

bout de papier

Vol. 20, No. 4



Guest Message

Name: Mr. James Richard TROTTIER Date Taken: 09/05/02 Time Taken: 18:58

Room No. 815

Clerk

Dear Mr. TROTTIER,

TIN GO (Vice Chairman from NID) inform you that the Lady will receive you with pleasure at our NID main office No. 9318) Shwe Gondine St. on tomorrow (10.05.02 Friday) afternoon 1:30PM.

Bingalabar & regards / T. CHANG NID

Thank you and have a nice day.

Waiting For The Lady

Prix de l'APASE 2004



Canada-Mid East Policy

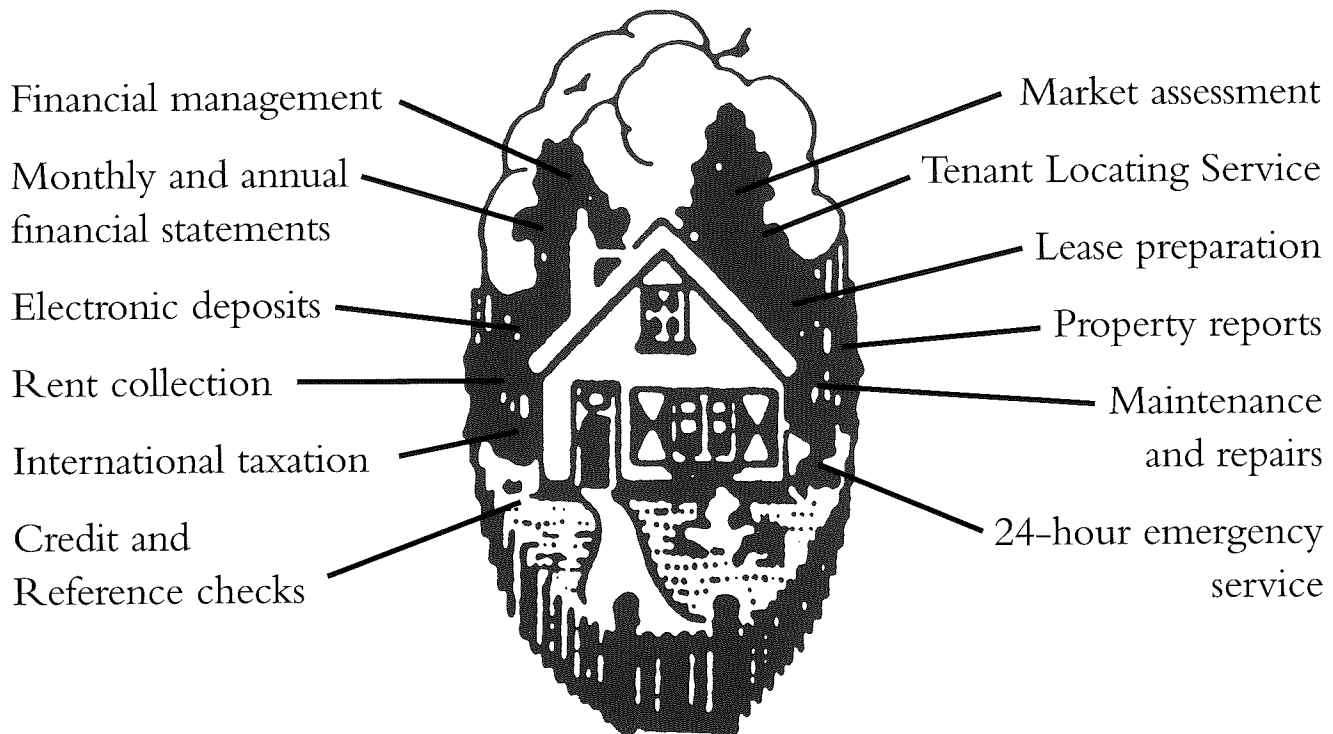
Behind Enemy Lines

A Canadian in Japan



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Features / Reportages

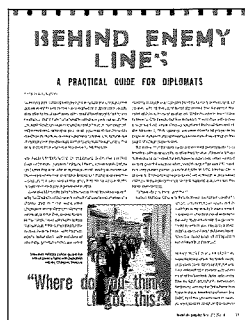
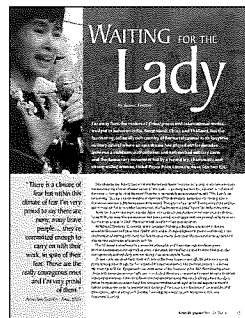


9 Prix de l'APASE 2004 — À la poursuite de l'excellence

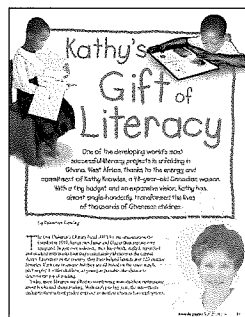
2004 PAFSO Awards — In pursuit of Excellence

15 Waiting for the Lady BY JAMES TROTTER

19 Havana Vignettes BY DENISE JACQUES

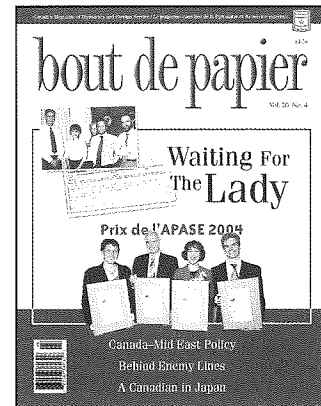


33 Behind Enemy Lines — A Practical Guide for Diplomats BY NICHOLAS COGHAN



36 Kathy's Gift of Literacy BY DEBORAH COWLEY

42 A Canadian In Japan BY ROSS FRANCIS



Cover photos:

TOP: Aung San Suu Kyi meeting with James Trotter and Dutch diplomats on May 5, 2003, just shortly before she was arrested again.

BOTTOM: 2004 PAFSO Award winners (left to right) Lynn Lawless, Steve Hibbard, Lisa Helfand and Éric Mercier.

Departments / Chroniques

Editorial / Éditorial 3

Commentary / Commentaire 4

Fixing the Promotion System —
A Modest Proposal
By Roger Lucy

From the Archives / Extrait des archives 22

Lessons in War, Politics and Diplomacy?

Nasser and the Six Day War —
from a Canadian Perspective

In Memoriam / En mémoire de 30

Angus Matheson

Letters / Lettres 31

Canada—Middle East Policy

Entertainment / Divertissement 44



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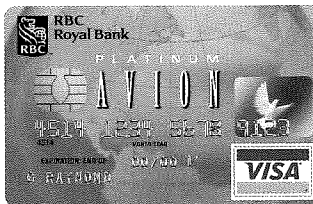
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There's nothing like an active summer-time — federal elections, new cabinets, increasing instability in Iraq, heart wrenching and largely avoidable human catastrophe in Sudan, the unpackaging and repackaging of the former Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and much more, all at a time when rotationality and much deserved summer vacations leave the department even more understaffed than usual — to drive home the remarkable work undertaken by a motivated and professional foreign service. In this context, it is a fitting moment to present in this issue of **bout** two articles of immediate relevance. One is by former **bout** editor Nicholas Coghlan, on practical advice derived from arduous personal experience on how to conduct yourself when working, figuratively or literally, in enemy territory — an experience shared with increasing frequency by Nick's colleagues. The second is by Roger Lucy, taking a (slightly) tongue-in-cheek look at precedents from other eras in dealing with the foreign service's creaky promotion process. Of all the problems facing Canada's foreign service, the promotion process, which clearly stopped functioning effectively several years ago, is a prime vector for deteriorating morale. Though the historical antecedents examined by Roger are all sub-optimal, his analysis does suggest that a fundamental rethink of the process, rather than the greater or lesser degrees of tinkering done so far, might be in order.

Autre illustration saisissante des avantages d'un service extérieur professionnel, aguerri et motivé : notre reportage concernant la cérémonie annuelle de remise des prix de l'Association professionnelle des agents du service extérieur. Les lauréats de cette année — Éric Mercier, Lisa Helfand, Steve Hibbard et Lynn Lawless — témoignent bien de tout ce qui fait l'excellence de notre service extérieur : l'expertise, l'élégance sous la pression, la compréhension des rôles et des responsabilités du Canada tant au pays qu'à l'étranger, une nette appréciation de la « valeur ajoutée » du Canada et un sens profond de l'humanité. Outre les réalisations des lauréats, je tiens également à souligner ceux et celles qui ont rendu possible la cérémonie de cette année : Caroline Guimond et Vicken Koundakjian et leurs collègues du Comité des prix Kathryn Aleong, Don Butler, Geoff Gartshore,

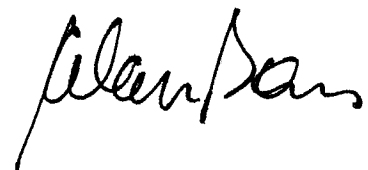
George Grande, Debra Hulley, Danielle Martin-Sabourin, Robert Peck, Harkiran Rajasansi, Keith Swinton et Michael Watts, les membres du jury de sélection, qui ont eu la tâche ingrate (et bénévole) de prendre des décisions déchirantes parmi les nombreuses candidatures reçues, sans oublier les commanditaires de la soirée de remise des prix (voir en page 13).

Un des facteurs qui alimentent notre motivation dans le service extérieur, c'est le privilège d'acquérir une connaissance d'autres cultures et pays plus approfondie que des relations plus fortuites ne le permettraient habituellement. Le compte rendu de James Trotter sur ses contacts avec la courageuse lauréate du prix Nobel de la paix Aung San Suu Kyi l'illustre fort bien, tout comme les vignettes moins dramatiques, mais tout aussi touchantes, de Denise Jacques sur les subtilités profondes de La Havane.

Few events have shaped the course of the history of the last century as did the Six Day War in the Middle East in 1967. Hector Mackenzie has recovered from the archives a series of messages between Ambassador John Starnes in Cairo and headquarters as that war unfolded. As a fitting bookend to that report, we are delighted to be able to put on the public record, for the first time, a letter signed by some three dozen former Heads of Mission to Prime Minister Paul Martin, commenting on Canadian Mid-East policy more than 35 years after the Six Day War.

Les Canadiens et les Canadiennes font vraiment une différence à l'étranger. Deborah Cowley nous fait partager l'œuvre d'alphabetisation de Kathy Knowles auprès de milliers d'enfants du Ghana, depuis une décennie. Dans un contexte un peu plus historique, Ross Francis explore le travail du Canadien Ranald Macdonald au Japon un siècle avant l'arrivée de la première mission diplomatique du Canada dans ce pays, en 1929.

Canada has a long history of international activism. There is much to be proud of. There is much more to do.



Comments on **bout** are always welcome — we can be reached at boutdepapier@pafso-apase.com

FIXING THE

We all know the promotion system is broken, and yet, if FS restructuring goes ahead, we will be in for a major round of promotion exercises which, no doubt, runs the usual risk of becoming deadlocked in appeals. For years efforts have been made to find a workable selection process based on merit: all sorts of tinkering has gone on to find a way objectively to grade merit, for example, through appraisals, interviews, competencies, in-basket tests, etc. These do not even address the question of how one gets selected for an assignment that allows one to demonstrate one's merit. Maybe we should, instead, be looking at some of the selection, assignment and promotion models that have been used in the past — some quite successfully.

By Roger Lucy

SLAVES OR SERFS AS CIVIL SERVANTS

BACKGROUND: Employing servile civil servants has been used with varying success by many societies, although in the long run it tends to be unsustainable. In Republican and early Imperial Rome governors and later emperors often drew their staff from the ranks of their household slaves and freedmen. As the demands of government expanded, this reliance on household personnel to run a world state proved inadequate, and increasingly public servants were recruited from the provincial gentry (still imbued with a sense of voluntary service), or seconded from the army. In early medieval Germany, a class of serf knights and administrators arose, the *Ministiales*. Over time, however, they merged into the lower ranks of the nobility and lost whatever dependent status they had had vis-à-vis their former masters.

In the Abbasid and Fatimid caliphates, soldiers and civil servants were bought in the slave markets of Central Asia or the Caucasus. Called Mamelukes, the strong and aggressive served as soldiers; those of a more scholarly bent, as civil servants. The docility of the latter group could be enhanced by converting them to eunuchs, although the deficiencies of the health care system led to high attrition. Despite their servile status, they eventually seized power in Baghdad and Cairo (but continued to recruit as before). In the fourteenth century the Ottoman Turks refined this system with the Janissaries. The Ottomans minimized recruitment costs by levying a draft of carefully selected children, as a tax on their Christian subjects. The Janissaries, like Mamelukes, had both a military and civil service stream. Rigorously disciplined and trained and forbidden to marry (no spousal employment issues there) they had a very strong esprit du corps — too strong — eventually they became a threat to the State and had to be bloodily repressed.

PROMOTION SYSTEM

A MODEST PROPOSAL

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES: Using slaves allows the manager much greater discretion in the selection, deployment and disposal of staff. They are supposedly more loyal than free agents. However, the costs of buying and training qualified slaves can be high, and free citizens often resent being administered by those of servile status. If you want to avoid corruption, the maintenance costs of slaves can be as high as free labour. Despite their reputation for greater loyalty, over time servile staff often take over the system.

APPLICABILITY TO THE CANADIAN FOREIGN SERVICE: Many of us believe this system is alive and well in former DFAIT. That said, the pool of qualified slaves to recruit is much smaller than it was in the Middle Ages. Moreover, the acquisition and retention of slaves to staff the Foreign Service could also be seen as a violation by Canada of many of its foreign and domestic human rights obligations.

HEREDITARY ENTITLEMENT

BACKGROUND: In this system your functional rank reflects your social rank; indeed, in some feudal monarchies, actual positions became hereditary. In the late Roman Empire, the offspring of those in high risk or unremunerative professions (soldiers, bakers, ship-owners) were required by law to follow in their father's footsteps. One group particularly burdened by this were City Counsellors. Once a much sought after position, by the fourth century, serving on a city council had become a major burden. Tax collection was devolved on the municipalities, and (something many property owners might like to see reinstated) City Counsellors were held personally responsible for any short-fall in revenue.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES: If ability consistently runs in a family, it can work well. However, this usually diminishes over the generations: the Emperor Honorius, who had a very gifted father and grandfather, was himself so detached from reality that, when tactfully advised that Rome had been sacked by the Goths, — "Sire, Roma is fallen" — thought the messenger was talking about his favourite pet chicken — "Nonsense I fed her just an hour ago!" On the other hand genius can be passed down too readily. When countries fall into the hands of genius psychopaths like Alexander the Great or Karl XII of Sweden, the consequences can be equally ruinous.

APPLICABILITY TO THE CANADIAN FOREIGN SERVICE: While, admit it, we have a few of our own foreign service dynasties, such a system tends to operate from a very restricted recruitment pool and does not work well with a rotational system.

SENIORITY

BACKGROUND: Many organizations, too numerous to list, have fallen back on this system.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES: It's easy to administer, and more or less appeal proof. It gives everyone who does not blot their copy book a fair chance of getting promoted, regardless of race, creed, sexual orientation or ability. On the other hand, it allows little scope for high flyers — except in organizations with a high attrition rate (hence the Royal Navy toast to "fever and a bloody war"). In static organizations, like the Austro-Hungarian Army, it can lead to a terrible clogging of the arteries, with 50-year-old lieutenants and 90-year-old Field Marshals.

APPLICABILITY TO THE CANADIAN FOREIGN SERVICE: In effect this is how things currently work within the FS-2 category. Personnel calls it "drift".

PATRONAGE

BACKGROUND: In many societies, government and military posts and positions are in someone's gift, and the hopeful aspirant must attract the favourable attention of those who have the power to dispense these posts or those who have influence over those who do. The Roman nobility made a minor literary art of writing letters of recommendation to enhance the career prospects of a client. For example, in a letter to a provincial governor, Pliny the Younger writes: "*Your command of a large army gives you a plentiful source of benefits to confer, and secondly your tenure has been long enough for you to have provided for your own friends. Turn to mine — they are not many... and the one I have most in mind is Voconous Romanus.*" In another exchange, the future historian/gossip columnist Suetonius declines a provincial assignment that Pliny had obtained for him. He asks Pliny if it could be given instead to his cousin Silvanus, Pliny replied that such a transfer would be both to Suetonius' credit and to his own — there is no mention of whether Silvanus had any qualifications for the job. Suetonius eventually became the head of the Emperor's Latin Correspondence Unit, until fired, after some scandal involving the Empress. He drew on his court experience and access to the archives to write history of the Twelve Caesars. It reads like a first century version of *Frank Magazine* and is the main source for "*I Claudius*."

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES:

Ideally, those able to dispense patronage were attracted by the best and the brightest, but often they just wanted to do a favour for an old friend, or had a debt to pay.

APPLICABILITY TO THE CANADIAN FOREIGN SERVICE:

Essentially, this is how the assignment and posting system now functions. The challenge is to find in whose "gift" a particular assignment lies. A uniquely Canadian variant (as practised by PM Mackenzie King) could be to fill appointments using recommendations from the Spirit World. The Department could engage mediums and psychics to read the aura of candidates and pronounce on their suitability for higher positions. Promotion exercises would be held up at Kingsmere.

INTRIGUE AND ASSASSINATION

BACKGROUND: Some say the Byzantines have an undeservedly bad rap for this, but there was ample fire behind the smoke. For example, in 375, on the sudden death of Valentinian I, the Pannonians, who had monopolized the senior ranks of his bureaucracy, were given a lateral transfer to the torture chambers. They were replaced by a Gallic clique which had formed around the new emperor's tutor Ausonius — clearly a veteran survivor of some intense academic warfare. Promotion by usurpation was rationalized on the grounds that if you succeeded, then God must love you, if you didn't, he clearly did not — or as the Elizabethan Sir John Harrington put it: "Treason cannot prosper, what's the reason? If it doth, none dare call it treason." For those too squeamish for the dagger in the back routine, there is the route of undermining a rival organization, in hopes that it will be reorganized out of existence and yours will take its place — with a concomitant increase in responsibilities and rank.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES:

It can bring to the fore the most ambitious and those with good team-building and horizontal management skills. On the other hand transition planning can be difficult, and the process of usurpation can lead to wild swings in policy.

APPLICABILITY TO THE CANADIAN FOREIGN SERVICE:

It works best in paranoid autocratic states, where a rival factions try to persuade the ruler of their opponents' disloyalty — enough said.

OUT-SOURCING

BACKGROUND: In societies where literacy and organizational skills were more or less monopolized by the clergy, for example Europe during the dark ages, administrative functions, including the conduct of diplomacy, were often performed by the clergy. Some clerics flourish in such roles, witness Luitprand Bishop of Cremona (hero of *bout* article "Will the Real Roman Emperor Please Stand Up" — Vol. 14, No. 3). An alternative can be to out-source to the military — especially applicable in states which believed their sole *raison d'être* was to support the army — like eighteenth century Prussia, or late third century Rome.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES:

The advantage was that both clerical and military organizations had a pool of trained and educated personnel. Often they also had strong administrative skills. However, as the case of the twelfth martyr Thomas à Becket shows, such outsourcing can create conflicts of interest. This was particularly so in medieval Europe, where the clergy were ultimately answerable to an outside authority — the Papacy. Moreover, clerical selection standards tend to favour traits like piety, asceticism, and the exegesis of sacred texts, which, with the exception of the last, are not normally considered core foreign service competencies. Similarly, the selection standards which make an effective combat general — courage, decisiveness, willingness to take risks, are rarely cherished in bureaucracies.

APPLICABILITY TO THE CANADIAN FOREIGN SERVICE:

While both groups have issues with aspects of Canadian foreign policy, the churches and the Armed Forces have their own recruitment and retention problems. Neither has the resources to take on the day-to-day management of Canadian foreign policy. A modern variant is to devolve policy-making to NGOs — this too can lead to serious conflicts of interest.

CONTRACTING OUT

BACKGROUND: In Republican and early Imperial Rome most government business such as public works, supply and services and tax collection was contracted out to corporations called *Publicani*. For example, a group might bid to collect taxes from a certain district or province. Those who promised to deliver the highest amount won

the contract; they then had to collect whatever they had promised the State, plus recover their costs and commission from the tax payers. In most medieval and early modern European armies, officers had originally been, in effect, contractors. They undertook to raise and equip a body of troops at their own expense, in exchange for a fixed sum from the government. (Interestingly, DND and other militaries are now looking at similar models, at least to provide some non-combat services.)

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES:

Administratively simple, and very flexible. However, it presents major accountability problems and is wide open to abuse. To avoid this, strict monitoring and audit mechanisms are needed, which rapidly eat up any savings.

APPLICABILITY TO THE CANADIAN FOREIGN SERVICE:

Given the numbers of contract employees doing the work FS should be doing, we are halfway there. The next step is to arrange for a contractor to create and run an entire geographic division, or an embassy.

CHOOSING BY LOT

BACKGROUND: In ancient Athens, while all male citizens had the franchise, votes were not counted; instead, lots were drawn from the voting urn, and the lucky winners became the next *Strategos* or *Archon*. The same worked for ostracisms. You wrote the name of your least favourite politician on a potsherd, and the unlucky one, whose name was drawn, got 10 years of exile (today they become ambassadors).

