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Are Our Pensions at Risk? An Interview with Bernard Dussault

Proof of Life / La preuve de vie



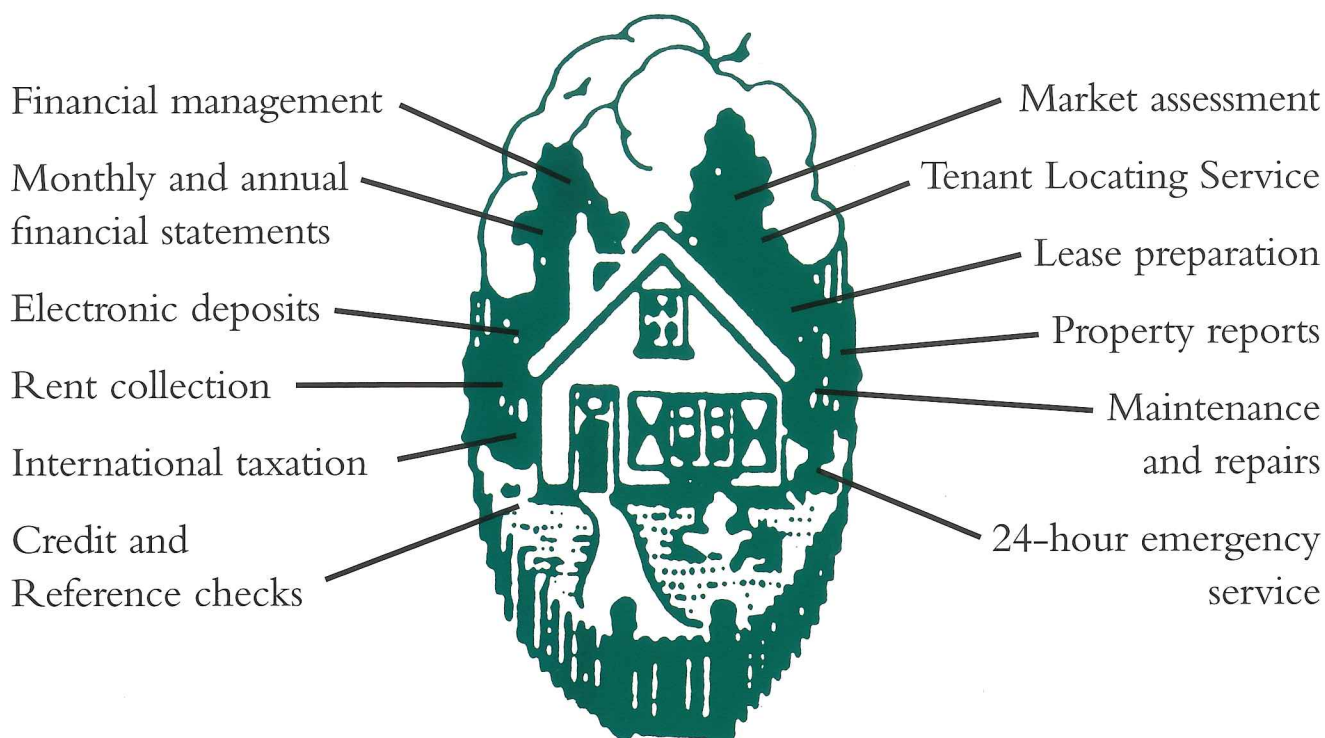
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All contents © PAFSO, 2012.

bout de papier is published quarterly by the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers, Suite 412, 47 Clarence Street, Ottawa, Canada K1N 9K1 613-241-1391, FAX 613-241-5911.

E-mail: boutdepapier@pafso-apase.com

Opinions expressed in **bout de papier** are not necessarily those of PAFSO.

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bout de papier est une publication trimestrielle de l'Association professionnelle des agents du Service extérieur, pièce 412, 47, rue Clarence, Ottawa, Canada K1N 9K1 613-241-1391, Téléc. 613-241-5911.

Courrier électronique : boutdepapier@pafso-apase.com

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Subscriptions / Abonnements :

One year, \$16; two years, \$30; Overseas add \$6 per year; USA add \$4 per year. Please advise of change of address. / Un an, 16 \$; deux ans, 30 \$; outre-mer, ajouter 6 \$ par année; É.-U., ajouter 4 \$ par année. Prière d'avertir de tout changement d'adresse.

ISSN 0833-9864

bout de papier

Canada's Magazine of Diplomacy and Foreign Service
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SPRING 2012 /
PRINTEMPS 2012

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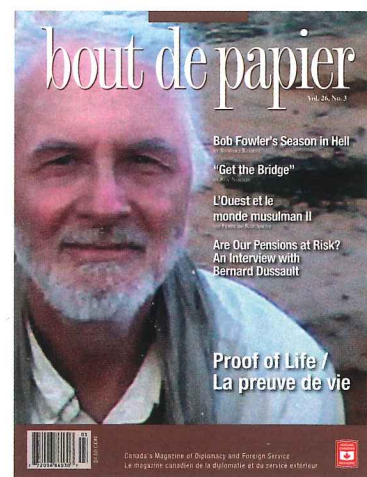
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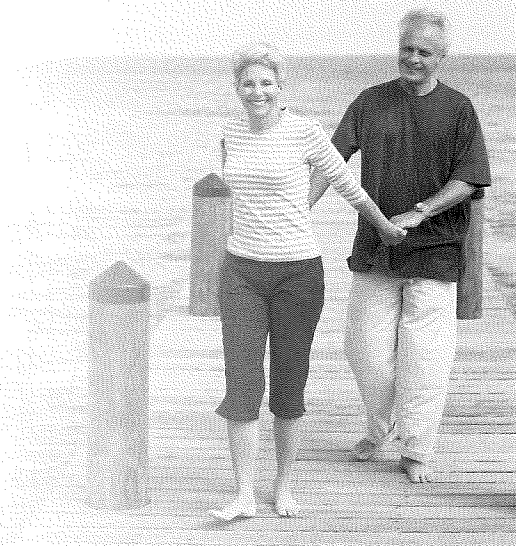
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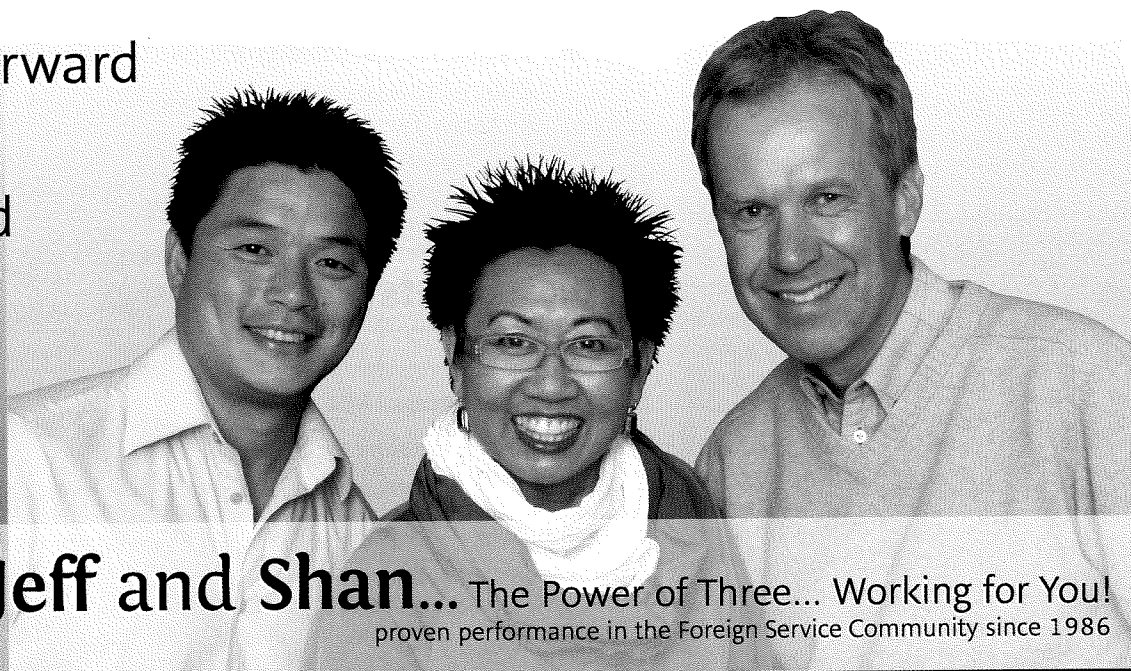


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Reinventing Ourselves / Se réinventer

Every Foreign Service seems at a cross-roads, perhaps we always have been. Coming to one can be a good thing, giving the traveller the choice of four cardinal directions. But the climate in Canada's Foreign Service, post Budget, seems different. It is as if three ways are blocked and we see our only option as a bumpy ride down hill.

Il y a lieu de se demander – au risque que cela semble déphasé par rapport à la mentalité de notre fonction publique – si le temps n'est pas venu pour les diplomates du Canada (peut-être les agents à la retraite, en particulier) de prendre les devants pour

read it. Are we too busy being platform providers or pumping out visas to see where the world is headed? Do we need to rethink our priorities and reassert our role in the development and conduct of foreign policy?

Fort heureusement, ce n'est pas le talent qui manque. Le Programme d'établissement de rapports sur la sécurité mondiale (PERSM) constitue un modèle d'excellence dans la présentation de rapports sur des questions de sécurité (après le 11 septembre). Dans le présent numéro, nous marquons le 10^e anniversaire de l'établissement du programme et rencontrons le personnel

the Foreign Service can face challenges that those ensconced at home may not even imagine... and there is no indication this century will soon mellow. For those who view development assistance with a jaundiced eye, it seems that he and Louis Guay may owe their lives to the respect for Canada of two African Presidents whose countries valued such assistance. Do we underestimate the importance of such hard-earned first hand knowledge? Do we misunderstand the value to Canadian interests of continuity and commitment in our dealings with less fortunate people? (Incidentally, for those wanting more about how to cope with a terror incident, a book review from Doha provides fresh insight.)

Qu'il s'agisse d'une vue d'ensemble ou particulière, il est intéressant d'être témoins d'efforts diplomatiques riches de promesse pour l'avenir des Canadiens et de nos voisins. « Get the Bridge » raconte la concrétisation d'une idée de toute évidence bonne (du moins pour nous!), qui doit faire abstraction des intérêts matériels étrangers et de leur poids politique. Dans notre prochain numéro, nous nous pencherons sur le travail extraordinaire de nos collègues de l'immigration visant à accroître le caractère crucial du Canada.

