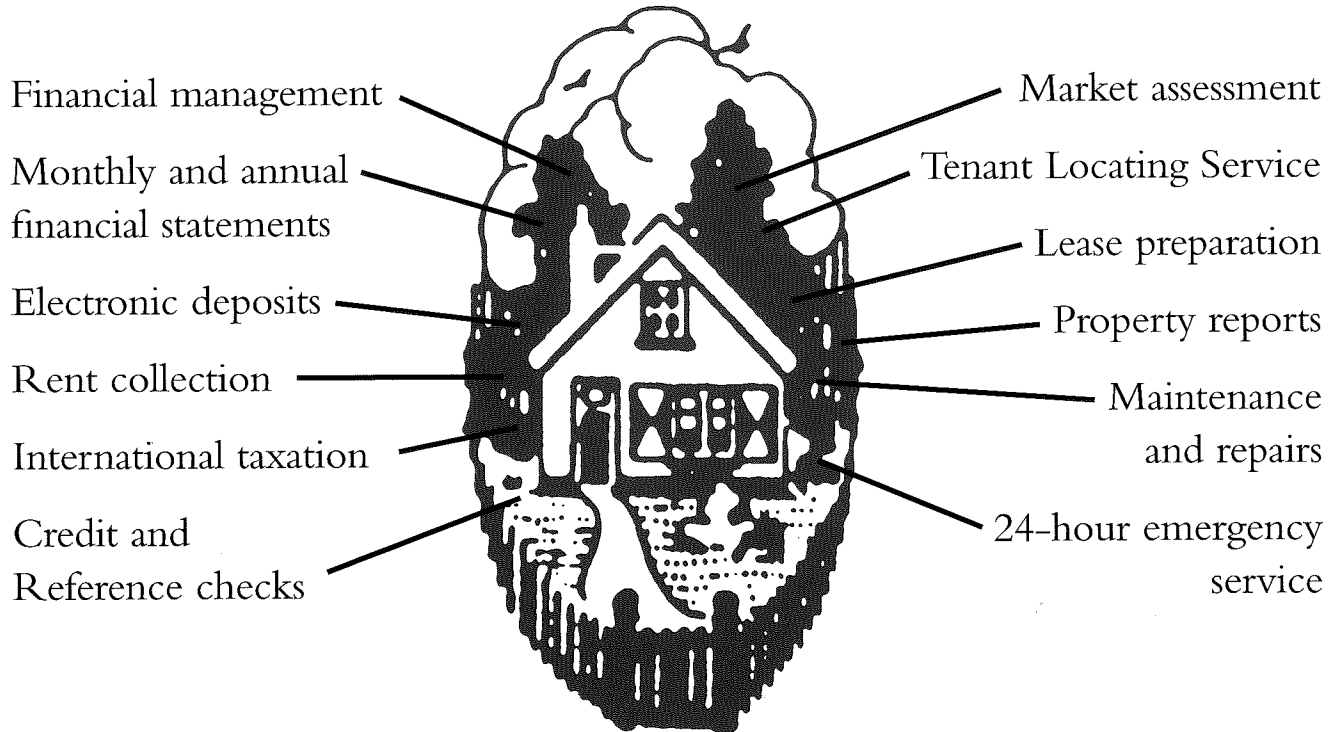
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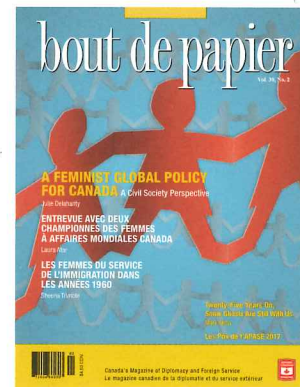
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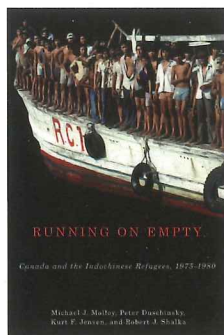
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## Running on Empty: Canada and the Indochinese Refugees

1975–1980 by Michael J. Molloy, Peter Duschinsky,  
Kurt F. Jensen and Robert Shalka, McGill-Queens  
University Press, 2017, 612 pp, \$39.95 CDN

Review by Robin Higham

*RUNNING ON EMPTY* is the most recent addition to the prestigious McGill-Queen's collection of Studies in (Canadian) Ethnic History. This impressive tome recounts the intriguing story of Canada's response to the Indochinese refugee crises from 1975 to 1980. Proposed by retired diplomat Michael Molloy and accompanied throughout by colleagues Peter Duschinsky, Kurt F. Jensen and Robert Shalka, the book is a highly readable and yet intellectually rigorous. It recounts a period in modern Canadian history that reflected, and in many ways re-defined, our emerging national self-awareness. Its nearly 600 pages are divided into three parts: (1) the history of the crises itself and Canada's public policy and programme responses to the plight of Indochinese refugees fleeing post-war Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; (2) the refugee selection and resettlement operations largely created and managed by Canadian Immigration Officers working out of Indonesia, Singapore, Bangkok, Hong Kong, Macao and Malaysia; and (3) the newcomer support story as refugees restarted their shattered lives in a strange new country.

There is too much here to do justice to all aspects of the book, so your reviewer will extract some of the most important messages and lessons for Canadians about how successful public policies were developed and how public servants and perhaps especially Canada's Immigration Foreign Service officers, were mobilized to implement those policies.

Most would agree that in many ways the history of immigration to Canada is a front-window look into the history of Canada; of who we were as a people and who we have become as a result of that history. *Running on Empty* then, not only reminds us of good public policy work but also, of who we are or...who we would like to think we are.

Many readers may find that most troubling are the standards that the lessons in *Running on Empty* set for contemporary Canadians as they face the current global refugee crisis. It raises the question: are up to it this time around?

### Common-Cause as National Unifier

*Running on Empty* reminds us that the motivating rationale for the 1975–80 programme was primarily humanitarian and public acceptance that Canada must collaborate with other western democracies, as well as regional neighbours of the Indochinese countries, in sharing the "burden of refugee resettlement". But there was a counterpart to that national altruism; the refugee programme was eventually perceived by the public as a nation-building project that not only brought "high quality" newcomers to our cities and towns but also served to unite normally disparate groups of citizens around a common objective.

We see the formation of a hyper public-private partnership movement involving federal, provincial and municipal government players as well as civil society groups and individual citizens. There was a joint political and societal consensus on what needed to be done... inspired by both feel-good compassion and community-reinforcing opportunity. Responding to the worsening refugee crises appears to have served as a powerful generator of social cohesion in Canada. Even in the trying economic and employment conditions at the time, Canadians mobilized to help those who were in so much more desperate circumstances. For example we are reminded how normally diverse religious groups formed interfaith mechanisms for collaborating in refugee settlement challenges.

### Immigration Is Us

Because of their immediate and direct impact on a broad spectrum of social, fiscal and employment issues, Canada's immigration policies have always required public and media support. But that support is fragile and so, in turn, it is a function of public confidence in media and government messages. Because they are always urgent, controversial and emotional, refugee policies are particularly prone to generating national malaise. Keeping the borders open means that the public needs to trust the media, the political community as well as the counterpart ethnic groups already established here. Without that confidence, this policy file risks undermining, rather than reinforcing, national social cohesion. After the humanitarian arguments, the nation-building opportunity was certainly the best selling point for winning and maintaining support, but the public nevertheless understood that there are two sides to the refugee-immigration discussion and that net benefits must justify policy or policy changes.

### Leverage Mobilisers, Beware of Blockages

Time and again we see in Part 1, the historic review of refugee policy development, how fragile public support could be reinforced through messages focused on compassion for the plight of refugees and their families. A second driver was the national embarrassment that would accompany a do-nothing Canadian response in a clearly global crisis. The flip side of that shame stigma was potential national pride in designing a successful and generous Canadian model. Voters and taxpayers were also recruited to the cause by arguments that emphasized Canada's need for a constant flow of immigrants and the

refugee community as a source of skilled energetic newcomers anxious to fill our vacant spaces.

But there were powerful counter concerns as well. Blockages to a more open border policy stance for refugees included the worrying level of unemployment in Canada (which had doubled from under 4% in the mid 1960's to over 8% in the late 1970's). Other blockages to refugee accommodation included imagined and real financial costs of refugee settlement, perceived risks of importing public health problems as well as, in the haste of refugee processing, admitting newcomers who would prove to be somehow incompatible with Canadian citizenship expectations or because of their wartime allegiances rendered them "unworthy" of being sheltered in Canada.

The already complicated public debate weighing these pros and cons was sometimes overwhelmed by an aggressive community of refugee advocates focusing on the advantages and compassion arguments and dismissing the blockages as illegitimate in the circumstances.

### **Nothing Mobilizes Canadians Like Direct Involvement**

The 1976 Immigration Act gave birth to the Private Sponsorship Programme, which has become a cornerstone of refugee settlement today. The programme harnessed public support for refugees by transferring ownership for projects motivated by national compassion, to civil society. Private sponsorship has been copied by many countries wrestling with sudden refugee accommodation challenges even today.

### **Motivating and Managing Public Servants**

*Running on Empty* reminds us that high-risk programme implementation works best when the judgment of experienced officials is harnessed but given loose reins. Officials and managers of Canada's Indochinese refugee programme needed and usually got room to exercise their judgment and with that exercise their judgment strengthened as the programme matured. In the always unpredictable circumstances at their posts abroad, the fewer rules and rigid guidelines, the better.

The pre-condition was a clear statement from government and Ottawa headquarters of programme objectives and constraints. Left largely to their own devices those dedicated officials were innovative policy makers and creative problem solvers. They were alert to government and public sensitivities on immigration matters and so knew how to remain faithful to the spirit of emerging refugee programmes. Distributed authority yielded distributed responsibility, just as management gurus promise.

### **Innovation Through New Mechanisms**

Uncomfortable with the constant need to improvise, the Immigration Service quickly learned how to institutionalize their own guidelines by proposing new formal mechanisms to facilitate their tasks and to standardize procedures. Amongst the many such innovative mechanisms catalogued in *Running on Empty*, we learn of: (1) the creation of a two-step refugee acceptance mechanism – first "eligibility" and then "acceptability"; (2) the creation of an Indochinese Designated Class; (3) the introduction of an expanded Private Sponsorship Programme; (4) changes to eventually expand the notion of immigrant eligibility; (5) the employment of a series of standardized Circular Memorandums for communicating operating guidelines and priorities to distant officials; (6) the establishment of a Refugee Annual Plan for shifting refugee management from one-off and short-term to an institutionalized part of the government's total immigration and international humanitarian agenda; and (7) the incorporation of multi-departmental consultations and input into the annual planning process.

### **Moderation Please, We're Canadian**

Finding just the right balance between Canada's absorptive capacity for refugees and the seemingly endless supply is often played out in the media and public debate. The phenomenon of overly assertive domestic refugee-advocates pressing for what may be viewed by more conservative citizens to be too many, too different and too fast, can precipitate a public backlash against accommodating newcomers.

### **Clear Objectives, Flexible Rules**

One of *Running on Empty's* important contributions to the study of policy development in Canada is that it unpacks a process that, by accident or by design, led to a remarkably successful total response to a volatile situation involving a complex mix of domestic and international issues. The model: (1) got political and public agreement on objectives; (2) set out a makeshift immediate implementation plan with only flexible guidelines to start; (3) entrusted authority to the judgment of experienced officials; (4) continuously monitored results; and, (5) continuously recycled back into the loop any new lessons, objectives or information.

### **Conclusions**

*Running on Empty* is entertaining and informative recent history but the book is also scholarly, rigorous and disciplined. It is less about integration than it is about the selection and recruitment of newcomers and their immediate settlement in Canada. As the authors themselves point out, there is little attempt here to measure the long-term integration success rate of the desperate and disparate 70,000 refugees who arrived in Canada 40 plus years ago.

Nevertheless, along the way, the discussions inevitably bump into the issue of absorptive capacity of Canadians to accommodate newcomers with sometimes radically different backgrounds, needs and expectations from their host communities. The specter of too many, too fast and too different, seems to have been set aside with a national wager on the power of universal good will across host and newcomer communities alike.

Officials had difficult and stressful daily choices to make in all that chaos. Their licence to reject desperate refugee candidates for security, public health and criminality risks as well as those viewed as "unlikely to integrate" obviously weighed heavily on them and clearly contributed significantly to the kind of running-on-empty spiritual fatigue indicated in the book's title.

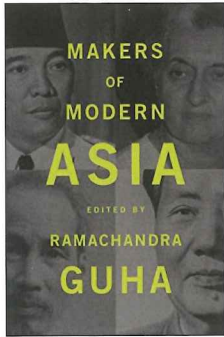
In the end, there may be too much to swallow here. The first 180 pages and the final conclusions are enough to deliver the valuable policy development and programme implementation messages.

Those lessons may risk getting lost as the reader pushes on in Parts 2 and 3 to follow the fascinating human drama of the officers on the front lines in this crises. Parts 2 and 3 are nevertheless witness to a reflection of Canadian values, good and bad, strengths and weaknesses, and to remind ourselves that, on occasion we are able to

set aside our fears and self-doubt and timidity and (blush) get it right. ☺

*A native of Edmonton, Robin Higham joined the Trade Commissioner Service in 1964. He served in Ghana, UK, USA, Thailand, in Rome as Permanent Representative to the FAO and the EU Mission in Brussels as Counselor,*

*Agriculture and Fisheries. In Ottawa he was DG for Trade Policy at Agriculture Canada and then for DFAIT's Personnel Operations Bureau. He was Ambassador to Morocco in 1991. In 1995 he returned to Ottawa as DG for International Cultural and Academic Relations. Following retirement he was for 16 years Senior Fellow at the University of Ottawa.*



## Makers of Modern Asia

Edited by Ramachandra Guha,  
The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press,  
400 pp, 2014, \$25.63 CDN

Reviewed by David MacDuff

ASIA'S SEEMINGLY INEXORABLE rise has, to a considerable extent, been the story of its economic transformation. In *Makers of Modern Asia*, editor Ramachandra Guha argues that political factors were the necessary conditions for this emergence. He gathers leading historians and political analysts to offer a series of biographies of eleven of Asia's "giant" leaders: Mohandas Gandhi (India); Chiang Kai-shek (China); Ho Chi Minh (Vietnam); Mao Zedong (China); Jawaharlal Nehru (India); Zhou Enlai (China); Sukarno (Indonesia); Deng Xioping (China); Indira Gandhi (China); Lee Kuan Yew (Singapore); and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (Pakistan). The book was the subject of a "Banyan Tree" discussion group in March 2017, a learning initiative organized under the auspices of the Asia Pacific Branch of Global Affairs Canada.

The book's premise is that the life of an individual statesperson can be used to illuminate the history of his or her respective country. Indeed, it is very difficult to think of India without Mohandas Gandhi; China without Mao; or Vietnam without Ho Chi Minh. The approach of this volume may be considered as part of a wider trend among historians, such as Canada's Margaret MacMillan, to give individual leaders (and not simply structural factors, such as *realpolitik*) their due in shaping the events of their time.

*Makers of Modern Asia* is an excellent survey of some of the most towering figures who shaped Asia's politics,

economics, and society in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and whose legacies still have an impact today. Given the vastness and diversity of Asia, even readers with experience in the region will be able to fill in some of their inevitable knowledge gaps with this book, while those new to the region can use it as a baseline.

Another strength of the volume is that some of the insights relating to individual countries also pertain to other parts of the region. For instance, in the chapter on Lee Kuan Yew, historian Michael Barr shows how the Singapore state continues to grapple with the twin goals of maintaining political control, on the one hand, while promoting innovation and creativity to spur economic growth, on the other. This is a dilemma that other countries in the region, such as China, also face, albeit in a different and much broader context.

For all its breadth, *Makers of Modern Asia* has three challenges. Firstly, as the editor acknowledges, there is no chapter on a Japanese leader. The fact that Japan emerged from the ashes of World War II to become a major economic force without a "giant" statesperson puts a dent in the book's premise about the importance of leadership. Japan is also Asia's leading developed democracy, and its absence from the book means that outright dictators (e.g. Mao) or illiberal autocrats (e.g. Sukarno) are disproportionately covered.

A second challenge across the chapters is that there are no common criteria on

how to judge the statespeople: the evaluation is left to the individual writer. This loose approach leads to some jarring juxtapositions. For example, in the chapter on Indira Gandhi, historian Srinath Raghavan refuses to make a "morality play" about his subject's suspension of democratic freedoms during the Emergency from 1975 to 1977. Instead, he offers a rather soft conclusion, commending Indira Gandhi as a crisis manager while criticizing her lack of self-reflection. In the next chapter, however, on Lee Kuan Yew, Michael Barr condemns his subject for disrespecting human rights and values. Yet Gandhi's economic legacy was mainly one of failed socialist experiments in the 1960s and 1970s while Lee's pragmatism resulted in a truly advanced economy. Indeed, Lee's efficient management inspired other Asian leaders, such as China's economic reformist Deng Xioping.

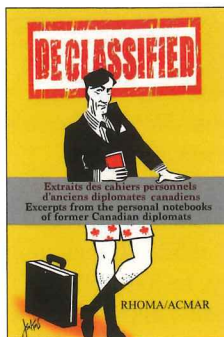
A third challenge of the book is how the chapters fit together – or do not. Regrettably, there is no conclusion that might serve this function. Many of the individual chapters offer a perspective on the respective leader's conception not only of his or her own country but of Asia as a whole. For example, Sukarno's hosting of the Asian-African conference in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955 was a landmark event in rallying countries emerging from European domination. Yet, while it is clear what these statespeople were against – colonialism, racism, and poverty – their precise agenda for Asia was

less clear. Non-alignment did not necessarily constitute unity.

As much as the leaders were often charismatic giants, the dominant ideologies of their time helped to shape them. Many were mired in a form of socialist ideology that they had acquired from studies and travel in Europe. It is difficult to see a link

to today's Asia-wide projects of economic integration along market-oriented and technocratic principles. In this sense, while the individual chapters do a good job of providing accounts of national development, they do not quite crystallize for the book to become more than the sum of its parts. ☺

*David MacDuff is a career Foreign Service Officer. He was previously posted in Singapore from 2010–14.*



## Declassified: Excerpts from the personal notebooks of former Canadian diplomats

by RHOMA/ACMAR, Edited by Robert Higham, 2016, \$20.00

Reviewed by Lia Hiltz

**REMEMBER THE TIME** the retired ambassadors got together in the backyard? It was just gone summer. A nip in the air, but there was a nice fire going. What a night. And the stories! April told the one about Castro getting schooled in Havana by the Agriculture minister. Roberts told us how he fixed a bungled Mulroney-Gorbachev bilateral meeting in Moscow, only to be handpicked for a sort-of promotion – back in Ottawa.

When the old-timers thought you were out of earshot, they laughed over the never-forgotten screw-ups... the split-open trousers at a formal affair, the OR chef showing too much imagination for a PM visit.

And when they thought you were listening, through the open window of the kitchen, slicing tomatoes maybe, while the wives (I'll come back to that) laid out the paper-plated feast – then it was all trade-craft. Keep a big Rolodex, Dionne said. Always talk to strangers, warned Higham. It saved his skin in Accra.

For more eavesdropping pleasure, pick up a copy of *Declassified: Excerpts from the personal notebooks of former Canadian diplomats* by the Retired Heads of Mission Association (RHOMA). Lovingly edited by RHOMA's Director of Communications Robin Higham, the collection includes 32 memoirs and essays by former HOMs and spouses in English or French spanning several decades. The stories are vividly brought to life by former Head of Mission

Anthony Jenkins, whose rather elegant ink and brush illustrations aptly convey the how-did-I-get-myself-into-this tone of many of the writers. *Declassified* is a tribute and a comedy skit for the Foreign Service that you will happily eat up in an evening.

Loosely organized into five sections, together the articles of varied scale and tone answer that most vexing of questions, “and what do you do, really?”

Foreign Service officers, or partners thereof, will want to read *Declassified* not only because it is a gorgeous romp, but because this survival manual is jam-packed with cautionary tales and solid advice, and dotted with nicely-honed comments on today's political and diplomatic scenes. While the book by its nature looks back to times that – good or bad, face it – will never come again, it has loads to inform us about now.

In that vein, Louis Delvoie's *Of Diplomacy and Diplomats* opens the collection with the provocative lines, “Diplomacy is said to be the world's second oldest profession. For those of an unkindly turn of mind, it is said to be very much akin to the first.” His short essay briskly takes us through the timeless roles of the diplomat (representation, analysis and reporting, etc), for which the rest of the book handily supplies the examples.

One favourite of mine was Higham's own *Petites astuces/Tricks of the Trade*, a harrowing kidnapping story illustrating

the weighing of interests, optics, rules and human feeling, which is very much the business of diplomats.

*The Glamour is Gone* by Alena Schram is the first of many contributions by spouses, and another of my favourites. It shares the addictive acerbic and world-weary quality of many of the spousal entries, willing to poke fun in ways the husbands will not.

Which brings me to something. In this book, all the HOMs are men and all the women are spouses. “In those days,” Schram adds, “wives figured prominently in their husband's annual appraisals, and we were in this career together.” The gratitude shown by many HOMs to their spouses in their own writings reflects Schram's description of the FS couple as a team. These anachronisms sit uncomfortably in a book published in 2016, given how much the portrait and pedigrees of FS officers, HOMs, spouses, couples (and the department's treatment of them) had already changed by the time I entered the Foreign Service even in late 2000.

Another anachronism, and one that will leave many feeling wistful, is the foreignness of the articles (sigh), that is to say, how every story takes place abroad. With each article led by a short bio, one cannot miss how each contributor lived life elsewhere, racking up four, five, six, or oh hell why not, more postings. And, because until recently only political officers became HOMs, the

collection reflects the political officer's story, or that of his spouse. Having said that, many favourite memories are from the early career, so there is a surfeit of hands-on stories to read, many consular and trade in nature.

The stories from before the digital age left me rather wistful. Some authors resort to that old chestnut about it being preferable to beg forgiveness from HQ rather than ask permission.