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES:

Getting more votes increased your chances of your name being drawn, but a strong element of chance remained. Our present system is not much different. Given the tiny spread of points separating qualified candidates, falling above or below the cut-off lies with Dame Fortune.

APPLICABILITY TO THE CANADIAN FOREIGN SERVICE:

A genuinely Canadian approach would be to use a Lotto system, akin to those run by the health care NGOs, such as the Heart and Stroke Lottery, which sells fewer tickets than an ordinary provincial lottery, but at a higher cost for big prizes. Those who met the selection standard for the next level, would be invited to buy tickets. More tickets would improve your chances. All monies collected from unsuccessful candidates could go into retention bonuses for the unselected.

PROMOTION BY PURCHASE

BACKGROUND: There are a number of ways in which a purchase system can work. In late antiquity, one usually joined the civil service by becoming an unpaid supernumerary at a government office. In due course, when a vacancy appeared, a supernumerary would be allowed to buy a permanent position. The purchase price was not so much graft as a type of annuity — instead of the interest on the capital used to buy the office you received a salary and other perquisites. The Byzantines took the process further, and the sale of titular offices became the equivalent of the Canada Savings Bond. For a certain sum you would buy a prestigious sounding title *Vestarios*, *Silentarios*, *Protosebastos*, and every year you would line up to receive from the Emperor a bag of gold and a couple of ells of silk. This was in effect the interest on the price paid for the title. You also got the right to wear some fancy robes, an invitation to all the ceremonies, but no boring duties. If you wanted a step up, it could be purchased. The system worked until the eleventh century when, to curry favour, Emperor Constantine Monomachos started handing these titular offices out wholesale, but for free — that soon bankrupted the treasury! During Spain's days of imperial glory, its far flung empire was administered by officials who had mostly bought their posts for which they then compensated themselves by collecting various fees charged for conducting their duties. Unfortunately, most of our activities are not particularly remunerative, although perhaps the Passport Office, the Consular Bureau and the Export and Import Controls Bureau could look at this model.

The British Army had perhaps the most developed and effective version of the purchase system, one that allowed a smooth progression through the ranks, room for promoting the brave and ambitious, and a built-in pension system. Officers joined by applying to the War Office for a Commission. Applicants were vetted for suitability (after 1849 there was

an entrance exam.) If they passed they were allowed to buy into the first vacancy which occurred in their chosen regiment. A few commissions were available without purchase, for those promoted from the ranks and the top graduates from the Sandhurst Military College. The maximum cost of the first commission was fixed, but cost more for elite Regiments. There were fiddles, and choice commissions could go for far more than the official price. The Earl of Cardigan, of Charge of the Light Brigade fame, paid £25,000 for the colonelcy of the 15th Hussars. (Even today, it's not unknown for the wealthy and influential Media Magnates to sponsor their way into an appointment as Colonel-in-Chief of a prestigious militia unit — or buy a seat in the British House of Lords.)

A promotion could be purchased when a vacancy occurred in a higher rank in a regiment. Every officer had a claim, according to their seniority, to purchase the next available higher rank as long as they were willing and able to pay the cost of the next step up and had not committed some flagrant breach of conduct. "Brevet" (non-purchase) promotions could be won by those who had distinguished themselves in battle. Those who were truly ambitious could also work their way up through a series of exchanges. Foreign postings were not always fashionable, particularly in fashionable regiments. If a unit was being posted to India or the West Indies (where it might remain for years or decades) many officers would be willing to swap down rather than leave England. By such a series of judicious swaps, Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, achieved an accelerated promotion without any additional investment. On retirement, an officer could cash out his commission, getting the full purchase price of the steps he had bought. Market value reimbursement was also granted for brevet ranks if the officer had been in grade long enough. Thus the system not only permitted orderly promotion, but had a built-in superannuation.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES:

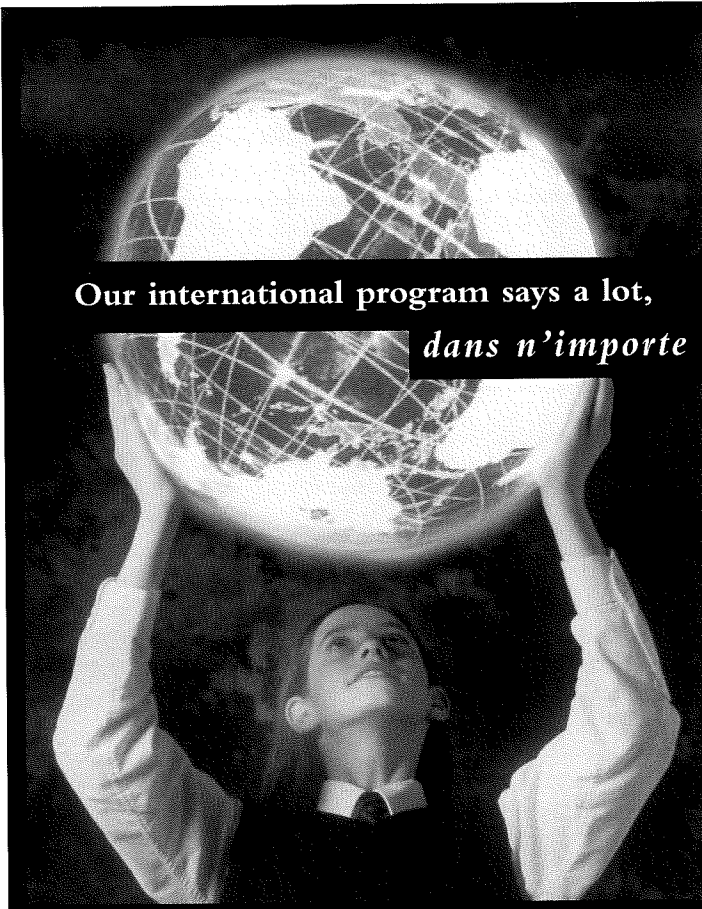
Purchase (simony, when practised by the clergy) has had a lot of negative press. This is partly because in some countries and eras it was not properly regulated, and various royal favourites and mistresses were able to monopolise the sale of offices. That said, it has a long history and, properly applied, selection by purchase is probably as effective and objective a selection tool as the present appraisal system or some of in-box/interview confections the PSC has foisted on us.

APPLICABILITY TO THE CANADIAN FOREIGN SERVICE:

In these days of high student debt loads, and limited recruitment, we hardly want to require FSDPs to pay for the privilege of joining. However, as a promotion vehicle it may just work. Assuming, in the course of any promotion exercise, that the number who qualify for the next rank up far exceed the number of vacancies, qualified candidates for promotion could be allowed to bid for these vacancies. The highest bids would win the promotions. So as not to give unfair advantage to those who had additional money to spare — say from inheritance or other extra curricular sources of income — one could only bid with monies in one's superannuation account. To encourage those willing to serve at hardship posts, this account could be topped up with allowances gained from service abroad, or the fruit of investments made with these allowances. This would also serve to select those willing to serve in hardship posts and capable of sound and frugal fiscal management. At the end of an FS career, their rank would be auctioned off in the next round of promotions, and that would become the basis for your superannuation — thereby helping to avert the pension crunch. ☺

Roger Lucy is a Deputy Director in Export Controls Division in DFAIT and has served in Chicago, Tehran, Oslo and Port of Spain. He has contributed several previous articles on "Dark Age Diplomacy" two of which have been awarded prizes by the Retired Heads of Mission Association (RHOMA).

As you can see from the above, history offers many precedents for alternate and innovative forms of selection and promotion. This survey is by no means exhaustive, and no doubt readers could offer other models we might effectively emulate in the Work Force of the Future.



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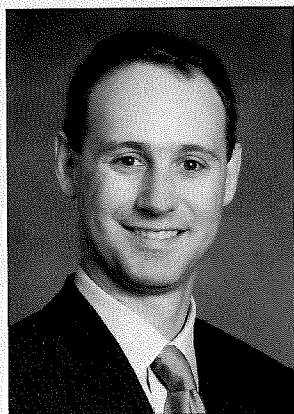
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« Ce soir, nous mettons l'accent sur ce qui va bien dans le service extérieur. Nous avons la chance de rendre hommage à des personnes qui font la preuve de ce qu'un service extérieur professionnel peut faire de mieux. Et quand je regarde... je ne vois pas d'obstacles, pas de différences, pas de groupes professionnels, pas de hiérarchie. » — Masud Husain

Le 10 juin 2004, 285 collègues et invités se sont réunis pour souligner l'excellence dans le service extérieur canadien, lors du dîner de remise des prix de l'APASE à la salle Panorama du Centre national des Arts d'Ottawa. La cornemuse de Ian Gray a servi de prélude à une autre soirée exceptionnelle.

Le président de l'APASE, M. Masud Husain, a souhaité la bienvenue au très honorable Joe Clark et à l'honorable Flora MacDonald, deux grands amis et partisans du service extérieur. Il a aussi souligné le décès d'un des vieux amis de l'APASE, qui ratait rarement une soirée de remise de prix, l'honorable Mitchell Sharp.

In his welcoming remarks, Mr. Husain spoke of a foreign service made up of many people, not just foreign service officers, doing important, difficult, and sometimes hazardous work. Mr. Husain welcomed special invitees — administrative assistants and consular officers — being recognized by PAFSO for their invaluable and outstanding contribution to the foreign service as a vital and essential part of Canada's face and voice abroad.

2004 PAFSO AWARDS *In Pursuit of Excellence*



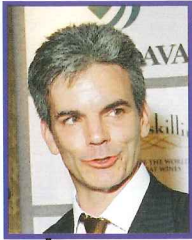
PHOTOS: GORDON KING

Lynn Lawless, Steve Hibbard, Lisa Helfand, Éric Mercier

Note de la rédaction : Des allocutions des lauréats se trouvent sur le site Web de l'APASE : www.pafso-apase.com.

Il suffit de cliquer sur le lien aux prix.

See the PAFSO web site www.pafso-apase.com for the Awards recipients' speeches. Click on PAFSO awards.



« Il est peut-être intéressant de souligner que pour un pays qui n'a pas pris de haut-parleurs pour exprimer sa position, il est remarquable que dans la région, tant en Jordanie qu'en Irak, tous mes interlocuteurs, tant les contacts politiques que les chauffeurs de taxi, eussent su très précisément ce que le Canada avait décidé et fait. Nous avons récupéré un profil très distinct et on remarquera que de là, nous pouvons assumer un rôle plus efficace pour l'ensemble de nos partenaires, autant pour nos voisins que pour le Proche-Orient. »

Ted Parsons, Estate Planning Advisor, TD Private Client Centre presented the evening's first Award to Éric Mercier.



Éric Mercier

Les co-présidents du Comité des prix, M^{me} Caroline Guimond, directrice, Gestion des ressources, Citoyenneté et Immigration, et M. Vicken Koundakjian, analyste, Secrétariat de l'évaluation du renseignement, Bureau du Conseil privé, ont coanimé la soirée. Affaires étrangères Canada, Commerce international Canada et Citoyenneté et Immigration Canada, en particulier leurs Directions des ressources humaines et leurs Directions géographiques, ont été chaleureusement remerciés de leur aide financière au rapatriement au Canada des lauréats qui étaient en mission à l'étranger.

M. Robert Peck, directeur, Direction de l'Afrique centrale et occidentale, a agi à titre d'animateur de la remise de prix, pour une troisième année de suite. M. Peck, lui-même lauréat d'un prix de l'APASE en

1993, a joint les rangs du service extérieur en 1982 et a servi au Lagos, à Berne et à Athènes. M. Masud Husain a remis une plaque spéciale à M. Robert Peck en reconnaissance de sa contribution exceptionnelle à l'APASE et à son Programme de prix au fil des ans.

Dominique Levesque presents door prize to Douglas Small.



2004 Panel of Judges

The panel which selected this year's Award recipients was composed of people who themselves had achieved distinction in their various fields. The panel included:

The Right Honourable Joe Clark, former Prime Minister of Canada, and one of the most widely respected Canadians from coast to coast and beyond.

Paul Frazer, Principal in The Livingston Group, a Washington DC based government relations firm. During 25 years with the Canadian government, Mr. Frazer served as Press Secretary to the Prime Minister and to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, as well as Ambassador to the Czech and Slovak Republics.

Manon Globensky, correspondante parlementaire au Bureau de la Colline de Radio-Canada et lauréate en janvier de cette année du Prix de la radio, le prix spécial du vice-président de Radio-Canada, pour son travail sur les répercussions du 11 septembre à Washington, au Pakistan et en Afghanistan.

Michael Molloy is president of the Canadian Immigration Historical Society. He completed a distinguished 35-year foreign service career in 2003, as the Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process, right after a tumultuous time as the Canadian Ambassador to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Robert Blackburn, Senior Vice President, Government and Development Institutions, SNC-Lavalin International. Mr. Blackburn has had a long and distinguished career in the international arena. He was a Foreign Service Officer from 1966 to 1981.

The panel of judges was chaired by / le président du jury était:

Arthur Perron, vice président, Relations avec les gouvernements et les médias de CAE à Montréal, et ancien ambassadeur en Corée et en Thaïlande, et haut-commissaire en Afrique du Sud.

"I see people who come together as a community to honour the outstanding achievements of some of the best among us who are willing to stand up and respond to call no matter the international crisis, no matter the uncertainty in the system. As we consider change for the future, let's make sure we carry forward the elements that produce such dedicated people. Canada will be better for it if we do." — Masud Husain



PAFSO member and photographer David Marchand presents door prize to Jennifer Rosebrugh.



Éric Mercier se voit remettre un prix de l'APASE cette année pour son rendement exceptionnel en mission à Amman, Jordanie, de 2001 à 2004. Au cours de cette période, Éric était responsable de l'éventail complet des relations du Canada avec l'Irak avant, pendant et après la chute de Saddam Hussein, dont le point culminant fut une affectation temporaire à Bagdad, de septembre 2003 à février 2004. Au cours des deux premières années de son affectation, Éric s'est occupé de la gamme complète de nos relations avec l'Irak, y compris l'analyse politique et les affaires consulaires, ainsi que la présentation aux décideurs d'Ottawa d'analyses très crédibles des points forts et des points faibles du régime Hussein durant cette période cruciale. Éric est donc devenu un choix logique lorsque Ottawa a eu besoin de quelqu'un sur place en Irak, l'automne dernier.

During the four and a half months of his TD, in a Baghdad that was still



a war zone, Éric served as Canadian liaison officer to the Council for International Cooperation, established by the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), and played a key role in planning the Madrid conference last October. His reports to Canada during this time displayed his creativity and ability to get the job done. Information obtained through his network in Iraq has helped Canada identify the most pressing needs for reconstruction and he has played a vital role in helping the CPA coordinate donor assistance. He has enriched our knowledge of the CPA planning process immeasurably. By literally putting himself in the line of fire, Éric has demonstrated service above and beyond the call of duty — service deserving of a PAFSO Award.

Lynn Lawless is receiving a PAFSO Award for her untiring work in supporting the Canadian Government's agenda for public security and safety of all Canadians, during her tenure as Deputy Director for the Control Division in the Intelligence Branch at Citizenship and Immigration Canada, which has now become a part of the Canada Border Services Agency. This Award recognizes Lynn's outstanding role in handling a series of critical initiatives supporting Canada's effort under the Smart Border Action Plan with the United States. In the wake of September 11, 2001, CIC undertook discussions with the U.S. on the issue of visa coordination as part of the Smart Border Task Force. Lynn was charged with coordinating the largest visa review undertaken in a single year in the history of CIC. Her analysis of threats and risks was key to the decision-making behind the imposition of visitor visas on ten countries, as well as the decision not to impose visas on a number of others.

Lynn a également été responsable de surveiller l'élaboration d'une stratégie de mise en œuvre à la suite d'un examen du Programme d'agents de contrôle de l'immigration (ACI) outre-mer. Elle a mis au point le concept d'un « Programme d'intégrité des migrants » qui élargirait le travail d'interdiction traditionnel. Ses recommandations ont abouti à la création d'un programme antifraude perfectionné et d'une plus vaste transmission de renseignements dans la période critique que nous connaissons actuellement.



Robert Blackburn, Senior Vice President, Government and Development Institutions, SNC-Lavalin International, presented an Award to Lynn Lawless.

La ligne de démarcation entre la politique nationale et la politique étrangère devient de plus en plus invisible. Lynn a fait la preuve du meilleur du « nouveau » service extérieur par sa capacité de conjuguer les objectifs de la politique nationale et de la politique étrangère dans l'intérêt du Canada. Et elle l'a fait avec une calme détermination, une maîtrise des grands enjeux et une main de fer dans un gant de velours, un rendement digne de ce prix.



"While the challenges of a Foreign Service career are many, so are the rewards.

12 years as an Immigration Foreign Service officer have passed incredibly quickly.



I have experienced more diversity in my career thus far than most people will experience in a lifetime. At the same time, I have the satisfaction of knowing that the work that my colleagues and I do, both in Canada and at missions abroad, does make a positive difference in the world, for Canada and for Canadians."

L y n n L a w l e s s

"Most of the people (foreign service officers) who will be on this podium tonight, and, in fact, most of the people in this room could come up with a similar, or better (or worse) record.



These are the people at post who can be relied upon when the coup takes place, the hurricane hits, or things just go from bad to worse. There is real value to Canada in having such a group with the background and experience that allow them to perform effectively in difficult situations around the world. Events like the one here tonight help us get out this message."



Lisa Helfand received her Award from Martha Nixon, former Assistant Deputy Minister, Citizenship and Immigration.

L i s a H e l f a n d

Steve Hibbard, actuellement chef du Bureau de représentation du Canada à Ramallah, a été choisi pour un prix de l'APASE à cause du dévouement dont il a fait preuve et du travail exceptionnel qu'il a exécuté au cours de ses plus de 36 ans de carrière dans le service extérieur. Steve a passé la majorité de sa carrière dans des affectations au Moyen-Orient. Au fil des ans, Steve a joué un rôle clé dans l'élaboration et la mise en œuvre de la politique du Canada relative au Moyen-Orient et, en particulier, au conflit entre les Arabes et les Israéliens. Il est reconnu pour l'engagement qu'il a pris d'aider les gens de la région à trouver une solution juste et négociée, tout en respectant les normes les plus élevées d'impartialité et de discernement.

Steve now finds himself in one of the most challenging positions in the Foreign Service: as Head of Canada's Representative Office in Ramallah, he lives in what one colleague calls "an environment almost continuously under siege." His access to the Palestinian Authority as Canada's main interlocutor is without precedent and he is the linchpin of Canada's development assistance program. His work is key to the preservation of Canada's positive image in the Palestinian community. Steve daily demonstrates a strong personal commitment to doing everything possible to alleviate suffering and promote the cause of peace — a commitment which has earned him this Award.

S t e v e H i b b a r d

A Special Thanks to Our Sponsors

Nous tenons à remercier nos commanditaires ministres, ambassadeurs et diplomates qui jouent un rôle important dans le succès constant du programme de prix de l'APASE. Nous sommes reconnaissant en particulier envers les commanditaires suivants qui ont fourni des prix pour les tirages : Albert at Bay Suite Hotel, Allan Bonner Communications Management, Dominique Levesque designer-couturier et VIA Rail Canada.

Les succulents et irrésistibles chocolats à chaque table étaient une gracieuseté de Tradex Mutual Funds.

We would also like to acknowledge the sponsorship of Inniskillin. Leona Tanko, Export Manager for Vincor international, made a special presentation to the PAFSO Award recipients of icewine hand-signed by co-founders Donald J.P. Ziraldo and Karl J. Kaiser. Inniskillin also provided wines for each course of the special menu prepared by NAC Executive Chef, Kurt Waldele. ☺



Leona Tanko presenting the winners with their Riedel Icewine glasses, designed exclusively for Inniskillin Icewine.

Inniskillin Riesling 2003 VQA

Boston Lettuce, Crispy Artichokes, Grilled Peppers, Oven-reduced Tomatoes
Laitue Boston, artichauts croustillants, poivrons grillés et tomates au four

Inniskillin Montague Pinot Noir 2002 VQA

Inniskillin Montague Chardonnay 2002 VQA

Oven-baked Sea-farmed Atlantic Salmon on Wilted Spinach with a White Wine
Sorrel Sauce with Seasonal Vegetables and Roasted Potatoes
*Saumon cuit à l'étuvé sur un fond d'épinards et nappé d'une sauce au vin blanc
et accompagné de légumes de saison et de pommes de terre rôties*

Inniskillin Gold "Oak Aged" Icewine 2002 VQA

Newfoundland Screech Cake with Fresh Berries and Crème Fraîche
Gâteau au screech de Terre-Neuve accompagné de baies et de crème fraîche

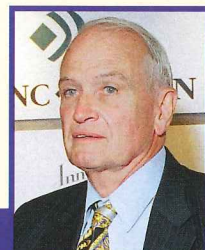
Lisa Helfand, Deputy Director, Trans-Atlantic (NATO/OSCE) Section, Defence and Security Relations Division, is receiving a PAFSO Award this year in recognition of her outstanding commitment to Canada's foreign policy initiatives in a seemingly unending series of international crisis hot-spots over the past few years, from Belgrade to Baghdad. In her current position, Lisa has been key in coordinating the network of decision makers involved in developing Canada's policies with respect to NATO, while orchestrating discussions to facilitate sending troops to Afghanistan, as a crucial sign of Canada's willingness to join the battle against global terrorism.