Through issues such as this one, **bout de papier** means to help get the word out on Canada's diplomats and what we do. But more is needed – and who better to take up the challenge than the Foreign Service itself? If we need to reinvent ourselves for changed times at home and beyond, let's generate some fresh thinking of our own. Share your thoughts with us and we will see that it gets reflected in these pages. 🌐

– Stuart Hughes

...nous marquons le 10^e anniversaire de l'établissement du programme et rencontrons le personnel du Bureau de l'évaluation internationale du BCP...

mieux expliquer pourquoi le pays, s'il veut rester compétitif, a besoin d'un service extérieur solide et efficace. Trudeau a déjà fait remarquer que, selon lui, la diplomatie pouvait tout aussi facilement se faire par fax. Klaus Goldschlag (dont la contribution à la diplomatie canadienne est soulignée dans deux articles du présent numéro) a prouvé le contraire et noué des relations de travail extraordinaires avec les dirigeants politiques de sa génération. Trouverons-nous son égal aujourd'hui?

It may not be easy. It seems a paradox that Canadians, an immigrant society of growing complexity and intensely dependent on the global environment, seem to believe our international relations can be put on autopilot. In the last decade the art of political reporting has lost a lot of ground: there are few left with the time to report as incisively and well as they should like and, even if there were more, Headquarters often seems too harried to

du Bureau de l'évaluation internationale du Bureau du Conseil privé (BCP), où l'analyse spécialisée des politiques et de la sécurité étrangères (reposant sur l'axiome « dire toute la vérité aux autorités » ou « truth to power ») reste bien vivante.

The value of gaining original and meaningful insight into global trends and developments is reflected in two other pieces: the second part of a thoughtful mini-series on the West and Islam, and another on “new” social media and struggle for democracy. But the macro perspective is not enough: the professionalism and stamina of the people who conduct diplomacy also matters – as our colleagues who dealt with Al Qaeda in the desert can attest.

Bob Fowler shares his harrowing experience with readers (including the perplexing behaviour of some of our authorities towards the kidnap victims' families). It is a trenchant reminder that

Assessing Budget 2012 / Les implications du budget 2012



Budget 2012 was unveiled on March 29. It contains clear signals from the Government on how it expects the Foreign Service to deliver on Canada's international agenda,

and how it sees the place of the Foreign Service within the wider public service.

Compte tenu de l'abolition prévue de douzaines de postes FS au MAECI et à CIC (à l'heure de la rédaction, sept semaines après le dépôt du budget, les cadres supérieurs n'avaient encore aucun chiffre précis à donner), la préoccupation la plus pressante est la **charge de travail**. À en juger par les exercices antérieurs de compressions des dépenses, on s'attendra à ce que ceux et celles qui restent prennent la relève – surtout si, comme l'affirme le gouvernement, il ne doit y avoir aucune incidence sur les services offerts aux Canadiens et Canadiennes.

Deputy ministers may insist publicly that we will “do less with less” and that sticking to our departments’ annual priorities is the best way to accomplish this. But any diplomat with more than a few weeks’ experience knows how quickly secondary yet (supposedly) urgent demands from ministers, mandarins, and their staff can distract from one’s core business. After years of drilling into the next generation the importance of aligning with priorities, the “briefing machine” remains as voracious and ungirdled as ever, leaving less time for big-picture policy reflection and innovation. In the post-Budget context, we will rely more than ever on DM and ADM offices to enforce rigid discipline over taskings, streamline requirements to the bare essentials, and help us say “no”.

In the medium term, the **operational effectiveness** of Canada's diplomatic corps is under threat. No Foreign Service officer expects a life of luxury at post, but we do expect our political masters to give us the tools and resources we need to

maximize efficiency and deliver on the rising demands of Canadians and their elected officials.

Lorsque nous quittons Ottawa, nous cessons d'être des fonctionnaires conventionnels. Nous sommes le visage et la première ligne du Canada – gardiens et mandataires de l'intérêt national – et nous sommes en service 24/7, prêts à réagir aux crises à l'improviste. Au moment où un plus grand nombre de Canadiens et Canadiennes que jamais auparavant voyagent, travaillent et vivent à l'étranger, le fait que le gouvernement fédéral veuille réduire le nombre de fonctionnaires qu'il déploie pour les soutenir a de quoi rendre perplexes.

Whether we're lobbying decision-makers, helping Canadian companies, processing refugees, supporting evacuations, or delivering disaster relief, high-performing professionals like those in the Foreign Service need adequate support staff and structures. The same would be true of officers commanding a military mission, executives running a multinational firm, engineers building a skyscraper, or doctors operating a hospital.

Every time an administrative or IT support position is downsized, or an officer is told to find and furnish their own accommodations, or public transit is used to get to meetings because official cars have been cut (and all these things will happen with increasing frequency thanks to Budget 2012) more time is spent commuting, filing paperwork, shuttling between appointments, fixing one's computer, or staying home to deal with the plumber instead of delivering on government business and serving Canadians.

But the biggest and longest-term red flag in Budget 2012 is the Government's apparent move away from providing **adequate incentives** which recognize the Foreign Service's uniquely challenging conditions of work.

Déjà, les loyers maximums permis pour des logements loués sont en voie

d'être réduits dans les missions à niveau de difficulté nul ou faible. La location privée de logements est élargie aux villes de l'Europe occidentale à titre d'essai, et d'autres régions suivront. Si le gouvernement donne suite à ses intentions, il réduira bientôt les Directives sur le service extérieur, abolira l'indemnité de départ à la retraite et obligera les employés à cotiser davantage à leur régime de pension. Et cela, malgré le fait que la plupart des familles de FS prendront leur retraite avec, au mieux, une deuxième rente partielle – et, dans bien des cas, sans aucune deuxième rente – à cause des interruptions dans la carrière du conjoint ou de la conjointe. En outre, malgré des années de lobbying de la part de l'APASE, de l'ACMAR et de l'ACSE, les ministres ne sont toujours pas intéressés à déployer les efforts voulus pour corriger le traitement carrément injuste réservé aux conjoints de FS qui demandent des prestations d'AE à leur retour au Canada.

Most Foreign Service officers view this career as a calling. Certainly, no one does this to get rich. Curtailing allowances and retirement benefits – especially in an age when the two-income family is the norm in Canada – makes it less attractive to serve, particularly in risky locations. Already, many diplomats are re-evaluating their options (and these adaptable multilingual professionals have many). If Canadians and their elected representatives want Canada's “best and brightest” to continue enlisting for one of the most challenging jobs in government, the compensation must match and hardships be recognized. In a competitive international arena, diplomacy, like defence and development, cannot be done on the cheap. This is especially true for an industrialized G8 power whose interests and citizenry span the globe. On this, Canada should not compromise. 🌐

Tim Edwards was elected President of PAFSO in October 2011.

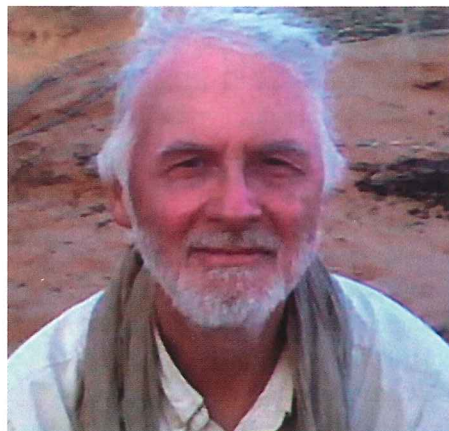
Bob Fowler's Season in Hell

by Richard Kohler

Lorsque Bob Fowler et Louis Guay ont été « portés disparus » en Afrique vers la fin de 2008, les ondes de choc ont débordé les frontières internationales. Un VUS abandonné, moteur en marche et portières béantes, était le seul indice que deux diplomates canadiens étaient tombés dans un guet-apens dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions d'émissaires de l'ONU au Niger. L'histoire de ces tribulations mêlées de danger et d'angoisse est racontée avec conviction dans le nouveau livre de Fowler, *A Season in Hell* (voir la page 8 pour un extrait); toutefois, ceux et celles qui ont eu la bonne fortune de l'entendre de lui viva voce sont privilégiés.

On December 20 of last year, PAFSO's President, Tim Edwards, introduced Bob Fowler to a packed audience at the Pearson Building. "Proof of Life" indeed: the "returning-warrior" (and something of a hero to many of us) came to share his 130-day experience as an Al Qaeda captive. Stating the obvious, he has served his country with distinction: he was policy advisor to three Prime Ministers, Deputy Minister of National Defence, and Canada's longest serving ambassador to the United Nations. Now retired from the Foreign Service, Fowler was on that assignment to the United Nations as the Secretary General's Special Envoy for Niger when kidnapped. He was accompanied by another of our diplomats, Louis Guay (also a former ambassador), who had been seconded to the UN mission.

Fowler noted that the writing of *A Season in Hell* was part of his "therapy" in recovering from this ordeal. The book might have been co-written with Louis Guay, had he wished to join in. However, as Fowler put it, "Louis prefers to maintain a private profile; I don't." He acknowledged receiving useful advice from the editors at HarperCollins who guided him on best practices in the telling of such accounts: "decide first for whom you're writing the book. When you're in the desert, stay in the desert – don't jump from day 2 to day 47 and back again." When he asked why, they replied "did you know Tom Hanks would make it home when you saw 'Apollo 13'?"



Al Qaeda's "Proof of Life", a cell-phone photo (for purposes of extortion) to demonstrate that their hostage, or "asset", is still alive.

This grim narrative begins on December 14, 2008. Fowler was returning to Niamey to dine with a friend after having visited a Canadian-owned gold mine near the Burkina Faso border. Fowler's mission was to encourage Niger's Tuareg rebels and its Government to get to the bargaining table; the mine visit was conducted to gather further intelligence regarding how resource revenues might be used to grease the skids of a deal to end the two-year-old rebellion. About 35 km from Niamey, Fowler and Guay's white Land Cruiser, bedecked with the familiar blue UNDP logo on each door, was force-stopped by a marauding pick-up truck bearing a couple of Kalashnikov-wielding figures in the back. Shouting in accented French, they frog-marched Fowler, Guay and

locally engaged driver Soumana into their vehicle. The captives were thrown into the truck, covered in foul smelling blankets, sat upon heavily by their aggressive captors and driven, without pause and in a physically battering race, across hundreds of kilometres of off-road, desert frontier.

In his remarks, Fowler covered the essential facts of the kidnapping: who did the deed, where and why they did it, what they wanted, and the extent to which they met their objectives. At any given time, their captors ranged from 4–31 in number, and in ages from 7–47 (the eldest, Omar I, being the person-in-charge of the original grab). He wanted to convey what it is like to find oneself in such hostile hands, to endure the rigour of captivity in primitive conditions, and to withstand the inevitable psychological challenges.