The importance of making good judgement calls in our can't-hide-anywhere era is as important as ever. Still, then as now, careers go on despite screw-ups, like how Kohler trips down a gangplank in front of a whack of cameras after delivering a 4-metre maple tree to Brazil. (A six-posting career still awaits him, don't worry.)

I enjoyed *Declassified*, which is truly a gift, and I look forward to a second volume down the road. It will be fascinating to read how the broader variety of people presenting credentials today will remember their careers, and to compare to this first book.

I loved how the writers shared their silly and sweating moments along with their cherished achievements. The sheer variety of the job is easily its defining and most

seductive feature, but at the human level, it means that each of us will make major mistakes despite the most valiant efforts to be all things to all people.

*Declassified* is an insider's book that is both familiar and mysterious. Few of us will attempt all the roles available in the Foreign Service, and none will fill them in every region. Meeting bewildering challenges – some frightening, some absurd – with real courage or just luck, the portrait emerges of a group of intrepid individuals braving bizarre situations with wits and contact lists. As I followed along while Marcella Bissonnet arranged a ghost exorcism in Djakarta, a place I will likely never visit never mind work in, I thought, better you than me.

In the last section of the book, "Snippets of History" (following "Adventures in Protocol"), the writers allow us to peek over their shoulders as they stand on the sidelines – or right in the rush – of history being made. I appreciated the awful-ordinary parts, such as the necessary business of figuring out just the right level of respect to show a dictator while presenting one's credentials (Purdy, meeting Idi). And I loved the joyful ones, as

when Hubert fulfilled his long-held dream of becoming Canada's Ambassador to the OAS, and our first.

The job of an FS officer at post is usually to arrive somewhere without enough knowledge to do your job. (Without good LES, in my opinion you are likely doomed – just my two cents.) But with the publishing of *Declassified*, we now have something at our fingertips to fill in some of the gaps, or remind us that today's shot nerve could be tomorrow's great story. ☺

*Lia Hiltz has been posted to Washington and is serving in Berlin. She is currently working on a graphic novel.*

To purchase *Declassified*, please send a cheque in the amount of \$25.00 including shipping and handling, to RHOMA, P.O. Box 53190. Stn. Rideau Centre, Ottawa, ON K1N 1C5.



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## Dip Doodles

by Vic Lotto

Review by Richard Kohler

**IT IS WELL** known that Foreign Services recruit ‘well oriented people’ to represent their country abroad. Being well oriented means having a broad range of interests – usually accompanied by grains of sensibility and wit.

When Canada’s Foreign Service brought Vic Lotto aboard in the early sixties as a Trade Commissioner, no one would have predicted that this young sapling would not only rise to positions of achievement – including assignments as Consul General in São Paulo, Brazil and Ambassador in Caracas, Venezuela – but, in a post-GAC career, tackle a professorship at the University of Victoria and, eventually, rank as an award-winning artist.

At nine years of age, Vic was selected for an art class at the Art Gallery of Ontario in Ontario. He painted during all his postings, studied at the Ottawa School of Art, assisted with the start-up of the School of Animation of São Paulo, was resident painter for three summers on BC

Ferries’ Queen of the North, received juried status with the Federation of Canadian Artists, and now, has produced his first ‘book’, Vic Lotto’s *Dip Doodles*.

*Dip Doodles* is a compact opus (containing 15 plates) that punches above its weight. With an eye for the humorous in Foreign Service, Vic’s cartoon format captures the quirks of living and serving abroad. The ‘book’ carries a wonderful introduction especially for folks who may have little idea of what a foreign service is – an overview of life as a diplomat, the FSDs, the posting process, that work is not just attending ‘lavish cocktail parties’, culture shock, budget constraints imposed by ‘tyrannical’ bureaucrats in Ottawa, and the benefits of organizations like PAFSO that protect members’ interests.

Vic graphically showcases Foreign Service foibles like the inevitable ‘art’ collections we bring home from overseas – and later pray will be gobbled up in garage sales; the exotic appeal of

U.S. border postings; life in the developing world with home help one doesn’t enjoy back in Ottawa; the joys of saving on women’s clothing expenses because of *chador* regimes in Muslim countries; and the quirks of embassy office management.

*Dip Doodles* is now into a second printing and can be obtained for \$12 (postage paid; all proceeds to the Victoria Hospice) by sending a cheque to Victor Lotto, 2605 Cotswold Road, Victoria, B.C., V8R 3S3. ☺

*Richard Kohler was a Foreign Service Officer for almost 40 years. Vic Lotto was an important mentor to Richard for most of that time.*

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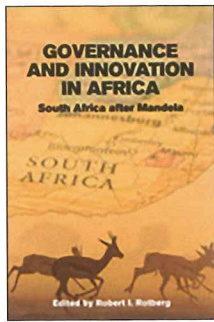
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## Governance and Innovation in Africa: South Africa After Mandela

Edited by Robert I. Rotberg, CIGI Press, 2014, 312 pp, 14 essays, \$25.00

Reviewed by Adele Dion

**THIS BOOK MOVES** from overview pieces to essays dealing in greater depth with key challenges. Demographic change, education and youth merit three separate chapters, acknowledging their centrality to South Africa's future. Unemployment, the plight of women and children, health, safety and security are also covered in detail. Each chapter calls for innovative reform.

Rotberg, Bernstein, Southall and Atwell set out South Africa's overall governance challenges and the way in which important democratic institutions are being undermined. Two other chapters are of particular interest. University of Cape Town emeritus professor Chris Saunders' essay on key aspects of the complex relationship between South Africa, the southern African region and the rest of Africa is an excellent tour d'horizon. And Anton Harber, respected South African editor and author, provides an assessment of the country's fifth estate, noting media freedoms can be threatened by the ANC's 'Party-State.'

Ann Bernstein is the founder and executive director of the Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE), one of South Africa's foremost think tanks. Her chapter focuses on economic issues: growth and unemployment including youth unemployment, labour market reform, welfare, competition, immigrants, access to education, teachers, and finally, South Africa's private school systems. She concludes that South Africa requires a vision firmly focussed on the future. Hard choices need to be made; leaders in every sector must contribute; however, government has primary responsibility and is currently failing.

Roger Southall, professor emeritus in sociology at Wits University Johannesburg addresses politics and governance under the ANC. Southall acknowledges the difficult economic legacy that the ANC inherited, as well as its own liberation movement legacy. His main theme is the ANC as the

dominant party and how this has impacted democracy: the subordination of Parliament, the merger of Party and State through the strategy of cadre deployment and subsequent threat to rule of law, including to the independent judiciary. The 'party-state' further facilitated the rise of corruption and criminality. He concludes that the ANC's lack of capacity and political will to manage change may put democracy at risk.

William Atwell is an Africa Analyst at Oxford Analytica in the U.K. He covers the elements of South Africa's environmental and resource governance crises: insufficient energy production, alarming diminution/degradation of water supplies; air pollution; land degradation; insufficient capacity to monitor, plan for and manage the country's rich plant and animal life. His core theme is balancing the need for greater equity of access and use of these resources against the need to manage them wisely and sustainably. Atwell concludes that since 1994, there has been significant progress in policy and institutional frameworks; however good governance demands consistent program implementation and decision-making. Quality results matter.

In addition to editing the book, Robert I. Rotberg, senior fellow of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) also provides the opening and closing chapters. Rotberg is definitive in his concluding chapter. Beginning with a discussion of the impact and importance of political leadership, he states that quality matters intensely, especially in less well-privileged surroundings. After outlining key competencies, he gives performance assessments of Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma. He cites some powerful 'gathering critiques' by influential national figures, including Mamphela Ramphele, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Trevor Manuel. Finally, he asks: 'Where and when will new, visionary,

transformational leadership arise? And will it come in time?'

I left South Africa in 2012 cautiously optimistic that negative governance trends – poor leadership, corruption, factionalism – could be ameliorated by the next ANC administration, in part through the rise of a new generation of political leaders. Based on the assessments provided by these experts, the political will needed for positive progress has not yet emerged. I recommend this book to everyone interested in this (still) important country and the African continent's future. 🌍

*Now retired, Adele Dion served as Canada's High Commissioner to South Africa from 2009–2012.*

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# Thinking About Gender in 2017



En cet automne 2017, **bout de papier** s'intéresse à la question du genre et, plus spécifiquement, aux femmes dans le contexte diplomatique. C'est grâce à l'effort de plusieurs contributeurs, interpellés individuellement, que nous abordons ce thème d'actualité. Les contenus de ce numéro sauront, je l'espère, s'éclairer mutuellement et contribuer à la réflexion que se livre notre communauté.

Ce choix s'imprègne aussi de la mouvance actuelle. Tant au Canada qu'ailleurs, l'égalité des genres interpelle la société. Il ne passe pas une semaine sans que soit diffusée une nouvelle étude sur la situation des femmes dans un milieu donné.

Dans ce contexte, il est notoire que le gouvernement canadien ait su développer une image de marque qui comporte une fibre féministe au rayonnement simple et puissant. Le Canada se retrouve ainsi à l'avant-scène d'une discussion globale. L'approche, qui traduit le renouveau des valeurs canadiennes, inspire plusieurs observateurs. Elle pourrait marquer une époque de notre diplomatie.

Derrière l'image se cache un projet ambitieux. Il consiste, comme l'ont exprimé dans des discours-phares les ministres Freeland et Bibeau, à placer la cause féministe au cœur de nos relations internationales. Il y a deux ans que le Premier

Ministre a synthétisé « parce qu'on est en 2015 » pour expliquer l'investiture d'un cabinet paritaire. L'expression avait défrayé la manchette de par le monde. Qu'en est-il de 2017 et bientôt 2018?

\*\*\*\*\*

Diplomats and stakeholders alike are paying attention to where the rubber hits the road. Among them is Julie Delahanty, a former Foreign Service officer who is now a civil society leader. In her article, Delahanty champions a strong feminist project for Canada's global presence. She reminds us that putting the interests of women at the heart of policy – including commercial or humanitarian efforts – first entails listening to them. Practitioners need to consider how new measures will impact women or, better, study the challenges women face to tailor solutions to their needs.

Our development colleagues have a leg up on most Foreign Service Officers in

L'importance actuellement accordée au genre, si elle devait se traduire par des pratiques corporatives durables, décrit des changements profonds pour notre organisation, dont il serait pertinent de débattre.

this. Indeed, they have been investing in women for some time. The approach concords with Canadian values, but that is not its sole driver. Equally important for stewards of Canadian funds is effectiveness: and it is well-established that women are an important, and often under-resourced, vector of economic development.

I highlight this because some contend that a feminist foreign policy is shallow. That it is window-dressing. The hard trade or geopolitical questions of our time take precedence over value-based ambitions, the reasoning goes. While the national interest remains a diplomat's primary compass, development's experience shows that values and interests can accord. Finding those productive nexus is the challenge put to those who want a feminist global policy.

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M<sup>me</sup> Delahanty interroge aussi les institutions qui administrent nos politiques. Là s'ouvre une discussion portant sur les processus corporatifs affectant les femmes : exercices de promotion, mentorat, nomination des chefs de mission. Il s'agit de sujets chargés au sein de notre communauté, particulièrement depuis que la haute gestion multiplie les efforts pour épauler les femmes. Dans les couloirs de Pearson et de Portage, le genre a aujourd'hui une importance qu'il n'avait pas jusqu'à tout récemment.

Tant incarnation que moteur de la cause au sein d'AMC, l'influent Réseau des femmes (un rhizome informel exprimant une solidarité bienvenue) offre une communauté de pratique aux femmes – ainsi qu'aux hommes qui auraient le courage de s'y aventurer. Il jouit d'une écoute et d'un certain imprimatur de la gestion, ce qui dérange certains collègues. Afin de présenter et de démystifier ce

réseau, **bout de papier** s'est entretenu avec Sarah Taylor et Angela Bogdan. Ces deux géantes de la cause livrent, sous la plume de Laura Atar, leur histoire et vision.

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Une certaine rectitude plombe aujourd'hui nos conversations portant sur la gestion paritaire des ressources humaines. Je ne compte plus le nombre de fonctionnaires, hommes et femmes, qui manient un discours privé plus nuancé que leur position publique sur la question.

Par exemple, certains affirment en privé que le ministère prend des risques lorsqu'il nomme des femmes à des postes de responsabilité alors que des hommes ayant *prima facie* plus d'expérience étaient aussi intéressés. Or ce type d'affirmation

– délicate, soit – est absent de la sphère publique. Même intelligemment, il demeure difficile de s’inscrire contre le mouvement de l’heure et l’enthousiasme qu’il génère.

Faut-il se préoccuper de cette situation? Plus j’y réfléchis, plus je crois que oui. D’abord parce que l’importance actuellement accordée au genre, si elle devait se traduire par des pratiques corporatives durables, décrit des changements profonds pour notre organisation, dont il serait pertinent de débattre. Il est d’autant plus difficile de s’approcher d’un consensus organisationnel quand la seule position acceptable est l’acquiescence générale. Il faut un espace où discuter de l’organisation que nous voulons; un espace assez vaste pour qu’on y distingue les fins des moyens.

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Many women today think that men’s buy-in is invaluable to society achieving greater parity. Love it or hate it, this is one way that Justin Trudeau stands out as a man: he is out there.

In our departments, men’s voices are currently weak in discussions on what parity means. It is not, I think, because men hold values contrary to a moderate brand of feminism. Many indeed espouse those values. They may be quiet in Canada, but abroad, their conviction shows in everything from public diplomacy to consular services to helping women entrepreneur succeed despite stereotypes.

What the feminist project entails for our institutions is currently unclear to many. This has led some men to falsely conclude

What the feminist project entails for our institutions is currently unclear to many. This has led some men to falsely conclude that the project does not concern them, while it generates fear and misunderstanding in others.

that the project does not concern them, while it generates fear and misunderstanding in others. Radical and vengeful proposals have been made in the name of feminism through time, such that some men (and women, no doubt) today feel awkward about entering a feminist forum. Others may see gender-equity as a narrow project, a zero-sum redistribution of corporate benefits towards women. If the feminist

ambition is more than that, as I believe it is, then that ought to be publicized. That would broaden its appeal.

A thought: perhaps a manifesto would help. A text or a video to explain the aims, values and means that accompany the vision of gender-balanced institutions. Consulting such a document could generate the discussion we need.

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Je suis né dans la classe moyenne du Québec des années 70. La révolution des mœurs qu’avaient pilotée les babyboomers s’achevait. Mon père était féministe tout autant que ma mère. Mes deux grands-mères alliaient des revendications pro-femmes résolument progressistes aux valeurs de leur époque. Ainsi lové, l’égalité des genres me paraissait comme une évidence. Sa réalisation empirique n’était qu’une question de temps.

En 2017, il reste du progrès à faire chez nous – dans la sphère professionnelle, mais surtout dans la sphère privée. Malgré cela, le Canada se classe relativement bien au chapitre de l’équité. Les femmes de par le monde, cependant, continuent de subir davantage de discrimination genrée... et de violence sexuelle. Une violence qui, dans sa continuité, constitue une plaie béante à notre humanité commune.

Réfléchissant à son expérience en Arabie Saoudite, où les femmes sont citoyennes de deuxième classe, Tom MacDonald souligne dans nos pages le temps que mettent les changements sociétaux à s’accomplir. Brusquer de tels changements est un pari risqué, pouvant miner

leur durabilité. Delahanty et Taylor appellent aussi, à leur façon, à un changement graduel et soutenable.

Près de chez nous, la défaite d’Hillary Clinton aux présidentielles américaines de 2016 a suscité stupeur et introspection au sein du mouvement féministe, divisé pour l’occasion. On appelle désormais à une solidarité genrée qui transcenderait les conditions sociales, connue sous le nom

d’intersectionnalité. Cri de ralliement autant qu’effort d’inclusion, l’intersectionnalité traduit une double réalité : la multiplicité des identités minoritaires et la relativité, pour certaines, de l’identité-femme. Les mêmes dynamiques poussent actuellement nos institutions vers des politiques de diversité.

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As I was finalizing this text, the #metoo campaign broke out. Thousands and thousands of women signaling their experience as victims, most of them in developed countries, in a stark reminder that still waters run deep.

Though noise inevitably surrounds social media, the underlying epidemic is documented: according to EU research, for example, a little over half of women report having been victims of sexual violence. Harassment continues, driven not by the kind of intelligent flirt that reads signals and adjusts, but by unsocialized desires.

The Hollywood context that prompted the denunciations bears some similarities to our workplaces, where ambition and corridor reputation coexist. This underscores our need to remain vigilant about abuse – directed at women, or men and other shades on the gender continuum.

Indeed, as one transcends the binary man/woman opposition into the polydimensional space of gender, sexual orientation and spirituality, a wealth of nuances emerge that defy classification. For this reason, also in this issue, **bout de papier** is happy to draw attention to the plight of LGBTQ+ community. Hector Mackenzie highlights the historical wrong suffered by homosexual colleagues, while Mark Allen reflects on their current situation in Canadian diplomacy.

Diversity within the Foreign Service strengthens us. It is an ideal at the confluence of several rights and, like gender equilibrium, it needs to be articulated, promoted and defended. Truth is rarely self-evident.

– *Christian Ranger, rédacteur en chef*

# Entrevue avec deux championnes des femmes à Affaires mondiales Canada

par Laura Atar

D'une actualité indéniable, le Réseau des femmes d'Affaires mondiales Canada (AMC) puise sa source dans la carrière de sa fondatrice, Angela Bogdan, qui depuis plus de 15 ans s'affaire à promouvoir l'entraide entre femmes, tant au Canada qu'à l'étranger. Aujourd'hui consule générale à Sydney, Bogdan raconte le cheminement qui a mené à la création du Réseau. En parallèle, l'actuelle championne des femmes, Sarah Taylor, explique l'importance renouvelée de la cause, articule ses objectifs ainsi que ses plans d'approfondissement et d'élargissement du Réseau.

Regards croisés sur l'historique et l'avenir d'un réseau en essor.

## Why a Women's Network?

"Networks have literally been the cornerstone supporting my work, both at home and abroad, and, as such, the key to success in executing my mandate," says Angela Bogdan.

In her long experience as a career Foreign Service officer, Bogdan has witnessed first-hand the crucial importance of networks. When serving in Canada's Permanent mission to NATO in the early 2000s, she was one of only 20 women among the organization's 1,400 international and diplomatic staff. The collapse of the Warsaw Pact and former Soviet Union had enlarged NATO's membership, bringing female diplomats with little experience. These 20 women set up a sort of "secret squirrel society" offering a safe space and support on everything "from communiqué drafting, work/life balance, and how to make an intervention across the myriad of NATO committees to which they were assigned." Hence was born the idea of "providing a community of practice for advice and support" for women, which would later become core to GAC's Women's Network.

Bogdan also "walked the gender talk" in the field. In Belgrade where she was Chargé, Canada led in the creation of the

"Get out to Vote Campaigns and Voter Education for Women" program – partnering with like-minded missions and civil society to empower women. As a result, more than 90% of eligible women turned out to vote and Milosevic was defeated. As High Commissioner in Sri Lanka shortly after the 2006 tsunami, Bogdan joined forces with like-minded female heads of mission to advocate for human rights, women's income generation and liveli-

"Networks have literally been the cornerstone supporting my work, both at home and abroad, and, as such, the key to success in executing my mandate"

hoods. Together, they had a stronger, more effective voice. A few years later when serving as Canada's Chief of Protocol, Bogdan organized a training session and an outreach tour on growing female entrepreneurship for resident heads of mission.

Back in Ottawa, Bogdan started working with Lillian Thomsen, then the Head of the Foreign Service Institute, on mentoring and coaching fellow female colleagues ahead of EX promotion boards – and beyond. In sharing the story of her career progression, Bogdan had often

heard "if you could make it, maybe I can too".

When Bogdan was appointed Champion for Women in 2010 by Susan Gregson, then the ADM for Human Resources, she was urged to take this role to a new level – leveraging the direct reporting line to the Deputy Ministers that she had as the department's Inspector General. Bogdan's position also allowed her to gain insights into the particular challenges that women faced abroad, whether Canada-based or locally-engaged.

In the following years, Bogdan used her informal network of senior women to exchange on how best to promote women's leadership and inspire younger women to "put themselves out there", to "lean in" and compete for jobs that had traditionally been held by men. The need for a culture change at the top and for new leadership models became clear to her.

And in 2013, the Women's Network emerged as the tool to take this agenda forward.

"We began as a loose grouping of senior women with a voice at the executive table in addition to more junior women that were looking for a support group and to be heard. We then launched the Women's Network on Agora and now have almost 800 members."

## 2015 en perspective

L'élection générale de 2015 a bien entendu donné un nouvel élan à la cause féministe. « C'est très encourageant d'avoir non seulement un Premier ministre, mais aussi nos trois ministres qui sont tous féministes. On voit l'impact dans la politique étrangère, y compris bien sûr la nouvelle politique féministe d'aide au développement. C'est du jamais vu, » affirme Taylor, la championne en titre des femmes à AMC. Si cela positionne le Canada en chef de file mondial, « c'est à nous de nous assurer que nos bottines suivent nos babines, et que nous avons les mêmes bonnes pratiques au sein du ministère que celles que nous promouvons à l'étranger. Si nous demandons à nos partenaires en développement de s'assurer que tout programme ait un impact positif sur les femmes et les filles, il faudrait bien qu'on passe nos propres programmes et pratiques sous la même loupe. »

Aujourd'hui à AMC, les femmes représentent 55% des employés, le plus récent concours EX-1 a promu pour la première fois un nombre égal d'hommes et de femmes et, pour la deuxième année consécutive, le Canada a déployé cet été autant de femmes que d'hommes chefs de mission.

Cependant, la sous-représentation des femmes au niveau de la haute gestion, et même de la gestion intermédiaire, demeure un problème.