Elle a été l'artisane de la politique du Canada visant à appuyer des éléments de la transformation de l'OTAN, de l'élargissement de l'alliance de manière à inclure sept nouveaux membres de l'Europe Centrale et de l'Est jusqu'à l'établissement d'un partenariat spécial avec la Russie et au-delà. Elle a également joué un rôle important dans le traitement d'une série de dossiers délicats touchant les relations du Canada avec les É.-U. Elle est reconnue comme une source d'idées et de lucidité, avec ce qu'une personne a appelé « une capacité d'exceller et de diriger tout en restant toujours profondément humaine ». Ses compétences, ses connaissances et ses qualités de leadership lui valent ce prix.



Steve Hibbard received his award from Jonathan Fried, Senior Foreign Policy Advisor to the Prime Minister.

"Over the past three years I have witnessed enormous suffering and violence among Israelis and Palestinians. Both peoples deserve far better.... Perhaps the most positive contribution Canada can make is to maintain the conviction, and share it with the parties, that their differences are not irreconcilable. We must do all we can to build hope for a better future."



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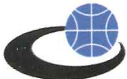
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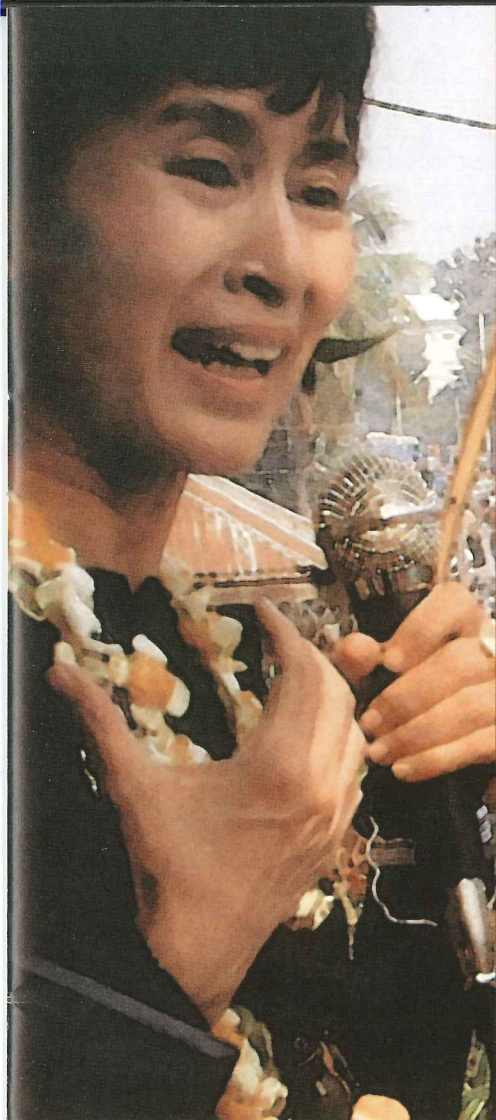
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WAITING FOR THE Lady

by James Trottier

Far away from the centres of global power and international media, wedged in between India, Bangladesh, China and Thailand, lies the fascinating, culturally rich country of Burma (Myanmar to its longtime military rulers) where an epic drama has played out for decades between a stubborn, authoritarian and entrenched military caste and the democracy movement led by a legendary, charismatic and strong-willed woman, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi.

“There is a climate of fear but within this climate of fear I’m very proud to say there are many, many brave people... they’re committed enough to carry on with their work, in spite of their fear. Those are the really courageous ones and I’m very proud of them.”

AUNG SAN SUU KYI, APRIL 2000

Described by the Acting Director of the Norwegian Nobel Institute as “a unique woman, some say the most shining of recent Nobel winners,” the Lady — as Aung San Suu Kyi is known to millions of Burmese — brings to mind Margaret Thatcher’s memorable phrase about herself, “The Lady’s not for turning.” Suu Kyi’s single-minded leadership of the democratic opposition to military rule in Burma has won her admiration around the world. Though she has not left Burma since 1988 and has spent much of that time under house arrest, she has become a global figure like Nelson Mandela.

Aung San Suu Kyi is a slight, slender figure who casts a huge shadow in her own country, Burma. Since 1988, this youthful grandmother has been locked in a struggle with the generals who have run Burma since a coup in 1962. There is no end in sight to their confrontation.

As Political/Economic Counsellor at the Canadian Embassy in Bangkok, accredited to Burma, as well as Thailand and Laos, from 1998 to 2003 and as Chargé d’Affaires to Burma in 2001–02, I had the privilege of meeting with Aung San Suu Kyi on a regular basis over the course of several years and discussing a wide range of subjects with her.

The following is an attempt to convey the atmosphere of those meetings and those years. My two Ambassadors during my five years in Bangkok, Bernard Giroux and Andrew McAlister, also met separately and regularly with her during their own visits to Burma.

On our visits, we would also meet with senior Burmese Government officials where we would press, among other things, for the release of the approximately 1,500 political prisoners in Burma. My meetings with Suu Kyi generally occurred either at her house or at her NLD Party Headquarters. Those with senior government officials — including Ministers — were held in their Ministry buildings including sometimes in the red colonial-era Secretariat building, the very building where Suu Kyi’s father, independence leader Aung San, was gunned down with eight of his colleagues six months before independence as he was leading a meeting of the Governor’s Executive Council in July 1947. On occasion, after meeting with Suu Kyi, I would go to a meeting with Ministers in this very Secretariat building.

Rangoon is a picturesque city still marked by its colonial past. Downtown there are dozens of blocks of crumbling colonial-era shop houses, tenement blocks and commercial establishments. In the more affluent residential areas, including the diplomatic quarters, many of the finest buildings have been beautifully restored as embassies and ambassadorial residences. These areas are marked by broad tree-lined avenues. There is a lake in the centre of the city. Suu Kyi's family home is set in a compound that lies on the shore of the lake, at 54 University Avenue, a curving tree-lined boulevard. It was in this home that she was detained under house arrest from 1989 to 1995 and twice more in later years. The avenue in front of her house is closed to traffic.

The first meeting that I had with Suu Kyi was in 1999, the last in 2003. To get to her house in 1999, I first had to go through a security check at the roadblock on University Avenue manned by military personnel and plainclothes security personnel lounging on a wooden bench under a tree. I would show my passport and explain who I was going to see; however, as a matter of policy, I and other diplomats would never ask permission of the authorities for such visits. The security personnel would gather around to examine my identification documents, talk into walkie talkies and write down the information from my documents in a big ledger sitting on a wooden table under a tree by the side of the road. Security personnel would also snap my photo as well as that of the automobile. After a delay that varied from a few to many minutes, the car would be allowed to proceed to the next checkpoint. Forty metres further on, Suu Kyi's compound was marked by a high wooden picket fence topped by tattered NLD flags. The gate would be opened from inside by some attendants and I would pass through, driving down a short twisted driveway to her lakeside house that Suu Kyi had inherited from her mother. I would be shown by an attendant into a sitting room, sparsely furnished with a window seat, a small table and a large Warhol-like painting of her father. From the window, one could see the lake.

After a short wait, Suu Kyi would come in by herself. We would sit in the window seat and talk, sometimes about the past but mostly about the present and the future. Exceedingly well-informed about developments, despite the physical restrictions placed upon her, and interested in the wider world, she had a broad perspective and provided trenchant analysis of a range of subjects. At a certain point an attendant would enter with some tea and snacks and the Lady would pour the tea. After the meeting Suu Kyi would escort me to the door.

DETENTION AND RELEASE

During 1999 and 2000, Suu Kyi's party — the National League for Democracy (NLD) — and its members came under increasing pressure from authorities who also refused to engage her in discussions about the future of the country. Sometimes access to her and the NLD would be blocked. Foreign diplomats were turned away by authorities when we attempted to attend a commemorative function at NLD Headquarters in May 2000. In the meantime, Suu Kyi, although freed from house arrest since 1995, was in fact confined to the Rangoon area. It was her attempt in August and September 2000 to travel outside Rangoon to visit her beleaguered party members that resulted in a further 19 months of house arrest until May 2002.

During that period, rumours abounded about both her health and whether she would be released. The speculation was reminiscent of what had occurred in the period leading to her release in 1995 following the earlier period of house arrest from 1989 to 1995.

Pressured by the international community and faced with a deteriorating economic and social situation, Burmese authorities released Suu Kyi from house arrest on May 6, 2002. After her release, she made her way in a white Toyota sedan to NLD Headquarters, a ramshackle building in central Rangoon, to be greeted by hundreds of joyful supporters, including monks in crimson robes, massed in the street outside. Yellow-jacketed party stewards had to block a path for her through the crowd. In her first public statement to the cheering crowd, she said "It's a new dawn for the country," adding that dawn is only the beginning of

the day. "We only hope the dawn will move forward very quickly into full morning." In remarks broadcast live throughout much of Asia and other parts of the world, but ironically and ominously, not in Burma itself, she said she would do "everything I can to make sure that democracy comes to Burma." She hoped that Burmese authorities would finally engage in substantive discussions with her and the democracy movement.

Those hopes were to be disappointed but were still fresh when I met with her a few days after her release, one of the first diplomats to do so. We met in the NLD Headquarters conference room on the second floor, which had been set aside for her use. It was a blistering hot pre-monsoon day in Rangoon with the temperature around 40 degrees Celsius in the building. I awaited my meeting with her in the sweltering main floor area jammed with party workers holding meetings and preparing papers. Foreign journalists — granted rare journalist visas — stood around, fanning themselves in a vain attempt to cool down. I regretted having left my bottle of water in the car. I eyed longingly and apprehensively the barrel of water sitting on the floor with a cup hooked to its side.

Before I could decide whether to hazard a drink, I was summoned upstairs for a meeting with the Lady, one of a long line-up of people — party leaders and activists, diplomats, journalists — she would meet with that day after her long confinement. Despite the demands on her time, she was, as always, very gracious and concerned about my comfort. She said I should take off my suit jacket. She herself looked very cool, composed, elegant and untroubled by the heat. She had on, as always, her traditional ankle-length Burmese sarong; her black hair was tied back with white jasmine flowers. She looked remarkably younger than her then 56 years. There was an air conditioner in the room powered by a generator (due to perennial power cuts in Rangoon) but it did not work very well. Every so often, the Lady would get up and bang the unit with her hand.

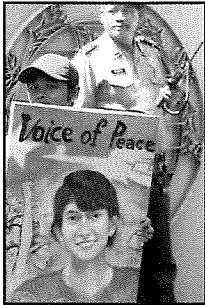
There was also a telephone in the room which for some reason unknown except possibly to the Rangoon telephone exchange could only be used for incoming calls. Suu Kyi had received calls from foreign dignitaries congratulating her on her release.

I was struck at the time by how confident and serene she appeared despite having just been released from her many months of confinement and despite the frustrations of dealing with intransigent military authorities.

She was also remarkably well-informed for someone who had been under detention. During her house arrest she had continued her usual practice of listening to shortwave broadcasts of BBC and Radio India.

RISE OF A DEMOCRACY LEADER

Aung San Suu Kyi is the daughter of Burmese independence leader Aung San, who was assassinated when she was two years old and who remains an honoured figure in Burma, even by the very military leaders whose nemesis is his daughter. Her mother Daw Khin Kyi was a distinguished figure in her own right who served as Burmese Ambassador to India. Suu Kyi spent much of her youth going to school in



"In our country...we experienced chaos and instability when the multiparty democratic system was put into practice right after gaining independence before the nation had a chance to become strong."

SENIOR GENERAL THAN SHWE
CHAIRMAN, STATE PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL
MARCH 2001

India and England. She then raised a family with her husband Michael Aris, an Oxford scholar. In 1988 she returned to Rangoon to care for her ailing mother. Her visit coincided with the beginning of the uprising against military rule. Begun by students, the demonstrations soon spread through many sectors of Burmese society. She quickly assumed a leadership role in the movement, at first due to the fact that she was her celebrated father's daughter and then increasingly because she was such a charismatic figure in her own right.

The movement ended in tears as demonstrators were gunned down in 1988 in the streets of Rangoon by the military. Despite this quashing of the democracy movement, the military attempted to gain legitimacy for themselves by holding elections in 1990, the first and only ever held since a military coup brought the soldiers to power in 1962. The military apparently fell victim to their own propaganda which proclaimed their popularity with the people.

In fact, Aung San Suu Kyi's party, the NLD, managed to win 82% of the seats in the 1990 elections, winning polls even in districts populated by military families. However she and her party were never allowed to take power; the results were annulled. Instead she spent much of the period since the election under one form or another of detention. She was under house arrest from 1989 to 1995 and then again from September 2000 to May 2002 and again from May 2003 to the time of writing (July 2004).

Despite this, by every account and indication, she has retained her vast popularity with the Burmese people. This was borne out after her release in May 2002 when she was allowed to begin her series of visits to different parts of the country. Huge crowds lined the route in the hot sun to see her pass, straining to hear her every word despite efforts by the authorities to keep them away.

In Rangoon itself, her name is spoken in awe and whispers, so powerful is her image and so pervasive is the control apparatus of the Burmese state. But even those sympathetic to the regime — including the small set of venture capitalists, entrepreneurs and real estate speculators who have sprung up in Rangoon in the 1990s — do not deny that she would win an election if one was called today.

I would meet the Lady several more times in the 12 months after her release until she was rearrested in May 2003. Some of the meetings would be at her Headquarters and other times we would meet in her home. On these latter occasions, we would sit at a small wooden table in a room furnished with a wooden bench, some chairs, a desk, a TV and VCR and family photos including that of her late husband, her parents and her children.

She had met her husband Michael Aris when she was a student at Oxford. They had eventually settled there and raised two sons after a period of time in Bhutan where her husband, an Oxford don and Tibetan scholar, was conducting research. During her long period of house arrest from 1989 to 1995, her husband and sons were occasionally allowed to visit. But when her husband fell terminally ill in 1999, the regime caused widespread anger when it refused him a visa so he could pay a final visit to her. He died without ever being able to say goodbye.

DETAINED AGAIN

The last time I met Suu Kyi was May 5, 2003. Little did I know at the time that it would be the final time we would meet nor that this would be the last time any diplomat would meet with her for over a year. Normally, I would meet her alone. On this occasion, I was joined by a couple of Dutch diplomatic colleagues. Suu Kyi, as always at these meetings, was unaccompanied.

Aung San Suu Kyi was about to leave the next day on what would turn out to be an ill-fated month long voyage to the North, to remote Kachin State, her longest visit yet outside of Rangoon. Since her release from house arrest in May 2002, she had made a series of voyages to various parts of Burma where she was met by ever larger crowds. She had just returned shortly before from another remote area, Chin State. The crowds which greeted her throughout her travels were all the

International Measures

Canada has long pressed Burmese authorities to take substantive action, including the release of political prisoners, the beginning of a serious dialogue with Aung San Suu Kyi about the political and constitutional evolution of Burma and a clear timetable for the constitutional process. In the absence of such action, Canada has imposed various measures against the regime. These include selective economic measures. Since 1997, the Canadian government has urged the Canadian business community to refrain from entering into further investment agreements or commercial ventures in Burma until improvements are evident.

The United States strengthened its sanctions against Burma in 2003, imposing an import ban. US economic sanctions were renewed in 2004. The European Union renewed its "common position" on Burma in 2004, which imposes a variety of measures and restrictions on Burmese authorities including an asset freeze and visa restrictions.

more remarkable because her trips were never reported in the tightly controlled Burmese media. Despite this, people heard she was on the way, alerted by the Burmese language broadcasts of BBC and Voice of America and by the warnings of the authorities that people should not go and see the Lady. People would stand for hours in the hot sun waiting to see her pass.

In the course of that last fateful trip to Kachin State, she and her party would be met by growing joyous crowds. And then on May 30, 2003, disaster struck. Her party was attacked en route in the dead of night by a criminal mob. There were many injuries and reports of fatalities. The attack was not completely unexpected; she and her party had been subjected to increasing harassment during both this particular trip and previous ones. The attack provoked widespread outrage.

For a time there was much confusion and fear about both the number of casualties and the fate of Suu Kyi and her septuagenarian deputy, U Tin Oo. Eventually, it was determined that she was being kept in detention in a government facility where she remained until September until she was admitted to the hospital for an operation. She was then returned to her home where she remains under house arrest at the time of writing (July 2004).

U Tin Oo was at first thought to have suffered serious injury; there was also concern that he might not have access to necessary medication. Eventually, it was determined that he was being held in a very remote army camp up near the Burmese/Indian border. He too was detained for several months until finally also being returned to house arrest at his home in Rangoon.

Other senior members of the NLD were also detained. NLD offices including the Headquarters building were padlocked. All phone lines to the leaders were cut. In fact Aung San Suu Kyi had not had a working phone in her house for years though she was listed in the Rangoon telephone directory.

FINAL MEETING

But when we met at NLD Headquarters in central Rangoon on the hot afternoon of May 5, 2003, we did not know what awaited her or U Tin Oo, with whom I met separately immediately before my meeting with her. My Dutch colleagues and I drove up together to NLD Headquarters, located in a building set only a few feet back from the sidewalk. We were closely observed by a number of men planted in chairs in the café across the street. As usual, the Headquarters was a beehive of activity with people sitting and standing, meeting and talking. On the walls there were various graphic depictions of the Lady. We were escorted upstairs and sat in the hallway chatting with U Tin Oo until Suu Kyi arrived up the stairs in a swirl of smiles and handshakes. She led us into the second floor conference room which she used for meetings. Since her release from house arrest the year before, I noticed that she had overseen several small changes to the room to make it more homey. The back of the chairs had been covered with cloth and there was lace under the glass table top. As always, Suu Kyi sat very straight in her chair, like the attentive student she had once been and made her points very firmly with her Oxbridge accent.

At the time of writing, the regime continues to hold well over 1,000 political detainees and refuses to release Suu Kyi or Tin Oo or to allow them to participate in the national convention working on a new constitution; the convention was reconvened in May 2004 after having been suspended since 1996. Without their leader being allowed to participate, the NLD announced that it would not participate in the Convention, which is being held in a military camp near Rangoon.



"I have always believed that the future stability and happiness of our nation depends entirely on the readiness of all parties to work for reconciliation. During the many years that I spent under house arrest, many parts of the world have undergone almost unbelievable change, and all changes for the better were brought about through dialogue... Only discipline and courage devoid of any grudge will help us achieve our desired aims and aspirations. Pro-democracy forces should work slowly, steadily, thoughtfully, and courageously."

AUNG SAN SUU KYI, 1996

Delegates to the convention were told by the regime that they should "avoid speaking ill of others," including the government, and maintain the confidentiality of the proceedings and that they are not allowed "to walk out individually or in groups or to mock others."

Since my meeting with her in May 2003, the only foreign officials allowed to meet with her have been the UN Secretary General's Special Envoy, a UN Human Rights Special Rapporteur and representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Despite this latest battle of wills, I have no doubt that the Lady is as serene, confident and determined as ever. In the meetings we had, I was always impressed by her resilience in the face of obstacles that would have broken the spirit of most people. Indeed the more difficult the political situation became, the more determined and buoyant she would become. She was, and is, a political leader at the top of her game. ☺

James Trotter is currently the Deputy Director for Political Affairs in the European Union Division. He previously served as the Political/Economic Counsellor at the Canadian Embassy in Bangkok accredited to Burma and at the Permanent Mission to the UN in New York.

"In Burma, the past belongs to those who control the present."

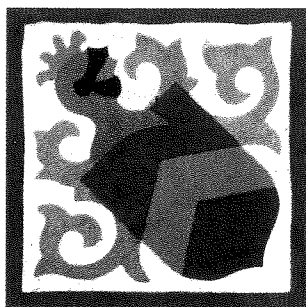
GEORGE ORWELL
MEMBER OF BURMA COLONIAL POLICE SERVICE, 1921-1928



HAVANA VIGNETTES

by Denise Jacques

Havana is a city of antiques. The cars are ancient, the buildings often ruinous and even el Presidente's famous beard is now grizzled. I like antiques. They remind me of the past and the individual human stories that I can weave around such objects.



Chasing Antiques in an Antique City

After we discovered a mutual interest in decorative art, Ernesto — a Cuban whom I had met a few months earlier and who is a retired tourist guide — volunteered to take me to the Havana Antique Store. He rightly insisted that I would never find it on my own. This store has the blessing

of the Government of Cuba and the state receives a large cut of the proceeds. In return the customers receive an official receipt and your purchases will not be confiscated at the airport. Embracing a type of Napoleonic Code for arty bric-à-brac, any object d'art in Cuba is considered national patrimony unless proven otherwise. Cuban officials have a horror of being taken advantage by potential carpet-baggers.