The behaviour of their captors was not always predictable. Odd things prompted outbursts of anger: snatched just outside the oddly appropriate town of Karma, Fowler noted that his captors were furious to learn only Louis Guay had ID papers – that he was "assisting" the Secretary General's Envoy for Niger. They gave Fowler the rounds of the kitchen because he had left his papers behind: "it is both irresponsible and illegal to be travelling without papers" they fumed!

In his remarks Fowler offered a road-map of the evolution of Islamic zeal in

Africa, starting with the formation of the Islamic Salvation Front in 1992 to the current Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (or AQIM, to which Omar I and the Mokhtar Belmokhtar “katiba” belonged). He also described the total focus of his captors, members of AQIM, to one goal: nourishing the cause of Islamic *jihad*. “They hate the UN and all humanitarian actors whose only purpose in their view is to corrupt Islamic minds,” he said. Their attacks on UN facilities in Baghdad in 2003, Algiers in 2007 and Abuja in 2011 provide a consistent theme.

What motivates them? “It’s not about unemployment and development assistance but about extending a Caliphate across the globe, a world of stern leadership with no small talk and no sense of humour. It’s about God, it’s about religion; Sam Huntington was right – it is a clash of culture and civilization,” Fowler said. He described a world-view set in the 7th century wherein *Hadith* sayings replace material gain. Revenue derived from kidnappings is not to finance weekend R&R or the nickel-plating of their Kalashnikovs but to foster the attainment of Paradise with its literally-believed rivers of milk and honey.

The biggest difference between the Western mindset and that of AQIM followers is their approach to time; to them three years is irrelevant. It doesn’t matter whether it takes 20 or 2000 years for *jihad* to succeed. They

hate democracy, freedom, liberty – all inappropriate surrogates for God’s commandments – even the exercise of democratic choice is simply man supplanting his will for God’s. Despite their long-term view, Bob observed that his captors chafed at the boredom of having to hold “two old white guys” in a series of isolated camps – “they had places to go and people to kill”.

Fowler outlined current AQIM strategies on the African continent, namely to turn more of its real estate into copies of Somalia, to force the switch from Christianity to Islam. Nations such as Nigeria, Côte d’Ivoire and Senegal are in the cross hairs. He noted that 15,000 Nigerians have lost their lives in the last 10 years to the Christian/Muslim divide, adding, “If Nigeria implodes, it will take out North Africa.” He took care to acknowledge the important contribution of international development assistance, not least to help contain the appeal of extremist groups like the AQIM. He noted approvingly that at a time of economic hardship, the U.K. has undertaken to move its national contribution to aid from 0.54 percent of GDP to 0.7 percent. Others apparently are not so committed: Canada, he said, is letting its share decline from its current level of only 0.31 percent of GDP.

In his remarks Fowler did not go into specifics about the nature and duration of captivity. Readers should consult his

book – it provides unflinching detail of the frankly terrifying circumstances of life as a hostage. Bob Fowler and Louis Guay endured countless hours bouncing around in the backs of pick-up trucks. Their journey took them to 28 different locations in northern Mali, close to the Algerian border, much to the detriment of Fowler’s sensitive back and vertebrae. In the various camps (which they nicknamed Camp Canada, Central Station, TV Camp, Board of Directors, etc.) they were fed basic rations similar to those available to their captors. They faced the chronic risk of snake and scorpion bites, recurrent sand storms, ubiquitous sand penetration (hair, body, clothing), constipation (given the diet), and the perpetual scarcity of water...but otherwise were not physically abused. Bathing was a distant fantasy. Fowler also describes how all of the captors tried, daily, to convert their captives to Islam in a methodical, assertive manner (they saw it as their religious duty, or *da’wah*, to bring non-believers into the fold).

On three occasions tents were assembled, and these represented dire forebodings for the captives. While each occasion, in their case, turned out to be another stage-setting for the filming of a “proof of life” video (complete with armed, masked *mujahideen* standing ominously in the background), such tents were the settings in other kidnap scenarios for ceremonial throat-cuttings, as in the recent case of Daniel Pearl. Both captives noted one of the least “friendly” of their captors deliberately digging a deep trench near their personal encampment. They thought they were witnessing the preps for a soon-to-be grave until the perpetrator actually climbed into what turned out to be his own “foxhole” for better shelter. His season in hell now concluded, Fowler said how happy he is to be alive, to be healthy, to be free and to be in a state of such grace that he doesn’t really care too much what he says – he no longer has a lot of time for political correctness.

The Q&A period that followed included queries on the prosaic (what did you do with yourself all day?) to the practical (was a ransom paid?). On the



Kids in Northern Uganda (2004).

latter, Fowler said that while he had no reason to disbelieve Prime Minister Harper's assertion that the Government of Canada paid no ransom and freed no prisoners, nonetheless "...somebody did! We have a lot of friends out there." He added, bluntly: "we were released because our captors 'got enough'."

An intense discussion followed on lessons learned. Fowler made his dissatisfaction very clear with the manner in which both the RCMP and some officers in DFAIT dealt with the situation – particularly in relations with the Fowler and Guay families. He insists they were inadequately briefed, and insensitively kept in the dark, noting that while the "proof-of-life" video made on December 18 in the middle of the Sahara was seen by many in Ottawa before Christmas, neither his nor Louis' wife were told of its existence (or that they were even alive) until 30 January – six weeks later.

Fowler then described the intensive debriefing he had at UN headquarters (it lasted 17 hours) and the resulting "UN Hostage Incident Card" that was produced within 48 hours of his debriefing. It was distributed to UN employees world-wide, providing key conclusions and recommendations surrounding kidnap risks and how to behave when captured. Fowler said he had been similarly debriefed by a number of Canadian and foreign entities – including the New York Police department. He contrasted that with his experience with DFAIT. He said that no one with the department had debriefed him or Louis (who continued to work within the Department for a further two and a half years following his release) on their experience and observations of Al Qaeda, or had drawn conclusions and lessons learned that could be shared with Canada's own foreign service. He encouraged foreign service officers and their professional association to take whatever steps they can to address conditions under which they will be assigned to postings that place personnel "in harm's way".

Fowler recommended that governments not apply cookie-cutter strategies

to all kidnap phenomena – each must be dealt with on a case-by-case basis. He provided a long list of precedents in jurisprudence dealing with kidnapping situations that have resulted in negotiated, positive solutions. He contended that "we can't simply say 'we don't negotiate...we don't make deals'."

Asked by a female diplomat if women officers might be treated differently from men in such situations (notably in Africa), Fowler noted that his captors were non-plussed to learn that, among Canada's ambassadors in the region neighbouring Niger and Mali, many were women. "Our Muslim captors are confused by women and do not see them as worthy investments" [i.e., for the cause]. Obviously relishing the prospect of further confusing the AQIM, Fowler added, "I suggest you (Canada's female diplomats) face a flourishing career in Africa."

And, in answer to the question "why weren't you bored?" he conceded that worrying is tiring, hard work that takes up a lot of time. Fowler shared a rule that he and Louis Guay had developed early on: "no talking about bad stuff after lunch" in order to reduce the risk of sleeplessness – bad thoughts after noon were punted to the following morning.

In thanking Bob Fowler, PAFSO President Tim Edwards underlined that consideration of postings to risky destinations requires a credible assurance of serious protection before an incident (and by implication, the prospect of genuine support after the fact for the victims of crimes like hostage taking). But for most who attended the breakfast, the conclusion was even simpler: best read *A Season in Hell* soon to know what you too may face someday. ☺

Now retired, Richard Kohler's 35 years in the Foreign Service included stints as Chief Information Officer; Ambassador to Brazil; Chief of Protocol of Canada and Consul General in Sydney. He later served as ADM International Relations in Ontario Premier McGuinty's Cabinet Office and represents RHOMA on bout's Senior Editorial Board.



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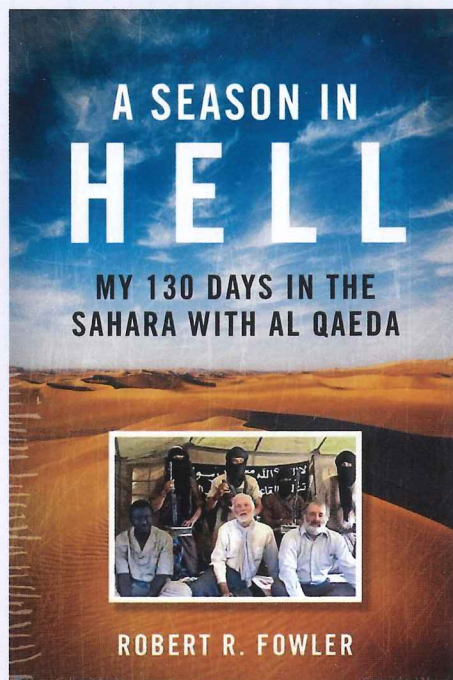
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A Season in Hell: excerpt from “Aftermath”

“There is a vigorous debate...about whether governments should even negotiate...”



Excerpt taken from *A Season in Hell, My 130 Days in the Sahara with Al Qaeda*, Robert R. Fowler. Published by HarperCollins Publishers Ltd Canada, 320 pages, \$32.99. Copyright 2011 by Robert R. Fowler. All rights reserved.

A few days later I learned of Abou Zeid's demand for the release of Abou Qutada (allegedly the head of Al Qaeda operations in Europe) from a UK prison in return for Edwin Dyer's life. I knew then – was certain – that Mr. Dwyer would be killed and offered that view, unbidden, to DFAIT along with my prognosis that after an unbearably horrible period of weeks or, less likely, months, Werner Greiner would be released were he to survive the aftermath of such torment and the summer in the Sahara.

However much I had expected that AQIM would kill someone, I was devastated by Dyer's beheading, on 31 May 2009, principally, of course, because so very often I had envisaged that Louis or I, or both of us, would suffer just such an end. And how easily it might have been one of us. Greiner then had to spend a further six weeks as Abou Zeid's prisoner before being released on 12 July 2009.

The next Westerner to be executed by AQIM was Michel Germaneau, a year after Dyer's murder. An Agence France-Press report out of Mali noted, "the Frenchman was decapitated before the eyes of the head of the radical AQIM group that was holding him, Abdelhamid Abou Zeid, who last year executed a British hostage, Edwin Dyer... AQIM has announced that it executed Germaneau, a 78-year-old aid worker, on Saturday [24 July 2010], in revenge for a joint raid last Thursday by Mauritanian and French troops, in which six fundamentalists were killed. Germaneau was seized in Niger on April 19th."

French hostage Pierre Camatte was released on 23 February 2010, three days after four members of AQIM were freed from Malian jails and after vigorous intercession by both French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner and President Nicolas Sarkozy. Camatte had been taken by the Abdelhamid Abou Zeid *katiba* at the end of November 2009 from his hotel in Ménaka in the far eastern part of Mali. According to the 30 March 2010 edition of *Jeune Afrique*. He knew the date of his release because he kept a scrap of cloth in his pocket, which, at the moment of his liberation contained eighty-nine tiny knots.