Selon Taylor, en effet, il manquait en 2016 pas moins de 147 femmes gestionnaires pour atteindre la parité. Le déséquilibre homme-femme croît à mesure qu'on s'élève vers la haute gestion d'AMC. En effet, les femmes ne détiennent qu'environ 34% des postes EX-3 en montant. Malheureusement, le plus récent exercice de promotion EX-4, tenu en 2016, n'aidera pas à corriger la situation puisqu'une seule femme s'est qualifiée.

## The first few years

As Bogdan highlights, the Women's Network provides a space that is "congenial, supportive and offers access to a wider community of practice". A place to talk about a challenge, whether professional or personal, whether a HOM (since being at the top can be a very lonely experience) or a junior woman seeking career advice.

Under the chairmanship (inter alia) of Chantal Chastenay and Natalie Dubé,

shortly after its inception, the Network started organizing leadership roundtables and speed mentoring sessions, where women had the opportunity to get career advice from senior managers. This privileged access to senior managers, combined with active engagement in the Network, has helped several young women gain confidence and showcase their talent.

The Network also branched out. It organized workshops with leaders from public and private sectors. It reached out to women's groups from other countries, to the Women's Head of Mission Association in Ottawa, and to RHOMA, with the view to share experiences and best practices.

Since the Network's creation, two of its members received Deputy Awards, namely Yasemin Heinbecker for her coaching and mentoring during the last round of EX promotions, as well as Toby Schwartz, for pioneering the Women's Leadership course at CFSI. Heinbecker also received a PAFSO Award in 2015.

The Network's partnership with RHOMA, as well as with the Ottawa Diplomatic Association, led to the hosting of "Soup for Syrians" at Cité collégiale in 2016. A hefty 5,000 litres of soup were made, and the event, led by Laurie Peters and attended by the Governor General, provided an inspiring networking opportunity for all participants to meet and engage with current and former HOMs while coming together in a "community of spirit".

Since the Network's creation, two of its members received Deputy Awards, namely Yasemin Heinbecker for her coaching and mentoring during the last round of EX promotions, as well as Toby Schwartz, for pioneering the Women's Leadership course at CFSI. Heinbecker also received a PAFSO Award in 2015.

In addition to the course Schwartz set up, more training was developed, for instance on combatting harassment in the workplace. Bogdan also briefed GAC's Executive Committee on "How to advance women's leadership in the department".

It was her final act as Champion, before passing the baton to Taylor.

## Objectifs actuels

Au cours de la dernière année, sous l'égide de Sarah Taylor et d'une nouvelle cuvée de bénévoles dynamiques, le Réseau a gagné en visibilité. La ministre Freeland a été l'invitée d'honneur d'une réception pour les femmes CdM sortantes. En effet, tandis que l'ancien Premier ministre Joe Clark et la secrétaire parlementaire Caesar-Chavannes ont participé au panel de la Journée internationale des femmes.

Le Réseau a aussi organisé sa première retraite en février. De cette séance de réflexion stratégique ont émané trois objectifs principaux pour la championne des femmes en titre et pour le Réseau:

1. Poursuivre les efforts menés dès la création du Réseau pour combler le déficit de femmes dans plusieurs secteurs du ministère, et plus particulièrement au niveau de la gestion;
2. Aborder les questions qui affectent les femmes dans leur travail au quotidien ainsi que dans leur progression de carrière au sein d'AMC;
3. Élargir le Réseau, tant en nombre qu'en diversité.

Selon Taylor, l'atteinte du premier objectif requiert de revisiter les systèmes et pratiques d'AMC en matière de ressources humaines. Il faut aussi mieux comprendre pourquoi, 25 ans après avoir atteint l'équité au niveau de l'embauche, AMC affiche encore un déséquilibre homme-femme au niveau de la gestion, particulièrement de la haute gestion. Seule cette analyse permettra de s'attaquer aux causes systémiques de ce problème pérenne. S'il est facile d'identifier les symptômes du problème au moyen de statistiques, une action qui se concentrerait sur les symptômes risquerait d'être futile. « Si on se borne aux chiffres, il est possible qu'on puisse combler les manques de femmes temporairement, pour retomber dans les mêmes problèmes pas la suite – et au prix de beaucoup de mécontentement, » avance Taylor.

Mid-level managers have enormous capacity to promote diversity, says Taylor. "Every hiring or assignment decision,



La ministre Freeland a été l'invitée d'honneur d'une réception pour les femmes Cdm sortantes.

**Dr. Sarah Taylor** is the Director-General for North Asia and Oceania at Global Affairs Canada. From 2011 to 2015, she was Deputy Head of Mission at the Embassy of Canada to China, with responsibility for Political-Economic Relations and Public Diplomacy.

She worked in the Privy Council Office from 2006 to 2011, holding different leadership positions with the International Assessment Staff, including acting Executive Director and Director of its Asia Division.

A Foreign Service officer since 1990, she served in Jakarta (2000–2003), Beijing (1992–1995) and Hong Kong (1991–1992). At headquarters she was liaison officer and speech-writer for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Deputy Director for Southeast Asia, and Director of Development Policies and Institutions.

Sarah holds a doctorate (1990) and an M.Phil. degree (1984) from Cambridge University, both in East Asian archaeology. She spent a year at Beijing University (1982–83) under the auspices of the Canada-China Scholarly Exchange programme, and has also studied in Korea and Japan. She holds an Honours B.A. from the University of Toronto.

especially acting assignments, every promotion board you sit on, every talent management plan or performance discussion presents an opportunity. That doesn't mean you need to be picking a woman every time. Rather it means that you need to recognise your biases (which we all have) and get training on ways to counter or neutralise them; then look for opportunities to spot, nurture and reward talent."

With that in mind, the Network collaborated with the School of the Foreign Service to deliver an "Unconscious Bias" training module to alter the organizational culture, one manager at a time. The training was tested for the first time at the 2017 course for Heads of Mission, and there are plans to further expand its reach to other key deciders in the near future.

Historiquement, de nombreuses femmes compétentes ont hésité à poser leur candidature aux postes de chef de mission ou même chef de mission adjoint. Le Réseau a donc pris l'initiative d'organiser en septembre 2017 un premier 5 à 7 intitulé « Soyez audacieuse : songez à devenir chef de mission! ». Plusieurs femmes ayant occupé de tels postes y ont partagé leur expérience.

When reflecting on the root causes of the persisting gender imbalance, Taylor observes that three issues seem to affect women differently from men:

**a. Unconscious bias:** the tendency for the same work to be evaluated

differently depending on who is doing it. This may be particularly acute in an environment like GAC that is competitive and prone to corridor reputation, and where HR processes are diffuse.

**b. The potentially differential impact of rotationality:** it may be harder for women to convince spouses to move and uproot their career; to take on leadership roles in missions in countries where tradition dictates against women being in such roles; or to return to work 6 months or less after giving birth.

**c. The overall work environment:** whether the lack of role models – there isn't a single room in the Pearson building named after a woman – or a culture of long hours and demanding travel schedules, which, in Taylor's case, has meant both "taking my 6-month old with me to a regional Political Counsellor meeting and discretely excusing myself at diplomatic receptions when suddenly stuck by a bout of morning sickness".

Flowing from the second goal are the many activities that volunteers organize for the Network. Some of these events were the result of new partnerships and ideas.

For example, in September 2016, GAC's Aboriginal Network Chair Kimberly Phillips and GAC's GCWCC Campaign Leader Menna Andrews invited the Women's Network to co-host, along with

the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC), a Faceless Dolls Workshop in honour of Canada's missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls. Then NWAC President Lavell-Harvard and Madame Sophie Grégoire Trudeau were keynote speakers. Our missions in Australia also held similar workshops. Christmas basket donations were also collected for an Aboriginal women's support centre.

Par ses efforts d'élargissement du Réseau des femmes, enfin, Taylor veut refléter les divers groupes d'employés que compte AMC mais aussi l'intersectionnalité des femmes et des autres groupes-cibles en matière d'équité d'emploi, ainsi que les jeunes et les personnes LGBTQ2. Taylor souligne que les hommes sont les bienvenus au sein du Réseau, qui demeure à la recherche de champions « lui pour elle ». La diversité au sein des effectifs et de la gestion d'AMC sert les intérêts de l'ensemble des employés et pas uniquement des femmes, insiste Taylor. « Notre but est un leadership du ministère plus divers, dans tous les aspects de la diversité. Cela fera d'AMC une organisation non seulement plus équitable mais, comme le démontre des études dans le secteur privé, plus efficace ». Pour le Réseau des femmes, cette même diversité se traduit par de nouvelles idées et initiatives.

The Women's Network has continued to broaden its reach and partnerships beyond GAC. For instance, it has partnered with the local community in collecting business clothes for Dress for Success; engaged the Ottawa diplomatic community

through both the Women HOM and Women DHOM networks; and connected with foreign ministries from other countries struggling with the same issues. Taylor and her team are also looking to build bridges: with other departments to create a Government of Canada network of Champions for Women, as well as with the private sector, given the similar challenges faced by women in business.

The Network's activities are mainly in Ottawa-Gatineau, but it is accessible to members located outside the area. Its Agora page generates a lively conversation amongst its nearly 800 members at posts and HQ. The Network meets every two weeks to plan events and discuss issues of interest, and employees at missions can join these meetings by video or conference call. To better engage with members posted across the world, Taylor has also identified volunteers that will act as "regional representatives, or convenors". This includes Bogdan, who will lead the Asia-Pacific sub-branch of the Network, and who recently set up Sydney's first female Heads of Mission group. Bogdan has also become an active member of Champions for Change, a group of female CEOs committed to providing grass root support for female entrepreneurs.

Taylor hopes that the series of regional sub-branches of the Network to be rolled out this fall will build on successful pilot events that already occurred over the past year – such as a speed mentoring session for staff in Europe. Taylor also hopes to broaden the scope of discussions currently taking place within the Network to include, for instance, issues of concern to locally engaged staff.

The Women's Network continues to grow. In the words of Bogdan: "The Women's Network is employee-driven and employee-led, and a true community of practice and kinship". To join it, become a member of its Agora page. ☺

*Laura Atar s'est jointe à la famille FS en 2006. Elle est actuellement directrice adjointe au sein de l'équipe Haïti... et fait partie de cette nouvelle cuvée de bénévoles dynamiques que le Réseau des femmes a attirées au cours de la dernière année!*

**Angela Bogdan** est aujourd'hui consul générale du Canada à Sydney en Australie. Elle a été championne des femmes durant six années, au cours desquelles elle a mis sur pied le Réseau des femmes.

Elle a été chef du Protocol du Canada de 2013 à 2016. Elle a également occupé les fonctions d'inspectrice générale du ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Commerce international.

À l'étranger, Bogdan a servi à titre de Haut-Commissaire au Sri Lanka (2006–2009). Elle a également été la première ambassadrice du Canada en Serbie, avec accréditation au Monténégro, au lendemain de Milosevic. Une agente du Service extérieur accomplit, ses premières affectations l'ont aussi menée à Bruxelles (OTAN), à Varsovie et à Melbourne.

Elle s'est jointe au Service extérieur en 1984 et elle a occupé divers rôles à l'Administration centrale, notamment celui de directrice de la Science, Politique des Applications corporatives pour le programme *Global Partnerships*. Elle a travaillé au sein des directions responsables de l'Asie Pacifique, de l'ONU et des Relations de défense. Elle a également été agente commerciale du bureau des Programmes de défense.

Angela Bogdan détient deux baccalauréats, l'un en relations internationales et l'autre en éducation, ainsi qu'une maîtrise en études stratégiques de l'université de York.

Photo: Laura Atar



# A Feminist Global Policy for Canada: A Civil Society Perspective

by Julie Delahanty

Given our feminist Prime Minister, Canada has an opportunity to become a global leader on women's rights and gender equality by implementing a feminist foreign policy. The new Feminist International Assistance Policy is a bold and welcome first step, and we should now focus on ensuring its ambition is implemented, and also applying this approach to other areas of foreign policy.

"We shouldn't be afraid to use the word feminist."

— PRIME MINISTER JUSTIN TRUDEAU



*Hygienists at Oxfam-managed Kumala CCC in Sierra Leone. Pictured from left to right Lamrana B Sesay, Fatmata Jalloh, Bintu Kabba and Aminata Turay. The women are working to fight Ebola.*

Photo credit: Michelle Curran / Oxfam

Gender is one of the most important predictors of who will be poor and who will have power. Power is linked to economic status, financial security, physical and sexual health and rights and personal freedom. Violence and discrimination against women and girls continues because the power imbalance between men and women is deeply rooted – no country in the world is free from gender-based violence. If we build a feminist global policy that gives more power and more voice to women, then we can effect change.

For Oxfam Canada, a feminist approach means being bold in our ambition. It's about rethinking who we work with and how we work with them. It's about walking the talk: ensuring that our financial commitments and political capital match our level of ambition.

Feminism challenges all forms of domination and inequality. Inequality is entrenched globally, and patriarchal systems and attitudes are the norm. A significant shift towards equality, including in Canada, therefore requires resources and time. A feminist approach needs to address structural and systemic inequality and transform power relations, grounded in principles of intersectionality, agency and process. The approach will have its critics, but a feminist approach has the power to truly transform societies.

But what does or could a feminist foreign policy look like for Canada?

## Sweden's Take

Sweden was the first country in the world to adopt a feminist foreign policy agenda, which focused on the importance of three Rs: rights, representation and resources. Sweden promotes women's representation and participation in politics in general and in peace processes in particular; advocates for women's rights as human rights, including women's protection from sexual and gender-based violence; and works toward a more gender-sensitive and equitable distribution of global income and natural resources.

*"It's time to become a little braver in foreign policy. I think feminism is a good term. It is about standing against the systematic and global subordination of women."* – Swedish Foreign Minister Margot Wallström

Sweden's Foreign Affairs Ministry created an Action Plan with six key objectives: (1) promote the rule of law; (2) combat gender-based and sexual violence; (3) address sexual and reproductive health and rights; (4) support the economic empowerment of women; (4) advocate for sustainable development; and (5) increase women's participation in peace processes.

Throughout these objectives, the Plan highlights the importance of involving men and boys to advance gender equality and underscores the necessity of an approach based on analysis and research.

## Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy

The new Feminist International Assistance Policy, which guides Canada's development cooperation, was released in June and provides a bold vision and ambitious commitment to putting gender equality and women's empowerment at the heart of Canadian aid. The Policy includes commitments to challenging unequal power relations that hold women back, such as support for: addressing sexual and gender-based violence; closing the gaps in sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) for women and girls; promoting women's leadership and political participation, including in climate adaptation, peace negotiation and conflict prevention; and addressing decent work and unpaid care as part of achieving growth that works for everyone.

Crucially, the Policy commits to scaling up cooperation with women's rights organizations and movements, recognizing them as key partners in this agenda. It also acknowledges the importance of advocacy for challenging gender inequality and transforming social norms and power relations, an approach which Oxfam is also increasingly adopting in the countries where we work across the world.

This policy, while new, builds on decades of Canadian experience. Four elements could be considered immediately to strengthen it:

1. increasing resources, both political capital and financial, for women's rights and gender equality;

2. supporting civil society, policy and advocacy along with women's leadership;

3. supporting research and learning; and

4. ensuring that Global Affairs Canada is "fit for purpose" to deliver on its gender equality commitments.

Canada must walk the talk if women's rights are a true priority. Historically a leader in the field of gender equality, Canada has gained an international reputation through its advocacy on women's rights, its support to women's organizations and networks overseas and its pioneering work on an organizational gender policy. In recent years, however, Canada has cut its overall aid budget (and there is still no timetable to increase the international assistance envelop to reach the benchmark of 0.7% GNI) and devoted less and less of its foreign policy resources to women's rights.

Over the past five years, only 1–2% of Canada's aid budget has been allocated to programs specifically designed to advance gender equality and women's empowerment, which is below the OECD donor average. Even at the height of Canadian leadership on gender equality, our commitment to gender equality specific programming was not significant. CIDA-managed ODA was only 1.85% in 1999–2000 and fell to 1.01% by 2005–2006 for gender equality programs.

The commitment to ensuring that 15 per cent of all new aid investments have as their principal focus advancing gender equality is welcome and starts to move Canada towards addressing the structural funding gap for women's rights. A significant portion of these funds should be directed to women's rights and feminist organizations and networks, which are doing front line work to advance, sustain and defend women's human rights and gender justice around the world. These groups have the capacity to bring about transformative change if only they are given the means and the space.

It is also important to consider the many non-financial resources of the department that implement trade and foreign policy. Canada has always played a strong role internationally by raising violence against



Women from Oxfam's partner organisation, League of Tunisian Female Electors, protest outside the National Constitutional Assembly of Tunisia to demand that women make up 50% of electoral lists.

women, sexual and reproductive rights, mainstreaming gender equality in international institutions, and promoting women, peace and security. Continuing to speak up in international fora and expanding our influence and diplomacy to include all the issues that impact women's rights and gender equality will also demonstrate that Canada is serious about equality and rights. Similarly, progress on women's human rights in Canada, as guaranteed by the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, would bring coherence and demonstrate that we can really "walk the talk".

## Political, not Technical Fixes

A feminist approach is inherently political because it challenges discriminatory laws, policies and programs, and systemic inequality. It is significant that Prime Minister Trudeau self-identifies as a feminist. However, Canada will be more effective if it supports citizens to do policy and advocacy work and to claim their rights, rather than focus on service delivery alone.

Civil society space is a critical "enabler" in the fight against poverty and the pursuit of social justice and gender equality. To strengthen civil society space globally, Canada can prioritize support for policy

and advocacy work, civic participation, and constructive dialogue between citizens and state authorities in both its development and diplomatic work. Feminist advocacy would empower those with less conventional economic, social or political power and would engage marginalized people in decision-making to claim their rights. Building bridges among diverse sectors and groups (known as intersectionality) creates legitimacy for change. Bridging micro-level activism and macro-level policy initiatives is a critical component of building civic space and feminist principles.

Advancing women's civil and political rights has been de-funded and de-prioritized in the development sector as a whole in recent decades. Canada can lead by bringing these core human rights issues back to the center of its international development and policy portfolio.

## Research and Feminist Learning

An important fourth R is research and analysis to increase the evidence in support of a feminist foreign policy. For example, two decades of research in 70 countries confirms that a strong feminist movement is the best strategy to reduce violence and discrimination against

women and girls. We need to apply such findings, and keep learning. People collectively standing up for women's rights have made significant progress in changing behaviours and attitudes at the community level, but more research is required to understand how change happens and, especially, how underlying social norms on equality evolve. Gender-sensitive economic and social policies, better laws (and their enforcement) are critical to overcoming gender discrimination – again, an area where collaborative, practice-informed research would help reach our goals. Existing and new research that demonstrates the impressive correlation between women's participation in peace processes and sustainable peace would help convince nay-sayers.

A feminist learning approach suggests areas where Canada can teach (e.g. strong legal framework that promotes gender equality) and others where it can learn (e.g. indigenous women's rights). Feminist work requires inclusiveness, opportunities to learn from experience, including exchanges and collaboration. Our approach to learning and research also needs to recognize agency and complexity. Understanding how the power of networks can be leveraged for change is critical, as is how to better connect people and organizations, including digitally.

## A Feminist Department

In order to implement a feminist global policy, the department itself needs to transform to become “gender just” organizationally.

Oxfam Canada’s own transformation to a gender just organization took years of change and learning. In 2006 we decided to make women’s rights and gender justice our strategic focus. This shift was not only about changing the thematic focus of our programs and campaigns. It was about our organization. We looked hard at our internal dynamics, attitudes, and culture, as well as those of partner organizations and communities. We commissioned a gender audit for ourselves, and funded gender audits for our partners. We built a strong suite of policies and programs that supported our ambition to become a feminist organization.

Here are lessons we learned implementing feminist practice and discourse institutionally:

- Hire feminists. Skilled professionals are not necessarily feminists. Stop hiring people because they are good at, say, education or diplomacy, and then expect them to apply feminist principles.
- Apply these principles to every aspect of work, not just the obvious. For example, we should think about feminism in mining, not just health.
- Internally, use a feminist analysis before deciding anything. Don’t choose an area of work based on another analysis and then try to make it feminist.
- Engage with partners who adhere to feminist principles.
- Ensure that the program architecture, the theory of change, the capacity building model and partnerships are infused and guided by feminist principles.
- Support a feminist approach to monitoring, evaluation and learning.

- Embrace social accountability. Frank feedback of stakeholders is critical in transforming power relations.

Preparing Global Affairs Canada to be “fit for purpose” includes ensuring adequate professional expertise and a structure that supports the mandate.

Political will, the commitment of senior leadership and the existence of women leaders within the organization will increase the understanding, ownership and integration of a feminist approach to international assistance, diplomacy and trade. However, GAC still has some way to go when it comes to hiring and promoting women. Although there have been female Deputy Ministers, there has never been a female in the most senior role, that of Deputy Minister of

Foreign Affairs. Though more women are posted as Heads of Mission, as of early 2017, only five women had ever been appointed to G7/G8 Head of Mission (HOM) positions. Among G20 HOMs, only three are women. Although Foreign Service recruitment is at parity, promotions at the highest rank are not: recent EX4 and EX5 competitions have gone overwhelmingly to men (12 to 1). Indeed, representation of women declines at every level, beginning with the middle management (deputy directors). Walls of photos featuring men all over the Pearson building and in overseas missions are visible reminders of these issues. Structural changes are slow and require champions. Leadership is needed to ensure that women are promoted, that feminist leadership is rewarded and that feminists are empowered within GAC.



Protesting violence against women in Bangladesh, one of the countries of focus for Creating Spaces – Oxfam Canada’s new 5-year program that partners with local women’s rights organizations to create space and take action to end violence against women and girls. Creating Spaces is funded by Global Affairs Canada.

Photo credit: Oxfam

As recently as the mid-2000s, there was a dedicated foreign policy team exerting leadership, advancing our engagement internationally on women's equality and pushing other parts of the department to get with the program. On the development side, there was a well-staffed division dedicated to gender equality, along with advisors in every department and at every program support unit abroad. Where is that capacity now? Why is there no longer a "Human rights and international women's equality" division? We cannot credibly promote a global feminist policy without ensuring that feminism is reflected organizationally.