I would never have found the antique shop on my own and I probably would have been too intimidated to go in. The shop's street, like many other Havana streets consisted of stray dogs and run-down, non-descript houses with people lounging on the front verandas talking to each other and anyone happening on the street. Their Cuban Spanish is absolutely impenetrable for me and my Canadian eye is outraged by this bold and public lassitude. Cubans are shameless in their advanced hanging-out skills. They prize the ability to chat and the street is their living room. In contrast, I imagine that idle Canadians have the good grace to hide indoors and probably drink.

The only indication that the particular house we stopped at was a shop was a paper sign on the door posting hours and the large packing boxes on the front veranda. The proprietress, or at least the person in charge, greeted us and we went through the elaborate rituals of hailing and introducing each other. You would not normally identify this lady as an antique dealer. She wore a lot of untasteful gold jewelry and a very short skirt. In another culture, she looked like she might spend time tending bar in a country-and-western beverage lounge. It was a shock to hear her discuss with Ernesto the relative merits of Mary Gregory cranberry glass and the correct dating of a gigantic piece of nineteenth century Sèvres porcelain on the top floor.

It is a challenge to describe the contents of the shop. Even though there was no electric light to see in much detail, every surface was decorated and each contour of every object swayed with undulation and curve. Rococo, Baroque do not remotely do justice to the spectacle of what was contained in that shop. The stuff dripped with excess. An over-the-top Caribbean sensibility had mated with nineteenth-century extravagance.

The scene was not depressing as it was such a riot of colour and form. But underneath, there is a story, or many sad stories, behind each item, someone's treasure or souvenir. Ernesto explained that Cuba had been very prosperous during and after the World Wars. Suddenly affluent Cubans had gone to Europe or had imported European goods. Although there was interest in antiques, often the taste was nouveau riche. Now, just before Christmas, many middle-class Cubans wanted to sell these family pieces. They just plain needed the money or the stuff no longer fitted into their cramped apartments.

Generally the prices for everything were high, priced in hundreds of dollars. As there is no concept of supply and demand, it is very difficult for Cubans to establish what a thing is worth. I was told that you could make a bid or offer on anything. There is no real sense of bargaining in Cuba and an excessive concern not to be taken advantage of. I had the vague impression that if you made an offer on something, and no one else wanted it in the next few months, then you would get it. However, pricing here is almost impossible to figure out. You pay three dollars US for an imported can of tuna, but only twelve dollars to have a medium-sized engraving matted and framed by a local shop that imports its supplies from Italy.

As a former high school teacher, Ernesto loves to give me informed lectures on a range of topics. Today, on the way home from the antique shop, the subject was the difference in hard and soft paste porcelain and his favorite period of Wedgwood. He prefers the basalt style in the Pompeii colours. In this kingdom of the march hare, Ernesto is my driver.

The next day only added to a growing sense of unreality. Fidel chose to make one of his now-fleeting appearances. He dropped by a park named after John Lennon on the twentieth anniversary of his death. Is this action just the nod of one twentieth century icon to another, a mutually-shared Andy Warhol pop-art moment? You never know. There is also a Princess Diana park.

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The Havana Book Fair

On an overcast February Saturday afternoon in Havana my husband and I decided to visit the recently-opened book fair. In our car, we crossed the harbour by underground tunnel and emerged to queue in a long line of congested traffic waiting to enter the eighteenth century La Cabana Fortress — the largest in the Americas — where the book fair was located. This scene was further disturbed by the constantly loading and disgorging of broken-down buses. With the press of people, disintegrating cars from the 1950s in no discernible lane, and lingering clouds of bus exhaust, the scene was reminiscent of a frenzied rock concert. Where in the world — let alone the developing world — would there be the same excitement over a book-fair?

The response indicates a great deal about Cuba. First, for a variety of political and geopolitical reasons, too complex for this article, Cubans are starved for information and print. Second, they are highly literate and take pride in their level of erudition. A well-educated Cuban, and education in Cuba is free, is more culturally literate than a North American arts graduate. Finally, in this land of beach, rum and salsa, there is often not much to do on a cloudy afternoon.

The fortress is a magnificent building, layered in colonial and recent history. Here, Che Guevara set up his military headquarters after the triumph of the revolution. Thus it was in La Cabana, Che also presided over the trials and speedy executions of Batista henchmen and loyalists. This set of buildings also saw the launching, in 1960, of the literary campaign to teach one million Cubans to read and write. Perhaps for this reason, it is a particularly appropriate backdrop for the book fair.

Directed by a young Army cadet, we left the car adjacent to a parked missile, seemingly either abandoned or on display. It was difficult to determine which. The elegant elongated and dangerous body of the weapon seemed very out of place in this placid field near a middle-class residential area. Was this one of the missiles of the Cuban Missile Crisis and what was it doing in this hillside? In Cuba, you are always curious but also take for granted the element of magic realism that suffuses quotidian life.

Making our way through the hordes and reminded by a Cuban security lady to put my handbag under my armpit, we entered the fair. The book show was not remarkable. Unfortunately the cavernous military buildings of the old fort were hot and very crowded. The books were displayed on racks and tabletops arranged in alcoves by publisher or country. I bought a scholarly

hardback edition by a notable Canadian academic publisher for US\$4.00. The sign over the Canadian book display indicated that the books were donated by Canadian publishers and any money received would go to the Terry Fox Fund for cancer research in Cuba.

Ignoring the constant bottle-necks in human traffic management, the crowd was filled with purpose and excitement. Cubans recycle books until they are tattered wrecks. Pathetic second-hand books stalls that resemble semi-permanent garage sales pass as local bookshops. The thought of fine paper, new print and uncracked spines seemed to bring out the roar in the crowd.

At a stand of revolutionary books being lovingly pawed through by an older military gentleman with at least six rows of military ribbons on his causal army tunic, my husband found a book he had been looking for. It is called in English "The People of the Plan" and deals with the struggle against Batista that took place in Cuban cities. While Fidel was in the mountain fastness of the Sierra Maestra, the urban guerrilla campaign, fought in Cuban streets, against a vicious police force and possible informers, was extremely dangerous. We have met the book's author, a tall handsome gentleman in his sixties. He is an important veteran of this campaign.

In any developing country, there are sights and scenes, like the clouds of pollution or the starving ulcerous street dogs, that are unhappy. Ruefully and with resignation, you turn your head. Other vignettes have a powerful charm. Fortunately, on leaving the book fair I encountered one of the happy reassuring scenes. A mother has bought one of the ubiquitous Cuban ham sandwiches for her son. With obvious pleasure, he was eating his sandwich by the roadside as his mother read to him from a newly-purchased children's book. Often, you have hope for this island.

The Cuban Time Capsule

Time is a dangerous concept in Cuba. Everything is dated from the Revolution. Or if you are of another political persuasion, time stopped with the Revolution. Most private commercial activity in Cuba petered out in the earlier years of the Revolution as the government nationalized almost all industry. Some foreign businesses were allowed, providing they never closed or never abandoned their offices in Cuba. By happenstance, I recently visited one of these survivors of Cuban free enterprise, a veritable Robinson Crusoe of the insurance industry.

It is hard to think you could become excited by the prospect of visiting the offices of a prominent Canadian insurance company. I did, however, feel anticipation

as the car edged its way down through the pedestrian traffic of the most prominent commercial street in Havana. I knew instantly the good-looking man in his 60s was waiting for us. Miguel had been hired by the company that still employed him as an office boy of sixteen in the mid-1950s. Every day or

nearly every day for the last fifty years, he returned each working day to the same office. The country, Havana. The street, the office building had changed, but Miguel made his way to the office he had known as a youth.

Luckily, we had brought a flashlight as the elevator, the corridor lights, and now the water for the last four months, no longer worked. The company kitchen and bathroom looked like wrecks from a war zone, the Venetian blinds hung broken and tattered but oddly the working area office was still intact, only it looked like it was unchanged from the early 1950s or maybe, since this was the Caribbean, the late 1940s. The manual typewriters were still in neat rows on their metal desks. One adding machine still functioned. The old wall clock still worked and the Royal Bank of Bank calendar looked almost crisp, if you overlooked the hand-written cards for the date numbers. A dried-up ink bottle graced the top of a desk.

Miguel was obviously a very sympathetic man and he was thrilled by the attention. He showed us office snapshots from the 1950s showing a Hollywood-handsome Miguel. One of the older female staff members also depicted in the photos survived, but she, being hampered by her arthritis, could not longer manage the flights of stairs. Like Miguel, she continued to be paid out of a local Cuban peso account.

Cupboards were opened and in addition to a trove of canceled Bank of Nova Scotia cheques from the 1920s, there were several retired metal office shields. As each of the insurance company's regional agents had closed, they had carefully retired their bright blue identifying agent crests to the head Havana office. These must have been of good quality, as they survived immaculate in their cupboard storage.

Finally, we were shown the corner office of the last regional manager, Mr. Chapman. Mr. Chapman carefully-sat formal business photo was also displayed. The portrait brought back Toronto of the 1950s. Chapman was an attractive man with a careful, but sensitive face. The discreet tasteful glasses, the guardsman tie with the diminutive pre-Windsor knot all inspired trust. The photos beneath the glass in Mr. Chapman's office were postcards from Caribbean resorts and scenes of the Canadian Rockies. The view from the office was fantastic, as directly opposite on the other side of Havana Bay, Mr. Chapman would have been able to see vividly the eighteenth-century Cabana fortress.

It must have been lonely and confusing in the early days of the revolution. Did he stare at the fortress and know that here Che Guevara was presiding over the trials and executions of Batista henchmen and loyalists. I wondered if any of these had had insurance with this particular company. Toronto must have seemed a long way away. Chapman stuck it out until almost all business had dried up and the two Canadian banks had been compensated and nationalized. He left, but the office remained and continued to serve the existing policyholders.

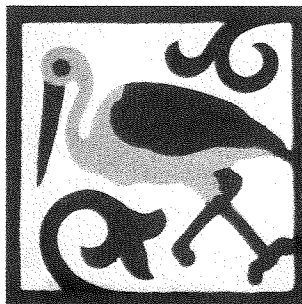
This is a story of faithfulness. The revolutionary government, then and now, recognizes the company's right of occupancy to this floor of commercial real estate. The aged paid-up insurance policyholders still receive their annuities from the Cuban peso company bank account. Miguel continues to ascend the four

flights of stairs, reply to the occasional letter and keep the glass top of Mr. Chapman's desk dusted. He is a touch-bearer for commercial culture. Now, in downtown Havana he continues his vigil. ☺

Denise Jacques is currently on leave from the Canadian foreign service. She is just completing a very enjoyable year at Harvard University.

Editor's Note:

In Volume 19-1, bout published an article by Denise Jacques titled "Hunting Hemingway." The article was about the early history of the Canadian official residence in Havana and it received Honourary Mention by the Retired Heads of Mission for writing in 2002. In July 2003, Denise Jacques published "The Tiled Mansion," an illustrated booklet on the original story of the house and the family that built it in the 1930s.



Lessons in War, Politics and Diplomacy?

NASSER AND THE SIX DAY WAR — *FROM A CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE*

In early 1967, there was a series of incidents along the border between Israel and Syria, which had escalated to a tank battle and clashes between their air forces, ultimately leading to the shooting-down of six Syrian MIGs in early April. With signs of a possible Israeli invasion of Syria and pressure from Arab states to match his rhetoric with action, President Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt mobilized the Egyptian army and expelled the United Nations Emergency Force (including Canadian troops) from positions along the frontier between Sinai and Israel. Egypt subsequently occupied Sharm el Sheikh and closed the Gulf of Aqaba and the Straits of Tiran to Israeli ships as well as those supplying Israel — measures which Israel had warned in advance that it would regard as “acts of war.” In late May, amid frantic international diplomatic efforts to avert war, Nasser in successive speeches called for a “united front around Israel” and declared that Egypt and its allies were prepared for military action “to restore the situation to what it was in 1948” (that is, before the creation of the State of Israel).

On the morning of 5 June, Israeli warplanes effectively destroyed the Egyptian air force. Within twenty-four hours, Israel had gained complete air superiority in the region with the destruction of the air forces of Syria and Jordan. On the ground, Israel swept the Egyptian army from the Gaza Strip and Sinai, while it captured the Golan Heights from the Syrian Army and seized the West Bank from Jordan. The sudden

triumph of Israeli forces prompted the conflict to be dubbed the “Six Day War.”

Canada’s Ambassador to the United Arab Republic (as Egypt was formally known, though its union with Syria had been dissolved in 1961) was John Starnes, who had presented his credentials one year before the war broke out. A veteran of the Second World War, he had held various posts in Ottawa and abroad. Immediately before his appointment to Cairo, Starnes had served as Canada’s Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany and Head of the Canadian Military Mission in Berlin.

The original texts of the following messages were printed entirely in upper case. As well, some passages were difficult to read from the copies available so that there may be slight errors in transcription. For clarity, most abbreviated words have been reproduced in their entirety, obligatory duplication of negatives in such messages has been eliminated, some passing references and identities of individuals have been explained in square brackets, and indications of the repetition of the messages to other posts have been omitted. The declassified documents were provided to *bout de papier* by their author (and a distinguished member of the magazine’s board as well as a regular contributor), John Starnes, to whom we express our thanks.

Hector Mackenzie

FM CAIRO JUN8/67 SECRET
TO EXTER 710 IMMED
ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

Astonishing speed with which Israelis have taken Sharm El Sheik and approaches to [Suez] canal make it clear that if they wish to do so they probably could continue west towards Cairo itself. Presumably their first objective of cutting off and destroying main body of Egyptian Army has all but been accomplished. [General Moshe] Dayan [Minister of Defence of Israel] appears to have said that Israeli forces have no further objective but if U[nited]A[rab]R[epublic] continue to refuse to accept cease fire Israelis may decide to continue air and ground attacks. From canal to Cairo along axis of Ismailia Road is about eighty miles and provided they have personnel and ammunition would not be beyond their capabilities to achieve and especially with almost complete air

superiority they seem to enjoy. However, I would expect them to use this latter advantage at first rather than attempt technically difficult canal crossing. However, the obvious political advantages of pushing on to Cairo must be very tempting.

2. However, even if Israeli forces decide only to hold present positions in front of canal political effect on Nasser’s regime of the devastating military defeat they have inflicted upon Egyptians will be considerable. I have suggested in earlier reports that when public becomes conscious of magnitude of their defeat this could result in further attacks against USA and British personnel and installations (and possibly others as well). It could also manifest itself in demonstrations against regime which unless checked could lead to conditions of anarchy and particularly in this city which by last count was well over five million.

3. All this is speculation, of course, and apart from demonstrations in Cairo and sacking of USA and British consulates in Alexandria and Port Said which we have reported, there has been relative calm. Should population decide to turn on government, however, situation could become chaotic. There is added danger, of course, that if Israelis were to push on to Cairo widespread panic could take place with [finally?] unpleasant results.

4. Apart from feelings of general public there is increasing evidence of uneasiness and disillusion among Egyptian officials. Certainly lack of wisdom of attempting to accuse USA and Britain of aiding Israel with aircraft on such flimsy evidence must be obvious to more intelligent officials in the regime. STARNES

FM CAIRO JUN9/67 SECRET

TO EXTERL 721 IMMED

DEFEAT OF THE EGYPTIAN ARMIES

When [David Gulick] Nes USA Chargé came to say goodbye to me today he told me of interesting information he had been given last night by Senard, Counsellor French Embassy. Member of Russian Embassy told Senard yesterday that Russian authorities were irritated at and fed up with Egyptians. It appears about 2 weeks ago Russians sent a high level military delegation to Egypt for express purpose of offering advice to Egyptians on their military preparations. There was no suggestion of course that these preparations were for anything but defence of Egypt in event of an Israeli attack.

2. According to Senard's Russian interlocutor, Soviet military experts had been critical of the dispositions made of Egyptian air and ground forces. Specifically they had criticized (a) lack of dispersement of UAR air force units, (b) placing UAR armoured units too far forward and bad siting of artillery. Egyptian military commanders had not been disposed to accept advice. In view of Soviet experts Egyptian military commanders were arrogant and ignorant.

3. There seems no reason to disbelieve this story. Certainly if Soviet advice concerning dispersal of fighter and bomber aircraft had been taken it might have made quite a difference to the course of Sinai battle. One reason advanced by Egyptians for not dispersing aircraft was difficulties this would create for servicing them at alternative air fields. Thus Egyptians had most of their fighter forces concentrated on a few airfields while UAR bomber forces were neatly drawn up on one or two other air fields. In addition no attempt was made throughout fighting to discontinue normal broadcasting programmes with result Israelis were provided with excellent reference points for navigation which they obviously used to advantage. STARNES

FM CAIRO JUN10/67 CONF
TO EXTER 727 IMMED
NASSER

"Then my soul stirred, wondering what men would say who saw this monument after many years and spoke of what I had done ..." (inscription on obelisk of Queen Hatshepsut at Karnak).

2. [UAR President Gamal Abdul] Nasser's address to the nation last night was a fascinating performance. Not surprisingly Nasser's mood was sombre and his style muted. There was none of the sparkle and effervescence usually associated with his public appearances but for this very reason it made a deep impression. You will have read the text so there is no point in dwelling on it except to note that although he did accuse Britain and the USA of intervening on behalf of Israel he did so without conviction and his comments on this score were not particularly vituperative.

3. His account of events leading up to the present situation if not strictly truthful was poignant and I am sure that in Arabic it was a tear-jerker. He was frank, he was apparently subdued (but not humble), he accepted full responsibility and he resigned. He did not say he would step down conditionally nor did he offer excuses. He resigned and appointed as his successor Zakaria Mohieddin [Prime Minister of UAR, 1965-66]. His performance was superb and all the more so because it had about it an air of sincerity. It also had about it a haunting resemblance to Queen Hatshepsut's memorial. However, like so many of Nasser's moves it was shrewd and cunning and quite as likely to result in a massive popular demand for him to stay on as it is to result in Mohieddin's confirmation in office.

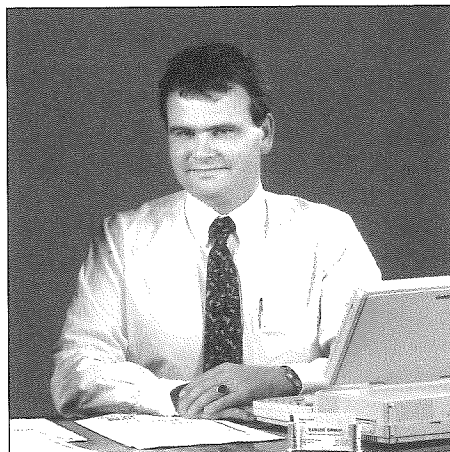
4. That Nasser's resignation was a smart move was quickly proved. Not long after his speech ended huge crowds shouting "Gamal Abdul Nasser" surged through Cairo's blacked-out streets giving a hint of the internal struggle to come. The blackout and air-raid warnings during and after the speech had the effect of keeping things under control, and, since the "cease-fire" already has taken effect, it can only be assumed air-raid warnings are being used by the authorities as a device for keeping the mob in check. So far so good, but what happens after first light and when the pretence about air raids no longer can be kept up? Certainly it is a strange experience to be listening to the magisterial proceedings of the Security Council on Voice of America broadcasts against the background of street mobs chanting "Gamal Abdul Nasser" and the spurious fire of Egyptian anti-aircraft guns.

5. Nasser's choice of Mohieddin is interesting and no surprise, although it suggests a sharp struggle for power is going on behind the scenes. It has been clear for some time that Mohieddin has represented a nucleus of opposition to Nasser's policies within the regime. Indeed, you will recall that when I saw

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Nasser on December 11/1966 he said as much (PARA4, MYTEL 954 DEC12/66). Subsequently we continued to receive reports that Mohieddin was out of favour, and possibly even under house arrest for a time. Certainly, Mohieddin's common-sense approach to Egypt's economic problems and his more liberal ideas were one of the principal reasons for his dismissal as Prime Minister. If Mohieddin were to be confirmed as President (by no means certain) and if Nasser were completely to withdraw from public life as he proposes I would expect changes in the government's present foreign and domestic policies, not immediately perhaps but in time. On the basis of his past performance I would expect Mohieddin to address himself first to the task of putting the country's economy on a firmer basis and with this in mind I imagine he would attempt gradually to restore good relations with the USA and Britain and to improve the UAR's relations with all western countries. He is reported to have no love for Ali Sabri [former Prime Minister of UAR and later in the month Deputy Prime Minister and head of the Cabinet Committee for Foreign Affairs] and the Arab Socialist Union while he is supposed to be popular with the army and knowledgeable about the workings of IBEA security services. If this is correct no doubt he would attempt to use the latter organizations against the ASU but the struggle would not repeat no be easily or quickly won. The ASU is strongly entrenched and unlikely to give up its relatively new-found powers and influence without a fight. [In fact, when Nasser reorganized his government on 19 June 1967, he assumed the additional duties of Prime Minister and Secretary General of the ASU, Egypt's only political party.] His most pressing task, however, and perhaps the one which is most likely to determine whether he can succeed concerns the UAR's relations with Israel. How Mohieddin would approach a settlement of the UAR's differences with Israel would be all important to his political success as the second President of the UAR.