There is a vigorous debate—only some of it public—about whether governments should even negotiate, let alone make any kind of deal, with hostage takers or, more specifically, pay ransoms or exchange prisoners to free their citizens. This dilemma is particularly acute when it involves those who have been sent into harm's way by those same governments or international organizations acting on behalf of their member states. The attitudes of governments, organizations, companies, NGOs, and families across the world toward such hostage crises cover the full spectrum of opinion and practice on this thorny question, and a great deal of hot air is expended seeking to justify one stance or another.

There tends to also be a significant difference between what governments do and what they say, and this seems to me quite reasonable. There are good arguments on most sides and a wealth of unhappy experience to buttress just about every position. Every time a "principled position" is invoked, there are exceptions. Many countries adopt what are more or less admittedly pragmatic approaches while others proclaim immutable doctrine, but I know for certain that everybody has blinked at one time or another.

I am also well aware that there is no way I can be objective about such issues. I tried, but it's just not possible. ☹

“Get the Bridge”

Real Life Diplomacy in Detroit

by Roy Norton

En septembre 2010, j’ai eu la chance de devenir consul général à Détroit, à la suite de deux mandats à notre ambassade à Washington (tout récemment à titre de ministre responsable des relations avec le Congrès et des relations publiques et intergouvernementales) et deux affectations au niveau de SMA au sein du gouvernement de l’Ontario. Détroit s’est révélée une expérience enrichissante sur le plan professionnel, au point de m’inciter à partager avec les lecteurs quelques perspectives personnelles de la diplomatie dans la « vraie vie » sur le terrain.

If Canada is “top of mind” in Detroit, it is for good reason: the most important border crossing between our two countries is here; Canada’s and Ontario’s ownership position in GM and Chrysler gives us immediate standing; and, not least, commerce and investment flows between Canada and this four-state region are staggeringly high. However, transportation links have not kept pace – we badly need a new bridge. I expected that getting a new bridge across the Detroit River actually underway would not be easy. My expectations have been met! It turns out that doing the self-evidently right thing for the economic future of both sides of the border is not universally embraced in Michigan. However, with many allies in Michigan’s government and private sector (some longstanding, many newly cultivated), I believe real progress is being made. Common sense will prevail.

A little context: the transnational or “intermestic” nature of the Canada–U.S. relationship means our missions in the USA advocate on many objectives for which Foreign Affairs and International Trade does not have the policy lead. A new bridge across the Detroit River at Windsor, often described as “Canada’s #1 national infrastructure priority,” is one of those. The *Detroit River International Crossing* (DRIC) project (now referred to in Michigan as the *New International*

Trade Crossing or NITC), has been in development by Transport Canada for more than a decade. The need was accentuated by greater screening and the advent of trusted traveller and cargo programs in the wake of the 9/11 attacks. Customs plazas at the existing Ambassador Bridge, especially on the Canadian side, simply can’t be

over the Ambassador Bridge was up 11%. **Today, there are no satisfactory alternatives to a new bridge:** the Blue Water Bridges at Sarnia-Port Huron carry 16% of all U.S.–Canada trade (and, essentially, are at capacity), and the Peace Bridge, at Fort Erie-Buffalo, is 360 miles away from Detroit and itself is awaiting the construction of a twin span.

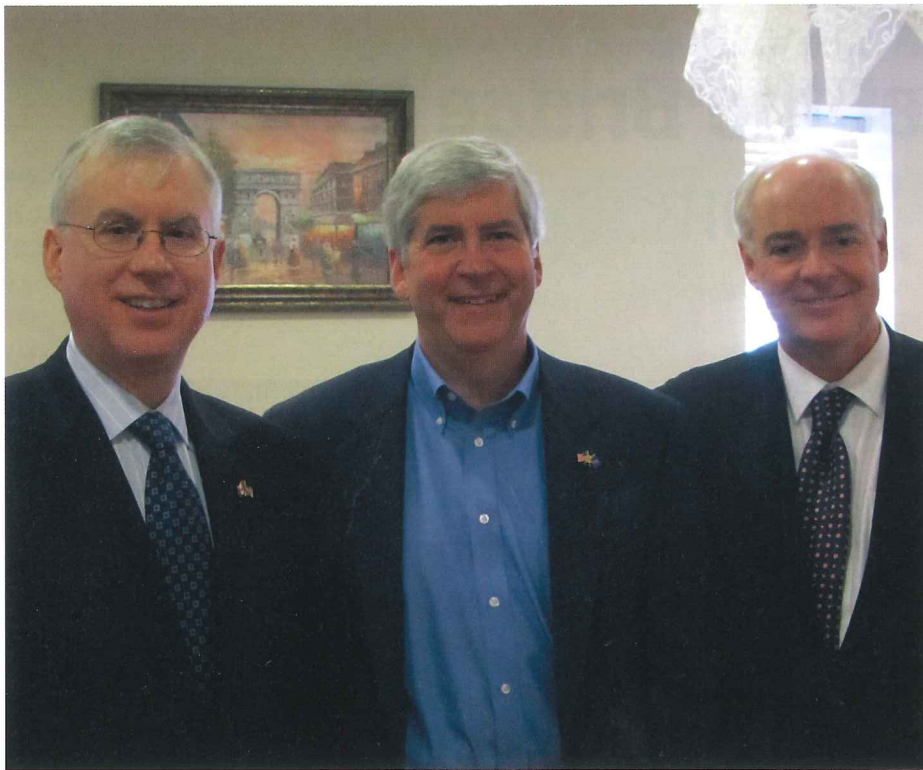
The Detroit-Windsor linkage is vital to the economies, today’s and tomorrow’s, of central Canada and the U.S. industrial heartland.

expanded to deal with those new security realities or with anticipated traffic growth.

The Detroit-Windsor linkage is vital to the economies, today’s and tomorrow’s, of central Canada and the U.S. industrial heartland. It is the infrastructure centrepiece of the Canadian Government’s *Continental Gateway* – which complements the Government’s strategic *Atlantic* and *Asia-Pacific Gateways*. Fully 25% of **all** Canada–U.S. trade crosses the 83-year-old Ambassador Bridge (making it the most important border crossing, by value, in the world).

While Canada’s overall dependency on trade with the U.S. may be declining (relative to historic highs in the 1990s), trade with the U.S. nonetheless grew more than 20% in 2010 over 2009; traffic

In my view it’s impossible to overstate the importance of the DRIC/NITC. More than a million Canadian jobs – overwhelmingly in Ontario and Quebec – depend on manufacturers’ and shippers’ ability to efficiently move goods at Windsor–Detroit. The four mid-west states for which the Consulate General in Detroit is responsible – Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky – themselves consume more than 15% of all Canadian exports to the world! Enduring uncertainty about the reliability of transportation options going forward could deter companies from locating (or expanding their operations) in this highly integrated cross-border economic region. The Government, and Transport Canada (the lead department),



Roy Norton (left), Governor Snyder, and Perrin Beatty, President of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, who visited in March for Bridge advocacy.

Transport Canada has done a tremendous job of quickly securing all of the necessary concurrences from the Centre to permit me virtually unrestricted contact with the media throughout 2011 (notwithstanding the Canadian election).

are determined that a second route be created, or “strategic redundancy” be achieved, at Windsor–Detroit. If, for any reason, the Ambassador Bridge were to become inoperative for a protracted period, the unemployment implications would be catastrophic on both sides of the border.

A little history: The Canadian environmental review of DRIC was completed during Robert Noble’s tour as Consul General (2006–2010). He ensured that promoting Michigan’s embrace of this project became a major advocacy priority for the mission. Michigan’s then-Governor (Canadian-born Democrat Jennifer Granholm, 2003–2011) supported the concept during her second term, but invested limited energy or resources in bringing it to fruition. Michigan’s support is crucial: further to

legislation passed by the U.S. Congress in 1972, new border crossings have had to be agreed, in the first instance, between Canada and the “receiving” state.

In the spring of 2010, the Hon. John Baird, then Transport Minister, took two unusual steps to move the project along. In recognition of Michigan’s parlous financial situation, he secured Cabinet approval to increase our equity stake in the project by up to \$550 million (equivalent to Michigan’s share of the project), an amount Canada would recover later from toll revenues. He also testified before a Committee of the Michigan House of Representatives – something Canadian elected officials generally refrain from doing. The House subsequently endorsed the project. However, the legislation was never taken up in the Senate.

Fast-forward to the November 2010 Michigan elections. Venture capitalist Rick Snyder (Republican) was elected Governor; Senate Republicans strengthened their hold on the State Senate. Control of the Michigan House (whose Democratic majority passed the DRIC-authorizing legislation in May 2010) flipped to the Republicans.

Governor-elect Snyder took no position on the new bridge during the campaign (his Democratic opponent, who accepted campaign funds from the Ambassador Bridge Co., broke with Jennifer Granholm and opposed DRIC). Chuck Strahl, John Baird’s successor as Transport Minister, travelled to Lansing to meet Snyder during the period between Election Day and Inauguration Day (January 1). In his State-of-the-State Speech on January 19 (akin to the President’s State of the Union – or a Canadian Throne Speech), Snyder made extensive reference to Canada. He stunned Michigan’s body politic, including his own Republican Party, by making completion of the NITC (as he calls it) a high priority of his Administration.

However, he had a number of other major legislative priorities for his first months in office – passing a balanced budget and reconfiguring a tax structure that he felt was killing jobs, to name two. Something of a vacuum was thus created in the winter/spring which the owners of the Ambassador Bridge filled with a multi-million dollar advertising and public relations campaign designed to poison Michiganders against the NITC and get them to press legislators to vote against it. Objective analysts note that this campaign was in no way constrained by “truth in advertising” strictures.

Advocacy 24/7: On my selection as Head of Mission, then Minister Lawrence Cannon and Deputy Minister Len Edwards could not have been clearer about my top priority: “Get the Bridge”! With that mandate, yours truly has spent 2011 in non-stop bridge advocacy. Like any Head of Mission, I relish a scenario in which my key mandate dovetails precisely with a principal policy objective of the Head of Government of a jurisdiction to which I’m accredited. That’s been

the case in Michigan during my first year. Close collaboration directly with the Governor and his Administration has been the order of the day.

At the time of writing I have given more than 50 speeches to influential audiences across the state (including testimony to the Michigan Senate and the Detroit City Council). Supportive resolutions invariably emanate from the target audiences (e.g. local Chambers of Commerce) within weeks of my having had the opportunity to share the facts with them. It turns out that the need to build a new bridge is a classic “no brainer” – unless, that is, you happen to own an 83-year-old bridge and are determined never to face competition.