## From Assistance to Foreign and Trade Policy

Putting feminist principles into practice is difficult for an organization. Oxfam Canada's own transformation has been long, winding, and it continues. Using the "f-word" signals a commitment to gender equality that goes well beyond gender mainstreaming or "women and girls" as a focus.

Beyond international development, the application of a feminist approach to trade and foreign affairs would generate challenges. Allowing feminist principles to guide trade negotiations, while also considering business and investor interests, may not be instinctual, but ensuring a meaningful and robust gender assessment as a precursor to a deal would allow Canada to understand the potential impacts on diverse groups, taking into account gender and other identity factors. Similarly, applying feminist principles to diplomacy may be challenging. As it tries to foster peace and equality, feminist foreign policy would prioritize objectives such as the prevention of sexual violence in conflict or ensuring the prominence of women's rights in new treaty language.

There are dilemmas inherent in a policy that promotes ethical positions around women's rights and gender equality and also continues with economic decisions that contradict those values, such as the sale of arms to countries that are known violators of international human rights, particularly women's rights.

A feminist approach will generate resistance (internally and externally) because it upsets the status quo, including deeply held beliefs underpinned by

unquestioned social norms. The department should consider the time and resource investment needed to build capacity, understanding that culture change is complex and requires a long term strategy, risk taking, innovation and persistence in the face of resistance. Demonstrating positive social change is complex as is making plausible links between programme interventions and the changes. There is an inherent tension between feminism and the hierarchical organizational structure of organizations such as GAC.

But a feminist approach also offers enormous opportunities. When it comes to international development, it is an amazing framework serving the core purpose of sustainable development and human rights: deep, longstanding and structural transformation that improves our understanding of the levers of change.

On the world stage, Canada currently enjoys credibility on gender equality and women's rights. Prime Minister Trudeau's feminist declarations and Canada's track record have also generated expectations that Canada will deliver. The path is open for Canada to make a strong contribution

to the international discourse and to its implementation. Being transformational is not easy. But it will be worth it. ☺

*Julie Delahanty is Executive Director of Oxfam Canada. A committed feminist with over 20 years of international development experience, Julie joined Oxfam after years with the Canadian International Development Agency and the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, where she held a number of posts including Director of the Central America Program, Director of the Gender Equality and Child Protection Division and Deputy Director for International Women's Equality.*

*Oxfam Canada is a feminist organization that believes ending global poverty begins with women's rights: [www.oxfam.ca](http://www.oxfam.ca)*



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# Les femmes du service de l'immigration dans les années 1960

par Sheena Trimble

*Dans ce second article, M<sup>me</sup> Trimble continue son examen du rôle et du milieu de travail des premières femmes recrutées en tant qu'agentes du service extérieur dans le programme d'immigration. La première partie, publié par bout de papier au printemps 2017, traitait de la décennie de 1950 et se terminait avec les commentaires de M<sup>me</sup> Elsa Amadio.*

Lorsque Elsa Amadio est embauchée en 1957, le plus grand défi des femmes agentes du service extérieur (ASE) de l'immigration est de demeurer en service assez longtemps pour mettre en pratique toutes les potentialités des fonctions qui leur sont dévolues. M<sup>me</sup> Amadio est la seule recrue des années 1950 qui relève le défi, mais une dizaine d'autres femmes entament de longues carrières d'ASE dans les années 1960. Cependant, un nombre deux fois plus élevé d'entre elles passent brièvement par un service qui peine à s'adapter aux vécus des femmes. À cette époque, le rôle des ASE est surtout d'administrer les politiques élaborées à Ottawa. La volonté d'octroyer des responsabilités supplémentaires à ces ASE, comme c'est le cas aux Affaires extérieures, fait entrer « policy input » dans la description de leurs fonctions en 1964 (Hawkins, 1988).

Hedevig (Viggi) Ring, Elizabeth (Liz) Boyce et Tove Bording comptent parmi les pérennes. M<sup>me</sup> Ring est recrutée par les services d'immigration à Montréal en 1951 comme interprète et agente de placement. En 1960, elle entre au service extérieur de l'immigration où elle enchaîne des postes à Copenhague, au Caire, à Helsinki, Stockholm, Belgrade, Ottawa et Glasgow

*« I was very favourably received and felt that my gender was a positive aspect at interview, that it was not an impediment to obtaining an offer of employment. » – Maria Hacke Beaulne, 1967*

jusqu'à sa retraite en 1982. Outre sa maîtrise de plusieurs langues, une maîtrise en lettres de l'Université de Copenhague et une expérience solide tant à l'extérieur qu'à l'intérieur du ministère de la Citoyenneté et de l'Immigration (MCI), M<sup>me</sup> Ring apporte un dynamisme et une capacité de travail inépuisables ainsi qu'une personnalité forte, directe et colorée. En 1994 un ancien collègue, Ian Thomson, rappelle que « *through a process of brute competence and unstinting commitment, she forcefully dismissed any nonsense about what was a woman's work* ».

Liz Boyce fait partie de la promotion de 1961. Après avoir occupé des postes à Londres, San Francisco et Athènes, elle décide que la vie itinérante d'ASE n'est plus pour elle. Elle ne quitte pas le MCI pour autant. Jusqu'à sa retraite en 1998, M<sup>me</sup> Boyce devient bien connue des nouvelles recrues en tant que formatrice. Le groupe des stagiaires qui entrent en fonction en mai 1965 est remarquable, non pour sa taille (ils ne sont que quatre ASE) mais parce qu'il compte trois femmes : Bonnie Beare, Gayle

Keyes et Tove Bording. Des affectations en Grande-Bretagne mènent les deux premières à se marier avec des Britanniques, tandis que M<sup>me</sup> Bording reste dans le service jusqu'en 1995.

La campagne de recrutement de 1967 voit arriver 6 femmes sur 25 nouveaux ASE. Pendant son année de formation au Canada, le groupe se fait remarquer non seulement par sa taille mais également par son gros contingent féminin. À quoi peut-on attribuer ce recrutement important de femmes en 1967 ? Est-ce le fruit du hasard ou est-il naturel qu'un groupe plus large fasse une meilleure place aux femmes ? Une des recrues, Barbara Pelman, n'a pas l'impression que le recrutement visait les femmes : « *I felt they were trying to recruit more educated people, not necessarily women over men. [...] They wanted MAs to fill the ranks, to balance (this was the rumour) the number of veterans in Customs and Immigration who were not university-trained* ». Maria Hacke Beaulne pense qu'être femme a pu aider à son recrutement : « *I was very favourably received and felt that my gender was a positive aspect at interview, that it was not an impediment to obtaining an offer of employment* ».

Un effort conscient pour recruter plus de femmes n'est pas à écarter. Depuis le début des années 1960, le mécontentement des femmes concernant la place marginale que leur accorde la société ne cesse de croître. Le ministère de la Main-d'œuvre et de l'Immigration (MMI) essaie peut-être de contribuer à corriger ce déséquilibre. Si c'est le cas, la Commission de la fonction publique (CFP) le cache bien à Joyce Cavanagh-Wood, également recrutée en 1967. Quoique très cordiaux, les deux hommes menant son entretien déclarent qu'elle est une bonne candidate à une exception près : c'est une femme. M<sup>me</sup> Cavanagh-Wood répond avec équanimité : « *I'm not about to go to Denmark to have a sex change. You know my number* ». Ainsi débute sa longue carrière dans le service extérieur de l'Immigration.

## Décisions matrimoniales lourdes de conséquences

Les attitudes que ces six femmes affrontent pendant leur formation semblent plus proches de l'étonnement que de l'antagonisme. Selon M<sup>me</sup> Cavanagh-Wood, « *everybody who saw us as a group was quite amazed that there were so many women* ». Des pionnières ont déjà ouvert la voie. Joe Bissett, ancien cadre de MCI/MMI recruté en 1956, croit que « *the addition of a number of female university graduates in the '50s did play a role in later recruitment of female officers simply because the ones who joined*

*the service then performed extremely well in their jobs* ». Joyce Cavanagh-Wood pense que « *the few women who were in the service before us were such good value for money that they thought it might not be a bad idea* ». Au-delà de leurs compétences, les femmes pionnières qui sont demeurées dans le service sont également restées célibataires, ce qui a permis de les déplacer à moindre coût que les hommes ASE, majoritairement mariés.

En effet, les femmes ASE font face à une discrimination genrée particulièrement marquée dans les attitudes à propos du mariage. Bien que certaines voix au ministère se plaignent du gaspillage des fonds publics lorsque ces femmes se marient, puis démissionnent, les ministères concernés et la CFP ne tentent rien pour les garder. Ils semblent estimer que, pour les femmes, devenir ASE s'apparente à une entrée en religion pour laquelle elles renoncent volontairement à une vie de famille. M<sup>me</sup> Amadio remarque que sa génération de femmes accepte plutôt facilement cette attente, car elles démissionnent au premier signe de mariage. Les institutrices et professeurs connaissent la même situation depuis longtemps. Plusieurs femmes recrutées pendant les années 1960 sont pourtant moins flegmatiques sur la question.

*« I'm not about to go to Denmark to have a sex change. You know my number. »*  
– Joyce Cavanagh-Wood, 1967

À l'époque, si une femme ASE épouse un collègue ASE, le MCI/MMI et le ministère des Affaires étrangères (MAE) refusent systématiquement d'affecter le couple dans le même service ou simplement à proximité. Si une femme ASE se marie avec un homme du pays où elle est affectée, lui accorder un poste permanent dans ce pays va contre l'attente qu'elle puisse être déployée n'importe où, n'importe quand. Si une femme épouse un homme ancré au Canada, le MCI/MMI peut en théorie lui trouver un poste au siège afin qu'elle continue à travailler. En réalité, les autorités du ministère supposent que l'étape après le mariage est naturellement la naissance d'enfants, auxquels la femme voudra se consacrer à plein temps.

L'analyse du parcours d'une dizaine de femmes embauchées pendant les années 1950 et 1960 révèle leurs choix. Elsa Amadio, Vigg Ring, Liz Boyce et Tove Bording restent célibataires pendant leur longue carrière. Pierrette Picotte, recrutée en 1957, se marie avec un ASE de sa promotion, puis démissionne aussitôt. Maria Hacke Beaulne épouse également un ASE, mais en suivant une voie moins directe. Après son année de formation au Canada en 1967, elle enchaîne deux postes en Allemagne jusqu'en 1970, année où elle demande son rapatriement au Canada. Bien que M<sup>me</sup> Beaulne trouve le travail intéressant, s'en acquitte avec énergie et obtienne la confiance et le respect de ses supérieurs, la vie de femme célibataire outre-mer s'avère trop solitaire à long terme : « *I had made good friends with the colleagues [...] I had also made good friends locally, both male and female, but I realized I was alone, had to make a complete life for myself that way or be prepared to find a partner locally. I was not interested in remaining in Europe long term, so it was a logical solution to return home where I would settle into the life of a Canadian rather than an expatriate* ». À Ottawa, où M<sup>me</sup> Beaulne travaille pour

le MMI puis la CFP, elle rencontre et épouse un ASE. L'affectation de son époux à Milan en 1972 la décide à démissionner de la fonction publique.

Une autre femme recrutée pendant les années 1960 tombe amoureuse d'un homme dans le deuxième pays où elle est affectée. Elle est transférée dans un troisième pays. Le couple continue sa relation malgré la séparation et décide de se marier, dans l'espoir que femme soit réaffectée dans le pays où habite son mari à la fin de son poste. Bien que le MMI autorise cette affectation, l'assentiment final doit venir de l'ambassadeur canadien dans le deuxième pays, mais, selon la femme en question, c'est un homme qui « *did not believe in the reunification of married officers* ». La femme en question met alors un terme à sa carrière de presque neuf ans dans le service extérieur de l'Immigration. Celui-ci perd ainsi une expérience et des compétences considérables. La femme ASE perd un emploi qu'elle apprécie et qu'elle accomplit de manière satisfaisante. Sa déception est d'autant plus désolante qu'elle divorce une dizaine d'années plus tard et ne retrouve pas, dans sa vie professionnelle ultérieure, un emploi qui la satisfasse autant.

## Au-delà d'un quotidien agréable

Joyce Cavanagh-Wood prend sa retraite deux fois du service extérieur de l'immigration en raison de l'intransigeance sur la situation des femmes mariées. Sa première carrière comme ASE commence par un poste mémorable à Paris en 1968, puis des affectations à Vienne et à La Haye. Entre 1972 et 1974 elle passe deux ans à Ottawa comme bras droit de Vigg Ring dans le Bureau Afrique. M<sup>me</sup> Cavanagh-Wood tire énormément de satisfaction à travailler avec cette femme qu'elle décrit en termes élogieux : « *We got along famously. I was just in awe of her. [...] She was well-respected. [...] She was hard-working, responsible, could take decisions. [...] She really was a role model for me in many ways* ».

Cet éloge révèle un autre aspect du travail d'ASE où les femmes sont défavorisées : elles ont moins de modèles possédant une ancienneté importante. Ceci ne signifie pas que les femmes ASE de l'époque ne se sentent pas entourées. M<sup>me</sup> Cavanagh-Wood est la première à signaler qu'elle trouve l'équipe des ASE, en général, très chaleureuse, accueillante et dotée d'un fort « *sense of camaraderie* ».

Lorsqu'on leur demande si elles ont souffert du sexisme dans leur travail quotidien, la réponse des cinq femmes rencontrées pour cette étude est plutôt négative. M<sup>me</sup> Beaulne rappelle que « *I was the first female officer assigned to the Cologne office but the then Officer-in-charge and his deputy always treated me very professionally [...] I was allowed to progress quickly and was not held back in any way* ». Barbara Pelman explique que son supérieur hiérarchique à Londres, John Sheardown, « *gave me a great deal of freedom and respect* ». Joyce Cavanagh-Wood travaille pour un ancien combattant à La Haye qu'elle décrit comme « *a perfectly nice guy* ». Maria Beaulne ressent plus d'hésitation parmi les candidats à l'immigration que parmi ses collègues hommes : « *some of the candidates [...] were surprised and sometimes reluctant to explain themselves to a young female officer* ».

Les recherches de la politologue Freda Hawkins montrent un service extérieur de l'Immigration dans un état chronique de

manque de ressources et de personnel. Dans ces conditions, des personnes formées et volontaires, quel que soit leur genre, sont les bienvenues. Les responsabilités données rapidement aux recrues confirment l'impression que leurs supérieurs et leurs collègues les jugent compétentes. Comme le décrit un collègue d'Elsa Amadio, l'impression que les femmes ASE doivent faire leurs preuves les amène à faire du zèle : « *We are pleased to have women on staff. In order to prove themselves they work twice as hard which allows us to relax* ».

La discrimination du système et certaines attitudes misogynes rendent toutefois la vie difficile aux femmes ASE. M<sup>me</sup> Cavanagh-Wood est confrontée à ces éléments malheureux en 1975. Cette année-là, lorsqu'elle est affectée au traitement des demandes de réfugiés indochinois dans un camp de transit en Californie, elle tombe amoureuse d'un Américain faisant le même travail pour les États-Unis. Pendant une absence autorisée d'un an, M<sup>me</sup> Cavanagh-Wood essaie en vain d'obtenir une affectation

*« The more demanding women of the 60s who wanted and actively sought equal treatment with their male colleagues represented the transition generation that brought in the feminist movement and the leap forward of the 70s onward. »*

– Elsa Amadio

dans l'un des douze services canadiens d'immigration aux États-Unis. Par manque de chance, elle tombe sur un responsable en ressources humaines qui estime que « *women had no place in the Foreign Service* » et l'affecte plutôt à Hong Kong. En 1978, M<sup>me</sup> Cavanagh-Wood démissionne d'un emploi qui la passionne pour construire sa vie de couple et une carrière dans un autre domaine aux États-Unis. Lorsque son époux devient libre de la suivre en 1982, elle réintègre le service extérieur de l'immigration, mais elle doit repasser l'examen, l'entretien et recommencer sans aucune ancienneté.

L'histoire de Barbara Pelman est presque un répit au milieu des cas innombrables où le service extérieur attend un dévouement total des femmes, sous peine de les exclure. Titulaire d'une maîtrise en lettres, elle voit le poste d'ASE comme une parenthèse dans un parcours vers le doctorat. Pendant sa seule affectation, à Londres, ses opinions féministes l'amènent à se joindre à une croisée interne pour adapter le service aux vécus des femmes :

*« At the time, the decree was that if a woman married, say, an Englishman, she would have to quit Immigration, because "of course", she would no longer be mobile. "Of course", she would go or stay where her husband was, with no thought that he might want to follow her! We fought this rule vigorously, and when the rule changed, it was announced very obliquely in a newsletter. There was no real acknowledgement that a major battle had been won in the cause of women in the service ».*

Bien que sa motivation principale soit la poursuite d'études doctorales, M<sup>me</sup> Pelman explique sa décision de démissionner en protestation contre ce règlement. Bonnie Beare Dickenson est aussi engagée dans cette lutte mais, pour elle, c'est un combat personnel. En 1996, dans un article rétrospectif, elle cite certaines des communications provenant du MMI conseillant aux militantes

de suivre l'exemple des anciennes femmes ASE qui « *were marrying their husbands' careers, were expecting to bear children and were satisfied to perform as housewives* ».

Les agentes du service extérieur recrutées pendant les années 1950 et 1960 deviennent à la fois des agentes de changement qui croissent en nombre, en expérience et en influence. Comme l'explique Elsa Amadio, elles deviennent d'ailleurs plus exigeantes : « *The more demanding women of the 60s who wanted and actively sought equal treatment with their male colleagues represented the transition generation that brought in the feminist movement and the leap forward of the 70s onward* ». Elle précise néanmoins que le saut en avant ne mène pas nécessairement à l'égalité, même de nos jours. ☺

*Expatriée du Canada en France afin d'épouser un Français, Sheena Trimble a poursuivi des études doctorales en histoire à l'Université Angers entre 2008 et 2015. Cet article, publié en deux parties, est tiré de la thèse « Femmes et politiques d'immigration canadiennes (1945–1967) : au-delà des assignations du genre ? » qu'elle a soutenue en octobre 2015. Le jury a particulièrement apprécié le traitement des femmes agentes du service extérieur (ASE) de l'Immigration du Canada et la mise en lumière d'histoires non-abordées jusqu'ici dans l'historiographie canadienne.*

*Cet article a été réalisé grâce à des échanges avec d'anciens ASE, ainsi qu'en consultant d'anciens du bulletin de la Société historique de l'immigration canadienne (SHIC). L'auteur remercie Elsa Amadio, Maria Beaulne, Joe Bissett, Joyce Cavanagh-Wood, James Cross, Barbara Pelman, ainsi qu'une femme qui a préféré rester anonyme, d'avoir bien voulu partager leurs histoires. Les interprétations sont celles de l'auteur.*

# Twenty-Five Years On, Some Ghosts Are Still With Us

by Mark Allen

In the winter of 1992, in these pages, an article entitled “The Ghosts Among Us” appeared. Contrary to this publication’s policy, the author was allowed to remain anonymous. “Imagine what it would be like,” that person asked, “if your lifetime companion were deemed not to exist at all in the eyes of the Department. Would you abandon him or her?”

The article was both a commentary on the evolving realities of LGBT staff and an eloquent plea, in advance of the triannual review of Foreign Service Directives, to extend relocation benefits to same-sex partners. The substantial costs and administrative burden associated with their partners accompanying employees to posts were being routinely met by those couples themselves. And yet, absurdly, the Department would pay the cost of bringing your pet with you, but not your partner. By 1992, the dark days of the Cold War purges, mostly of gay men, were a thing of the past. As the article contended, the “plan for identifying and then firing gay personnel had to be abandoned after preliminary investigations revealed a significant level of gay staff, including some of the brightest and most prominent individuals of the time.” But a substantial economic burden remained which needed to be addressed and it eventually was.

The ensuing years saw a steady progression in recognition for the rights of gay and lesbian employees, thanks, in large part, to the courts, and to significant changes in social attitudes towards the LGBT community. Equality with respect to benefits was won in 1999, followed by recognized partnerships and finally marriage equality, in 2005. The Public Service adjusted, as did the Department. And as the battle for same-sex civil rights in countries like Canada appeared to wind down (though transgender rights continue to require attention), the issue emerged as a

foreign policy priority in the mid-2000s, as we turned our talents and attention to the pursuit of respect for rights in the many parts of the world that continue to criminalize and punish same-sex conduct, sometimes with the death penalty.

But three broad areas remain where the Department has been working to re-focus its attention on the rights of its LGBT employees and now has the opportunity to make real progress: (1) by acknowledging us officially as an identifiable group with unique needs and circumstances and providing a channel to address those needs; (2) by pro-actively augmenting posting opportunities for LGBT staff and their families and, by extension, allowing managers to deploy the best people available; and, finally, (3) by confronting the legacy of the past and participating in the Government’s planned apology to the LGBTQ2 community.

While the Department has embraced the promotion of diversity and inclusion as a foreign policy and development priority in other parts of the world, in addressing it internally, we have the opportunity to catch up to our peer departments, many of whom view employment equity legislation not as a mandatory requirement, but as the *minimum* basis on which to build a thriving diversity policy. In recognition of this, the 2016 Public Service Award of Excellence

Credit: Jennifer Keeling



*The LGBTQ2 Pride flag flies at the Pearson Building to mark the International Day against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia.*

was presented to the proponents of the “Positive Space Initiative”, which is aimed at creating safer and more welcoming environments for LGBT employees and client groups by providing training to volunteers who become champions of workplace inclusion. No less than thirty departments and agencies are implementing the initiative, and many have gone a step further to include those involved as departmental LGBT champions, alongside their statutory employment equity counterpart groups (women, people with disabilities, Indigenous peoples and visible

minorities) as part of their regular corporate machinery to promote employee diversity and inclusion. This year, at the initiative of our thriving, employee-driven Pride Network, the Department is beginning to organize for “Positive Space”, which should see training roll out across our network, including in missions. This is important since for many locally engaged staff, this may be the only such safe space they have access to. Another recent and important visible demonstration of the Department’s growing commitment to LGBT people, including among its staff, was the decision to join our own missions around the world to fly the Pride banner from headquarters this year on the International Day Against Homophobia, Biphobia and Transphobia.