6. Since this message was drafted at an early hour last night hundreds of thousands of persons demonstrated throughout Cairo in favour of Nasser continuing in office and the demonstrations are continuing this morning with many thousands milling about centre of town in the vicinity of the Canadian Embassy. Expressing himself as "deeply moved" by these popular manifestations in his favour Nasser said he would reconsider his position today in the National Assembly and "before our people". My guess would be that Nasser will "bow to the will of the people" and remain. However, I would doubt that Vice-President/FM [First Deputy Vice-President of UAR and Deputy Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, Field Marshal Abdel Hakim] Amer or Minister of War [Shams-ad-Din] Badran will be offered a similar reprieve. [According to a later report from Cairo, both Amer and Badran were imprisoned on 25 August 1967 as part of a sweep by Nasser against those who had opposed his continua-

tion in power.]. It will be intriguing to see what happens. However, whether or not Nasser eventually holds on to power it seems certain that his "Ka" will live and his Aswan pyramid will endure. STARNES

FM CAIRO JUN12/67 CONF
TO EXTER 729 IMMED
REF MY DESP 363 AUG5/66
FUTURE UAR-CDN RELATIONS

I find it very difficult from this vantage-point and in the present circumstances to offer you an objective opinion on UAR-Cdn relations. Therefore, what I say on this score probably should be considered in this light. I find it hard to have much sympathy for the Egyptians in their present plight. They have in a very real sense brought it upon themselves.

2. However, my feelings aside, it seems clear that our relations with this country have suffered badly and could become worse. Now that the British and the American presence has been almost completely withdrawn we are quite likely to attract the unwelcome attention which up until now they have received. This certainly will be the case if we hold to our view that Israel should have the use of the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba and give publicity to it. As I see it, however, the principal question is whether we wish to challenge the Arabs on the right of Israel to exist. I think this question is central to any attempt to reach a settlement. In my view the right of Israel to exist must be maintained. However, if we are prepared to maintain our stand on this score I believe we should be clear that it may mean that our relations with the UAR and presumably with other Arab countries will worsen and could even cease to exist. There is no doubt in my mind that Nasser's real aim before the Egyptian forces suffered such a resounding defeat in Sinai was the elimination of Israel. As you know from my earlier reports there are reasonable grounds for believing that if the Egyptians did not actually begin hostilities they set out deliberately to provoke them. I have no doubt the elimination of Israel remains Nasser's aim and if, as I suspect, he will now attempt to keep the struggle going rather than accept a settlement (MYTEL 719 JUN 11) any efforts by Canada and others to stabilize the situation or to bring peace and order to the area will be regarded as "unfriendly" and with suspicion.

3. There is a strong temptation for Canada to adopt an isolationist attitude towards Egypt and the Mideast generally. Certainly I would not be surprised if such feelings were to grow strong in the USA and perhaps in Britain. To the extent that it means cutting ourselves off completely I think it would be foolish although admittedly no vital Canadian interest would be affected if we were so to do. However, for the very reason that the USA and the British no longer have an effective presence in the area I believe we should be prepared to maintain one.

I think, however, we should examine carefully the kind of presence we wish to maintain.

4. Recent experience and the course which affairs in Egypt are likely to take would seem to suggest we might with profit reduce our present establishments, both in the interests of safety and economy, and for other practical reasons. I would suggest, therefore, that for the next year or two we close down completely our immigration activities, our cultural and information activities and leave our commercial section at its present strength, i.e., without Canadian based staff. We could with profit maintain the present numbers of officers from DEA and the office of the Canadian Forces Attaché (indeed one can make a good case for an assistant for the Canadian Forces Attaché) with possibly some reduction in the general supporting staff of the Embassy after other adjustments have been effected. As I see it there will be little or no opportunities for normal trade or commerce with Egypt, in the near future. Indeed, given the situation I think a case can be made for actively discouraging such ties. Correspondingly I see little or no opportunity in the conditions prevailing and which are likely more than ever to be determined for the Ministry of the Interior, for useful immigration activities. Given the atmosphere I believe it would be only realistic to recognize that any information or cultural work we may be able to perform would be far out of proportion to the effort we would have to put into it, e.g. UAR participation in Expo [the 1967 World's Fair in Montreal]. This is now a relatively minor aspect of our work in any event.

5. The fact is that in Arab eyes Canadian policies seem to be slanted in favour of Israel and if this includes questions such as the right of Israel to exist and Israeli rights to use the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba then no doubt the Arabs are right. Moreover, and perhaps in a way more important, Arabs seem to sense that consciously or unconsciously the Canadian government and the Canadian people, if not anti-Arab probably are pro-Israeli. If this is correct I think we should recognize the fact and fashion our approach to the Arab world accordingly. The UAR, despite the recent pitiful showing of Egypt's armed forces, is still the most important Arab and African country. We should maintain a strong listening post here but accept the possibility that it may not last and that our other activities here are unlikely to be worth the expense of continuing them. We must also accept, I think, that our influence will be negligible. In addition, I think we must acknowledge that participation of Canadians in any future peacekeeping or UN observers activities is unlikely to be acceptable to the UAR government, in the apparently unlikely event such a role were to be created again on the UAR's frontiers with Israel.

6. In time (and I think it will take a long time) as the full impact of the Arab defeat is felt in the Mideast and outside it I expect the Canadian position vis a vis the Arabs will become more normal. After all we are thousands of miles distant from the area and almost totally removed from its problems, its politics, its culture and its principal religion. Our greatest, although not our sole political interest in the countries of the area, has been and is to preserve peace between them. No doubt this will become accepted again and especially as the yeast created by Israel's astonishing military victories begins to work among the different Arab countries and they go their different ways. STARNES

FM CAIRO JUN12/67 CONF
TO EXTER 730 PRIORITY
UAR-GENERAL SITUATION

An atmosphere of complete unreality seems to reign at moment in UAR as government continues to make desperate efforts to put off day when Egyptian people must become aware of extent of defeat suffered by Arab forces. No mention whatsoever has been made of UAR casualties or materiel losses and no reports have been published during past 3 days re military situation in Sinai. Quite the contrary. Only news published concerning war deals with "the heroic resistance of Syrian Army whose equipment and morale remain intact". Propaganda line taken by UAR government is that victory secured by Arabs in convincing Nasser to stay in power completely overshadows "temporary setback" suffered by Arab forces at hands of tripartite alliance of Israel, USA and Britain. Constantly recurring theme is paraphrase of DeGaulle's famous call to arms of June 18, 1940, "Arabs have lost a battle, Arabs have not lost war". UAR news media all suggest that victory will eventually be won on economic grounds since Arabs control oil resources and Suez Canal which are vital to the West. They do not, however, exclude possibility that hostilities may soon be resumed and that Israel may yet be crushed militarily.

2. It is difficult to tell how long this brave facade can be maintained. There are limits to the number of gimmicks which can be used to paper over the truth. Theatrical speeches, mass demonstrations, breaking diplomatic relations, dismissals of generals and exposing other scapegoats will soon wear thin and lose their efficacy as camouflage. There already are indications that Egyptian people are becoming increasingly aware of real situation. When this realization becomes widespread, governmental stability in UAR may be seriously jeopardized if it is not already threatened by struggle for power within regime itself. STARNES

FM CAIRO JUN 13/67
TO EXTER 748 PRIORITY
IS MIDEAST PEACE SETTLEMENT POSSIBLE?

Israeli leaders have said they would like to seek permanent settlement by direct negotiation with Arab states. From Israeli and certain western points of view, it is apparently envisaged that Israel would withdraw her forces from some positions now held, e.g., Sinai, though not from all conquered areas (excluded might be Sharm el Sheik, Gaza Strip, Jordanian Jerusalem and possibly even large part of West Bank) in return for recognition from Arabs of her right to exist, freedom of navigation, end of terrorist activities and guarantees for a lasting peace. These objectives, somewhat like schemes devised fortnight ago with aim of persuading UAR to open Straits of Tiran, seem like wishful thinking in face of present Arab attitude. In same category may be put suggestions we have heard that because Nasser is strong he is the one Arab leader who can lead people to acceptance of inglorious peace in keeping with Israeli victory. Arabs as indicated in OURTEL 730 JUN 12, do not consider they have been defeated; Israelis in spite of their obvious successes and heavy losses imposed on Arabs nevertheless have not advanced far enough either in Jordan, Egypt or Syria to impose kind of settlement suggested above on their adversaries who regard results of last week's battles as mere "setback" in terms of long term struggle. While they may regard it as UN responsibility to see that Israeli forces withdraw from recently occupied territories, left to their own devices they would probably choose to forego temporarily a return to Sinai and even West Bank rather than give impression they were submitting to Israeli demands for peaceful coexistence. (This may partly explain Israeli insistence upon direct negotiations.) Nasser said he accepted cease-fire "in view of assurances given in Soviet draft resolution to Security Council and of French declarations that no one will be allowed to achieve regional expansion on basis of this latest aggression". Arab states consider that they are still at war with Israel.

2. Arab attitude is demonstrated in actions of Algeria and to lesser extent Iraq and Kuwait who apparently have still not accepted UN call for cease-fire. President [Col. Houari] Boumedienne [Prime Minister and Minister of Defence of Algeria] went yesterday to Moscow it is thought on behalf of several Arab states to demand from Soviet leaders an answer on extent of support they may expect during next and future phases of armed struggle against Israel. Iraqi press is reported to have called for "second round" of battle. Proposed Arab summit meeting, if confronted with two alternatives described to me by [Foreign Office Under-Secretary] El Feki (MYTEL 719 JUN 11) seems much more likely to opt for continuation of war, if necessary by "unconventional" means rather than accept humiliating peace settlement.

3. President Nasser clearly is unrepentant. He acknowledged June 9 that his gamble had not paid off, that his forces had not been strong enough to prevail against enemy as he expected they would. Nasser has withdrawn from battle a little ashamed but not unduly concerned over victims of this futile exercise - Arab sons who at any rate have been sacrificed to highest cause. Nasser shows more interest in weapons still available to him and how these might be used in future. Principal mistake in Nasser's view was not miscalculation of his adversary's armed might but rather the Arab failure to use all means available to remove last traces of imperialism from the area before the battle began so as to "leave Israel alone". Nasser appears still to imagine that western countries cannot live without the Suez Canal and Arab oil and that by threatening to deny them access to these invaluable Arab resources, western countries can be made to submit and to withhold their support from Israel. It is the failure to make best use of these two key weapons that Nasser regrets most. Thus he imagines he is still in driver's seat.

4. In view of number of statements in recent days suggesting time has come to seek permanent solution for Mideast problems it seems necessary to sound word of caution lest it be assumed that Arabs are in contrite mood and likely to be prevailed upon to accept terms inimical to their chief aim in life which remains the liquidation of the State of Israel. If transit of Israeli flag in Gulf of Aqaba and elsewhere was as described by Nasser "unbearable" to Arab pride before recent hostilities, it is no less so now. Arabs may be expected to follow same dangerous and futile course so long as Nasser is their leader and until such time as conditions are created whereby new leaders can step forward who have strength and courage necessary to chart a bold new course for Arab world. Present indications are that six day Mideast war has not provided means for a volte-face in Arab policy.

5. This is a gloomy prognostication but I believe realistic. As I see it the only hope of a lasting settlement being reached which both sides can accept is if USSR and the USA can work together. This however has become immeasurably more difficult to achieve with breaks in Arab-USA relations, and Soviet-Israeli relations and involvement of Soviet Union in humiliating Arab military defeat. I was told by USA Embassy a few days ago they are satisfied Soviet assessment of impending Israeli attack on Syria which was passed by Soviets to UAR authorities in Moscow and triggered off Nasser's actions in Sinai was based on faulty and exaggerated intelligence reports. Thus USSR not only backed wrong horse but they appear also to have fired the starting gun for the race. Both Arabs and Russians have lost face. In circumstances I think it is important for the USA government to avoid a situation developing where the Soviet Union has little or no room for manoeuvre in extracting itself from its difficulties. Thus I would

hope USA authorities will not yield to the temptation to cash in on Israeli territorial gains as hinted at in WASHDC TEL 2225 JUN9. One of few matters upon which Soviet Union and USA are likely to be able to agree in present situation is principle of "territorial integrity of all nations in the area" declared earlier by USA government. It seems to me important in terms of USA-Soviet cooperation as well as future Arab-USA relations that the principle be jointly affirmed by USA and USSR although clearly modalities of applying it to Israel's frontier will form a vital element of whatever negotiations can be arranged. If the USA can bring itself to support USSR in this matter a way may be opened for further joint action without which I see little prospect of bringing either Arabs or Israelis to heel. STARNES

FM CAIRO JUN13/67 CONF

TO EXTER 749 IMMED

UAR-CDN RELATIONS AND SETTLEMENT OF ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE

I had a thirty-five minute talk last night with Dr [Mahmoud] Fawzi, deputy PM for foreign affairs. Meeting which was arranged at my request several days ago had to be postponed three times before it could take place. There also was present a Foreign Office official and a note-taker. Presence of these others was not without interest since in past we talked alone. I had impression Fawzi was being very careful and perhaps was not entirely free in expressing his views. However whether or not my impression was correct he was as charming and as courtly as ever. Not surprisingly he was tired and showed his years.

2. Our conversation began by Fawzi apologizing that he had been obliged to put off our appointment on so many occasions. He was sure however I would understand reasons. I thanked him for seeing me at all in such circumstances. I said my purpose was to seek his views on new and worrying problems with which all countries were confronted in Mideast and to benefit from his great experience and wisdom in dealing with such matters. At time I had first asked to see him I had been very concerned about unfavourable comments about Canada and Canadian government policies which had appeared in the Arabic press and which had been otherwise voiced. It seemed clear to me that these comments had been based on misunderstandings of our position and of our motives. I hoped these misunderstandings were now behind us. As Fawzi well knew Canadian people and Canadian government were not anti-Arab nor "unfriendly". We were interested principally to preserve peace in area and we had tried sincerely always to be impartial in Arab-Israeli dispute.

3. Fawzi said he hoped Canadian position was as I described it. Arab peoples however would tend to judge us by our actions. He hoped that Canada would be able to demonstrate that it still viewed problems of Mideast "fairly". He referred at this

point to important statement in House of Commons on June 8 by [Canadian Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson]. Among other things Fawzi said this indicated we had taken a political position on question of Gulf of Aqaba which was a juridical matter. I said he had advantage of me since our communications with Canada had been interrupted for five days and only a few hours earlier had been restored by UAR Ministry of Communications. Thus I had to rely upon Arabic press and radio to know what Pearson had said. Fawzi countered by saying that as a diplomat I must be used to relying on press for information about my government's policies. I said my government had a position on freedom of access to Gulf of Aqaba which must be well known to UAR government. This was primarily a juridical view. Fawzi said UAR also had a view on matter and one which had been supported by many countries and many experts in international law, including the international law commission. However this was a matter for settlement in UN or courts and could not be decided by force as Israel was attempting to do.

4. I asked Fawzi what in his view was next step. A cease fire had been established but clearly this was a transitory stage. Presumably a withdrawal of forces should be one of next phases although there seemed little sign at present that this could be accomplished soon. Did Fawzi see any basis existing for a settlement of Israeli-Arab differences? For example did he believe Arabs would accept right of State of Israel to exist? This seemed to me to be central to problem and if agreement could not be reached on this question then there seemed little chance of negotiating any lasting or meaningful settlement. Fawzi replied that as I well knew question of right of Israel to exist had been raised many times over many years. Arabs had never accepted concept of an alien state in their midst. As to question of withdrawal of Israeli forces from territories they had acquired by aggression it should be clear that their withdrawal was considered by Arabs as a "condition préalable" to any discussions leading to a settlement. I said that within such a framework however clearly question of Israeli access to Gulf of Aqaba at once would arise. Could Strait of Tiran question not be referred to International Court while a settlement was being worked out? Fawzi said Arabs would never agree to this question being decided under duress. I replied I only had in mind referral to court as part of a process of eventual adjustment leading to a general settlement of some of the major problems presently dividing both sides.

5. Fawzi said Arab countries, and I believe he was thinking especially of Egypt, no doubt were faced with exceptionally difficult problems. Way ahead would be much more difficult than it had been before Israel's aggression. Arabs had suffered serious reverses which would have their effect on all aspects of their development. However Arabs had thousands of years of history behind them and they could wait

ten twenty a hundred years to achieve their aims. In the end Arabs would prevail perhaps long after either of us were alive. (It is to be hoped that before my grandchildren and yours are afflicted with the cursed dispute biological advances will have done something to change the nature of man, starting I suggest with the Israelis and Arabs).

6. I said I recalled that President Nasser had said to me when I saw him before end of last year that perhaps some accommodation with Israel would be possible if it were to cease being a Judaic state. President had suggested to me that acceptance in Israel of Arab refugees would bring about such a change. Fawzi said important word was "perhaps". (Perhaps Fawzi may have had in mind that with recent acquisition of so many Arab refugees Israel's population must be now about 40 percent Arab). I said I realized President had been speaking in hypothetical terms, nevertheless it was concepts of this kind which must be considered if any negotiations leading to a settlement seriously were to be begun. Clearly refugee problem had become much more acute as a result of recent events and must be considered as an important element in any settlement.

7. Fawzi said he had proposed three years ago that a plebiscite be taken among Arab refugees to determine how many of them wished to return to their homeland or to remain where they were. None of the countries outside area had responded to his suggestion and it had been rejected out of hand by Israel. I said that we all deplored plight of Arab refugees and that countries like Canada had done what they could through UNRWA [United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East] and other agencies to help. Although Canada's total contribution perhaps was small, by comparison we had done a great deal more than many other countries. After all it should be remembered that Canada was thousands of miles from the Mideast and it was not to be wondered that Canadians generally might not be especially knowledgeable about or possibly even interested in the Arab-Israeli dispute except perhaps insofar as it impinged on world peace. Thus considerable contribution Canada had made to assist the peoples of area and to keep peace were quite remarkable and certainly could not be said to be motivated by partisan feelings. Fawzi did not seem to like suggestion that Mideast was remote for us since he replied that problems of area were important to whole world in this age of interdependence.

8. We covered the following additional topics.

(a) Refugees in Gaza Strip

Fawzi said that despite Israeli propaganda about their efforts on behalf of Gaza refugees they were in fact attempting to force them out of the area.

(b) Cease Fire

Apart from minor violations Fawzi said cease

fire along UAR-Israeli front was being observed. He said there were still considerable UAR forces in the Sinai.

(c) Security Council

UAR planned no immediate initiatives in Security Council.

(d) USA-UAR Relations

Fawzi's only reference to USA-UAR relations was trip he and Vice President Moheiddin were to have made to USA on June 7 which had been overtaken by Israeli aggression on June 5. He said President [Lyndon Baines] Johnson [of the United States] had proposed to send Vice President [Hubert] Humphrey to Cairo but as a gesture of goodwill UAR government had decided instead to send a delegation to Washington DC. Fawzi never once mentioned USA or British involvement in fighting. I was careful not to mention matter and I believe omission may have been his way of indicating he did not approve of allegations or of break in relations.

9. I had impression from Fawzi that Egyptians are still stunned by their defeats and uncertain how to proceed. Only policy which seems to be emerging is a continuation of struggle. Fawzi said every Egyptian was ready to give the gallebia off his back (about all many of them have to give) to continue the fight. This was the will of the people and no leader could ignore such deep-seated feelings. At one point Fawzi made interesting comment that he had heard suggestion made before Israeli attacks on Egypt that worst thing for Israel would be a clear military Israeli victory. It would create more problems for Israel than it would solve and it would tend to mobilize world opinion against them. (MYTEL 659 MAY31)

10. Fawzi ended conversation by asking me to convey his good wishes to PM and to Mr [Paul] Martin [Secretary of State for External Affairs]. He hoped that Canadian government would approach problems of Mideast in a spirit of "fair play". He recalled that Canada like many other members of UN had paid lip service to implementation of general armistice agreement. He hoped we would show a more positive approach towards Arab cause than we appeared so far to have adopted in present crisis. Peace in the area was in all our interests but it must be based on justice and a condemnation of use of force.

11. I took little comfort from our talk. Fawzi has always been one of the senior members of regime with pro-western leanings and a reasonable approach to problems. There was no sign in his comments of any desire to compromise or even to discuss possibility. Struggle would go on indefinitely-it was nobler to die than to accept defeat. Israelis were totally in the wrong and all those who supported them were enemies of the Arabs. More important I suspect that Fawzi and others who might share his views are not likely any longer to be able to influence policy and are obliged to go along with the line he expounded to me. STARNES ☺

Angus Matheson — 1919–2003

Angus Matheson came to External Affairs, as many of us did, in the last half of the 1940s, then still young, yet a veteran of World War II. Some of us joined External Affairs as Foreign Service Officers hoping to be involved in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy in Ottawa as well as abroad. Others like Angus wanted to be administrators serving the same broad purpose. We were to be the heirs of a group of officers, then in or approaching their prime, who were intent on Canada having a role in ensuring that another such war be avoided. The idea of the proposed United Nations Organization sat well with our elders who had seen the failures of the League of Nations and were determined to remedy them. We consider ourselves modest contributors to the objective of avoiding another world war and, through the United Nations, trying to influence human behaviours to become more civilized.