Apart from giving speeches and holding many individual meetings with legislators in this campaign to reach out to key communities, I’ve also given more than 100 media interviews over the course of the year. Transport Canada has done a tremendous job of quickly securing all of the necessary concurrences from the Centre to permit me virtually unrestricted contact with the media throughout 2011 (notwithstanding the Canadian election). It’s been an outstanding example of tight, whole of government cooperation between a Consulate, Foreign Affairs Headquarters, and an “Other Government Department” with the policy lead on a major file.

Apart from the owners of the Ambassador Bridge (and the Michigan Tea Party organizations that they fund), virtually the entire Michigan private sector now supports the NITC. That includes Michigan’s Chamber of Commerce, Chambers in all major municipalities, the Detroit-3 auto assemblers + Toyota and Honda, major auto parts manufacturers, major West Michigan firms, all significant organizations representing Michigan agricultural producers, all major unions, and all major newspaper editorial boards. It’s noteworthy, however, that neither individually nor collectively are these organizations spending any significant sums in support of the NITC. As is often the case, the “anti-” side is highly

motivated to protect vested interests while the “pro-” side, by contrast, largely leaves it to government to get the job done.

Challenges still abound: in a procedural vote at the responsible Senate Committee in mid-October, Michigan’s Lieutenant Governor (designated by Governor Snyder to be the lead) failed to secure sufficient votes to proceed. The Governor immediately called for a “cooling off” period. Two weeks later,

After 45 years or so, on a bridge built to last 125 years, Michigan should expect an annual return from toll revenues of approximately \$50 million.

speaking at a conference in Ottawa organized by the U.S. Ambassador and *Canada 2020*, Governor Snyder publicly committed that the NITC will be built, with authorization coming “in months, not years.”

While still preferring legislative approval, it may be that even without it the Governor could enter into an agreement with Canada to allow the bridge to be built (by a private contractor, according to a Public-Private Partnership model). That would be controversial and undoubtedly would be challenged by the Ambassador Bridge Co., whose owners are notoriously litigious. Assuming approval (whether by the Legislature or the Governor), Washington D.C. could soon become the next advocacy theatre. A presidential permit is required to proceed. The Obama Administration appears supportive, but has insisted on waiting for action in Michigan before officially embracing the project. Federal money will be required for the U.S. Customs Plaza; the Ambassador Bridge folks are already lobbying heavily in D.C. – and recently placed T.V. commercials in Iowa, presumably to influence Republican presidential candidates against the NITC.

Until such time as the bridge becomes a federal matter (with the Embassy assuming carriage of this issue), we can all reflect on the extent to which stopping things from proceeding seems, increasingly, so much easier than getting things done in the U.S. system. The bridge will cost Michigan nothing. The State will assume no liability associated with it. For the 4–5 year construction period, approximately 13,000 direct (and 25,000 indirect) jobs will be created in Michigan – a state with unemployment above the national average. A massively enhanced investment climate, once the NITC is completed, will entice industry to Michigan. “Insurance” will have been taken against the ramifications of potential catastrophic failure of the Ambassador Bridge (built in 1929 to last 50 years!). After 45 years or so, on a bridge built to last 125 years, Michigan should expect an annual return from toll revenues of approximately \$50 million.

Advocating a cause that is a “no-brainer” like the DRIC/NITC may not seem glamorous, but that is real life diplomacy as seen from Detroit. **The stakes are high: never mind Canada’s interests, two million U.S. jobs depend on trade moving efficiently at the ageing Ambassador Bridge.** The national interest of two G-8 countries can’t forever be held hostage to the self-interest of one company. I am hopeful we’ll get there soon – although probably not before this article goes to print. Getting there, though, is proving instructive – and for me, all consuming. It causes one to reflect on how challenging advocacy has become on key issues that aren’t “no-brainers”. **The nature of diplomacy may be changing, but the need for professional diplomacy in pursuing the national interest seems as strong as ever.** ☺

Roy Norton is Canada’s Consul General to Michigan, Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky – based in Detroit.



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Ben Rowsell looking down over Tahrir Square.

Democracy and the Digital Revolution

by Ben Rowsell

La décennie qui a suivi le 11 septembre a été difficile pour la promotion de la démocratie. Les torrents de transitions à la démocratie qui avaient déferlé tout au cours des années 1990 s'étaient déjà taris face aux enjeux de plus en plus nombreux. Puis, en 2003, lorsqu'on n'a pu trouver d'armes de destruction massive en Irak, l'administration Bush a invoqué la démocratisation comme *casus belli*, rendant ce terme synonyme d'intervention militaire chez le public.

In the process Western audiences lost confidence in democracy promotion, either questioning the relevance of democracy to other cultures or doubting their governments' ability to help other countries realize it.

In Afghanistan I saw the impact of this loss of confidence in democracy promotion. President Obama best expressed the sentiment of the

international community when he said that "nobody thinks that Afghanistan is going to be a model Jeffersonian democracy." But if the standards of democratic governance were too high, what standards should apply to Afghanistan? How should we respond to electoral fraud, corruption and other abuses of power?

The persistence of those issues in Afghanistan has showed that we cannot

escape the dilemmas of democracy promotion. If the wholesale export of the institutions of Western democracies is not viable, neither is it feasible to ignore the desire of people around the world to have some say over how their countries are run.

After two years in Afghanistan, I took a year's leave to dive into issues of democracy promotion to explore how we could improve it.

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

Liberation technology

Where better to dive into these issues than Stanford University, home to the world's foremost scholar of democracy promotion, Larry Diamond? Stanford turned out to be a fateful choice, for a reason I could not have foreseen. In the end it wasn't Diamond's political science department that claimed most of my time at Stanford – it was the computer science department.

The two departments had teamed up in 2010 to create the first hybrid course of its kind. The "Liberation Technology" course is co-taught by Diamond, Law Professor Joshua Cohen and the Computer Engineering legend Terry Winograd. Winograd had supervised PhD students Larry Page and Sergey Brin as they invented new forms of internet search that became the basis of Google, the company they founded at Stanford in 1999.

The premise of the course is that communications technologies are transforming economic and political activity in all countries in the first place because of their ubiquity (with mobile phone penetration exceeding 50 percent in some of the poorest countries in Africa), and because they now permit the masses to send as well as receive information.

The resulting explosion and decentralization of information has already transformed the way the world does business. When billions of humans have access to tools that enable them to access far more information and organize themselves far more easily, redistributions of power cannot be far behind.

A few classes were enough to grab my attention. Over the coming year, the Liberation Technology course became my crash course in technology.

I learned how activists have used social media to mobilize millions of their fellow citizens. In Colombia in 2008, a 34-year-old man with no history of political activity started a Facebook group to protest narco-trafficker violence. The group went viral and over 10 million people poured into the streets. Oscar Morales Guevara showed how social media introduces new actors with powerful new tactics to politics.

I learned how oppressive regimes use the same technologies to combat popular movements. When Syria's brutal crack-down on democracy protests began, security forces there extracted Facebook usernames and passwords from detained activists, enabling them not only to quickly identify sympathizers but to infiltrate key discussion groups and post false information that would lead to further arrests.

I learned how Twitter has given the rest of the world a front-row seat in democracy movements. Rather than rely on foreign correspondents writing stories that news editors might or might not run in newspapers to which you might or might not have a subscription, Twitter allows you to get news directly from those making it.

I had a dramatic demonstration of this potential when I heard the first rumblings of a revolution in Tunisia in December 2010. In the news outlets I normally follow, I couldn't find meaningful coverage of events in Sidi Bouzid, where a young man's self-immolation had sparked massive anti-regime protests. So I followed the hashtag #sidibouzid on Twitter and from then on could read tweets from the protesters themselves.

Following developments from the protesters' perspectives on an hourly basis, I could practically feel that I was in the streets of Tunisia myself. And I was not alone – the same hashtag carried messages of support from hundreds of thousands of people outside Tunisia and others inspired by the courage of the protesters.

A new laboratory for democracy movements

On January 25, hundreds of thousands of Egyptians descended into Tahrir Square at the centre of Cairo. They had gathered to protest police brutality, which they had heard about through a proliferating number of blogs and reports in traditional media. The protests touched a nerve and the crowds grew, even after the regime shut down the internet. As the regime fought back and the number of dead grew to the hundreds, the crowd's demands

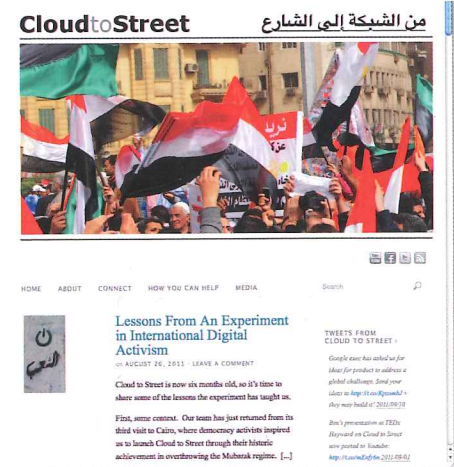
escalated. On February 11, they got their wish when President Mubarak resigned after 30 years of absolute power.

Media reports of the use of social media in organizing the protests seemed to confirm what I'd been learning about liberation technology. Indeed, a flood of technological triumphalism followed in Western media. But how much of a role had technology really played in Egypt's transition? What role would it have in the difficult months ahead, as the Arab world's largest country reinvented its system of government? Could it also play a negative role, fomenting extremism or sectarian divisions?

With so much riding on the outcome of the Egyptian revolution, and so much debate about the role that technology would play, I decided to launch a project to find out if liberation technology was hope or hype.

I teamed up with two Canadians that shared my passion for Egypt: Farhaan Ladhani is an expert in social media, and Shuvaloy Majumdar is a democracy promotion specialist. Together, we launched "Cloud to Street" – a project to help democracy activists in translating their skill at organizing online (in the "cloud") into political impact (on the "street").

Our idea was to identify activists that had promising ideas about how to use technology to advance their political objectives, then connect them with experts in Silicon Valley to equip them with that technology.



We started the project the way all democracy promotion projects should: by identifying local demand. Democracy movements are only effective, and only legitimate, when led by the people of the country themselves. Who were these Egyptian democracy activists that had forced Mubarak's overthrow?

Farhaan and I arrived in Cairo just weeks after the regime's fall. The atmosphere was still euphoric, as the fall of the regime had prompted a sense that anything was now possible in Egypt. We met not only with young protesters who had filled Tahrir Square during the January 25 revolution, but older Egyptians who expressed a mixture of pride in the youth, and shame that their generations had stood passively by all these years.