The private sector has been leading the way for corporate diversity and inclusion initiatives, with the benefits to any organization’s bottom line of a diverse and engaged workforce becoming increasingly apparent. Initiatives across the talent pipeline, from recruitment and retention of specific groups including the LGBT community, to their mentoring, upward promotion and leadership development are moving forward across the country. Increasingly, in both the private and public sectors, the culture of authenticity as a leadership style is being acknowledged and, for the LGBT community, this means not leaving an important part of your

### GAC LGBTQ2+ Pride Network

Employees at Global Affairs Canada (GAC) recently launched a volunteer-run group to represent the LGBTQ2+ community within the Department, called the Pride Network. The Network aims to foster a workplace inclusive of employees of all sexual orientations and gender identities. It is open not only to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning and two-spirit people, but to *all* GAC employees who support these objectives. Members of the Network share ideas and information, arrange social events and networking opportunities, discuss issues of concern, and promote equality in the department.

The current co-chairs Melanie Bejzyk and David Da Silva are available to answer questions and would be delighted to hear of expressions of interest.

identity at home – or back in Canada. Currently, the handful of brave Canadian HOMs who are visibly serving their country in partnership with their same-sex spouses are doing so of their own volition and not in response to any incentives; the all-too-familiar burdens on diplomatic spouses are often magnified and multiplied for same-sex partners and their families.

This brings us to a second identifiable need. The number of rotational positions abroad where staff and their families can serve while enjoying full recognition for their diplomatic status can be augmented, while also enhancing the quality of information available to them regarding conditions they will face. Our like-minded partners, including the European Union and the United States, clearly view their efforts to gain LGBT accreditation as filling a broader policy need and enhancing their overseas reputation. The State Department

*As the stigma associated with same-sex relationships lifts, we need to acknowledge that it cannot be easy, or painless, for those whose lives were ruined generations ago to relive such suffering once again in the telling.*

annually instructs all of its missions to lobby to increase the number of assignment opportunities for gay and lesbian, as well as transgender, staff and has undertaken this advocacy in capitals, under successive administrations, and at the most senior levels. As a result, more countries offer accreditation and the diplomatic immunity it brings to U.S. diplomats than is available to their Canadian counterparts. As attitudes in many countries around the world slowly shift for the better, much of this distance can be covered simply by making regular, formal requests of host authorities. Some missions have taken the initiative themselves, or partnered with like-minded countries, but clear direction needs to come from headquarters and efforts are now underway to provide it more regularly.

Finally, the Department now has the opportunity to confront the legacy of its past and participate meaningfully in the Government’s planned apology, expected later this year. Before leaving office in

January, U.S. Secretary of State Kerry issued a formal apology to LGBT staff “who were impacted by the practices of the past”, including discrimination against job applicants and forced resignations of employees on the basis of perceived sexual orientation, which “were wrong then, just as they would be wrong today.” Here in Canada, last November, the Government named Member of Parliament Randy Boissonnault as Special Advisor to the Prime Minister on LGBTQ2 Issues with a mandate to address current and historical discrimination against this community. In March, he announced that the Government would apologize to LGBTQ2 communities before the end of the year for actions it took, including those against thousands of workers in the Canadian military and public service, notably from our Department, during the Cold War era.

This presents an excellent opportunity for meaningful engagement and recognition of historical suffering, both of our colleagues at all levels, including among the best and brightest, and also of their partners and lifetime companions who, through the rotational nature of our work, were made to continue to live as ghosts, well after the arrests and firings had stopped. For this to be most meaningful, and so that future generations do not repeat the mistakes of the past, those affected may wish to share with us their stories – and even their names.

As the stigma associated with same-sex relationships lifts, we need to acknowledge that it cannot be easy, or painless, for those whose lives were ruined generations ago to relive such suffering once again in the telling. Only through confronting the past, however, and planning consciously and pro-actively for a better future, can we hope to exorcise every ghost once and for all. ☺

*Mark Allen has been Executive Director of Human Rights and Indigenous Affairs Policy at Global Affairs Canada since 2015. As a Canadian Foreign Service officer, he has served abroad in Rwanda and the United Kingdom. He has also served as Canada’s Permanent Representative to the International Civil Aviation Organization in Montreal.*

# I Know the Monster:

## Living in the Entrails of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 2012–2015

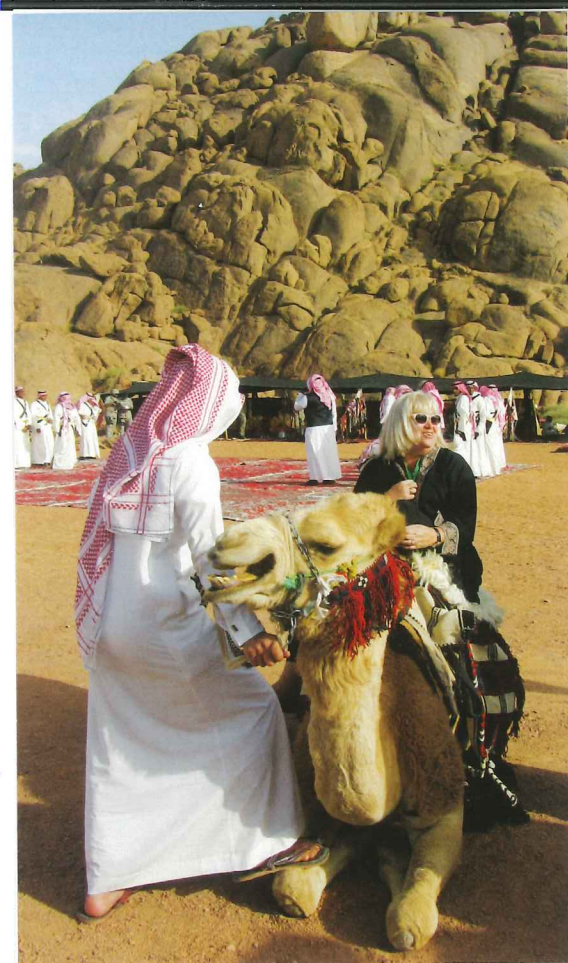
by Tom MacDonald

“I know the monster. I have lived in its entrails”. So said Cuban revolutionary and Guantnamero poet, Jose Marti, about the United States in the late nineteenth century. Marti was an outspoken critic of America’s imperialism, racism and rapacious capitalism. But his long-time residency there also leavened his views and afforded him greater perspective on both America’s virtues and vices. Saudi Arabia is often depicted in monstrous terms by Western media, including Canada’s own Globe and Mail. And while there is undoubtedly a great deal to criticize about the country, much of the media coverage is woefully lacking in balance or nuance, often penned by journalists who have never even visited the Kingdom. Some perspective from one who has “lived in the entrails of the monster” may therefore be of interest.

I vividly recall my arrival in the Kingdom in April, 2012 for what became a three-and-a-half-year ambassadorial assignment. It was my first-ever visit there and I had no idea what to expect. On the drive from the airport to the official residence in the Diplomatic Quarter, my curiosity gushed out questions as I drank in my new surroundings:

- What is that magnificent building complex?
- Princess Noura University for women — 40,000 students there
- Hmm...? And that area with so many skyscrapers under construction?
- King Abdullah Financial City; 40 towers being built simultaneously; like downtown Toronto going up before your eyes
- And why all the light armoured vehicles at the entrance to the Diplomatic Quarter?
- Be thankful; Saudi Arabia is still Al Qaeda’s number one target; not many years ago Western compounds suffered a spate of bombings and attacks by terrorists wielding machine-guns

*My son Alex and I at Maidan Saleh.*



Susan on a camel.

I could see that I had come to an interesting place.

By the time I landed in Saudi Arabia, I had already had postings on six continents, sailed to the seventh (Antarctica), and visited more than 90 countries. I did not think that much could surprise me. But Saudi Arabia proved to be a country of endless contrasts and frequent contradictions – women barred from driving but outnumbering men in universities; movie theatres non-existent but the world's second highest per capita usage of You-Tube; a modern and highly commercialized society but one where everything, including shopping and official meetings, stopped several times a day for prayer. Of course we at the Embassy spent much of our time in the “diplomatic bubble”, where even a single malt could be found in this driest of countries, tasting all the better for its illicit nature. But it was always clear that the culture around us was alien to our own, and it was fascinating to try to imagine how differently one's mind might view things if it had developed in this environment and sat underneath a Saudi goutra or hijab.

Having done a fair amount of preparatory reading about Saudi Arabia, I came

with many pre-conceptions. After all, Saudi Arabia has been a target of widespread international criticism long before the Globe decided to go on crusade. So I arrived with the impression that this was a country stuck in the sand in more ways than one, a place with an oppressive monarchy holding back the aspirations of the people, where time had been made to stand still, and where any forces for change were strongly resisted by the powers that be. Over time, however, I learned the inaccuracy of that image. I came to understand that Saudi Arabia is in fact experiencing a pace of change beyond anything the West has known in recent decades, and that the Saudi monarchy is actually more liberal than the majority of the population that it governs. I came to recognize that King Abdallah, under whose reign I spent most of my posting, was not some hopeless Canute trying to hold back the waves but rather an agent of change, trying delicately to nudge the country forward toward modernity, but always facing strong headwinds from deeply entrenched conservative elements.

Far be it from me to be an apologist for the Kingdom or to diminish its serious human rights issues. Although the Saudi record is not always as black as it is painted, it is certainly dismal by our standards whether one looks at women's rights, religious freedoms, corporal and capital punishment, judicial transparency and fairness, or media and political freedoms. The gaps and transgressions are constantly chronicled by international media and NGOs. But relatively little ink or air-time is devoted to the context of Saudi society and its rapid pace of change. This is perhaps not surprising since the country remains opaque and closed for most of us, partly because its leaders care little about Western viewpoints. They focus their political and public relations efforts almost exclusively toward a domestic audience, one whose views and values differ markedly from our own.

For me, the most prominent differentiating trait of Saudi society is its religiosity. In our Western society, religious belief has, over the centuries, been pushed to the margin – something one holds (or not) individually but which no longer governs our collective daily activities, societal norms or political life. There are of course religious elements to politics in many countries, such as the first commandment

of the Republican Party in the U.S. – that women shall not have choice. But generally, religion does not determine how we structure our societies nor what we permit individuals to do within them. In Saudi Arabia, by contrast, religion permeates everything, almost as it must have been in medieval Europe. The mosques are full; the call to prayer goes out five times a day and people stop what they are doing to respond; courts follow strict, literal interpretations of Sharia law based on the Koran; Ramadan fasting is a national activity and a period when the country effectively shuts down; Eid is the greatest annual celebration; the King's responsibility as Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques is taken at least as seriously as his role as monarch; the Muslims of the world flock in millions to Mecca (a city which non-Muslims are not even permitted to enter).

Of course, the religious police, or *mutawa*, are there to monitor behaviour. Even Western women have to cover their hair (not their faces) and wear long black abayas when outside the Diplomatic Quarter – otherwise, they risk a *mutawa* scolding. The power of the *mutawa* was visibly waning during my time in the Kingdom. But in any event, Saudi religiosity is not reliant on policing. It is woven into the country's social fabric, with all the entailed peer pressure. This is especially true in rural areas and it is important to bear in mind that, unlike the other Gulf petro-monarchies, Saudi Arabia is a large country with a geographic expanse almost equivalent to Western Europe. Even with the heavy urbanization of recent decades, the rural population of Saudi Arabia is greater than the entire population of the UAE.

Many in the West lament Wahabism, the Saudi version of Islam. It is ultra-conservative and thus the source of many Saudi practices which we decry. One could therefore take the position that the Saudis have chosen the wrong religious beliefs and interpretations. But there is more than a tinge of arrogance in that argument and, in any event, it holds no water with the Saudis. Lawrence of Arabia, who knew something of the Middle East, considered that it was merely “ploughing the sands” to try to sow Western values in a place so “full of the certainty of God”. We have learned through the long march of human history that what one person sees as religion, another may

see as oppression. We have also learned that those full of “the certainty of God”, whether in Saudi Arabia, Israel, the United States or elsewhere, are usually deaf to the clamour of public opinion when they believe that higher voices are calling.

The religiosity of Saudi Arabia may erode over time, as ours has done. But I would not bet on that; it would be like religion leaving the Vatican. What is more likely is that it will be increasingly influenced by more modern thinking and will incorporate new interpretations more compatible with our Western norms and human rights standards. This would not be dissimilar to our own evolution away from some of the egregious practices once justified in the name of Christianity. This will take time but change is very much in the air in Saudi Arabia.

Let’s consider the issue of women’s rights. These are still woefully inadequate in Saudi Arabia, but the pace of change is remarkable. In the 1960s, there was virtually no education for women; now they outnumber men in Saudi universities and colleges. During my brief time in the Kingdom, the signs of progress were evident. King Abdullah appointed women for the first time to the Shoura Council (allocating 20 percent of the seats and even deciding on mixed gender meetings – a key signal in a society where gender separation remains prevalent). Women voted and ran for office for the first time during the Saudi municipal elections in 2015. Saudis celebrated their first female Olympic athletes, Saudi women climbing Mount Everest and exhibiting at the Venice Biennale. Although women still form only a small part of the Saudi workforce (about 15%), this is growing rapidly. I witnessed the progress firsthand at my outreach meetings; each year there were more women involved, usually better prepared and more efficient than the men – and not shy to speak their views. My wife was also witnessed it, relieved when the opening of retail jobs to Saudi women meant that she no longer had to shop for underwear with male attendants.

The Saudi government has now officially espoused the goal of a 30% female workforce as part of a broad and transformative national plan – “Vision 2030” – championed by the young Crown Prince Mohamed bin Salman. The plan has already delivered the first cracks in the infamous Saudi system of male guardianship, with

King Salman announcing in May 2017 that women would no longer require male approval to access services such as health and education. Reform of the guardianship system is the number one priority for most progressive Saudi women, and they see Vision 2030 as offering breakthrough potential. The guardianship system is all the more incongruous when one considers that three of Forbes Magazine’s top 5 “most powerful” Arab businesswomen are Saudis. And now it appears that, by June 2018, they will even have the power to drive.

Speaking of driving, let’s reflect on Henry Ford. He was born in the same month

provincial vote until 1940, 22 years after federal enfranchisement.

King Abdullah was born in 1924, when Henry Ford was still selling his Model Ts. The transformation in Saudi Arabia during Abdullah’s lifetime was easily equal to what Ford witnessed in his. Abdullah was born into an Arabian Peninsula where Saudi Arabia did not yet exist, where most of the local population remained nomadic and led by tribal chieftains, where oil had not yet been discovered and hard cash revenues came largely from taxes assessed on pilgrims, where Abdullah’s father King Abdul Aziz was at war in the Hejaz, and



*Desert camping.*

as the battle of Gettysburg. Blacks were still enslaved in the southern U.S., the violence and inhumanity of the civil war was beyond imagination, and women’s rights were almost non-existent. He passed away in an entirely different world in 1947, just into the nuclear age – although even then, segregation remained the norm throughout the South and blacks could still be lynched there with impunity. De-segregation would take nearly two more decades to achieve. The point is that enormous social transformation can take place in the course of one lifetime, but progress on human rights is a trans-generational endeavour. This is even truer in conservative, religious societies. Just consider pre-Quiet Revolution Quebec where women did not get the

where the House of Saud’s alliance with the Wahabi clerics was the foundation for its legitimacy and its eventual unification of the country. Oil was not discovered in Saudi Arabia until Abdullah was 14. Saudi Arabia had no inter-city paved road until he was 27. There was no university until he was 33. The Saudi Arabia in which he passed away in 2015 – the country that I came to know – was a totally different world, one where all the technology and commercialism of modern society had been rapidly layered over a bedrock of tribal and religious tradition still highly visible and close to the surface.

The demographics give a sense of the breath-taking pace of change in Saudi Arabia. In 1960, Riyadh was a city of

some 100,000 people. It now has between 7 and 9 million (depending on how one measures its vast expanse), a much larger population than the Greater Toronto Area, and larger than any European city except London and Moscow. Saudi Arabia's population has increased by over 700 percent in the past fifty years compared with a 75 percent increase for Canada. The country has also urbanized at an incredible rate, moving in one generation from a predominantly nomadic people to one which is 80 percent concentrated in three cities (Riyadh, Jeddah and Dammam). And this hectic pace of change is set to continue. Nearly two-thirds of the country's population is under 25 years of age, compared with less than 30 percent of Canada's.

There are many reasons for Canada to engage actively with Saudi Arabia: it is our largest trading partner in the Middle East, the only Arab country in the G 20, the leader of the Gulf Cooperation Council, a pilgrimage destination for Canada's one million-plus Muslims, a valued partner in counter-terrorism intelligence-sharing, a key player on regional issues, a counterweight to Iranian influence, and a force for stability in a troubled region. Constructive engagement should include a robust but

respectful dialogue on human rights and can hopefully help to reinforce the Kingdom's evolution in a progressive direction. Perhaps the greatest long-term dividends will come through the strong educational linkages which Canada has established with Saudi Arabia – what I always called the “jewel in the crown” of the bilateral relationship.

During my ambassadorial tenure, there were some 16,000 Saudis studying in Canada, most of them part of a scholarship program, established by King Abdullah, to send hundreds of thousands of young Saudi men and women for study abroad. This may well prove to be the Kingdom's most transformative initiative, and it is one in which Canada is playing a leading role, as the third destination for Saudi students after the U.S. and the U.K. When King Abdullah passed away in early 2015, Governor General David Johnston came for the condolences – a sign of Canada's respect for the King and an acknowledgement of the importance of our relationship with Saudi Arabia. During his visit, the Governor General spoke passionately about the “diplomacy of knowledge”, a theme which lies at the heart of our engagement with the Kingdom. As Saudi Arabia maintains a dizzying pace of

change and charts its path forward, it is heartening to know that many of its future leaders will have experienced Canadian ways and values. While benefiting from our world-class education system, living “in the entrails” of Canada cannot but leave an impact.

During my time in the Kingdom, one of my great joys was to experience the desert – something one must do to understand the Saudis, just as time spent in snowstorms and forests gives clues to the Canadian psyche. My wife Susan and I fell in with a group of desert travellers equipped with all the kit, and we would take some marvellous weekend trips – to ancient camel caravan roads, abandoned Ottoman forts, centuries-old rock carvings, volcanic craters where we slept beside black walls of solidified lava, fossil beds full of shark's teeth and ammonites, the massive sand dunes of the Empty Quarter, the Naboteam tombs of Maidan Saleh. The endless horizons, shifting sands, myriad stars, silence, timelessness and immensity of the desert make it an ideal place for contemplation – a place to reflect on eternity, infinity, humanity and theology. It is a place that lends perspective – that gives one a longer vista and a wider horizon, something we need as we contemplate the Kingdom. My time “living in the entrails” there gave me an appreciation for Saudi Arabia's deep societal traditions and its remarkable pace of change, for the progressive forces at work and the challenges which they face, and for the need to look at things there in generational time-scales. What Canada is doing to educate a new generation of Saudis also makes me proud and optimistic about the future. ☺

*Tom MacDonald retired from Global Affairs Canada in February, 2015 after more than 41 years of public service. This included 22 years posted abroad in Mexico City, as Deputy Head of Mission in Brussels (EU), Minister (Commercial/Economic) in London, Consul General in Sydney, Chargé d'Affaires in Brunei and in Libya, and Ambassador in Buenos Aires and, most recently, Riyadh. He also occupied several senior posts in Ottawa, including as Director General for U.S. Trade and Economic Affairs, Director General for Central, Eastern and Southern Europe, and Director General for the Export and Import Permits Bureau.*



*Desert camping.*

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# Straight Outta Tripoli

by Ryan Ward

Shortly after we crossed into Tunisia during the evacuation of the Canadian Embassy to Libya, a few members of our protection team decided to exchange some cash at the gaggle of moneychangers gathered by the side of the road. There was no real reason to bother – the team was flying out the next day – but there was something symbolic about ridding themselves of the last of their Libyan dinars.

Less than twelve hours later, the members of OP LOBE boarded a charter bus to the airport, clean-shaven and dressed in civilian clothes. With their “combat beards” gone, the guys looked like freshly shorn sheep, younger and far less intimidating than the group of close protection operators who had spirited us to safety the day before.

Our cross-border evacuation was the culmination of one hundred and twenty hours of frenetic work shutting down our embassy in Tripoli. The short notice was a stark reflection of just how quickly the situation in the country had gone from bad to untenable. We received the order to evacuate at 01:30 local on 24 July, 2014. We were given five days to plan and implement the evacuation.

The Canadian embassy in Tripoli had a notional complement of six Canada Based Staff (CBS), but at the time of the evacuation, only four were in-country. Ten months after the departure of Ambassador Michael Grant, we were still without a permanent replacement. The team was down to me as Senior Trade Commissioner,

our Security Program Manager (SPM) Hanna Guenoun, Management & Consular Officer Steve Tremblay, and Military Police Security Services (MPSS) Detachment Commander Sergeant Steven Boyd. Protecting us was OP LOBE, a group of Canadian Armed Forces members assigned to provide diplomatic armed escort (DAE) support for TRPLI CBS after the revolution.

Daily life in Tripoli revolved around a grand total of four places: the Palm City Residences where all CBS and DAE quarters were located, the chancery in Tripoli Towers, the “Glass Souk” which had the most accessible grocery store in the city, and the shawarma shop close to home. For the first eight months of my time in Libya, there was some flexibility to attend evening functions with pre-approval from the task force commander. Even this limited freedom disappeared as the situation worsened. Eventually, all discretionary movement was curtailed, severely impacting our quality of life.