Angus knew from personal experience how important these goals were. He served in the Canadian Army from 1941 to 1946 entering External Affairs in the latter year. He performed his role in this larger scheme

by being a superior administrator and consular officer. He served as Vice consul in Tokyo 1951 to 1953, in San Francisco 1956 and in Washington as Consul 1956 to 1958. At Headquarters he served as Head of the all-important Finance Division, and as Deputy Inspector General. He was an exemplary head of mission as High Commissioner to Trinidad and Tobago 1974 to 1977. From 1982 to his retirement he was Deputy Co-ordinator, Access to Information and Privacy. In all these roles he was top-notch, outstanding in a group of able administrative officers.

When it came time about 1985 for many of us veterans to retire from the foreign service, we put on our heads together and decided

to investigate the possibility of establishing some kind of foreign service retirement group. It took us a year to do it but out of our efforts came the Retired Heads of Mission Association, RHOMA. And we asked Angus to be our financial administrator.

Angus Matheson died in Ottawa on October 18, 2003, predeceased by his wife, Dorothy, and survived by a daughter and two sons. ☹

*Mr. Nutt is a member of the senior Editorial Board of **bout de papier**. He is a retired Head of Mission and president emeritus of RHOMA.*



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Editor:

Retired ambassadors, we all know, retreat to their gardens, cultivate their grandchildren, read (and occasionally write) spy novels, and pen their memoirs. The public hears as little about them as it did during their quiet exercise of influence. But they cannot escape the cruel world. And they care.

How much they care was demonstrated in April by three urgent letters, two of which made world-wide front page news. All three were provoked by an agreement between US President George Bush and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon that flouted the United Nations and seemed certain to retard the Middle East peace process. Each letter was addressed to a head of government and signed by upwards of 35 former ambassadors, many with Middle East experience. The Brits, the first to go public and the angriest, seemed more concerned with Iraq than Palestine and objected to Prime Minister Blair's perceived subservience to Washington. Coming from the one essential actor in the process, the American letter was understandably the more significant. Peace will not come to the Middle East without the support, perhaps the dictation, of the world's only superpower.

Scarcely noticed, the first of the three letters to be composed and delivered came from the quiet Canadians. Only *Le Devoir* carried a report, on May 12. The quiet media treatment was not the fault of the editors or the reporters. Rather, it derived from the decision by the authors not to promote publicity until their political masters had a chance to ingest the wisdom in their letter. They would be more responsive, it was thought, if treated with that courtesy. This is the first publication of the full text of this unprecedented letter.

The group instigating this letter, the Middle East Discussion Group, cherishes a number of ex-Ambassadors in its ranks, and has been meeting more or less monthly for 30 years. It has counted General E.L.M. Burns, Robert and Anne Stanfield, Heath Macquarrie,

David Halton, Floria MacDonald, John Sigler and William Barton among its members. The Group has heard many authorities from the Middle East and North America, but was always intended to do more than listen or discuss. About once a year, the members (with a few abstainers) have offered the Minister advice on Canadian policy. On one occasion, Prime Minister Trudeau invited the core members to explain their views. The approach favoured by a large majority of the Group may be gleaned from the letter to Prime Minister Martin. Though some members wanted the letter's tone to be as robust as that of their British and American counterparts, they heeded the wisdom of one authority, who observed that "to be influential with modest means, one needs be modest in demeanor."

The letter was written quickly to ensure that the Prime Minister would receive it before his meeting with President Bush. Did he read the letter? Did he convey our counsel? Did the two leaders even discuss the Middle East? Perhaps. Perhaps not. But for me it was heartening to have confirmed that many of our most experienced diplomats feel that raising Canada's voice, albeit quietly, just might make a difference.

We have not yet received a reply, but we have not given up hope. After all, the Prime Minister has been rather busy of late.

*Peyton V. Lyon
The Middle East Discussion Group
Ottawa, Ontario*

(A foreign service officer in the 1950s, Peyton Lyon served in Germany before moving to the academic world. His distinguished career was based principally at Carleton University in Ottawa, where he served both in the Department of Political Science and at the Norman Patterson School of International Affairs.)

24 April 2004

*The Right Honourable Paul Martin, P.C., M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada
80 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0A2*

Dear Mr. Martin;

We, the undersigned, strongly support the constructive statements which you and Foreign Minister Bill Graham recently made on critical events in the Middle East conflict. Our Ottawa group, now going into its thirtieth year, includes Canadian retired parliamentarians, ambassadors, journalists, academics, religious leaders and others concerned with Canadian policies to foster a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Your recent comments carry on your father's balanced approach when he strongly promoted the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 242 in 1967. The principle of "land for peace" established in that resolution must remain the basis for any viable peace in the area. In 1947, Lester Pearson played a critical role at the UN in securing the adoption of the UN General Assembly partition resolution which led to the creation of the state of Israel.

We share your endorsement of Israeli Prime Minister Sharon's proposal to withdraw some settlements, which Canada has always regarded as illegal. We believe you are also right in taking a wait-and-see attitude in its effects on the prospects for a negotiated peace. We see serious problems ahead:

- Even after a withdrawal, Israel will retain control of Gaza's land borders, sea coast and airspace, and keep a veto over the

establishment of an airport or sea port there, making more difficult Palestinian acceptance of the withdrawal as genuine.

- Still more serious is that Israel's implementation of the proposal will be conditional on Palestinian prevention of violence emerging from Gaza, leaving the plan hostage to veto groups wishing to sabotage it. The Palestinian Authority was excluded from any negotiations on the withdrawal plan, and the influence of *Hamas* is only likely to increase as a result. Despite the shortcomings in the record of the Authority thus far, we believe that strengthening the moderates is critical for any success in the fight against terrorism.
- The stark pronouncements on the Palestinian refugees, included in the Bush-Sharon correspondence, will further intensify Palestinian resentment and anger. As the chair of the Refugee Working Group, Canada knows better than most how difficult and sensitive this issue is. We welcome your statement that a peace agreement will have to deal with refugee compensation, and that they "have got to be dealt with fairly." This merits continuing emphasis.
- The Bush-Sharon acceptance of the permanence of substantial Israeli settlements in the West Bank is highly provocative, flies in the face of protestations that final negotiations are not being prejudged, and implies that Israel's recently established "demographic realities" can transcend international law. Canada should stick resolutely to its position that it is up to the two sides to negotiate borders.
- The appalling cycle of violence in the area is very unlikely to be broken by the recent US-Israeli agreement. Our government

is right to condemn both the use of suicide bombers and acts of forcible repression, including "targeted assassinations." We agree strongly with the views of four former chiefs of the Israeli security service Shin Bet that the failure to offer the Palestinians a political alternative has resulted in the terrible violence now practised by both sides. Serious dehumanizations has occurred and must be reversed.

- Despite the problems created by recent policy developments, there are many in Israel and the Jewish diaspora community, and among Palestinians, who share the view that a political solution can and must be found. We believe the efforts of Israel and Palestinian leaders, in the unofficial "Geneva Accord" and the Ayalon-Nusseibeh Plan to restore the peace process should

(signed)

Theodore Arcand*
Douglas Anglin
William Barton*
John Baycroft
Eric Bergbusch*
Fred Bild*
Geoffrey Bruce*
Ross Campbell*
A.T. Chernushenko
Martin Collacott*
Gordon Cullingham
Clark Davey
Joseph Debanne
William T. Delworth*

Marc Faguy*
David Farr
George Fleming
Dwight Fulford*
Robert Gayner*
Randolph Gherson*
Jacques Gignac*
Richard V. Gorham*
Antonio and Peggy Gualtieri
John Gaylord Hadwen*
Zicky Hammud
Gary Harman*
James Hyndman*
William Janzen

be strongly supported. We urge that Canada develop further its own quiet peace-building efforts.

Canada knows the fundamental importance of multilateral cooperation and appreciates the responsibility of the international community to develop a "just, lasting and comprehensive peace" in the Middle East. We share your confidence in the professionalism of our foreign service, our intelligence community, and the Canadian military in dealing with the problems of this troubled area. Under your leadership, they should be given every encouragement to work with their counterparts abroad in finding shared roles to restore and sustain the peace process. Canadians will be given broad support to any effort in this direction.

Paul Lapointe*
Allan N. Lever*
Edward G. Lee*
Peyton Lyon
Vaughan Lyon
Michael Mace*
J.C. de Montigny Marchand*
Gilles Mathieu*
Tudy McLaine
Robert W. McLaren*
John Noble*
Geoffrey Pearson*
Marc Perron*
Alfred Pick*

Jacques Roy*
Carol Seaborn
Michael Shenstone*
John Sigler
William Silver
Douglas Small*
Anne Stanfield
John Starnes*
James Steele
James H. Taylor*
Kenneth D. Taylor*
Douglas Valentine*
Erik Wang*
Withold Weynerowski*

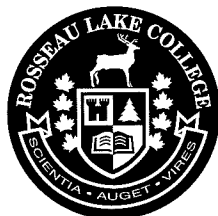
c.c. The Honourable Bill Graham, P.C., M.P., Minister of Foreign Affairs

* Former Head of Mission

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BEHIND ENEMY LINES

A PRACTICAL GUIDE FOR DIPLOMATS

by Nicholas Coghlan

Venturing into national territory not fully under the control of the government to which one is accredited as a diplomat is usually a matter to be undertaken with careful forethought, not to say hesitancy, but it can considerably enhance your value on the cocktail circuit, provide colourful material for your memoirs post-retirement and, as long as you couch your reports for Ottawa in a sufficiently studious and non-alarming manner, can actually be of assistance in the development of Canadian foreign policy. The only snag is that you have to survive to tell the tale.

MY FIRST EXPERIENCES OF SLEEPING WITH THE ENEMY (well, not literally...) were in Chiapas, Mexico, immediately before and after the dramatic indigenous revolt, led by a mysterious blue-eyed white man in a black balaclava, that galvanised the world on the very eve of the entry into force of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994.

Over the 18 months prior to the revolt, I had travelled repeatedly to Chiapas, which was the most impoverished of Mexico's states and in most ways little changed since Graham Greene wrote about it in *The Lawless Roads*, in the 1930s. I met with feisty Bishop Samuel Ruiz, later nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, with human rights defenders, with leaders of self-help groups whom we were

assisting through our Canada Fund for Local Initiatives and, of course, with all the usual local dignitaries: the Governor, the chief of Police, mayors and so on. While no-one in our mission in Mexico City predicted the rebellion, it was thus with some smugness that, when Ottawa spluttered its bewilderment at the January 1, 1994, uprising, we were able to list page upon page of detailed and distressing previous post reporting on the plight of Chiapas peasants.

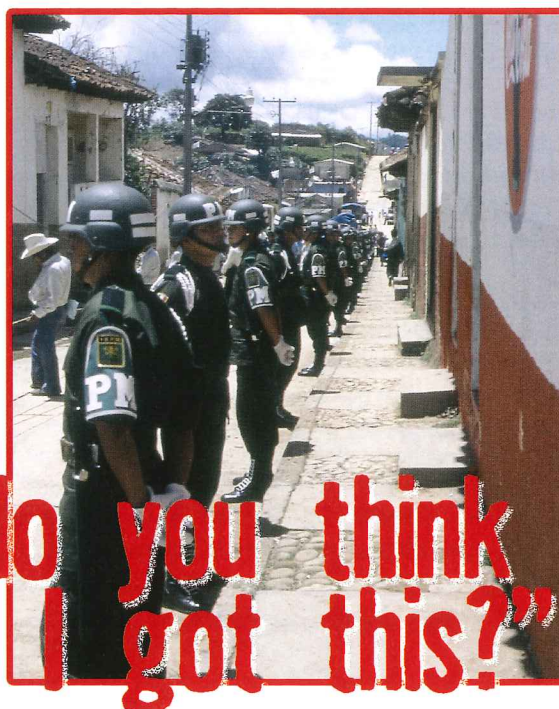
But a few months later I was summoned peremptorily to a meeting with a senior officer attached to one of Mexico's then numerous and mysterious intelligence agencies. After we had exchanged the usual niceties (I had thought it prudent to meet in a very public place: a central table at *VIPS*, Mexico City's answer to *Tim Horton's*) he produced with a flourish a dog-eared visiting card bearing my name and slapped it down onto the table, demanding:

"Where do you think I got this?"

Lesson Number One was thus learned: be rather careful to whom you hand out your card in such lands, especially if your contact is a person who has good reason to be very disgruntled with the government to which you are accredited. In this case my card had been taken from the dead body of a Zapatista rebel killed in a shootout.

MANY MORE SIMILAR LESSONS were learned when, for three years, I covered Colombia's brutal civil war. One interesting moment was when most of the Western diplomatic corps flew by light aircraft into rebel-held territory to witness the first substantive face-to-face meeting between the FARC and the government in years. As we taxied to a halt on the bumpy

Mexican military police guard the site of peace talks with Zapatista rebels; Chiapas, Mexico



"Where do you think I got this?"

strip of San Vicente del Caguán, the remote jungle capital of the rebels, to our collective dismay we saw out of the port-holes that a huge reception committee had been formed, with an honour guard of a hundred or so fearsome-looking men and women in fatigues, all laden down with heavy weapons. There was an equally intimidating brigade of the media.

As I found myself being pushed, blinking, down the stairway by my colleagues as a

Yesterday's terrorist is of course tomorrow's freedom fighter and the day after's President, so by all means keep any photographs that do commemorate events such as these, but do be alert to shifting moods and circumstances — as was my good friend at the Sudanese MFA's protocol department who was quick, after 9/11, to remove from his desk a photo of himself sharing coffee, as a then junior officer, with one Osama bin Laden.

ONE OF THE PARTICULAR PROBLEMS of travelling in south Sudan, which I also covered for three years, was that — unusually — even some positions of our own government were not popular. Thus I well recall being deposited alone on the red-dirt strip at Yambio, deep in the Equatorial forest. The tiny white UN Cessna Caravan was lining up to leave again, and towards me I could see a welcoming posse, armed FARC-style, approaching. They reached me just as the UN plane was lifting off, and eyed me in silence.

"So you represent the government whose oil company is responsible for the genocide of our people?" was how the conversation began.

There is no easy response to such an opening pleasantry. In my experience, it was advisable to let oneself be steam-rolled for a while, nodding, accepting without committing, taking notes (above all, take notes — it doesn't matter what about...). When the momentum starts to slow, then you may be able to move

Behind rebel SPLA lines, south Sudan



"Send us Stinger missiles, so that we can shoot down more government planes."

kind of sacrificial offering, I remembered the old adage that diplomats should at all costs avoid being photographed with a drink in hand, lest they reinforce the public's existing perception of them as dipsomaniacs. Adapting that fine rule to these circumstances, I decided on the spot that when meeting armed men responsible for multiple massacres and other atrocities, and in front of the media, it may be wise not to be seen embracing them, kissing them or slapping them on the back Latin-style. Instead, nod politely and noncommittally, smile (but only faintly), avoid any effusive remarks, and above all keep one's hands firmly behind one's back, in the style made famous by Prince Philip. After all, you never know at what war crimes tribunal your photograph might later turn up as evidence.

It goes without saying that when meeting with disgruntled rebel leaders it is not wise strenuously to adopt the positions of one's host government. Nor should one demonstrate great enthusiasm for photographing or even discussing interesting-looking military equipment one may inadvertently come across when being shepherded around by the leadership; in SPLA-held south Sudan, where modern telecommunications technology is a late-comer, even getting out one's handheld satellite phone to call home can prove most rash, as I learned to my cost. Only if you can persuade your guides to pose macho fashion and brandishing their AKs before the tank in question may you actually be able to snap that old T-64.

almost imperceptibly onto the offensive, for example:

"Very well. It's a difficult situation. What, specifically, would you like us to do?"

Be prepared for disconcerting responses. In this case, a straight-faced:

"Send us Stinger missiles, so that we can shoot down more government planes."

Whether by skill or sheer good luck, I was able to turn this particular exchange into a discussion on the extent of Western responsibility for Africa's woes, that then meandered into one on aid politics and which ended in a rewarding two-way dialogue on political accountability, successfully capped with a couple of beers. If all else fails — but this is a last resort — you can always try: *"I don't necessarily agree with my government's position;*

**"It's so that if they use a SAM against us,
it will go through one door and out of the other!"**



Rebel FARC commanders at San Vicente, Colombia

but in our system of government, I'm paid to put across the positions of my elected employers... "

IF VISITING WITH HOSTS WHO HAVE a penchant for kidnapping, such as the ELN and FARC in Colombia, it is as well to make known early on that your government has a policy of not paying ransom, that you carry no ransom insurance and (perhaps an embroidery on the truth, this) that your relatives have all been instructed not to pay up, should one be kidnapped — in a word, demonstrate that you are worthless. Once this distasteful matter is out of the way, then you can usually proceed to have a serious discussion.

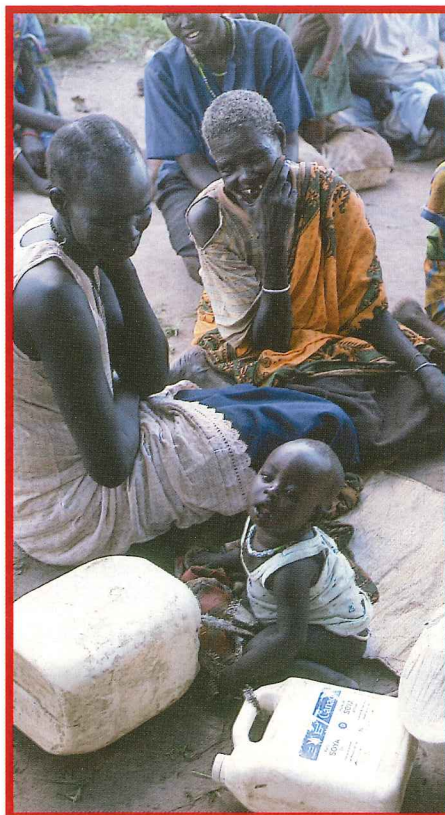
But it may be diplomatic to acquiesce with minor extortion. One late afternoon on the Putumayo River in Southern Colombia, our dugout was intercepted by a high-speed launch full of the usual cut-throats (FARC, I recall, but it could just as well have been the ELN or the equally illegal and more violent right-wing Paras). They silently went through all the papers of the dozen or so cowering civilians on board, leaving me — quite evidently and conspicuously a gringo, albeit unshaven — until last. To my great relief my nervously

proffered red passport elicited not the slightest interest.

But then their chief silently stabbed his finger at three of us, including me.

"Tú, tú y tú," he said rather superfluously. I thought the game was up
"500 pesos cada uno."

Refugees at Acumcum, SPLA-held south Sudan



Mystified, I paid up readily. Then there was a gruff explanation; the FARC was fining us for not wearing lifejackets.

YOU LEARN ALL SORTS OF UNUSUAL SKILLS behind rebel lines, and you never know when they will come in useful. I can now recognise from about ten miles away the differing engine sounds of an Antonov 12, a de Havilland Buffalo and a C-130 Hercules: an important skill in south Sudan, as at that time the Antonov invariably came with bombs, while the other two brought food supplies.

And one cold dawn high over the Andes, clattering along at the old Huey's maximum altitude limit and observing opium-spraying over rebel-held territory while the young Colombian gunners fingered their misnamed Mini-guns nervously, I had the temerity to ask the pilot over the intercom whether we could close the doors at least halfway, as it was freezing cold.

Angrily he turned around and yelled over the clatter:

"Idiota! It's so that if they use a SAM against us, it will go through one door and out of the other!"

Humbled and shocked, I slumped back.

A few seconds later he turned around again, this time with a broad smile.

"Just kidding! Actually, it's in case we crash; that way the rescuers have a better chance of getting you out. . ." ③

Nicholas Coghlan, after establishing Canada's first permanent diplomatic presence in dry Sudan, is now enjoying the vineyards and other earthly delights of Cape Town, South Africa; his book on his experiences in Colombia will be published this fall by McGill-Queens University Press.

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Kathy's Gift of Literacy

One of the developing world's most successful literacy projects is unfolding in Ghana, West Africa, thanks to the energy and commitment of Kathy Knowles, a 48-year-old Canadian woman. With a tiny budget and an expansive vision, Kathy has, almost single-handedly, transformed the lives of thousands of Ghanaian children.

by Deborah Cowley

The Osu Children's Library Fund (OCLF), the organization she founded in 1991, has grown faster and bigger than anyone ever imagined. In just over a decade, they have built, staffed, furnished and stocked with books four large community libraries in the capital, Accra. Elsewhere in the country, they have helped launch over 120 smaller libraries. Each one is unique but they are all based on the same simple philosophy: to offer children, as young as possible, the chance to discover the joy of reading.