We met with dozens of activists, and heard about how they had organized the protests in Tahrir Square – not through any one tool but through ingenious combinations of “online” and “offline” methods. Michel de Salaberry's article in these same pages last year attested to the organizational acumen of Egyptian civil society – a skill that they put to good use in the digital world.

When the various youth groups decided to protest police brutality on January 25, their only hope to occupy Tahrir was to have safety in numbers. So in addition to printing posters and using word of mouth, they reached out to the administrators of popular Facebook pages to post the invitation. One page that invoked solidarity with police victim Khaled Said had already amassed 400,000 followers. If only five percent of those followers answered the call, that post alone would generate enough protesters to overwhelm the police.

Another way that activists combined online and offline tools for political effect was to position webcams in Tahrir Square before January 25. These tiny cameras provided a live feed of the protests throughout the internet. When the initial waves of protesters were met by police violence, the protesters got their version of events to Egyptians first, before the state propaganda outlets could pretend that the protests weren't happening, or that the police were acting with restraint.

Mobilizing a volunteer army of programmers

By the time of our visit, activists were looking for ways to use social media for more than bringing protesters out to the streets. Unifying citizens around the simple, single cause of overthrowing an authoritarian regime was proving easier than unifying them around the messy work of designing a new system of

Over the course of three hackathons more than 100 people volunteered their time to build the tools activists had requested.

government. There would be elections to organize, a new Parliament to install and constitutional negotiations to follow. How could activists keep citizens engaged to ensure that Egypt's new political system will respond to their interests?

The next step for Cloud to Street was to return to Stanford with some of the ideas that activists had developed for how they could use communications technologies to assist Egypt's democratic transition. Some activists wanted to use the internet to allow citizens to self-train themselves as elections monitors. Others wanted to aggregate data on political candidates so voters could track their promises and their performance in delivering on them if elected to office.

These were ambitious ideas for a brand new project. Happily, technology has made another new contribution to political activism. It has inspired a new movement of IT experts willing to volunteer their time and their skills to help good causes.

For years software companies have been organizing “hackathons” to bring computer programmers together to work on projects that interest them, removed from the pressures of software development processes imposed by their employers. Like any group of people that share a rare and valuable skill, programmers (“hackers” in the Silicon Valley vernacular) enjoy spending time together and learning from one another. And being engineers, they are less interested in

talking about software than in actually creating it.

On any given weekend in the Bay Area, there are hackathons that bring together hundreds of people to develop technology for any range of purposes, from commercial software to improving municipal services. We decided to organize a Hackathon for Egypt to see if we could harness those skills to help democracy activists in Cairo.

The response was impressive. Over the course of three hackathons more than 100 people volunteered their time to build the tools activists had requested. Events in Tahrir Square had inspired people throughout Silicon Valley, and many were looking for an opportunity to lend a hand in any way they could.

Crowdsourcing constitutional discussions

The most interesting product to emerge from the hackathons was a website to engage Egyptian citizens in a discussion of human rights issues. A group of human rights NGOs had drafted a series of fundamental principles they believed should form the core of the new Egyptian constitution. While that constitution would not be negotiated until after Parliamentary elections due at the end of 2011, they sought to generate support for these principles to increase the chance they would be reflected in the eventual document. What better way to generate public buy-in, they reasoned, than to involve the public in the drafting of the principles themselves?

The lead Egyptian organization in this effort asked Cloud to Street to develop a platform for “crowdsourcing” the development of a “fundamental document” (or wathiqah in Arabic) of human rights principles. Crowdsourcing refers to any effort to develop content through mass collaboration through

the internet. Our hackathon volunteers developed a website that would draw users' attention to the principles proposed by the NGOs, not only allowing them to discuss them but to suggest edits or even formulate their own suggested principles. A voting system then shows which versions enjoy the most support.

To ensure the crowdsourcing effort was fully inclusive, our Egyptian partner designed an extensive campaign of face-to-face meetings to engage people without access to the internet. The more Egyptians participate, the more the results would reflect where consensus on human rights issues may lie in the broader public, and the more impact the exercise would have on the eventual constitutional negotiations.

Unfortunately, our partner never launched the "offline" campaign, as the constitutional debate got caught up in the growing tension between Islamists and secularists. The debate did not turn on the human rights issues that were the focus of wathiqah.com, but on the process for negotiating a constitution. Islamists wanted an election to be held

first so that negotiators would have a popular mandate, and many secularists wanted the constitution to be negotiated first to protect against the tyranny of the majority.

Interestingly, both sides used social media to press their case. The Muslim Brotherhood has become quite adept in mobilizing through communications technologies, drawing hundreds of thousands to its Facebook page and Twitter accounts. Even the military council that still runs the country uses social media as a principal political tool, announcing new decrees on Facebook and using online polls to gauge public opinion on controversial measures such as a recent ban on public protests.

The wathiqah.com project taught us a lot about the role of communications technologies in democracy movements. They certainly are no panacea. But judging by their widespread use on all sides, they would appear to be permanent fixtures of the political landscape in Egypt. If political leaders of all stripes turn to social media to mobilize their

supporters and engage the public, the issue seems to be less about whether these technologies are relevant, and more about how they are used.

All the more reason, then, to take them seriously and to master their use. They have already played a key role in one of the most dramatic transformations in recent Middle East history. But they do more than provide tools for activists to pursue democracy in their own countries. They provide a more promising basis for outsiders to support them.

Communications technologies offer two distinct advantages for democracy promotion. As Cloud to Street demonstrated, they can be delivered through citizen-to-citizen engagement, without any necessary role for governments. In a part of the world where the motives of Western governments are suspect, this removes a major constraint.

The second advantage is that communications technologies allow citizens of other countries to build their own democratic institutions, rather than import models from abroad. The specific solutions Canada, the U.S. or, say, Belgium have developed to reflect the compromises in their own political systems and place citizens in charge of decision-making are of only limited interest to democracy activists in Egypt. Better to equip citizens in other countries with the tools to work out their own solutions.

The protesters in Tahrir Square proved that democracy is not a uniquely Western value. Citizens of the Muslim world and elsewhere will continue to press for democracy, making democracy promotion an enduring issue in foreign policy. After a decade of doubt and re-evaluation, outsiders have an opportunity to experiment with new approaches to democracy promotion – this time with tools that could be more effective, and more legitimate than what went before. ☺

Ben Rowsell has been a Foreign Service Officer since 1993, and spent the 2010–2011 academic year as a Visiting Scholar at the Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law at Stanford University.



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L'Ouest et le monde musulman II

Hostilité, compatibilité, et la réalité de nos temps

par Ferry de Kerckhove

"The religious convictions that we hold in our hearts can forge new bounds among people, or they can tear us apart."

Obama, Le Caire, 4 juin 2009

Editor's Note: In Part I of Ferry de Kerckhove's essay on relations between the Muslim world and the West, our former Ambassador to Egypt, Pakistan and elsewhere focused on the largely favourable reception of the growing Muslim population in Canada (not always the case elsewhere in the West). However, while the West – Canada included – needs to shed its mistrust of Muslims, Muslims also must accept accountability for their treatment of religious minorities, including the millions of Copts in today's Egypt. He offered both sides his version of an old homily: do unto others what you would have them do unto you. In Part II he explores perceptions and misperceptions of "Muslim hostility" in the West, the compatibility of Muslim and Western values, and sees no inherent justification for adversarial relations between the two. He focuses on what both should understand to move forward.

Est-ce que l'Islam est hostile à l'Occident?

La question en elle-même n'a guère de sens en termes absolus puisque l'on contraste une religion à un concept géographique. Qu'à cela ne tienne! Creusons plus avant. Pour mieux comprendre, il faut prendre conscience de la spécificité de l'Islam dans notre monde multiculturel et planétaire. Dans certains pays musulmans, notamment ceux où la sharia forme l'ossature juridique de l'État, il existe un continuum entre l'État et la religion. On voit en Turquie combien la question de la séparation entre les deux demeure vibrante, parfois angoissante, avec des effets directs sur la perception négative des Européens envers la candidature turque à l'UE. D'où cela vient-il? D'une différence bien plus fondamentale, à savoir, l'absence dans l'Islam d'une véritable séparation entre la vie religieuse et la vie civique.

J'aurais tendance à dire que pour la majorité des musulmans, la religion

musulmane définit encore les 24 heures de la vie quotidienne. Plus encore, l'Islam est la référence ultime de l'identité culturelle, sociale et politique dans les pays musulmans – encore davantage sans doute dans les pays en crise, où l'Islam est un refuge – indépendamment du degré de tolérance ou d'acceptation envers les valeurs et préceptes occidentaux. Cette référence identitaire lui vient de son histoire, comme Karen Armstrong l'a exprimé mieux que personne:

"Muslims developed their own rituals, mysticism, philosophy, doctrines, sacred texts, laws and shrines like everybody else. But all these religious pursuits sprang directly from the Muslims' frequently anguished contemplation of the political current affairs of Islamic society. If state institutions did not measure up to the Quranic ideal, if their political leaders were cruel or exploitative, or if their community

was humiliated by apparently irreligious enemies, a Muslim could feel that his or her faith in life's ultimate purpose and value was in jeopardy. Every effort had to be expended to put Islamic history back on track, or the whole religious enterprise would fail, and life would be drained of meaning. Politics was, therefore, that Christians would call a sacrament: it was the arena in which Muslims experienced God and which enabled the divine to function effectively in the world. Consequently, the historical trials and tribulations of the Muslim community – political assassinations, civil wars, invasions, and the rise and fall of the ruling dynasties – were not divorced from the interior religious quest, but were the essence of the Islamic vision. A Muslim would meditate upon the current event of their time and upon past history as a Christian would contemplate an icon, using the

creative imagination to discover the hidden divine kernel. An account of the external history of the Muslim people cannot therefore, be of mere secondary interest, since one of the chief characteristics of Islam has been its sacralisation of history."

Faute de comprendre cette dimension en Occident, on continuera à confondre la vraie nature de l'Islam et ses déviations fondamentalistes, avec en prime la fascination pour Huntington et le choc des civilisations. Le schisme qu'a connu la Chrétienté, notamment au cours de la Renaissance, en réaction contre la sclérose intellectuelle et scientifique de l'Église, et qui a mené à la césure entre comportements séculiers et religieux, n'a pas eu de correspondance dans l'Islam ou encore il s'est produit plus tôt et différemment.

My own answer to the question about Islam as anti-West is a typical "no, but..." in that Islam's doctrinal content is neither foreign nor hostile but Muslim fundamentalists have clearly pitted their Jihadist, political, vision of Islam against the West. That perception is reinforced by the overall economic backwardness of the former versus the economic prowess of the West.