Palm City was no Kabul: there were generally fewer direct threats, but there

were also fewer security measures between us and the fighting. Gunfire provided the soundtrack to our evenings, the lower percussion of anti-aircraft guns playing against the crack of AK-47 fire well into the night.

Nothing about our routine in Tripoli was simple. All movement outside Palm City or the Tripoli Towers was done with a protection team. Even at the grocery store we were required to have a DAE member with us at all times, never out of sight. Night moves were done in convoy, so attending receptions required a four-person team to work late. On the few occasions we were able to attend events at the UN compound, we never stayed too long. There was always the understanding that our team was waiting outside for us.

After my arrival in Tripoli on 12 July 2013, I didn't have to wait long for things to get interesting. On 23 July, the CBC reported that a car bomb had exploded near the Canadian embassy. The report was inaccurate, but the reality wasn't much comfort. The explosion was actually an attempt to fire a rocket-propelled grenade (RPG) from an improvised launch tube. The attack targeted a major hotel close to the embassy. When the rocket fired, the car in which it was placed was thrown sideways, causing the rocket to hit a nearby apartment building, and leaving behind a burning wreck. The rocket hit a balcony, causing damage but thankfully no injuries.

The diplomatic community in Tripoli found itself specifically targeted at times. In January 2014, forces from the Libya Revolutionaries Operations Room kidnapped five Egyptian diplomats, causing concern among international staff. This wasn't the last time diplomats were targeted: a South Korean trade official was also taken



Tripoli Team: Steve Boyd, Hanna Guenoun, Steve Tremblay and Ryan Ward

in January, and in April, Jordan's ambassador to Libya and a Tunisian diplomat were kidnapped in separate incidents. All were released unharmed.

There were also attacks on diplomatic properties around the city. Two weeks after my arrival, unknown gunmen fired an RPG at the UAE mission. In October 2013, an armed mob stormed the Russian embassy, damaging property and tearing down the Russian flag. No diplomats were hurt in these attacks, but in the shadow of Benghazi, it was unnerving.

These events were symptomatic of greater problems facing the country. The descent into civil war had started out slowly, with news of a retired general, Khalifa Haftar, organising troops in the east. Nobody seemed to believe that he was a credible threat, but in the aftermath of the contentious 2014 elections, there was a vacuum to be filled. While the situation was never stable during my posting in Libya, the mobilisation of troops and the launch of "Operation Dignity" against the General National Congress and Islamist militias in May 2014 marked the beginning of a period of escalating conflict in the country.

I did not escape the security situation even when I was on leave outside of Libya. On my way to London Heathrow to fly back to Tripoli after a reunification with my wife, I got a call from our SPM. A militia had attacked the airport, blowing a hole in the main runway. Unsurprisingly, Lufthansa had suspended flights to Libya indefinitely. The kind British lady at the service desk managed to get me rebooked onto a Libyan Airlines flight, but not without asking if I wouldn't rather stay in London. I flew back the next morning. I had work to do.

On 5 July 2014, sustained fighting broke out between rival militias occupying the area around Palm City. This led to a temporary closure of the Embassy, and the implementation of a heightened security posture, with strict limitations on CBS movements. Four days later the UN Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) evacuated half of its staff. There was no plan to close the Embassy at that point – operations were still sustainable.

When I became a trade commissioner in 2006, I never expected to go on posting anywhere like Libya – my interests lay in Asia. Prior to joining the department, I attended the Royal Military College of

Canada, ending up as a Logistics Officer in the Air Force. I left the military in 2004, but the attraction to work in challenging environments never went away. Libya filled that void for me.

The experiences that come with operating in a conflict zone can be surreal: being whisked away from a function because the protection team thought we might be under surveillance; having a truck-mounted anti-aircraft gun track our armoured vehicle (AV) around a traffic circle; arriving back in our neighborhood to find a poster of a man who had been tortured to death for resisting a carjacking; and listening to artillery booming across Tripoli while playing cards with Americans who were

A month before we departed, I stayed home to supervise a contractor installing blast film on my apartment's floor to ceiling windows. Everything went well, and the contractor left on time. A half hour later I was on Skype with my wife when there was an explosion outside my apartment. I told my wife I would call her back, and got in touch with the security team. As far as we could tell, a militia had launched a rocket from the area of the airport. It passed just over my roof, landing a hundred metres away in the Mediterranean. That was the closest call I had in Libya. After we had left Tripoli, a similar rocket struck one of the apartment buildings on the compound. There were no casualties, but



Ryan Ward with Protection Team

not officially in Libya. This is not what I thought I was getting myself into, but I wouldn't have traded it for anything.

By mid-July 2014, clashes around Tripoli International Airport intensified to the point that the airport was closed to all air traffic, taking away our best option for getting out of Libya. The fighting caused significant damage to the airport control tower, destroyed a number of aircraft, and rendered the runways unusable. The Brega fuel depot nearby was repeatedly hit by rockets and mortars, causing its storage tanks to catch fire. They burned for more than a week, lighting up the sky at Palm City, twenty-three kilometers away.

it drove home the fact that we were right to get out when we did.

Canada was one of the last countries to close its embassy and evacuate from Libya. The British pulled a number of their military staff the day before our departure, using the same land route we were planning to take. News soon came in that they had been attacked. Gunmen had tried to carjack the armoured vehicles, brandishing AK-47s and firing on the convoy. Thankfully, the protection worked as intended, and there were no casualties. When we passed through that area, known as Camp 22, we were escorted by a contingent from the local militia, including



*Arch of Aurelius, Tripoli*

three Toyota pickups with mounted anti-aircraft guns and two SUVs carrying militiamen. For some reason, nobody bothered us.

Throughout the lead-up to the evacuation, we had been holding regular video-conferences with headquarters. By the final day of the shutdown, power had been lost for half of the chancery. The video-conference system was working, but the lights and air-conditioning were not. We sat in the dark, sweating in the forty degree heat, flashlights illuminating our faces. We briefed management on progress and final planning while the sound of artillery echoed outside the chancery. Throughout the process of closing the mission, the Director General in charge, Mark Gwozdecky, was the calm voice on the other end of the video link, keeping us on track and ensuring we were supported.

TRPLI closed and sealed its doors 18:00 EET on Monday, 28 July 2014. All milestones in the shutdown plan were achieved.

The night before our departure, a group of local friends invited some of us to dinner to celebrate Eid-al-Fitr, marking the end of Ramadan. They were planning a bigger party the next night, and wanted to make sure we would be there. To protect the security of our evacuation plans, we had to lie to them, promising that we would come.

In the days following our departure, the friends and locally engaged staff we left behind were never far from our thoughts. We stayed in touch and helped when we could. After the evacuation, my trade commissioner assistant was hired on in Tunis to provide ongoing support to the

remaining TPRLI CBS on site. He's still with the department, and is now working as a Trade Commissioner in DOHA.

At 06:45 on 29 July 2014, TRPLI's four remaining CBS, accompanied by my Libyan cat and escorted by OP LOBE, departed Palm City in convoy. Our drive out brought its own excitement. En route to the border, one of the vehicles in our convoy was involved in an accident, rear-ending a local vehicle. The driver of the other vehicle got out, obviously upset at the damage. We came to a stop facing the scene, and watched as our interpreter went to speak with the other driver.

The driver was angry, yelling and flailing his hands. After a few minutes of trying to talk the driver down, the interpreter gave up. He returned to his AV. Seeing this, the driver ran towards the AV, grabbed a stick off the ground, struck the AV, then moved to the AV's still-open door, hauling the interpreter out by his shirt collar.

At this point, one of TRPLI's LES, who had been at the front of the convoy and had not seen the accident, arrived back on the scene. He talked to the driver and managed to de-escalate the situation. Throughout the confrontation, one of the other passengers in the vehicle had been on the phone. We had no way of knowing if he was calling for a tow truck or rounding up a local militia to get involved. In the end, we got back on the road, a bit late but no worse for wear.

We arrived at the border three hours after leaving Palm City. Following an uneventful (if tense) crossing, the convoy proceeded to Tunis. Our vehicles entered the TUNIS chancery at 20:15; the total transit had taken thirteen and a half hours.

We rolled in to a warm welcome from the TUNIS team, who had been providing dedicated support throughout the evacuation. The next morning, we bid farewell to our colleagues from OP LOBE, who flew out on a Canadian Air Force CC-130J.

Thanks to the unfailing support of OP LOBE, and some measure of luck, the shutdown and evacuation took place without major incident. That said, it did have a lingering impact.

The last few nights in Tripoli, when the gunfire and shelling around our compound were particularly bad, I didn't feel safe sleeping in my bedroom, with its large outward-facing windows. My cat and I slept on a bed made of couch cushions in the hallway, listening to the sounds of intense fighting late into the night.

It was the memories of indiscriminate shelling that led to the one real negative reaction I had after my return to Ottawa. I was walking with my wife in Stanley Park and the guns at Parliament Hill began firing an artillery salute. I didn't feel safe until I got home.

After the evacuation, I was sent on the "Decompression & Reintegration" course offered to CBS coming out of posts in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq, as well as Libya. We were asked to describe our progress through the stages of culture shock. For me, the excitement of the posting had balanced out the challenges of being away from my wife and working in an unstable environment. The most difficult time for me was not during the fighting or the violence. It came when we were told that TRPLI was not going to reopen. The feeling of leaving a job unfinished was hard to accept.

In retrospect, my posting in Libya turned out nothing like I had expected, but it was the most rewarding and intense experience of my career so far. I was honoured to work with a great team in TRPLI, and with the men and women of OP LOBE, whose professionalism and dedication kept us all safe, and got us out unharmed. For that, I'll always be grateful. ☺

*Ryan Ward is currently posted in Nairobi, Kenya, as Regional Senior Trade Commissioner for Eastern Africa. He was in Libya from 12 July 2013 until the evacuation of the embassy on 29 July 2014.*

# Les Prix de l'APASE 2017

## RECONNAISSANCE DE L'EXCELLENCE

*Event photography by John Finnigan Lin*



« Au moment où nous sommes sur le point de marquer le 150<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de notre pays, le Service extérieur canadien est profondément engagé à tracer la voie pour l'avenir du Canada dans le monde. »

– MICHAEL KOLOGIE, PRÉSIDENT

Le jeudi 8 juin 2017, 275 collègues et invités se sont réunis pour célébrer l'excellence au sein du service extérieur canadien lors du dîner de remise des Prix de l'APASE 2017.

C'est au son de la cornemuseur-major des Sons of Scotland, Bethany Bisailion, que les invités ont fait leur entrée dans la salle de bal Trillium du Centre Shaw, à Ottawa, pour une soirée exceptionnelle. Michael Kologie, qui était alors président de l'APASE, a accueilli les participants à la 28<sup>e</sup> remise des Prix du service extérieur canadien et leur a chaleureusement souhaité la bienvenue.

Norm Baillie-David, qui a fait carrière pendant 30 ans en consultation et développement organisationnel a agité à titre de maître de cérémonie pour la soirée.

# Les lauréats 2017

## Tara Bickis

Arriving in Quito, Ecuador in 2013 as Management Consular Officer, Tara Bickis identified potential threats, including volcano eruptions and earthquakes. She upgraded the Embassy's emergency readiness, trained staff and dependents, pre-positioned emergency supplies and equipment and established robust relations with Ecuadorian authorities, other embassies and, critically, the large Canadian community. On April 16, 2016 a 7.8 magnitude earthquake killed 676, and injured over 16,000.

Tara et son agent des affaires consulaires sont arrivés sur les lieux moins de 24 heures plus tard. Elle a visité la plupart des secteurs touchés, localisant et aidant les Canadiens et Canadiennes à communiquer avec leur parenté inquiète. Elle a offert de l'assistance remplie de compassion aux familles canadiennes qui avaient perdu des proches. Tara a aussi établi un lien de médias sociaux avec les autres ambassades, qui a permis l'échange rapide d'information. Pour sa planification prospective digne d'éloges et son rendement exceptionnel en réaction au séisme de 2016, Tara Bickis se voit attribuer le Prix pour 2017.



*Ian Shugart, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Tara Bickis*

## Andie DaPonte

Canada dramatically increased its Syrian refugee target in October 2015. Refugee Unit Manager Andie DaPonte's expert knowledge of Turkish procedures and excellent relations with officials allowed him to work within parameters not faced elsewhere in the region. He developed a nimble, paperless, processing model to reach the scattered refugees. Closely managing the process, he conducted the resettlement program like a maestro leading a symphony. A mix of 25,000 government and privately sponsored refugees arrived by February 29, 2016. Now Middle East Refugee Coordinator, Andie orchestrated the efforts of four offices to meet the new challenge of a commitment to 25,000 government assisted refugees by December 2016.

Les règles de sortie draconiennes imposées à la suite du coup d'État raté ont compromis le programme. Andie a accéléré le traitement dans d'autres pays et obtenu l'engagement des autorités turques. Les cibles de traitement ont été dépassées et les contrôles turcs, facilités. Pour apaiser l'inquiétude du Canada concernant les survivants yézidis, André a créé à Erbil un système qui en a permis l'extraction de 1200 à la fin de l'année. Pour sa contribution exceptionnelle à l'accueil d'un nombre sans précédent de réfugiés dans une année (46 300), Andie DaPonte se voit attribuer le Prix pour 2017.



*Andie DaPonte et Daniel Jean, conseiller à la sécurité nationale auprès du premier ministre*

## I Mary Pierre-Wade

At our NATO mission, Mary Pierre-Wade spearheads Canada's Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda to ensure that women's participation and the rights of women and girls are reflected in NATO Policy. She was a key mover in North Atlantic Council's review of NATO's implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 Action Plan, identifying progress and deficiencies in NATO's gender literacy and the presence of women in leadership.

Elle a collaboré avec le Secrétariat général afin de maximiser l'impact de l'examen, ce qui a entraîné des efforts renouvelés en vue de tenir compte de l'égalité des sexes dans le développement des ressources humaines et l'intégration des perspectives relatives à l'égalité des sexes dans l'élaboration de politiques et l'analyse de renseignements. Mary a organisé des rencontres du Groupe des amis de la résolution no 1325 en vue de sensibiliser aux effets différentiels des conflits sur les femmes et les jeunes filles, notamment le recours à la violence sexuelle comme tactique de guerre, et elle a dirigé des activités dans les médias sociaux concernant le programme Les femmes, la paix et la sécurité. Pour son appui soutenu au programme Les femmes, la paix et la sécurité du Canada, Mary Pierre-Wade se voit attribuer le Prix pour 2017.



*Mary Pierre-Wade and Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Matt DeCoursey*

## I David Weiner

Trade Commissioner David Weiner has achieved outstanding commercial successes for Canada. In Detroit he reinvigorated the Canada US Business Association, a powerful voice for cross-border trade. He replicated this in Dallas, forming the Canada-Texas Chamber of Commerce. Canadian businesses call his achievements the "Texas Turnaround". Upon hearing Ford Motor Company might expand its Oakville Assembly Complex, David brought together Canadian Ministers and Ford's CEO and introduced innovative Canadian automotive suppliers to Ford's Global R&D centre. Ford subsequently invested \$716 million, securing 2,800 jobs.

L'équipe de David à Détroit a desservi 50 investissements de ce genre. À Dallas, David a joué un rôle crucial pour ce qui est de faciliter la décision de Bell Helicopter de produire le nouvel hélicoptère Jet Ranger 505 à Mirabel (Québec), un investissement de 45 millions de dollars créant 100 emplois. Sa compétence, son accessibilité et son dévouement inspirent ses équipes. Pour avoir fait grandement progresser les intérêts commerciaux du Canada, David Weiner, innovateur, leader et mentor, se voit attribuer le Prix pour 2017.



*Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of International Trade, Pamela Goldsmith-Jones and David Weiner*

# Panel of Judges / Jury de sélection

**M. Serge April** (président) a joint les rangs du ministère des Affaires extérieures et du Commerce international (Affaires extérieures) en 1968 et il a servi à Rome, à La Havane et au sein de la Délégation auprès de l'OCDE à Paris. De 1985 à 1988, il a été ambassadeur au Sénégal, avec accréditation simultanée auprès de Cap-Vert, la Mauritanie, la Gambie, la Guinée-Bissau et la Guinée-Conakry. En 1992, il a été nommé Haut-Commissaire adjoint à Londres et, en 1996, ambassadeur en Pologne. De 2001 à 2004, il a été ambassadeur aux Pays-Bas. À Ottawa, il a occupé plusieurs postes supérieurs, notamment ceux de directeur de la Direction du droit économique et des traités, conseiller principal pour les Relations fédérales-provinciales, directeur général du Service juridique, négociateur en chef des accords aériens pour le Canada et conseiller principal pour les questions juridiques. M. April a pris sa retraite en 2006; depuis ce temps, il a été vice-président de l'Association des chefs de mission à la retraite et vice-président de la Section de la capitale nationale du Conseil international du Canada.

**Ms. Anne Arnott** is a retired public servant, with 38 years of experience in the immigration field. She joined the Foreign Service in 1981 and spent 16 years abroad, with postings in New Delhi, Kingston, Hong Kong, New York and London. In her last decade before retirement, she was Director General of Case Management Branch and of International Region, before

going to London as Immigration Program Manager and Area Director. Anne was a proud member of PAFSO and was Vice President for two years. She is herself a recipient of the PAFSO award.

**M. Yves Brodeur** est natif de Montréal et a complété ses études universitaires à l'université Laval de Québec. Il a joint les rangs du ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Commerce international en 1982. Il a eu une carrière très diversifiée cumulant des postes de responsabilité tant au Conseil Privé, à la Centrale qu'à l'étranger. Il a été membre de l'équipe de haute direction du ministère depuis 2003, d'abord à titre de Directeur général (Communications) puis de Sous-ministre adjoint (Afghanistan) et Sous-ministre adjoint et Directeur politique (Sécurité internationale). Il a été porte-parole de l'OTAN, Ambassadeur auprès de la République Turque, de la République de l'Azerbaïdjan et de la Géorgie et Ambassadeur et Représentant permanent du Canada à l'OTAN. Monsieur Brodeur est à la retraite depuis 2015.

**Dr. Linda Duxbury** is a professor at the Sprott School of Business at Carleton University where she teaches Masters and PhD courses in Managing Change, as well as the Masters course in Organizational Behaviour. She is an accomplished trainer and speaker in the areas of supportive work environments, work-life balance, managing the new workforce, recruitment and retention, change management, gender

and communication and the communication process. Dr. Duxbury has completed major studies on balancing work and family in the public, private and not-for-profit sectors and has published widely in both the academic and practitioner literatures. She is currently undertaking a national study on balancing work, child-care and eldercare and is also working with several police forces across Canada on an action research study into how police need to change to be more sustainable.

**Dr. Roland Paris** is University Research Chair in International Security and Governance at the University of Ottawa, where he teaches in the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs. He was recently the Prime Minister's senior advisor on global affairs and defence, having previously held several advisory positions in the Canadian government, including in the Privy Council Office, the Department of Foreign Affairs, and the Federal-Provincial Relations Office. He has also been director of research at the Conference Board of Canada, assistant professor of international affairs at the University of Colorado at Boulder, visiting fellow at Sciences-Po in Paris and visiting researcher at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, D.C. Dr. Paris has won numerous awards for his academic research on international affairs as well as six prizes for his teaching and public service. He provides regular analysis and commentary for national and international media.

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*Sandelle Scrimshaw,  
présidente de L'ACMAR et  
Christian Ranger le rédacteur  
en chef de *bout de papier**

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

Outre les quatre prix de l'APASE, deux autres prix de l'ACMAR/*bout de papier* ont été annoncés lors du dîner de l'APASE, le 8 juin 2017. MM. Zal Karkaria et Peter Kolakovic ont chacun reçu un prix de 300 \$ parrainé par l'Association des chefs de mission à la retraite (ACMAR). M. Karkaria a mérité le prix pour son article « We Believed: How Canada Resettled 25,000 Syrian Refugees in Three Months » (volume 30, no 1) et M. Kolakovic pour son article « Worth Their Wait: The Long Journey of Canada's Newest Foreign Service Officers » (volume 29, no 3).

## Les gagnants des prix de présence



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# Gerald Boamah

## 1979–2016

It was with shock and great sadness that we learned of the passing of Gerald Boamah on December 28, 2016. To know Gerald was to like and respect him, and it is hard to accept that in the prime of his life, age 37, he is taken away so suddenly.

Gerald was born in London Ontario but was raised in the island of Barbados where he had his elementary and secondary education. He returned to Canada when he was 18 years old and studied at Carleton University. After his graduation he joined the exciting world of the Foreign Service of Canada, on March 6, 2006. One of his earliest assignments was with the Investment Trade Policy Division (TMV) of the Trade Policy and Negotiations Branch, where he worked from 2008–2011, advancing to the level of a senior trade policy officer before he left. He loved the world of trade negotiation and became known as one who would roll up his sleeves and take on the challenging assignments. He could always be relied on to be very well prepared, to have done all the background research and to have it at his finger-tips for the team. Most will remember him, though, as a truly wonderful person to work with because of his very cheerful and engaging personality. He was such a positive force on any team that he worked. One of his most personally rewarding and memorable assignments was to return to his home country on a team of trade policy experts looking into strengthening trade ties. Gerald took up the role of “visit

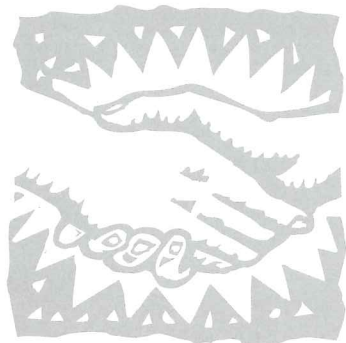
coordinator” to ensure that his colleagues came away with an appreciation of his home island, all the while engaging in the negotiations with his usual dedication and attention to details. The Canada-Barbados connection was never so strong!