Today, these libraries are filled to overflowing with children enthusiastic about books and about reading. With each passing year, the side-effects multiply: their school grades improve as do their chances for employment.



Unlikely beginnings

This far-reaching project started almost by chance. In 1989, Kathy was posted to Ghana with her husband, John, a chartered accountant working for a mining company in Accra. It was a daunting experience for this young woman: it was the first time she had ever traveled outside Canada and she was taking along three young children, aged 3, 5 and 7, with another on the way. She was a nurse by training so after her fourth child was born and the family was well settled in, she began working two mornings a week as a clinic nurse at the Canadian High Commission.

On her days off, Kathy enjoyed spending time with her four children. They all loved story books, so each afternoon she filled a laundry hamper with her children's favorite books and carried it into the garden of their home. Seemingly oblivious to the pounding sun and scorching temperatures, she gathered her youngsters around her, sat down under the arched branches of a scarlet red flamboyant tree and started to read.

This after-school story time became a much-loved ritual for the Knowles' family. Before long, the children told some of

their friends and they too joined the circle. Word spread and every day, more and more youngsters flocked through the gate. Kathy welcomed them all as she ushered them into her garden and sat them down with the others.

Storybooks are virtually unknown in Ghana so Kathy's reading circles were a magnet for Ghanaian children. By the end of that first month, 70 youngsters sat mesmerized by her tales. "They would sit on the steps of the verandah or on the lawn, anywhere they could find a spot," she recalls. "Obviously this was something they didn't have in their lives and which they loved."

As numbers continued to swell, Kathy was determined to find a way for still more children to have access to her books. So she emptied their garage, added shelves, small tables and stools, tacked up posters and created a library register. She then wrote to family and friends in Canada asking for donations of new and used children's books. And on each trip back from their semi-annual leave in Canada, she stuffed books into every spare corner of the family's luggage.

Kathy called her tiny refitted garage the Osu Avenue Library, after the name of her

street. It opened for two hours on Mondays and Thursdays and within three months membership reached 150, with as many more on a waiting list. She hired a university student to read stories to the children and recruited Joanna Felih, her housekeeper, to manage the librarian duties. "Joanna was quick to learn the rudiments of running a library and was so caring with those youngsters. In no time, she became the most perfect librarian."

The new library was a revelation to these children. They live in a country where a laborer's wage is little more than \$75 a month and where large families often live crowded together in one or two small rooms. Many parents cannot afford the modest school fees so their children grow up unable to read and write, dimming their prospects for ever finding work. The luckier ones who go to school rarely see a book other than the dog-eared school texts they must share with their classmates.

The tiny Osu Avenue Library ran like clockwork. Not only did it give hundreds of children a chance to expand their horizons, but it also provided Kathy with a whole new focus to her life. But as her project touched the lives of more and more children, she became worried: her husband's job in Ghana would be ending in two years' time and they would need to leave their house and the garage. What would happen to the library that had become such a life-line for so many children?

She debated long and hard and finally decided to look for something more permanent, a larger space where she could accommodate more children. The task was tougher than she expected. "I walked up and down the street for weeks looking for somewhere to rent, but there was nothing," she sighed.

Purchasing land in Ghana was a complicated process and any building project required a convoluted set of permissions. "I can't tell you how many times I nearly gave up," she said. But she soldiered on. She wrote long letters to government officials, but received no reply. She visited their offices and was passed from one person to the next. She bombarded them with phone calls but they didn't answer. Whenever she felt defeated, she thought about the children she was trying to help. "Stubborn is the word," she admitted. "I just kept hammering away."

Her determination paid off. Through a chance meeting, a Ghanaian friend heard her plight and donated a small slice of

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vacant land on police property. Soon after, she received the necessary permission to erect a 'temporary' structure on the land.

She then canvassed local businesses and raised the necessary US\$1200 to purchase a 40-foot long shipping container which she moved to the donated property. An army of volunteers helped to lay the concrete, raise the roof of the container, cut out windows, enlarge the door and build an awning at the entrance. They painted it inside and out and posted up brightly colored banners. They lined the walls with shelves, then moved in all the books and puzzles and small-scale furniture. Outside, they planted a small garden with a deep pink bougainvillea bush to frame the doorway.

A sparkling new library

Joanna was by now fully experienced in running a library so she became the chief librarian. Kathy hired and trained one of her neighbors, Abigail Elisha ("another perfect gem"), to help her. After months of negotiation, the local government agreed to pay the staff salaries. Finally, on November 13, 1992, the sparkling new Osu Children Library officially opened. In a gesture that makes Kathy blush with embarrassment, the local directors later changed the name to the Kathy Knowles Community Library to honor its founder.

The new library opened six days a week and was an immediate hit. From the start, Kathy set fiercely high standards and expected everyone to respect them. She planted a plastic wash basin, a towel and soap at the doorway so children could wash and dry their hands and remove their shoes before entering. Once when a top government official visited the library, he was taken aback when he too was asked to follow the rules.

Children were also given careful instruction on how to care for the books. "Before any child can use a book, they must learn how to turn the pages carefully without tearing them," she emphasized. "This is very important in a country where both the dust and humidity limit the life of books."

A chunk of the running costs of each library are raised by the staff and children themselves. Every year, they organize a sponsored walk, Terry Fox style, which involves dozens of children who run or walk from the zoo to the library. Other funds and most of the books come from Canadian donors. Kathy

insists that all children using the library be made aware of the help coming from Canada and that they write letters of thanks which she forwards to all Canadian donors. "This way the children realize that these books did not come from me: they came from a lot of friends 3,000 miles away."

Every day, there were more and more children who turned up to register as members. As the children buried themselves in books, Kathy became aware that many of their parents, as well as many children who were unable to go to school, had never learned to read or write and yearned for the chance to learn. So she set up free literacy classes in one corner of the library. These have continued to expand and have given new opportunities to many.

Training for librarians

News of the new library spread and before long, teachers and individuals from Accra and beyond came seeking help in setting up their own libraries. So Kathy designed a three-week librarian training course, run by Joanna, which is described in a small booklet "How to Set Up Community Libraries for Children" (available on the web site). On the completion of the course, each participant receives a "librarian certificate" and a box of books and wooden puzzles. If the library is well-run, they receive another box of books. Since 1993, small libraries — they could be a room in a school or simply a group of children sitting under a tree — have sprung up in over 120 communities around the country. Three of them are named after Kathy Knowles; all of them bear her unique imprint.

Return to Canada

In 1993, when the Knowles family returned to Canada after John's posting ended, many feared Kathy's projects would collapse. They needn't have worried. Her well-trained library staff carried on in Ghana and sent her monthly reports. She named two Ghanaian women directors, both school headmistresses, to help raise funds locally and oversee the libraries. Says one, Florence Adjepong: "Kathy always gives people the means to help themselves. That's why things worked, even though she was thousands of miles away."

Once back in Canada, the family moved to Winnipeg and Kathy barely paused for breath. Working from the top floor of her Winnipeg home and bolstered by a team of dedicated volunteers, she set up a registered charity, the Osu Children's Library Fund

(OCLF), to raise money in Canada to expand existing projects and launch future ones. Her volunteers receive and sort, clean and pack the mountains of books that accumulate in her dining room and hallway ("We check every book for suitability and to make certain it is clean and in good condition"). Her family also pitches in: her children have done more than their share of repairing and packing books while her husband John "constantly cheers her on from the sidelines" and takes charge of the home front while Kathy is away.

An ambitious new project

Even though Kathy was now miles away from Ghana, it didn't stop her from hatching an ambitious new project: to build another bigger library in Nima, a poor and densely populated section of Accra. Working from afar, by fax and phone, she once again began her relentless attack on the government to obtain the required permission, then raised the necessary US\$25,000 from companies and friends in Ghana and Canada. On her next visit to Ghana, she located a patch of barren land, persuaded officials to hand over a derelict building, then dragooned local businesses and service clubs to help renovate the place, from laying the concrete floors and floor tiles (donated by a friendly supporter) to painting inside and out (another freebie from a paint company). She found a carpenter to make wooden tables and small chairs and shelves, planted paw-paw trees and flowering shrubs around the building and erected a sign which read "Sharing the Joy of Reading". And on June 8, 1998, in a glittering ceremony attended by high-ranking officials and tribal chiefs, they opened the Nima Maamobi Gale Community Library. It is easily recognizable by two giant flagpoles with Canadian and Ghanaian flags flapping side by side.

Today, the Nima Library is as spotless and colourful as the day it opened and it sparkles with Kathy's spirit and ingenuity. The shelves are filled with clean, top-quality books neatly arranged on shelves. Boxes of wooden puzzles and educational games are laid out in one corner. Colourful banners and patchwork quilts stitched by the children cover the walls, along with children's drawings and posters. Throughout the day, its three rooms are packed with eager readers supervised by a staff of seven under the watchful eye of chief librarian Hannah Agyeman, whom

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Kathy calls "one of the most dedicated human beings I know".

The outside of the library is equally striking. In stark contrast to the dusty playing field it borders, there is a large garden with flowering bushes, trees and, as a gesture to Canada, a small stone Inuksuk discretely nestled among the plants. At the other end of the building, a large compost provides an excellent teaching tool for the children and staff who are encouraged to "feed" and tend the compost bin which helps nourish the plants.

The demand for admission to the Nima Library is insatiable: today, there is a registration of 10,000 children, with an average daily attendance of well over 300. This means the staff have resorted to staggering the hours in order to accommodate the ever-increasing numbers. "What happens in that place is phenomenal," says Emma Amoo-Gotfried, one of the two Ghanaian Directors. "The world had given up on most of those kids until they entered that library. Suddenly a whole new world has opened up for them."

In the seven years since it opened, the library has developed in ways far beyond reading books. A savings and credit group started so women can raise funds to launch small trading businesses. They deposit the equivalent of 11 cents a week and at year's end, Knowles and an anonymous donor match their savings. Another Canadian donor provides funds for free lunches for three dozen of the poorest children. There is a stamp club, a wildlife club, a drumming group, a dance troupe and a choir. There is a very popular soccer team and this year, a young library member has started up the first ever women's soccer team. A deaf teacher has visited to teach sign language and a blind friend has offered lessons in Braille. "We are always looking for ways to create new awareness," says Kathy.

Setting an example

The Nima Library also holds literacy classes where over sixty mothers, grandmothers and school dropouts learn to read and write, most for the first time. I watched a 65-year-old woman who, a month earlier, did not even know how to hold a pencil but now painstakingly spelled out her name in an exercise book, then held it up proudly for me to see. "This literacy program is one of the most far-reaching projects," says Emma Amoo Gottfried. "It's magical when you see the transformation of these people who arrived

shy and ashamed. Now they are happy and confident and their faces light up when they say 'Now I can read.'"

"And what is even more important is that, as in all her ventures, Kathy is setting an example. She is showing what can be done with relatively small resources. People all over the country are learning from her."

Buoyed by the huge success of the Nima Library, Kathy continued to respond to further requests for libraries in other impoverished corners of Accra. In June 2001, she opened the Mamproby

Community Library in the Mamproby district of Accra and in 2003, the Nungua Community Library opened on the outskirts of the capital. In both cases, Kathy acted as contractor — even though she was on another continent — working through e-mail and phone with architects and designers and masons to discuss a myriad of details. "She is a master at getting people to help her out," says Richard Beattie, a former CIDA officer who once turned his own apartment into a book storage area during a posting to

Accra. "You simply can't say 'no' to Kathy. Some of us nicknamed her 'The velvet steamroller.'"

Kathy's newest project shows as much imagination as all her others. As she watched the Nima Library grow increasingly overcrowded and saw many of the original children developing broader visions and expanding needs, she decided to erect a two-storey building immediately behind the library. The still-to-be-built Nima Learning Centre will provide space for the increasingly-popular cultural activities — theatre, singing, dancing, drumming — and, on the upper floor, a badly-needed study area and a reference library for the older students who live in such cramped and noisy quarters. The municipality has already donated the land, the sod has been turned and work will begin in the fall of 2004 with the opening planned for late in 2005.

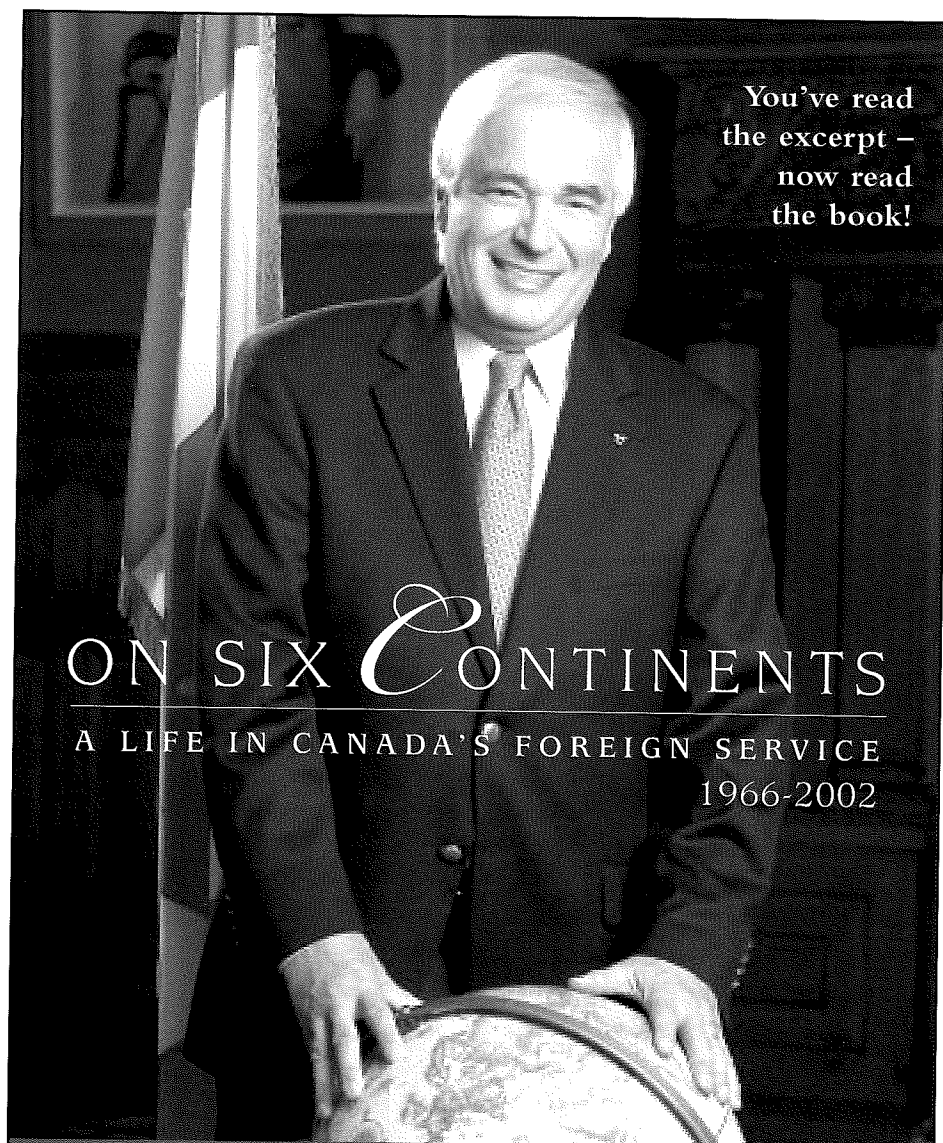
Things have come a long way since that first tiny circle of children sat under the flamboyant tree with Kathy Knowles. All over the country, there are thousands of children whose lives have been changed through their access to books. Robert Fowler, the Personal Representative of the Prime Minister for Africa, visited the Nima Library in December 2002 during a G8 meeting and wrote to Kathy: "It was wonderfully inspiring to see your project replace hopelessness with pride and hopefulness on the faces of so many Ghanaians. What you have achieved through your perseverance, your inspiration and determination in promoting both education and literacy is a model for all of us and, for that, I wish to express my deepest gratitude." ☺

Deborah Cowley is an Ottawa-based writer and broadcaster. She served as a foreign-service spouse for 25 years with postings in Washington, Cairo, London and Brussels.

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[A DOUGLAS GIBSON BOOK]

A Canadian In Japan

by Ross Francis

Nearly a century before Canada opened its Embassy in Tokyo in 1929, a young Canadian, Ranald Macdonald, attempted single handed to break through Japan's closed society. Although he apparently failed, his efforts indirectly contributed to the opening of Japan to the West.

Macdonald was born in the Oregon Territory in 1824, the son of a Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor, Archibald McDonald, and a Chinook Indian, Princess Raven, daughter of Chief Comcomly. His mother died shortly after his birth. When his father remarried, he was brought up by his stepmother as one of her own, unaware until years later of his native heritage. He spent his early years with his family at various trading posts throughout the West before being sent to school at the Red River Academy in the future Winnipeg. After he graduated his father arranged for him to become a clerk in an Ontario bank owned by one of his friends. Macdonald found this stifling and looked for something more adventuresome. He thought of Japan.

As Macdonald explains in his memoirs, through his upbringing in what are now Washington and British Columbia he was conscious of Japan as the next neighbour to the West. For over 200 years it had cut itself off from the world. Its citizens were forbidden to travel abroad. Macdonald knew of Japanese fishermen who had been carried by storms as far as the west coast of North America; because of their possible exposure to alien ways they were not allowed to come back home. Foreigners were not allowed to land in Japan, apart from a handful of Dutch confined to their trading factory in Nagasaki. Macdonald wondered about Japan's people, their manner of life, their wealth, their feelings towards other peoples, especially their neighbours to the east. "I resolved, within myself, to personally solve the mystery if possible, at any cost of effort — yea life itself."

Macdonald signed on as a crew member of an American whaler in the Pacific, the *Plymouth*, on the understanding that once the ship's hold was full of oil and it was ready to return to the States he would be dropped off in the Sea of Japan to make his way to shore in the guise of a shipwrecked sailor. On June 28, 1848, he was set adrift in a ship's boat near some small islands off northern Hokkaido. He was picked up by Ainu fishermen and taken to their village. These he

considered similar physically but not in character to the North West Coast Indians among whom he had grown up. Uncouth and wild, both in appearance and dress, they compared very unfavourably with the clean, refined and cultivated Japanese on the mainland to whom they turned him over. To the local authorities Macdonald explained as best he could in a mix of languages and gestures his desire to live among them, but they shipped him by junk to Matsmae in southern Hokkaido. The authorities there similarly ignored his pleas and sent him on, also by junk, to Nagasaki. Travelling by sea and usually carried in a closed palanquin when on land, he had disappointingly little opportunity to see the country on the way. However he did observe the daily life of his fellow travellers, including their clothes, food and drink. He was particularly impressed by the fact that all were educated to read and write, even among the lower classes, apparently always carrying brushes and paper to do so. He admired their books and well-executed woodprints. (He also noted they carried paper for blowing their noses — the Japanese evidently anticipated Kleenex.)

Shortly after his arrival in Nagasaki, Macdonald was taken before the Governor for what appears to have been something between a formal interview and a trial. He was accompanied to this by an interpreter, Enosuke Moriyama, whom he described as the most intelligent person he met in Japan. He was intrigued to find that to demonstrate he was not a Roman Catholic he was expected to step on a bronze plate with an image of the Virgin and Child at the entrance to the court — "being a Protestant, I unhesitatingly did so." When Macdonald was asked about his religious views during the interview, however, Moriyama tactfully refrained from translating his recitation of the Apostles' Creed. In a subsequent interview he was asked about whaling off Japanese shores. He attempted without success to convince his interviewers that Japan could profitably replace the Sandwich Islands or Hong Kong as a supply base for the whalers. Evidently Macdonald managed at these and later inter-

views to convince the authorities that he was neither a spy nor a troublemaker. Although they decided to confine him until he could be sent home on the next Dutch trading ship, he was otherwise treated quite well.

Once Macdonald's examination was over, Moriyama and thirteen other interpreters became increasingly friendly, coming almost daily for language lessons. Their primary duties involved working with the small Dutch settlement, but they were interested in broadening their knowledge of other European languages. One at a time they would read to Macdonald in English. He would correct their pronunciation and explain as best he could the meaning and construction of the passages. He found it difficult for them to make some of the English sounds, particularly the consonants. He reported that they could not pronounce, except very imperfectly, the letter *L*. They also had a habit of adding an *i* or *o* at the end after a consonant. As a result his name came out as Ranardo Macdonardo, with a short burr of the *r*. On the other hand they learned grammar readily. They were all quick and responsive. He decided that he must have a natural aptitude as a teacher — of which he had no idea until developed by the effort. He reported it was a pleasure to teach them.