Are Islamic values compatible with the West's? Are Islam's values, ways of life, cultural emanations, philosophical outlook, all negations of Western or Christian values? It would be easy to point out just how many Muslims have blended successfully into Canadian society to debunk this myth. But I should be careful in drawing conclusions as the 2007 survey by the Leger Marketing firm "grande enquête sur la tolérance au Québec" established that "c'est envers la communauté arabe que les Québécois expriment le plus fort degré de réprobation. Pourtant, l'enquête démontre qu'il s'agit d'une des communautés les mieux intégrées à la société québécoise." But even if one assumed that they did not integrate, that parallel lives are being led, and that a multicultural society is a utopia, it would still be hard not to recognize that our two religions have such a common heritage that there are



Ferry de Kerckhove et Louise Côté, épouse et collègue.

likely more points of convergence than of estrangement.

My own view is that particular circumstances drive the social and political evolution of countries, nations and peoples. Historically, that almost inevitably leads to greater emphasis on superficial or even deeper differences amongst such societies rather than on their shared nature and other commonalities. Fundamentalists often prey on these "all important" differences to justify their conviction that their religious tenets, dogma, faiths or spiritual approaches are inherently superior to those of others.

Fundamentalists who see themselves as "victims" of the behaviour of others go farther. Factors such as gaps in levels of economic development, legacies of a colonial past, perceived injustice in the West's handling of the Middle East, etc. are used to justify a presumably inescapable clash of values, if not physical violence. But is religious intolerance a product of faith or of history? Is faith manipulated by those who would use differences in faith to justify intolerance,

to abuse the essential humanity of others? Many fundamentalists present themselves as the custodians of faith but behave like implacable politicians of their sect or tribe – and perhaps therein lies the real problem of interfaith relations.

Looking even more broadly, from a secular humanist or more Western perspective, there are related issues that need to be tackled. These include the propensity in some countries to allow religious injunctions to supersede temporal laws – fatwas are simply not understood in the West and unfortunately those that make the headlines are those that appear menacing when not bizarre. Long established secular traditions have led some Westerners to believe that there is a greater threat from the Muslim community than others in terms of the imposition of precedence of the religious over the temporal.

Il y a aussi des habitudes culturelles qui sont souvent définies en termes religieux alors que pour l'observateur extérieur, elles relèvent bien plus de traditions que d'autre chose mais qui mériteraient d'être expliquées et relativisées. Citons, par exemple, le hijab, les mariages arrangés, ou le sacrifice rituel d'un mouton à Eid-al-Adha. Le fait que pas tous les Musulmans de différents pays n'ont pas les mêmes habitudes rend difficile de les lier à des obligations religieuses. Et qu'il en aille de même pour les religions chrétienne et juive ne semble pas avoir d'importance pour ceux qui se complaisent à faire ressortir les différences dans une religion que le côté démonstratif dérange.

What about the issue of modernity?

The myth would have Islam being allergic to modernity while Christianity, as embodied in the West, would define itself through the pursuit of scientific knowledge and adaptation to technological change, Galileo notwithstanding. I think the days are past when Syed Abul A'la Maududi maintained that "Islamic theology, unlike Christian theology, cannot be separated from temporal sciences". I believe that great many in

the Muslim world today would agree with what former Malaysian Prime Minister Mahatir said a few years ago in his speech on "Breaking the Muslim Mindset": "Not only did we miss the Industrial Revolution, but we also missed subsequent developments which we also looked upon with suspicion... Together with the acquisition of knowledge, there must also be a change in attitude, a change in the mindset and values which always hold us back whenever we seek to empower ourselves."

Nonetheless, within some quarters of the Islamic world there seems to be a problem of adaptation to modernity – which some too readily equate with "Westernization". The history of Islamic scholars' contributions to science clearly shows that this problem is one of mindset and not of philosophy, possibly the result of an unduly protective and literal interpretation of the Holy Quran in contrast to its own underlying modernity.

À cette question l'ancien président indonésien et théologien plein d'humour à ses heures, Abdurrahman Wahid (autrement « Gus Dur ») a donné une réponse parfaite. En élevant le débat au niveau des valeurs, il proclame : « We need to address the apparent contradictions between our understanding of Islamic law and the universal values that we not only endorse but also proclaim to be at the heart of our faith ». Quel remarquable contraste par rapport aux milieux musulmans conservateurs anachroniques qui, au nom d'une interprétation littérale du Coran, ont réussi à exercer leur contrôle sur les masses musulmanes sans éducation tout en évitant de confronter les questions fondamentales de l'ère moderne. Gus Dur et l'Occident sont sur la même longueur d'onde!

Are relations between Islam and the international system necessarily adversarial?

Some scholars argue that Islam now plays a fundamental role in the ongoing restructuring of the international system. Just as domestic political and economic variables have become at least as important in foreign policy making as overarching international factors, "ethno-cultural"

considerations (including belief systems) are playing a much greater role in the handling of today's international crises. Islam is definitely one of the key variables in the conduct of contemporary international relations, and is certainly one of the most complex to handle. In fact, some analysts argue that by focusing strictly on defeating terrorism and on "imposing" democracy, we have cornered ourselves in the geopolitical realm: we have neglected the cultural and social essence of human relations. Such neglect does not make Islam an opponent in, or of, the international system. However, it does point up the need for a more comprehensive approach than our usual dialogue on common values (including human rights, freedom and democracy). We need to better understand the underlying social structures and the shared value systems of Muslim countries if we are to build more reliable foundations for mutual understanding.

Est-ce que l'homme de la rue en Occident est en mesure de faire la distinction entre l'Islam et les fondamentalistes ou encore entre une expression plus ostentatoire de la foi et un fondamentalisme politiquement inspiré? Un chercheur a défini « l'islamisme » comme « the movements and ideologies that claim Islam, as they interpret it, as the basis for restructuring contemporary states and societies according to an idealized image of Islam's founding period 1400 years ago ». Mais l'objectif de « l'islamisme » (expression que je n'aime pas car elle corrompt le mot Islam) est la conquête du pouvoir. La dimension religieuse est un épiphénomène. D'où l'ambiguïté fondamentale entre un « complot » politique sous le sceau d'une façade religieuse éculée et un engagement contemporain sincère envers une démarche plus conservatrice de l'Islam. C'est une ambiguïté que les dirigeants religieux musulmans devraient avoir à cœur de dénoncer. Pas étonnant qu'on soit confus, à l'Ouest!

Et le risque est clair: ce que l'on appelle à tort les « Islamistes », qui sont en fait des fondamentalistes qui revendiquent leur appartenance à l'Islam,

mettent en cause l'insertion légitime de nombreux pays musulmans dans diverses communautés de nations qui serviraient de ponts plutôt que de crevasses, comme c'est le cas de la Turquie. Il est impératif de dissocier les manifestations violentes du fondamentalisme islamique et l'Islam comme phénomène social et religieux. Le sentiment mutuel de peur que l'Occident éprouve pour le militantisme islamique et que ressentent les musulmans envers les politiques, idées, réussites économiques, et projections de puissance occidentales, exige davantage de sensibilité que de déploiements militaires. Pour ce faire, il faut avoir le courage d'offrir de la place sur l'agora politique mondiale et leur permettre de canaliser leurs frustrations au sein de l'ordre social, économique et politique existant.

In a discussion about themes in this essay, *bout's* editor asked a question inspired by his own reading of Karen Armstrong: "The recent assassination of the Governor of Punjab" (who sought fairer treatment of a Christian woman under Pakistan's draconian anti-blasphemy laws) "was not a political act in the western sense but an act of faith – likely to be rewarded in heaven in the mind of the perpetrator. The assassin is considered a hero by many religious conservatives, including many lawyers. They appear to reject any separation of church and state, would deny the primacy rule of law and citizenship, and recognize only the Quran, the Umma and the rule of those who sit in judgement on society's conformity with Quranic norms as they choose to understand them. Would such an understanding of Islam not lead to war of wills with no end, as 'God's perfection' on earth is impossible even under the Taliban in Afghanistan? How can the West best handle such differences over the rule of law in modern society?"

My preliminary answer to this one is that modernization is not strictly a matter of moving from a religious to a post religious order: the separation of church and state is much more complex than just some institutional arrangement. As Iain T. Benson put it, "the term secular is not a helpful term to describe the public sphere

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because, for most people, it means "non religious" and this acts as an overly broad exclusion of such things as the public place for the contributions of religion and religious believers in all walks of life and in many co-operative aspects with the state.... The State (law and politics) is not stripped of religious influence because law and politics are made up of citizens all of whom are "believers". [But] "The state must not coerce an individual to affirm a specific religious belief or to manifest a specific religious practice." In my view, this is why religiously defined states such as Pakistan, or even George Bush's America, can harbour serious dangers for themselves and their neighbours.

Conclusion : beaucoup de travail à faire

L'Islam est caractérisé autant par sa diversité humaine que pas son point de référence unique, le Coran. L'Islam n'est pas un monolithe et comme, contrairement à la hiérarchie de la religion catholique, il n'a pas de source unique de dogme, il n'est pas toujours facile de savoir qui parle au nom des musulmans. Le Grand Sheikh de Al Azhar est entendu par près de deux milliards de fidèles mais est-il écouté? D'où l'importance de cultiver des relations beaucoup plus étroites avec les organisations musulmanes pour prendre conscience des différents courants et réduire les conflits possible. Parmi les sociétés de l'Ouest ne serait-ce pas le Canada qui est le mieux placé pour entamer le processus d'adaptation nécessaire pour développer une relation de confiance et respect mutuelle entre musulmans et l'Ouest d'un nouveau siècle? À nous de répondre au défi? 🌐

Ferry de Kerckhove recently retired from the Foreign Service after serving as Ambassador to Egypt (as well as to Indonesia in 2001-2003 and High Commissioner to Pakistan in 1998-2001).

Le renseignement et la diplomatie : combler l'écart

Mot de la rédaction : Selon une blague usée, « renseignement militaire » serait la définition parfaite d'un oxymoron. Certains pourraient croire qu'il en est de même de diplomatie et renseignement, mais, comme dans le cas de l'armée, c'est le contraire qui est vrai : ce sont des siamois. Quelle est la valeur réelle du « renseignement » mal informé par son contexte diplomatique? À quoi peut vraiment servir la « diplomatie » mal informée par ses « secrets utiles », pour reprendre les mots de Sarah Taylor?