Gerald gave three solid years to the Investment Trade Policy Division and then, true to the culture of the department he worked for, moved on to broaden and enrich his work experience, and took on a Trade Commissioner position at the Ontario Regional Office in Toronto. He returned to Ottawa in early 2016 to work in the EU-EFTA Commercial Relations Division (EUB) until August 2016, when he left to attend the Law School at Lakehead University in Thunder Bay. Gerald was full of energy and ideas, and was unafraid to take on new adventures. It was a big decision for him to leave the Department to go back to school, and while this was a little “unsettling”, Gerald’s continuous thirst for knowledge prevailed. Leaving with the confidence that he had made the right choice, he embraced fully this new chapter of his life, just as he had embraced his time in the world of foreign affairs.

We of Global Affairs who had the good fortune to share paths with Gerald Boamah, however brief a time it may have been, cannot help but feel a deep sense of loss. His memory remains with us, and it will invoke a smile for the person he was and a tear because we shall miss him so.

*Vernon MacKay has been the Director of the Investment Trade Policy Division at Global Affairs Canada since January 2013. He was previously Deputy Director in the same division for six years. He has been Canada’s lead investment negotiator for several free trade agreements and foreign investment promotion and protection agreement (FIPAs), including the FIPA with China.*

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# Barbara Cram

## 1950–2017

Barbara Cram, known as Barb, passed away in her sleep, her puppy Maggie by her side, on April 10 in Courtenay, B.C.

Barb joined the Immigration Foreign Service in 1972, having obtained her BA (History) from the University of Saskatchewan and her BLS (Library Science) from the University of Alberta. She completed her overseas training in Yugoslavia before embarking on a two-year posting to New Delhi. Barb returned to Canada only to spend many months in a tropical disease ward in a Montreal hospital. Soon after completing French-language training, she resigned from the Foreign Service to attend the College of Law at the University of Saskatchewan. She practiced law in rural Saskatchewan before establishing a decade-long practice in Regina. While in Regina, Barb spent many years as a member of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications

Commission, becoming regional commissioner for Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

Barb volunteered extensively in Canada and overseas, including a return to India with Habitat for Humanity.

I first met Barb in 1971 at the School of Library Science at the University of Alberta, where we both studied and became colleagues in the student government. She was a vivacious, sweet young woman, always with a smile on her lips. My wife and I will always remember a special moment with Barb. We had just arrived in Ottawa in July 1972 and sat in our room at the old Holiday Inn. We had left the prairies and the clean fresh air, transferring flights in Toronto, where we choked on the foul air. Eventually we arrived in Ottawa, which in those days was not very impressive (and we were from Edmonton!). We were sitting on the bed, forlorn and homesick, when there was a knock on the door and a small voice

cried out, “Hi, it’s me, Barb, come down to the pool for a drink and meet the others.” She was a very special person to all who knew her.

*Remembered by Kurt Jensen, a retired Foreign Service Officer and university colleague.*

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# Brian Davis

## 1947–2017

*This tribute was given by former immigration officer and Ambassador, Michael Molloy, at a memorial tribute in Ottawa earlier this year, with contributions here from Robert Peck, who worked with Brian at the very start of his Foreign Service career.*

When he was diagnosed with a brain tumour in late 2013, Brian Davis was given a year. Treatment and two surgeries gave him longer to be with his beloved wife Bev, daughters Kelly and Jennifer, his sons-in-law, and two grandsons, and to enjoy his cottage, his friends and large, extended family.

Foreign Service friendships are intense and able to endure long separation without losing either intensity or affection. Brian was a major talent in the Foreign Service. Integrity, determination and loyalty to his mission marked everything he did. His contributions in many areas were superlative.

My wife, Jo, and I met the Davis' in Beirut in the spring of 1972. We were veterans on our second posting, Brian and Bev, a bright young couple, fresh from training. They made a lasting impression, not the least because the trip out to Beirut was their honeymoon and they were such an attractive, enthusiastic and friendly pair.

In those days the Embassy in Beirut was home to an immigration operation that covered forty countries, from the border of Afghanistan to the border of South Africa. Not long after the Davis family arrived I was off on another six week swing through eastern Africa and the countries of the Indian Ocean. I was away for my wife Jo's birthday and it was a comfort to me and an unforgettable occasion for her to be taken by Brian and Bev to see Ella Fitzgerald and Duke Ellington under the stars in the ruins of the ancient Roman city of Baalbek. It was a kindness never forgotten.

Our Beirut assignment was terminated shortly after my return. Exigencies of the service I was told. Decades passed before our paths crossed again. In the interim, Brian's Foreign Service career prospered with a succession of assignments around the globe. Along the way Kelly and Jennifer joined the family and when they grew up they brought Jeff and Peter. We saw each other seldom but Brian's reputation as an officer of exceptional competence grew year by year and he began to get some complex and challenging assignments, notably as

Immigration Program Manager in Hong Kong, perhaps the most complex and difficult of the overseas operations at the time.

Typical of Brian's service was the dialogue he had with Headquarters prior to his move to Paris. When offered, he made it abundantly clear that he had no interest in going to Europe. He, Bev and the family were quite comfortable in Asia and were content to remain there. After several exchanges, the Assistant Deputy Minister (ADM) finally put his foot down and said, Brian, we need you in Paris and there is no one else with your range of skills that could go instead.

Brian acquiesced but it was clear that he was going to Paris out of a sense of duty and not out of interest for the job that awaited him. Well, Brian did not stay in Paris the minimum of three years or even an extension to a fourth; he stayed six. On his return to Ottawa he confided to the ADM that Paris had indeed been the most enriching life experience he had had during the entirety of his career. A consequence of that assignment was that his reputation as a wine aficionado caught up with and perhaps surpassed his expertise as a manager!

Our paths crossed again on Ottawa where Brian worked as part of the senior management team to reconstruct Foreign Service headquarters in the immigration department after its return from 11 years with the Department of Foreign Affairs. Brian's job was to defend the overseas immigration system against the barrage of bright, untested ideas from an immigration department brimming with suggestions about how to improve its new overseas empire. No NHL goalie was more effective in deflecting ill-considered (policy) shots as Brian.

Among the toughest jobs in government are those that involve managing the places where politics and law collide. Immigration Case Management Branch where Brian spent his last years was one such place. It was at this time that Brian's character shone through. His unflinching courage in speaking truth to power, even when his messages were not always welcome – especially as

ministers – in no way dissuaded him. To succeed and survive in this kind of job requires a rare blend of personal toughness, tact, knowledge, conviction, integrity and leadership. That pretty much sums up Brian Davis.

We visited the Davis' when Brian served as Ambassador to Syria which, at that time, was a fabulous country with an unspeakable government. I recall long talks with Brian who had no illusions about the government, deplored its brutality but understood its inner logic and why it was the way it was. I recall as well long, delightful walks with Brian and Bev through Damascus' fabled souks.

The courage, determination and candour that Brian displayed when cancer struck was truly awesome. He could see no reason not to get up on the cottage roof or ride his beloved motor cycle until Bev and the medical establishment put their collective foot down. I treasure the memories of conversations about current events over curry with the Delhi Wallahs' club, where we celebrated the fact he had outlasted the medical predictions.

In closing, there is not much to say except we have lost an awfully good man, husband, father, a wonderful grandfather to Liam and Noah, a stellar colleague and a truly distinguished servant of his country. Our consolation is that this good man lived a good life and we are all the better for having had him in our lives.

*Note: Brian Davis joined the public service in 1969 and in 1971, the immigration Foreign Service. He served in Beirut (1972–75), Nairobi (1978–80), Warsaw (1980–82), New Delhi (1985–88), and Hong Kong (1988–91), to where he later returned as the Immigration Program Manager (1994–97), and served in the same capacity in Paris (1997–2003). At headquarters, he worked in consular policy, and was the Director General of International Operations and of Case Management. Until his retirement, Brian represented Canada as Ambassador to Syria from 2003 to 2006.*

# Emil Ihor Baran

## 1940–2016

Emil Baran was born in Bibrika, Western Ukraine. His family moved from refugee camp to refugee camp in Allied occupied Europe until they obtained their papers for migration to Canada settling in Saskatoon in 1949.

Emil dedicated almost 40 years of his life to international development, in what was a remarkable career, first with the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) then with the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and External Affairs in the service of Canada and developing countries.

Emil studied Economics and Education at the University of Saskatchewan and on graduation in 1964 was commissioned as a naval officer in the Reserve – *a Prairie sailor*.

Adventure beckoned and he joined the newly formed CUSO to teach economics in Jamaica. His fellow CUSO cooperants in Jamaica chose him as one of the first full time CUSO Country co-ordinators managing placement of new cooperants throughout the Commonwealth Caribbean.

Emil was recruited in 1967 by the then External Aid Office from which CIDA would emerge (under Maurice Strong). Emil found his vocation immersing himself in the service of others just as Canada was expanding its international development horizons beyond the countries of the post war Colombo Plan. Those early days of CIDA coincided with the World Bank Commission's Report "*Partners in Development*" under the chairmanship of then Prime Minister Lester Pearson as programs were devised and expanded in both the Commonwealth and La Francophonie as new positions and Development sections were established in Canadian embassies and high commissions.

Opportunities for leadership came soon. Emil was posted to Pakistan in 1970 but was transferred to the new nation of Bangladesh in early 1972 following its war of independence from Pakistan. A CIDA senior manager recalls "Emil was one of a three man team which established the new Canadian high commission in the hotel room next to the room where he was

living...from his modest office, Emil handled most of the very large projects coming out of a mission by the CIDA President, Paul Gerin-Lajoie, for the country's recovery – power systems, shipping, railways, and food aid for its destitute populations."

Both at Headquarters and in the field he would consistently distinguish himself – helping establish the Afghanistan program, 1973–77; then in Africa – as (Counsellor) Dar es salaam Tanzania 1977–80, and (Director) Egypt and Sudan Programs 1982–85. He went on to Asia/South Pacific, (Counsellor) Jakarta, Indonesia, 1985–88), and then to Eastern Europe as (Counsellor) Kiev, Ukraine, 1995–2001.

Between the latter two assignments he was made Director of CIDA Education and Training 1988-92 followed by appointment as Vice-President of the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE) Centre for Central and Eastern Europe (1992–95). CBIE, an NGO, delivered critical CIDA programs of health, education, advisory and policy support and training to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Emil then assumed the mantle of CIDA Country Director and was appointed (Counsellor, Development) for Ukraine.

Emil's six years at the Embassy in Kiev began shortly after Ukraine's independence. Canada was often consulted by its Western allies when dialogue proved difficult, thanks to the CIDA program led by Emil. The breadth of the program was impressive:

1. nuclear security assistance at the Chernobyl power plant, after its explosion;
2. establishing a Science and Technology Centre with Sweden, USA, and Ukraine, combining the expertise of scientists from different Ukrainian nuclear research Institutes;
3. funding the new Academy of Public Administration in Kiev; and
4. judicial reform enabling exchanges of Canadian judges visiting as advisors

in Ukraine and Ukrainian judges visiting Canada.

Christopher Westdal, a longtime CIDA colleague and former Ambassador in Kiev said, "he was a splendid representative... in our embassy, at a dramatic stage of Ukrainian history, Emil's understanding of the young state's history, circumstances and prospects, as well as his fluent Ukrainian, enabled him to lead the design and management of one of Ukraine's most effective aid programs. Canada was lucky to have him."

Another colleague recalled, "I watched the way he treated (and managed people) and it completely changed the way that I acted in similar situations. He made people feel they were heard, that their concerns mattered while guiding them towards a constructive and mutually beneficial consensus... he combined intense humanity with true professionalism."

Emil Baran retired in 2003 as (Counsellor Development) in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. He was to fulfill a dream of sailing the Caribbean, which he had harboured since his CUSO service there. He and his wife Olena sailed from Florida to Trinidad and back over three years in their 42' sailing vessel, "Unicorn" fondly named after his naval station in Saskatoon. And for further adventure in late 2007, Emil crewed in the cross Atlantic Rally for Cruisers (ARC) between the Canary Islands and St. Lucia.

Emil contracted pulmonary fibrosis in 2014. He died in Ottawa in October 2016.

*Rod Haney, a CIDA colleague and friend for fifty years, sailed the "Unicorn" with Emil off St. Lucia.*

# THE HUNGRY DIPLOMAT

by Lisa Bitto

**HONEY.** If you love drama, this article has it all; scandal, mystery, health scares and deception among them. I am, of course, speaking of the honey industry. I write this as fall is getting into gear and many of us are readying our retreat indoors. One of my favourite fall activities is baking oatmeal honey bread, which has the added benefit of heating my house at no extra charge. It is a beautiful change from ordinary white bread and a definite upgrade to your grilled cheese or French toast.

Honey is a fantastic ingredient for a lot of reasons, but the two most important are that it is readily available and it lasts for years with no special treatment. It has also been growing in popularity as the locavore and foodie cultures look for

alternatives to refined sugar. You may remember from my first Hungry Diplomat article that Quebec produces most of the country's (and the world's) maple syrup supply, but can you guess which province leads the country on

honey production? Take a guess and I'll tell you at the end of the article.

Honey is produced both commercially and as a cottage industry across the country. You would be hard pressed to find a farmer's market that doesn't

## RECIPE: KING ARTHUR FLOUR'S OATMEAL HONEY BREAD

This is a wonderful bread for French toast, grilled cheese or just eating with butter. It also makes your house smell amazing.

1 ¼ cups hot water	1 ½ tsp salt
½ cup oatmeal	½ tsp cinnamon (Vietnamese is especially good)
¼ cup brown sugar	1 ½ tsp yeast
1 ½ tsp honey	¾ cup whole wheat flour (Red Fife is fantastic, if you can find it)
2 tbsls butter	2 cups white flour, either all-purpose or bread

1. Stir hot water, oatmeal, sugar, honey, butter, salt and cinnamon into the large bowl you'll use for mixing.
2. Once the water has cooled to lukewarm, add yeast and flours. Knead with either your hands for ten minutes or use a mixer with the hook (dough) attachment on low until the dough is smooth and silky.
3. Cover bowl with plastic (to keep the moisture in), then a towel (to keep the heat in). Place somewhere warm until doubled, which should take about an hour.
4. Lightly flour your countertop or a large cutting board. Stretch the dough into a big rectangle. Fold like a letter so that there are three layers. Then roll one edge up like a sleeping bag to form a loaf. Place into a well-greased 9"x5" metal or glass bread pan. I've had trouble with my loaves sticking, so I usually line my pan with parchment paper instead of greasing.
5. Cover and let rise a second time for about an hour. At the 30 minute mark, pre-heat the oven to 350F. The dough is ready to bakes when it peaks about an inch above the rim of the pan.
6. Bake for about 40 minutes, until golden brown. If using parchment paper, take the loaf out of the pan, remove paper and place directly on oven rack for the last 10 minutes of baking to firm up the crust and give it some nice colour. Let cool on a wire rack before enjoying!



have at least one local honey vendor. Even restaurants and hotels are increasingly taking up beekeeping to serve their own in-house product, which is branded as upscale and prestigious. Honey is a familiar ingredient in both food and beverage products, but interestingly, it's also used in pet food. Our top export markets include the United States and Japan. And while we have a trade surplus, we do import it too, primarily from Latin America, the U.S. and Oceania.

Over the last few years, you've probably seen the media reporting on honey bee colony collapse disorder – both in North America and overseas – and how it threatens our food chain. Fears in Canada were heightened when we faced significant bee losses over the frigid winter of 2013–14; according to a Canadian Honey Council survey, Ontario producers lost over half of the producing honey bee population and other provinces lost about 20%. Science is having a hard time identifying a single cause for colony collapse, but there are likely several causes, including weather, varroa mites

(a pest), Nosema (a pathogen) and pesticides (witness the recent reporting on millions of bee deaths in South Carolina due to mosquito spraying to prevent Zika virus).

Media has been much more reticent to report on the recovery that is in progress, which has led to several bumper years of production. According to StatsCan, over 8,500 beekeepers produced just over 95 million pounds of Canadian honey in 2015, representing an increase of 11.4% over the previous year. But with the beginnings of bee population recovery came a second blow: “suspicious” international imports decimating the price of our domestic supply. It is widely alleged that honey from China is being transhipped through non-producing third countries and labelled as originating there. With a surplus of domestic product, Canadian producers have had to sell below cost or pay for storage. And while there are ways to forensically determine the origin of the honey by analyzing the pollen or other particles in the product, techniques are improving to remove these

particles to mask its origin. Honey is just one food product that can fall victim to the global trend of food fraud.

With that being said, Canadian honey consumption is projected to continue to grow in the near future. My favourite use for honey is for fuel during distance running, instead of using energy bars or gels. It's very easy on the stomach and hits the bloodstream almost immediately. If you'd like to replace sugar with honey in your baking, consider swapping out a percentage of the sugar rather than replacing it entirely, and remember that baked goods with honey will brown faster and darker, so keep an eye on it.

The top honey producing province in Canada? Alberta! 🍯

*Lisa Bitto is a political Foreign Service Officer currently seconded to the Department of National Defence. She enjoys making and sharing food both as a sport and as therapy. She's started a food blog, [YouHaveGotThis.weebly.com](http://YouHaveGotThis.weebly.com) to help you make some of the recipes she shares in these articles.*

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## No Evidence Required: Defining Homosexuality as a Threat to National Security

*Later this year, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau is expected to make a formal apology for past persecution of gays, including not only the criminalization of homosexual acts but also the notorious “gay purges” from the public service of Canada, which persisted even after the long overdue revision of the Criminal Code championed by his father. This issue and its broader context, particularly its implications for the Foreign Service, are addressed by Mark Allen in this issue of **bout de papier**.*

*During the cold war, particularly after the disclosures of espionage by Igor Gouzenko, the security services of Canada and its principal allies worried about “character weaknesses” in public servants that might leave them vulnerable to blackmail and therefore to recruitment for espionage. The most successfully exploited motivations or vulnerabilities – marital infidelity, debt, greed – and the most common incentive, ideology, were difficult to prove (especially in advance of a treasonous act). It involved lengthy and complicated investigations with no assurance of a successful outcome. In fact, most disclosures of such entrapment or betrayal came about as a result of revelations by defectors, laborious scrutiny of communications or simply indiscreet behaviour by traitors that raised suspicions. In other words, it was almost impossible to predict the targets for recruitment, as well as why and how individuals would respond.*

*In that context, one of the perceived “character weaknesses,” homosexuality, soon rose to eclipse all others as a focus of attention. Because homosexual acts were still illegal under the criminal code, gays whether inside or outside the public service could be coerced into informing on others by the security services – as the document below blandly states, “the homosexual, irrespective of employment, was the most productive source in identifying and providing information on other homosexuals employed in or by the government.” As the document indicates, the net was soon cast so wide that the sensitivity of the current work of the public servants involved ceased to be a determinant. In fact, as point (d) under the “Second Priority” indicates, the sub-committee of the Security Panel favoured research “to identify persons with homosexual tendencies” not only to deal with actual employees but also to screen new recruits.*

*What is remarkable about this document and the rationale it provides for the “gay purges” is the absence of evidence of betrayal or compromise of national security to justify this focus – instead, it proceeds from an assumption derived from a malign caricature of those not conforming to a heterosexual stereotype to categorize all others as suffering from character weakness, as vulnerable to blackmail and thus to entrapment for espionage purposes, and consequently all as threats to national security, without regard to individual cases or conduct. As paragraph 3 indicates, the Security Panel, advised against more distinct treatment of “ideological beliefs” as opposed to other forms of “character weaknesses, including homosexuality.”*

*This document, declassified in response to an Access to Information and Privacy (ATIP) act request, was first published in 1998 in a preliminary research report by Gary Kinsman and Patrizia Gentile, “In the Interests of the State: the Anti-gay, Anti-lesbian National Security Campaign in Canada”, which anticipated their book, *The Canadian War on Queers: National Security as Sexual Regulation*, which was published by UBC Press in 2010. That volume is an invaluable source on the gay purges.*

– Hector Mackenzie

SECRET

**Memorandum for the Prime Minister  
and the Minister of Justice**

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER**

1. During the past few months a special committee of the Security Panel consisting of the Secretary to the Cabinet [R. B. Bryce], the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission [Justice Samuel Hughes], the Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police [C. W. Harvison], and the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs [N. A. Robertson], have been considering means of minimising the risks to the national security arising through homosexuality on the part of government employees in positions where their weakness might be effectively exploited for intelligence purposes. It has been the purpose of the Committee to determine, in the light of recent experience, how our present policies and procedures might best be adapted to meet the problem.
2. The existing policy statement on this matter, as set out in Cabinet Directive No. 29 of December 21, 1955, is as follows:
 

“It also remains an essential of Canadian security policy that persons who are unreliable from a security standpoint, not because they are disloyal, but because of defects in their character which may lead to indiscretion or dishonesty, or may make them likely subjects of blackmail, must not be employed in any position where they have access to classified information. Such defects of character may also make them unsuitable for employment on grounds other than security.”
3. It will be recalled that, at the Prime Minister's direction, a lengthy study was made early in 1959 to determine whether it was possible to modify existing policy in order to draw a clearer distinction between cases involving character weaknesses, particularly homosexuality, and those involving ideological beliefs. On the basis of information and advice available at that time, the Security Panel concluded that it could not recommend any useful change in the policy as set out in Cabinet Directive No. 29.
4. During 1959, the R. C. M. Police accelerated their program of investigating public servants about whom allegations of homosexuality have been made, and obtained Ministerial authority to proceed with investigation in both sensitive and non-sensitive departments and agencies. As part of these investigations, known and suspected homosexuals were interviewed by the R. C. M. Police, and in the process the names of other known or suspected homosexuals were obtained. The Commissioner of the R. C. M. Police has explained that for a number of reasons the scope of these investigations was further expanded to include the investigation of homosexuals who were not employed in the government service on classified work or who were employed outside the government service entirely. In the early stages it became evident that the homosexual, irrespective of employment, was the most productive source in identifying and providing information on other homosexuals employed in or by the government. Employees not having access to classified information were included in the expanded investigation on the assumption that they could gain access at some future date through promotion or change of employment. Homosexuals outside the government service were investigated and interviewed because existing security screening policies were interpreted as precluding any extensive interviewing of homosexual government employees on the grounds that as the subject of a security investigation they, as individuals, should not be made aware of the reason for any subsequent action taken against them. Another reasons for investigating homosexuals outside the government service was based on the possibility that they could be used by a foreign intelligence service to identify and perhaps otherwise assist in the compromising of homosexuals employed in the government on classified work.
5. During the course of these investigations, the R. C. M. Police have identified some 460 public servants as confirmed, alleged or suspected homosexuals. Of these, about one-third have since left the service through resignation or dismissal. [7½ lines of text not declassified]
6. There have been two other cases, one quite recent, in which the Soviet intelligence authorities have attempted to blackmail Canadian officials or their close relatives, again at our posts in Iron Curtain countries. [7¾ lines of text not declassified]
7. As a result of this intensive program of investigation, a number of problems have arisen and have been discussed in detail by the Committee. The R. C. M. Police, who consider it important to continue these investigations and interviews both within and outside the public service, have found that the program has placed a very considerable strain on their investigative facilities. In addition the Force has been faced with the difficult question of deciding whether or not to report to departments and agencies allegation of homosexuality made about persons who are not employed in sensitive positions. They consider that, if such allegations are not reported to the employing department when they are made, the department may later be embarrassed should the employee be promoted to a senior or sensitive position prior to a security check being made. Other members of the Committee, however, considered it unnecessary, and

probably damaging to the employee, to report such allegations where the employee was not in a sensitive position. They considered that, in cases of promotion to a senior or sensitive position, it was the department's responsibility to have a security check made beforehand, at which time the R. C. M. Police would forward such information as they had, and the department would decide whether or not the promotion should be made.