Although Macdonald considered that his residence was really a prison, for he had no liberty beyond it, a variety of people visited him: men of all sorts — students, officers, priests and people in general of the respectable class — came to stare at him, as a natural curiosity. The only time he saw women, however, came when the Captain of the guard asked his consent to bring his wife, daughter and three of their friends. Of course Macdonald agreed, because he wanted to see what Japanese women looked like. They entered giggling. He reported that their general expression of countenance was that of smiling good nature and artlessness calculated to make a favourable impression. Otherwise, as they shuffled in and out in their long gowns, he thought they looked more like moving bundles of loose clothes than anything else. When he missed the Captain

afterwards, he enquired about him and was told his head had been chopped off for breaking the law by bringing women to the prison. Macdonald found this hard to believe.

In April 1849, the American naval corvette *Preble* arrived to pick up thirteen Americans who had deserted their whaling ship. Their experience had been very different from Macdonald's. They lacked his motivation and education, resented being held in prison and appear to have quarrelled constantly among themselves as well as with their guards. Their terms of captivity were correspondingly harsher. The Japanese must have been particularly glad to get rid of them. The captain of the *Preble* was unaware of Macdonald's presence in the country, but readily agreed to take him as well. Since the Oregon Territory in which he had been born had recently been ceded by the British to the United States he could in any case plausibly claim to be American. Macdonald had suspected that other seamen might be held captives, because he had seen their graffiti in one of the places he had been held en route to Nagasaki and had been puzzled by the interpreters' enquiries about the meaning of various nautical terms and sailors' slang. He met them for the first time just before they were transferred to the care of the Dutch Chief Factor preparatory to boarding the *Preble*.

After a ten-month stay, including seven months teaching English to the interpreters, Macdonald left Japan — his private mission to open the country to the West an apparent failure. He was debriefed by an officer of the *Preble*, whose report eventually formed part of a U.S. Senate document. Macdonald went on to the Australian gold fields before returning to work in various enterprises in western North America. For the rest of his life he regaled friends and no doubt bored strangers with stories of his Japanese adventures. When he died in 1894 his last word was reportedly "sayonara". However he missed the opportunity to write about his experiences while they were still topical. When he and a friend, Malcolm McLeod, finally completed them, a proposal to publish them in 1892 under the title "A Canadian in Japan" fell through for lack of interest. A revised version finally appeared only in 1923.

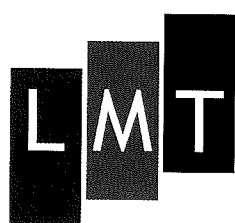
In 1853, four years after Macdonald's departure, a very different visitor arrived off Tokyo Bay. Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry and his black ships — heavily armed frigates — arrived with a letter from President Millard Fillmore requesting Japan to open its ports to American ships and trade. Leaving the Japanese a few weeks to ponder their reply, he returned in early 1854 with an even stronger fleet: three steamers and four sailing ships. Threatening to force his way into Edo (Tokyo) if his terms were not accepted,

he succeeded in negotiating the Treaty of Kanagawa, signed March 31. This provided for the opening of two ports to American ships wishing to buy supplies, protection for shipwrecked Americans and the opening of an American consulate at Shimoda, near Tokyo. Within a few years similar treaties were concluded with the British and Russians. A general opening of trade with the West followed. The Tokugawa shogunate itself failed to survive the collapse of its policy of splendid isolation.

Perry and his heavily armed fleet apparently succeeded in opening Japan where Macdonald and his one-man effort had failed. Nevertheless there was a close connection

between the two. When Perry and his team negotiated the Treaty one of their principal interlocutors was Macdonald's friend Moriyama. Others of the interpreters he helped train were also involved. Apart from their knowledge of English, they undoubtedly also helped sensitize the Japanese side to the realities of dealing with Westerners. Perhaps it can be said that Canadian soft power helped pave the way for the successful exercise of American hard power. ☺

Ross Francis was Canadian High Commissioner to Malaysia and Ambassador to Finland.



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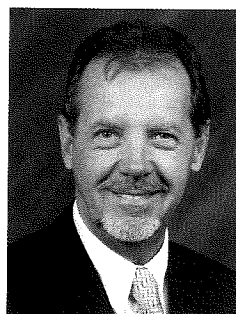
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Losing it in Chinatown

I sat on the veranda

of a small temple in a quiet Chinatown garden surrounded by low buildings. Bright flowers edged winding paths and a stream trickled among weathered stones. Three black and white birds swooped among the temple eaves, the mid-afternoon sun glinting off their iridescent tail-feathers. I pointed them out to the man beside me, who looked up from a lapful of legal papers, muttered, "*Corvids. Pica pica*, or perhaps *pica nuttalli*," and dived back into his work. D Essex Mackinaw isn't exactly a founding father of the Sons of Fun. Most people's PDA is a Blackberry, he carries a Prune. But he was a paying client, so I was prepared to cut him some slack.

We had been waiting half an hour for my guy Friday to show up. Effie had taken a long lunch — he'd been gone since Thursday. It was for a good cause — he helped a literacy project fronted by a band called Rock Bottom Reminders (motto: Learn to Read or We'll Come Back and Sing "MacArthur Park" Again). But enough was enough. Making small talk with Mackinaw was like gargling with sand. So I asked him what he wanted.

He replaced the stylus in the PDA and said, "We were on opposite sides of the Zabaglione case, but I admired your work. When another client got into difficulty, I thought of you. As you know, a man called Louie Lee was recently killed on this veranda." I'd read about the case. And I knew Loquat Louie, from growing up nearby. Louie was a fruit-seller who saved me more than once from the street gangs. He taught me a lot, and I felt bad I hadn't seen him for years. Mackinaw went on. "After retirement, Mr. Lee lived in this temple and tended the garden, an inheritance from his father. The rest of the block is owned by his brother-in-law, motorcycle magnate C Harley Chan. Ten days ago, Mr. Lee's teenage son, Hai, brought dinner to the panda living behind the temple. Then he entered the temple to pick up three of his Uncle Harley's hardwood statues for repair. Thereby becoming the proverbial bear-food boy."

"...with teaks of Chan," finished Effie, coming up behind him. Neither cracked a smile. Uncanny. Mackinaw said, "Hai Lee stumbled over his father's body at the foot of the steps. The old man's cane is still leaning against the railing there. After talking to witnesses, the police arrested Hai Lee for the murder. The evidence against him is as follows. First, he and Mr. Lee had a loud argument earlier that day in this garden. Several small thefts had taken place around the block, and Mr. Lee concluded his son was responsible. He threatened to call the police unless Hai Lee confessed on his own. Hai Lee denied the accusation in the most violent terms. Second, the blow that killed Mr. Lee was delivered by one of the statues that Hai Lee had been sent to obtain. He told the police that there were only two in the temple and he found the third beside his father's body. Finally, Hai Lee's cellphone was beneath Mr. Lee's body. Hai Lee says he had given the phone to his father the previous day, when Mr. Lee expressed fear that he was being followed. The police are scornful."

"Tough breaks for the kid," I said to Mackinaw. "Who else had the chance and a reason to cosh poor Louie?" Mackinaw replied, "The street gates to the garden were locked, but the tenants of five buildings have direct access to the garden, so it could have been any of them or their henchmen. No-one has an alibi. As to motive, all five were pressing Mr. Lee desperately to sell the garden, but he refused. Hai Lee is his father's heir and shared his views on preserving the garden, but a murderer cannot inherit from his victim. If Hai Lee is convicted, the property will go to Mr. Chan. I believe that my client is innocent of both murder and theft, however. So who was following Mr. Lee? And who is the thief? Either could be the murderer as well." I said, "Good questions. If we want the police to release Hai Lee, we'll have to give them the real crooks. First, we'll need more on the other suspects. Will they see us?" Mackinaw nodded. "I've already taken the liberty of contacting them. As executor of the Lee estate, I told them that I had hired you to look into the thefts. I am confident that you will be able to

work other questions into the conversation." We set out.

Harley Chan greeted us in his apartment above the motorcycle showroom. His head wrapped in bandages, he looked like Claude Rains playing the invisible man. "It's tough to talk about this," he began, "but my medical condition is important to understanding the theft. The men in my family have this genetic disorder. As we reach 50, we start looking like Warner Oland, the actor who played Charlie Chan in some really bad movies. Our name is also Chan, so you can see the problem. But plastic surgery gives me the chance to reverse the process. The first step is to laser-scan my face. The resulting 3D image can be used to rebuild it as I age. But someone might use the laser file to create a double of me. That would be trouble. So I hold onto the only copy, on a mini-CD like this one." He showed us a small, bright disk with an oily play of surface colour. "I took the real one from my safe for a consultation with the surgeon, and left it on my desk when I took him to his car. When I came back, it was gone. I know I locked the study door, because I had to unlock it when I got back. There are no other keys and the only window is that one overlooking the garden, too small for a grown man." I noticed it was probably big enough for Hai Lee. So had Louie, apparently. I asked Harley about garden. "Louie and I always disagreed on that. He wanted to keep it in memory of his father. I think that progress and money are more important than sentiment. If I get my hands on that land, it'll be sold inside a week."

Melba Mouse-Over, our second call, was a sweet-looking old lady who offered us tea and cookies. "You want to know about the theft of my pendant. It is a crystal carving of a deer, a male deer, that I got in a box of rice flakes. I know it was sent by my dear Senator, since it arrived the day after he split up with that awful Donna Rice." Effie observed, "A cereal monogamist." Melba went on, "Naturally, I keep the charm close by. A few weeks ago, I was just outside the garden door doing my yoga, when I fell asleep. In my dream, I felt something tug at

my throat. When I woke up, the pendant was gone and its chain was lying on the ground." Her butler, a tough-looking Polish punk named Palin Romanski, added, "That's a strange thing. Although Ms. Mouse-Over's pendant is not worth a lot of money, the chain is solid gold." Melba was also ready to tell us why she wanted the garden. "Two months ago, I got a mysterious phone call from John Huston, the producer." Effie interrupted, "But Huston has been dead since 1987." She nodded. "That's what made it so mysterious. But he and I used to be...close. While he was working around here on the movie *Chinatown*, he told me, he hid the treasure of Sierra Madre in that very garden. Now he wants me to have it. Isn't that sweet?" This one was clearly several bullets short of a bandolier. Since I couldn't think of anything sensible, I asked, "How will you find the treasure?" Her face went hard, "With a back-hoe and dynamite if necessary!" She took a sip of tea and the veil slipped back into place. "Another biscuit, Mr. Dikk?"

Next up was Aylmer Phudd. He was directing a gang tearing out the inner walls of his building to create a long room from the street to the garden. A short, round man in a bad toupee and elevator shoes, he cheerfully admitted he wanted the garden as an annex to his new Nirvana Take-out. "At first, I tried a rabbit restaurant, but couldn't work out the bugs. Now I'm trying a Buddhist hamburger joint." Mackinaw protested, "Buddhists are vegetarian." "I know," replied Phudd. "And no-one has ever worked up a veggie burger that didn't taste like a burnt alfalfa hockey puck. But mine are 100% processed lousewort, with a special ingredient that makes them taste like steak. I'm so upset about the theft — the thief took a small chrome phial of the secret formula. If it gets into the wrong hands, it could be copied." I pressed him on the details. "I was in the temple, trying to get Lee to sell. I took out the phial and foolishly left it on the veranda railing when we went in for tea. I remembered it no more than a minute later, but when I rushed out, it was gone." As we left, his assistant, his name-badge reading Beauregard T Corncrake, handed us flyers on a contest for a slogan to introduce Phudd's top new burger, the Big Buddha. I tossed mine pronto, but Effie pocketed his.

As we crossed the garden, Mackinaw predicted we wouldn't get much from Lord Elgin. "Overdose of stiff upper lip?" I asked. Mackinaw explained that Elgin was neither British nor an aristocrat. "Lord is his legal first name. His parents were either deeply Christian or a pair of far-sighted scam artists who saw the potential of such a name and were not worried about divine vengeance." I replied, "Why doesn't anyone ask them the reason?" "They were struck by a thunderbolt as they left the birth registry, so most people incline to the second theory." "Could be a coincidence," I said. He replied, "They were still

inside City Hall at the time. Anyway, young Elgin grew up in their footsteps. He says that he will convert the garden to a motocross track. He could do it, as Harley Chan had the whole block re-zoned when he built his showroom. No-one believes that Elgin would really build the track, but the threat to property values would allow him to demand a truly exorbitant pay-off. By the way, Elgin is also a collector of rare children's toys." Mackinaw was right on Elgin's reluctance to discuss real estate. But he did demand that

Another disorienting A Aalto adventure with Shamus Dikk

something be done about the thief. "I was playing a quick game of ringer on one of the garden pathways, when my assistant called me to the phone." He gestured to a thin, dark man earlier introduced as Lunasombra Mondschaten. When we got back, two of my best shooters — star sapphires — were gone. The only other person in the garden was that young greaser Lee, but he claimed he saw nothing."

We moved on to Bertha de Kuhl, free-lance assassin and pyjama maker. "I didn't know you were in town," I greeted her. "Hope you don't get arrested again." She replied with a careful smile, "I wouldn't have been arrested the last time, if you hadn't been working the case. But I've gone straight. I need the garden to set up a martial arts school. That temple is from the Shaolin Academy, brought over in pieces by Lee's grandfather. It's falling down but priceless as a symbol. It'd put my school on the map." I asked about the theft. She replied, "You need an edge. My edge has always been cool — maximum cool, as delivered by father's Kuhl Ray. It's been improved. The new martial arts version lets students do those slow-motion stunts you see in *The Matrix*. We'd make a fortune. I was in this room, stripping the ray at the table, when the fire bell went off. By the time I found it was a false alarm, the diamond from the beam mechanism was missing. Since I never left the corridor outside the door, the only way to get out was through the open French doors to the balcony. But we're on the third floor and the walls of the building are like glass." Her security chief added, "I was standing in the garden right under the balcony when the alarm went off. I would have seen anyone leaving that way." He was another old acquaintance, 22 Tony McTeague.

It was dusk when the three of us headed back to the temple. Effie mused, "So Bertha's lost her cool, Harley's lost face, Phudd's lost his appetite, Melba's lost hart and Lord Elgin's lost his marbles. Some of the thefts seem impossible, others make no sense. And everyone had a reason — greed — to kill Loquat Louie, personally or through a henchman. Where do we go from here?"

Then he shouted, "There's a ninja on the veranda. And he's stealing Louie's cane!" Mackinaw tutted, "Wrong cultural stereotype. Ninjas are Japanese." Effie dashed up the steps, while I vaulted the railing. The railing won. Effie grabbed the cane by its handle, but the ninja wouldn't let go. Linked by the bamboo stick, they staggered down the steps. As they reached bottom, Mackinaw stuck out a foot from his hiding place in a bush and the ninja tripped. But so did Effie, who landed on Mackinaw. When the dust had settled, the ninja was speeding out the street gate with part of the cane. Effie was brandishing the other end, and some rolled-up papers slipped out. Taking them over to the temple lantern, I found a last message from Louie. "He knew he was being followed, and was afraid of being killed before he could pass on what he knew. So he wrote it all down, disguised it as a puzzle — a chart with instructions on filling it out."

The chart can be filled in with 20 phrases, each one referring to loss in some way, based on the following clues:

- (a) Commander Cody's band;
- (b) where unclaimed goods are sent;
- (c) what Clementine was;
- (d) 60s CBS sci-fi TV show and 1998 William Hurt film;
- (e) what an accountant calculates as the bottom line;
- (f) James Hilton novel and Frank Capra film;
- (g) Atlantis, after the event;
- (h) Shakespeare's comedy hit of 1590;
- (i) Hemingway, Fitzgerald (et al) in Paris in the 20s, according to Gertrude Stein;
- (j) be forced to retreat;
- (k) Conan Doyle adventure story with Professor Challenger;
- (l) what the Moody Blues were searching for in '68;
- (m) Reuben, Simeon, Issachar and Dan, among others;
- (n) someone who takes failure badly;
- (o) ce que Monsieur Proust cherchait;
- (p) Peter Pan's troop;
- (q) Ray Milland film of 1945;
- (r) I got disoriented;
- (s) Milton's epic poem of 1667;
- (t) the method used to cast small objects in metal.

Reading down the column between the diamonds gives you a line from a song, also mentioning loss. Writing down the letters in the

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In the end, it all worked out. We proved that Hai Lee was not a murderer or a thief, so Mackinaw paid our fee — in cash, from a clutch purse, one bill at a time. Effie won the contest

Can you duplicate Shamus and Effie's feat by identifying (a) the person who followed and killed Loquat Louie; (b) the thief; and (c) the location of the stolen goods? **bout de papier** will decide the winner by drawing from a box containing all correct answers received by September 30, 2004. The winner will receive a book autographed by A Aalto. Not necessary for the answer, but can you work out the 20 "lost" references in the chart, the two song lines hidden there, the first line of the refrain and the words enciphered in the number sequence? And is it true you can tell that the Godfather has been reading semiotics, when he makes you an offer you can't understand? ☹

*Born in Tannu Tuva and raised by Patagonian missionaries on the Zambezi, free-lance prestidigitator **A Aalto** also lived as a child on the West Coast and has worked in the Far East. He has a weakness for borderlands like Chinatown. Rock Bottom Reminders actually exists and has included such members as Stephen King, Dave Barry, Carl Hiaasen and Amy Tan. Reportedly, they are really bad, although in a good cause.*

[illegible]

The references in the Flower Show Quiz are as follows: (1) The Yellow Rose of Texas. (2) The White Rose of Athens (3) The Golden Rose of Montreux (4) The White Rose of York (5) The Red Rose of Lancaster (6) The Purple Rose of Cairo (7) The White Rose of Stalingrad



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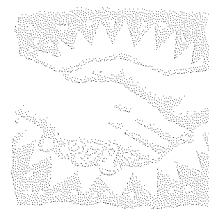
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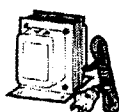
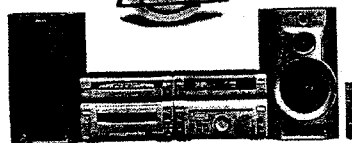


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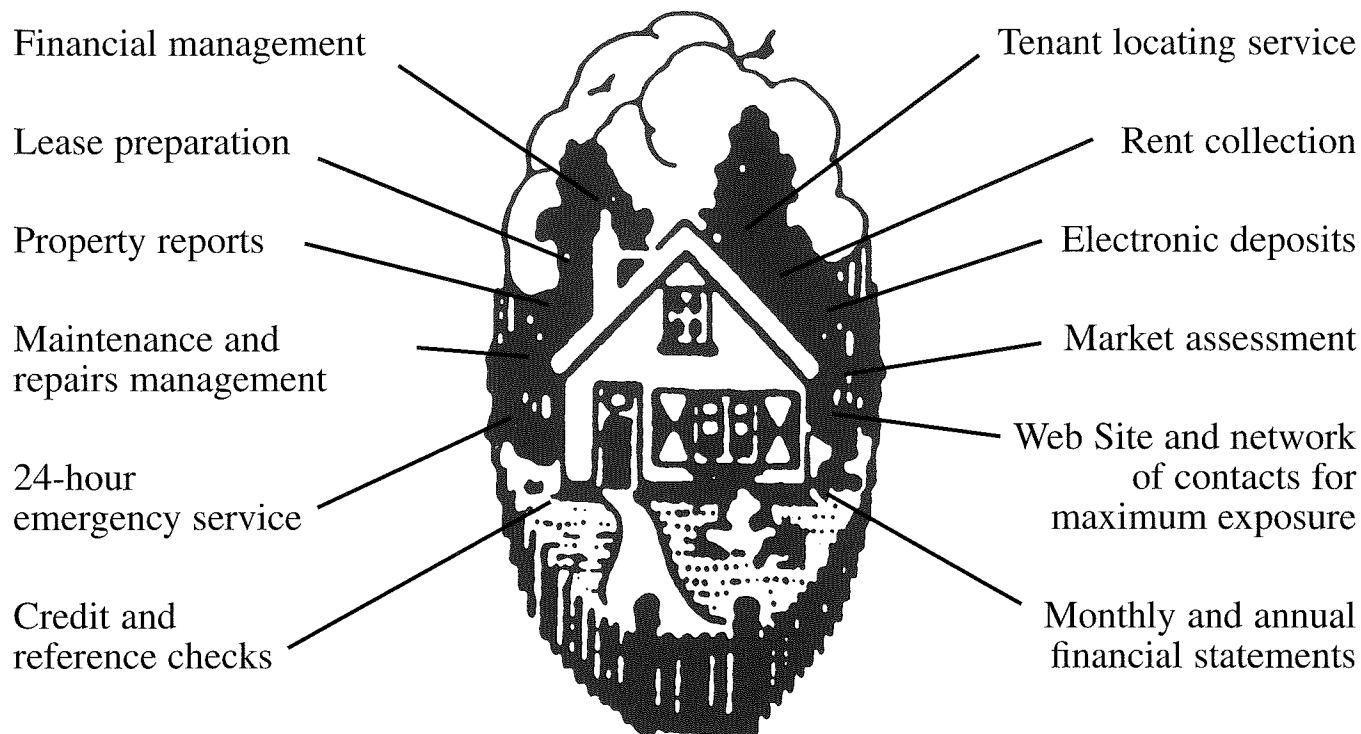
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