8. A further difficulty which the Committee foresaw in the extensive investigations being made at present lay in the probable public and public service reaction were it to become known that such widespread investigations were being made. It was considered that the resultant misunderstanding, scandal, distorted publicity and demands for prosecution could result in serious criticism of the government and its security policies, as well as of the R. C. M. Police. Conversely, a passive attitude towards this character weakness could also lead to criticism directed at the government, existing security policies and the R. C. M. Police.
9. Bearing in mind these and other related problems inherent in present policy and procedure, the Committee set out to determine arrangements which could be directed more specifically to the purpose of minimizing risks to the national security, without placing an undue administrative burden either on the R. C. M. Police or the departments and agencies concerned, or unnecessarily interfering with the careers or reputations of the individual employees involved. After detailed discussion of all aspects of the problem, the Committee arrived at the following general conclusions:
  - (a) that our investigations of homosexuality should not be widespread, but limited to those persons who were vulnerable to effective exploitation by foreign intelligence services, except in cases where further investigation was necessary to establish the validity of information concerning employees in vulnerable positions;
  - (b) that there did not appear to be a security objection to informing persons whose security status was being questioned on grounds of homosexuality that the inquiry was related to security;
  - (c) that the most careful consideration should be given in each case to the nature and timing of informing departments whose employees were involved, and to assessing the validity and significance of the information, in view of the possible effect on the employee and on the service;
  - (d) that the government be asked to give the R. C. M. Police a clear directive to the effect that, where security was not a factor, the R. C. M. Police were not required to report allegations of homosexuality to the employing department; and

- (e) that, in cases where continued investigation was essential to establish the validity of allegations, but where it was also necessary to inform the department concerned, the Secretary of the Security Panel [D. F. Wall of the Privy Council Office] might ask the department to withhold action until the investigation was completed.

10. Based on these general conclusions, the Committee agreed that Ministerial approval should be sought for the following proposed courses of action:

#### **First Priority**

- (a) that the Security Panel ask those departments with missions abroad to classify according to risk those positions whose nature and location is such that their incumbents might be subjected to pressure for intelligence purposes;
- (b) that these departments, with whatever assistance the R. C. M. Police are able to provide, make a careful study of the incumbents of these positions to ensure, insofar as possible, that they are not susceptible to blackmail, either through homosexual activity or other indiscreet behaviour;
- (c) that, concurrent with this study, the incumbents of the vulnerable positions be made fully aware of the nature of this threat, both to themselves and to the security of their departments;
- (d) that, in cases where the incumbent of a vulnerable position is found to be a homosexual, departments be asked to consult the Secretary of the Security Panel before any action is taken concerning the employee;
- (e) that, should any case come to light in which there are indications of any employee with any character weakness, being subjected to blackmail or other method of compromise for intelligence purposes, the R. C. M. Police should inform the Secretary of the Security Panel, who would request the department to take no further action concerning the employee other than that required to avoid an immediate breach of security, and to turn the case over to the R. C. M. Police for such further investigation as they deem necessary;
- (f) that, in cases where security is not a factor, the R. C. M. Police will not be required to report allegations of homosexuality to the employing department; and
- (g) that, in cases where continued investigation is essential to establish the validity of allegations, but where it is also necessary to inform the department concerned, the Secretary of the Security Panel ask the department to withhold action until the investigation has been completed.

## Second Priority

- (a) that the special group of the Security Panel working on this subject, in consultation with the departments and agencies concerned, consider the extent to which positions other than those abroad are vulnerable to this kind of exploitation;
- (b) that efforts be made to improve the present system of having employees report to their security officers the nature and extent of their social contacts with Soviet Bloc officials;
- (c) that consideration be given to setting up a program of research, with appropriate psychiatric assistance, with a view to devising tests to identify persons with homosexual tendencies. It is hoped that such tests might aid in the identification of homosexuals already employed in the government service, and eventually might assist in the selection of persons who are not homosexuals for service in positions considered vulnerable to blackmail for intelligence purposes. (The Commissioner of the R. C. M. Police feels that these tests should be extended to prevent, where possible, the initial engagement of

homosexuals in the government service on the grounds that they are usually practicing criminals under Sections 147 and 149 of the Criminal Code of Canada.)

11. A separate but related problem which arose during the Committee's discussions concerned the question of a possible public scandal resulting from the government's appointing to a senior post a person who was eventually found to have engaged in homosexual activity. The Committee felt that this was a problem of policy which would require the government's consideration quite apart from the question of security.
12. The Prime Minister [John G. Diefenbaker] and the Minister of Justice [E. Davie Fulton] are asked to consider the conclusions and recommendations set out above, with a view to discussing them with the special committee considering this problem.

R. B. Bryce  
Chairman of the Security Panel

Privy Council Office  
January 26th, 1961.

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# SNAKES AND LADDERS CAPER

## A Aalto records Hairy Harry January

I am sitting at an outside table at Fonebone's Catalonia, a coffeehouse, while the boys are cleaning up my office, following a disagreement I have with the Flying Fettuccini Brothers, over what I pay for some Vladimir Putin – Kim Kardashian ceremonial teacups. The Brothers' disagreement involves coating my office with guacamole

I am passing the morning by working through a stack of paperbacks. The one I am reading is *The President's Tweet is Missing*. It is clear the President is missing more than his tweet. The author writes like English is a language he learns as a child and quickly forgets. Also, I am not in the mood for non-fiction. So I peg the book hard at the trashcan on the curb.

It knocks the can over. A basketball bounces out and rolls down the sidewalk to where a hot dog guy is serving a wiener to a woman in a muumuu. The ball bumps him behind the knees and he drops the frank. A guy in a leather coat covered in rhinestones slips on the sausage and staggers into the street, directly in front of a speeding calliope. He drops into an open manhole, but the calliope swerves across the street and into a street-light. The pole falls across a passing truck with a sign saying "Caution – Nitro". The truck goes up in a fireball and the sign goes zooming up the City Hall clocktower. It knocks the ladder from under a woman cleaning the clock face, leaving her hanging from the minute hand six storeys up. The ladder rolls on its dolly down the street, past a building where it catches a stock-broker type who is just jumping out a window and then flips over a railing where it deposits the guy in the fountain with the statue of a hippo in a tutu. The sponge from the cleaner's bucket ricochets off the hippo and smacks into the face of a mover carrying a heavy box along the edge of a playground. He drops the box onto one end of a teeter-totter. The other end held down by a small boy with a big ice-cream cone. The kid goes flying but is caught by his mommy. The ice cream cone is caught by a man coming around the corner. Who writes this puzzle, Rube Goldberg?

The man is fat, wears a trench coat and sports a dark sombrero. He takes a lick from the cone and speaks to the dark woman in black leather beside him. She pulls out what looks like a cross between a toaster oven and a lead butterfly. She flips a switch and the pair walk down the cul-de-sac toward me, an electric pink aura radiating from the machine. As the aura sweeps past the damage in the street, everything moves back like it was before. The nitro truck drives off, the ladder goes back under the cleaner, the woman gets her hot dog. The man in the rhinestone coat sticks his head up from the manhole just in time to get boffed by the basketball.

The man with the ice-cream and the woman in leather walk up to my table. I greet them. "Don Gordo, Bugbyte, it is good to see you." Don Gordo replies, "Thank you for meeting us. *Caramba!*

We are in a big mess. *Mi amigo* Manitoba Jones is missing." I say, "I am sorry for your trouble, so what can do? And what was all that weirdness?"

Bugbyte says, "The two are connected. From working together for so long, Manitoba and Don Gordo have generated a symbiotic structure for chaotic synergy." Good with words as always, I say, "Huh?" Don Gordo says, "She means we are both loco but when we are loco together, we make good things happen." Bugbyte adds, "When they are apart for too long, crazy things still happen, but bad things, people can get hurt." "Like what just happens here, OK, I understand. I go to a mob expo once in Jersey, where it is like that the whole time." Bugbyte goes on, "I built this gadget to reverse the local effects, but it weakens reality." "Which is weak enough these days as it is. So where is Manitoba?"

Don Gordo sets off. "He has been kidnapped. By people who want us to find" – dramatic pause – "the **Jade Jalapeno!**" "What is a" – pause – "Jade Jalapeno?" I ask. Bugbyte says, "You know Games Week is currently on?" "Sure," I say, "but my own favourite game involves a dozen horses and a betting window." She goes on, "The city has built a series of life-size inter-active game boards and other events. One of those events was an exhibition of rare and valuable game pieces, at the Museum." "Which is robbed last week, yes. And this stony green pepper is part of the haul?" "Correct," says Bugbyte. "It is a playing piece from an ancient Indian game the West calls Snakes and Ladders. But it is more than that. Snakes and Ladders was originally a religious rite connected with karma. This piece has a lot of power in the right hands. Or the wrong ones."

A brassy-haired woman in a business suit suddenly appears at the table. "Harry, Don Gordo, medium-cool to see you. Bugbyte, not so much." Bugbyte retorts, "Berta de Kuhl. Long time no see, although not long enough. But I do have to admire your clothes. The fashionistas tell me retro-frumpy is coming back." "My compliments back, Bugbyte. Are the colours on your cheeks those new facial stripes, or did you come here direct from a food fight?" A duck falls out of the sky, spills my cognac and knocks Don Gordo's cigar into the pool, igniting the tablecloth. Bugbyte flicks her device briefly and the fire vanishes, along with the duck.

I cough. "Always happy to see you Bertha, but we are in the middle of business here. Can we meet later?" "But Harry," she replies, "I'm here about the same business. I mean, you are discussing the Jade Jalapeno, aren't you?" Don Gordo and Bugbyte

exchange an alarmed look. "I'm looking for it too. And I believe dear Harry has seen it."

Bertha turns to the Don. "My people tell me Manitoba Jones is being held until you find the jade. Well, the kidnapper brought me into the game too, on a straight cash basis. He's a billionaire games collector named Morton Incunabula. Yes, the man who put the "cheesy" in Parcheesi. He's brought in both of us to increase his chances."

Don Gordo asks me, "What do you know about this?" I say, "I do not have the jade, but Getaway Moses offers to it me along with the rest of the Museum heist. I turn him down – I know nothing from jewels or games. But I hear he sells the whole bag to Chancy Regalia. All Chancy wants is the platinum Monopoly set, so I am not surprised when I hear he is willing to offload the jade. But he is the kind of guy who will make you play a game to get it."

Bertha nods. "Yes, Regalia has been in touch with me." Bugbyte asks suspiciously, "Us too. But why are you telling us, if we're both after the jade?" "Because Regalia only gave us each half the information we need to reach him. If we bring the jade to Incunabula together, he should give us both what we want. If we don't cooperate, neither of us will win."

Don Gordo nods. "*Bueno*, we'll take a chance. We both know this *hombre* Regalia is hiding at the end of the full-size snakes and ladders game the city has erected in the University's holodeck. We have the instructions we need to get us through that board, by giving us the number of squares to move each turn. But we haven't been able to decipher them." Bertha replies, "And I have instructions about the special conditions to be met at the beginning and end of the game."

Don Gordo and Bertha pull out identical envelopes. After hesitation on both sides, they open them and put two sheets of paper on the table.

Bertha says, "On your paper each clue gives you a phrase that contains a number from 1 to 10. Those numbers give you your moves, in order." Bugbyte replies, "And on your page, each clue gives you the

name of a piece of music relating to trains. Why trains?" The women glare at each other, but soon have the two sheets deciphered. We all leave for the University. The minute-hand falls off the City Hall clock as we go past, so we hurry.

Don Gordo's pass gets us into the holodeck. We enter what looks like the waiting room at Union Station. Ten tracks lead to arches in the far wall, each with a miniature locomotive pulling a single carriage. Each arch has a letter above it, from A to J. The departure board flashes the number 1939. "Right," says Bertha, consulting her paper "That relates to one of my clues." We board one of the carriages and gather round a touch-pad on the wall at the front. The letters 1–10 show on the screen. Bugbyte takes out her paper and presses one of the numbers.

The train moves off smoothly through a featureless tunnel for a short while, then stops. A giant human head with a walrus moustache and a monocle lunges out of the floor. The spike on its helmet carries the train up through the ceiling and onto another track. Bugbyte enters another number. A duck flies through the tunnel and perches on the locomotive. Two more numbers and the train gets blown through the ceiling by a spindly looking bush that explodes as the locomotive passes over. "That was completely different," says Bugbyte. Another number. The train is plucked from the track by a bevy of tuxedo-clad men and tap-danced up a sweeping staircase. A seventh number. The train moves along a dim narrow passage. A snake's head lunges out of the wall and eats the duck. Everyone relaxes since it isn't them. A much bigger snake appears and swallows the whole train. A short blackout and we are back on track. Another number. A huge boot drops from the ceiling, pushing us through the floor. Tumbling darkness, screams, psychedelic lights, the smell of a wet mammoth. We are back on the track. A ninth number and we are grabbed by a huge hand at the end of giant white sleeve with cufflinks. It flings us over a deep chasm to land on a narrow ledge. The train teeters. More screams; it stabilises. Bugbyte enters the last number. The screen flashes "1989" and a panel slides back to show 10 flash

#### DON GORDO'S INSTUCTIONS

What a cat has (4, 5)

Moses or Cecil B DeMille (3, 12)

Between the golden rings and the French hens (4,7,5)

What Drake calls Toronto (3,3)

Last drink for Sinatra, after "one for my baby" (3, 3, 3 4)

Athos, Porthos and Aramis (3, 5, 10)

Kurosawa masterpiece (3, 5, 7)

Nestlé's mint patty (5,5)

A hand greeting, Columbus business district and Israeli boy band (4,4)

Blue Suede intro, after "for the money" (3, 3, 3 4)

#### BERTHA'S INSTRUCTIONS

It don't carry no gamblers, traditional (4, 5)

"Shine your light on me", Lead Belly 1934 (8,7)

It goes to Harlem, Duke Ellington 1939 (4, 3, 1, 5)

It's on Track 29, Glenn Miller 1941 (11, 4-4)

"There was a time in this fair land when the railroad did not run", Lightfoot 1967 (8, 8, 7)

"Take the train from Casablanca going south", Crosbie Stills & Nash 1969 (9,7)

"Illinois Central Monday morning rail", Arlo Guthrie 1972 (4, 2, 3, 7)

"Bought a one-way ticket back to the life he once knew" Gladys Knight 1973 (8, 5, 2, 7)

"Goodnight train is gonna carry me home", Gerry Rafferty 1978 (4, 2, 4)

Right to the last station, Travelling Wilburys 1989, (3-2-3-4)

drives. Bertha checks her list, selects a drive and slots it in. Music swells. The train moves briefly, gets lifted by a chorus of neon cherubs playing electric kazoos and exits through swinging doors.

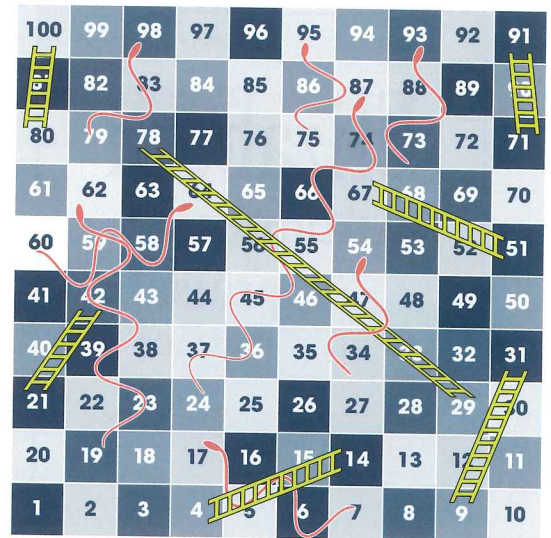
We are met by a small man who announces himself as Chancy Regalia, congratulates us and pulls a small glittering green object from his waistcoat. Don Gordo and Bertha step forward to claim it. He hesitates and hands it to me, saying, "Perhaps in view of the contested victory, I should give it to a neutral third party." He gestures us out the holodeck's back door and into the deserted street.

A long limo with tinted windows is waiting for us. Out of it stumbles a figure in a loud purple checked suit, a striped green shirt, a red plaid tie and two-tone shoes. "Blinding as always, Morton," Bertha says. Don Gordo snarls, "OK, we have the jade, you have Manitoba Jones. Let's get this over with." Incunabula replies, "Well, it's true that I have Jones in the car, and your money too, Bertha. But now we're at the denouement, maybe it's time for a re-write." He pulls out a gun. "Jones knows too much, and why spend money when there is no need. I can just kill you, take the jade and no-one will be the wiser. Now who has it?"

Don Gordo hands his coat to Bugbyte. "You are perhaps forgetting something, *cabron*. Harry?" So I pull the jade from my pocket and toss it to Incunabula, toss it high so his eyes follow it. An athletic figure barrels out of the car and slams into him, hurtling him into Don Gordo's vast stomach, from which he ricochets into Manitoba's fist. Looking up from the ground into Bertha's and Bugbyte's pistols, he shakes his head and moans, "I could have been a player".

An hour later, I am back at my table, picking up another book. It starts, "Call me Shamus. I'm a gumshoe. I live in Los Angeles. I carry a duck." It is looking like a long afternoon.

Can you duplicate Bugbyte's and Bertha's feat by providing (a) the ten numbers (each used only once) in order; and (b) the music for the first and last moves? **bout de papier** will decide the winner by drawing from a hat containing all correct submissions received by February 28, 2018.



The winner will receive a book autographed by A Aalto. You can follow the group's path through the holodeck by means of the board above, which has the same pattern.

*Free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto continues his work in the nation's capital. This puzzle is for all those who are interested in the history and design of games, and even occasionally in playing them. The Indian background of Snakes and Ladders is roughly historical. Did you know that Monopoly was originally intended as an anti-capitalist satire? Aalto would like to thank Monty Python and Harold Lloyd for inspiration, and Mrs Aalto as always.*



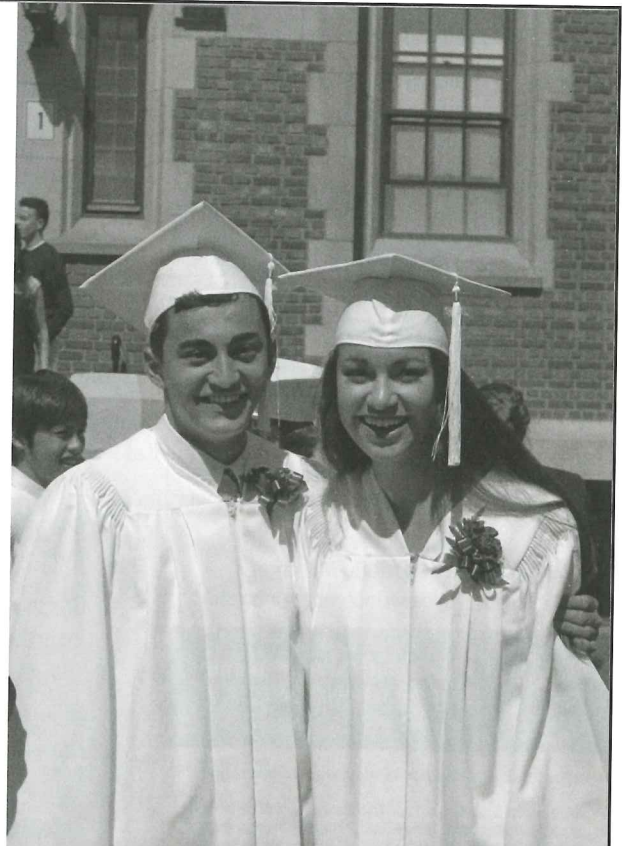
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## Who Killed the Duke of URL: Answers

Winner: Alex Fiegler

The answer to the question is **JOHANNES LaPIERRE**. He switched glasses at the start of the second course so that, instead of getting the Antidote in the Bordeaux, the Duke got the plain Burgundy. (Not being an oenophile, he couldn't tell the difference.) The full chart is as follows.

	Chair 1	Chair 2	Chair 3	Chair 4	Chair 5
Name	Winston Fat Wa	Johannes LaPierre	Duke of Earl	Major Ma Zhi	Jean Stein
Country	US	Germany	Australia	China	France
Wine 1	Riesling	Chardonnay	Chardonnay	Riesling	Chardonnay
Wine 2	Burgundy	Bordeaux (after switching)	Burgundy (after switching)	Bordeaux	Burgundy
Wine 3	Tokaj	Sauterne	Sauterne	Sauterne	Tokaj

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