Au lendemain du 11 septembre, le MAECI a créé le Programme d'établissement de rapports sur la sécurité mondiale (PERSM), un cadre spécialisé de présentation de rapports diplomatiques qui vient tout juste de marquer ses 10 ans de réussite. Parallèlement, le Bureau de l'évaluation internationale (BEI) du Bureau du Conseil privé – où bon nombre d'agents dotés d'une solide expérience du MAECI ont travaillé – a mené des recherches spécialisées qui nous donnent une connaissance intime des enjeux mondiaux clés et de leurs inter-venants. Cependant, il existe des lacunes sur le plan des connaissances : ni les uns ni les autres ne sont aussi bien compris que les spécialistes de la politique étrangère le voudraient. C'est pourquoi **bout** s'est adressé à Ken England, directeur du PERSM au MAECI, et à Sarah Taylor, ancienne directrice générale intérimaire du BEI (et aujourd'hui notre chef de mission adjointe à Beijing), pour connaître leurs points de vue. Deux articles, deux organismes distincts et une conclusion : pour obtenir des renseignements précis, il faut évaluer de perspectives différentes les questions de sécurité et les questions diplomatiques afférentes...ou, pour reprendre les mots de Ken England et Micheal Kovrig, la « réalité de terrain » est cruciale pour la diplomatie contemporaine. Enfin, mais non le moindre : les deux organismes offrent une expérience professionnelle précieuse à ceux et celles qui adorent les défis.

DFAIT's Global Security Reporting Program

Using traditional diplomacy to tackle 21st century challenges...

by Ken England and Michael Kovrig



GSRP's Phil Cordier with Solo City Police Chief and staff during a reporting trip to Central Java.

In the early morning of July 17, 2009, two luxury hotels in Jakarta suffered devastating suicide bomb attacks, which claimed the lives of nine people and injured another 50, including two Canadians. In the immediate aftermath, Phil Cordier, a senior foreign service officer stationed at the Canadian embassy there, rushed to the scene, and later called on his broad network of contacts for information that he fed back to Ottawa throughout the day.

Phil's reporting during the ensuing local investigation drew extensively on his conversations with bombing victims and interactions with the Indonesian police, the RCMP and other law enforcement agencies, all in an effort to help paint a holistic picture of developments on the ground. Recalling the experience later, Phil noted: "I have never been so engaged in my work as at that time – everything

just snapped into focus. I can't think of another instance where I have felt so useful in my work, watching a real-life drama all around me, and being a part of it. It was intense, but extremely rewarding."

Phil considers the 2009 bombings to be one remarkable experience among many that he has encountered during a posting to Indonesia that has had him travel from one end of the beautiful archipelago to the other – to Aceh, to Kalimantan (Borneo, to us in the West), and to remote valleys in Papua.

His posting has exposed him to parts of the country that most foreigners never see, and to contacts outside the "normal" diplomatic circuit, including local figures in former conflict areas such as Ambon and Poso, in the heartland of Java, and across the hustle-and-bustle of Jakarta itself.

Phil says his is a "fascinating job that involves considerable day-to-day independence" while an integral part of the embassy's political section.

While many foreign service officers will eventually come face-to-face with crisis situations over the course of their careers, Phil is perhaps more likely than most to encounter these with greater regularity, given his current participation in DFAIT's **Global Security Reporting Program (GSRP)**.

Indeed, as one of the department's current roster of 24 GSRP officers deployed abroad, Phil's "bread and butter" is to gauge, analyze and report back on security and stability trends in Indonesia that could affect the safety of Canadians, government policies and programs, or other Canadian interests.

Au commencement...

Pour comprendre la genèse de ce programme novateur du MAECI, on pourrait établir un lien direct entre le travail de Phil à la suite des attentats à la bombe de Djakarta en 2009 et les attaques du 11 septembre. En fait, tous les agents du Programme de rapports sur la sécurité mondiale (PERSM) peuvent faire remonter leurs racines directement aux événements de ce jour fatidique qui, en plus d'avoir coûté la vie à 24 Canadiens



La capitaine Sarah Heer, de l'EICC, et Rachna Mishra, du PPRD, durant l'intervention du gouvernement du Canada après le tremblement de terre en Haïti, en 2010.

innocents, a déclenché une période d'introspection sur la meilleure façon de repenser le dispositif de sécurité nationale et de politique étrangère pour apporter une réponse plus effective aux menaces du XXI^e siècle.

La contribution traditionnelle du MAECI dans ce domaine – les comptes rendus diplomatiques – avait graduellement été soumise à des pressions avec le temps en raison des demandes croissantes et conflictuelles auxquelles devaient faire face les agents politiques à l'étranger. L'effet net a été que nos diplomates avaient de moins en moins le temps de s'éloigner de leur bureau pour développer une expertise sur leurs pays d'accréditation.

Les attaques du 11 septembre ont catalysé la reconnaissance, déjà croissante, du fait que, dans un monde de plus en plus réseauté, les menaces contre les Canadiens et les intérêts du Canada à l'étranger pouvaient venir non seulement d'acteurs étatiques, mais être le résultat de facteurs complexes comme une gouvernance faible ou corrompue, les inégalités, l'insécurité, les abus des droits de la personne, le terrorisme, l'extrémisme ou le crime organisé transnational. Être à l'écoute des vues des élites politiques dans les capitales n'était plus suffisant pour comprendre le monde du XXI^e siècle.

En même temps, de nombreux médias au Canada, au R.-U. et aux É.-U. diminuaient leur couverture internationale

et fermaient des bureaux à l'étranger, réduisant la quantité d'information disponible et, par ricochet, la qualité de cette information, en particulier sur les régions éloignées ou moins développées du globe. L'Internet, bien qu'il constitue un canal d'information (souvent hautement biaisée ou inexacte) sans précédent, ne pouvait pas équivaloir à la présence de Canadiens à l'étranger, l'établissement de relations et l'acquisition de connaissances pour permettre d'évaluer les développements dans leurs contextes social, politique et culturel distincts.

Pour que le gouvernement canadien puisse formuler des réponses de politiques aux aspects plus sombres de la mondialisation, il avait besoin d'une capacité de rendre compte qui aiderait à éclairer les décisions de politiques.

Au bout du compte, les préoccupations accrues en matière de sécurité de l'après-11 septembre ont entraîné l'octroi d'argent neuf à Ottawa et, sous l'effet d'un lobbying considérable des hauts fonctionnaires du MAECI, ont aidé à donner naissance au PERSM. Avec le temps, et grâce à des améliorations continues, le Programme a renouvelé la capacité du Ministère de produire des comptes rendus diplomatiques spécialisés, quoique avec un net accent sur la sécurité.

The mandate...

According to Dan Livermore, DFAIT's Director General for Security and Intelligence at the time, the primary mission of this new cadre of GSRP officers, would be to uncover "the ground truth" in their territories, "conveyed in local languages by informed, ordinary people with a sense of what actually is going on."

To accomplish this, GSRP officers would generally eschew the traditional diplomatic circuit in favour of building relationships with "atypical" local personalities with insider knowledge of local or regional developments and trends that might have security implications for Canada and its allies. The challenges might be new, but the principle would be time-honoured: to really know and understand a land and its people from

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first-hand experience. As Alex Bilodeau, currently serving as DFAIT's GSRP officer in Tunis, puts it:

"A good GSRP officer, in my view, has to like people and be willing to invest himself personally in these relationships. This is the key to breaking down barriers, notably in my region. Sharing meals, stories about family and personal experiences becomes an important part of the job."

In other words, by using traditional diplomatic methods, GSRP officers would devote the bulk of their time and energy to developing their local networks and, through them, would keep their fingers on the pulse of security and stability dynamics on the ground. They would do so as declared diplomats, operating in full compliance with the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.

This would give Canada additional "eyes and ears" on the ground to provide nuance, context and insights on the drivers of potential or actual threats. And, while DFAIT would manage it, the program would be a "whole-of-government" resource that would help serve the information needs of all relevant stakeholders back home.

To make all of this work, particularly in places that really mattered to Canada but where good information was hard to come by, GSRP officers would be given a considerable degree of operational autonomy while at post and the resources necessary to remain mobile. Regular travel outside capitals would be the rule, rather than the exception. And most important of all: they would have the capacity and direction to produce reports, and lots of them.

Des ressources bien agencées...

Dès le début, les agents du PERSM ont été recrutés dans la filière politique/économique du service extérieur du MAECI, principalement des agents en début ou en milieu de carrière avec une expérience antérieure à l'étranger ou à l'international qui étaient ouverts à cette approche de « retour à l'essentiel », en matière de comptes rendus politiques.

Si l'application de ces critères a permis à elle seule de disposer d'un réservoir de talents riche et diversifié, un effort concerté a été fait dès l'abord pour sélectionner des personnes présentant des compétences et des attributs spécifiques jugés complémentaires du point de vue du travail du PERSM.

Parmi ces attributs, des compétences affirmées en rédaction et la maîtrise d'une troisième langue étaient des atouts évidents. Mais le Programme avait également besoin de personnes aventureuses (sans être téméraires), d'une curiosité d'esprit innée et à la personnalité légèrement extrovertie naturellement « branchée » sur l'interaction sociale, et facilement capables de composer avec les incertitudes et les difficultés qui accompagnent la vie et le travail dans des environnements difficiles. Après avoir franchi avec succès un processus d'entrevue spécifiquement adapté en vue de l'évaluation de ces capacités, et avoir acquis les niveaux de compétence linguistique requis pour leurs affectations à venir, les recrues devaient également suivre un programme de formation intensif les préparant à leur type unique de travail sur le terrain.

Le profil polyvalent du PERSM et la formation dispensée n'ont pas seulement créé une capacité d'établissement de rapports de grande valeur, rentable et spécialisée dans les missions, mais aussi amélioré la « capacité de pointe » du MAECI quand il s'agit de déployer des agents dans des situations de crise à priorité élevée.

Une claire démonstration en a été faite en janvier 2010 à la suite d'un tremblement de terre massif en Haïti, qui, en moins de 30 secondes, a réduit en débris de grandes parties du pays. L'agent du PERSM Rachna Mishra, en poste à Port-au-Prince depuis l'été précédent, se rappelle une scène de chaos avec l'effondrement de bâtiments majeurs, comme le Palais national et le siège de la Mission des Nations Unies pour la stabilisation en Haïti (MINUSTAH), entraînant des dizaines de morts. La nouvelle que 5 000 criminels endurcis s'étaient échappés du pénitencier national et sillonnaient la ville ne faisait qu'ajouter au trouble.

Mais l'épreuve sur le plan personnel a été encore plus difficile à assumer avec la découverte plus tard que nombre des employés locaux que le personnel de l'ambassade avait connus et côtoyés depuis des années étaient morts.

Si elle se souviendra toujours du tremblement de terre et de ses suites, Rachna se rappelle également la clarté des objectifs qui se sont imposés alors qu'elle et d'autres à l'ambassade et à l'Administration centrale du MAECI ont évalué comment déployer au mieux des ressources limitées pour aider aux efforts déployés par Haïti.

Il est rapidement devenu manifeste que le Programme pouvait être appelé en renfort et, dans les jours qui ont suivi, les agents du PERSM qui avaient déjà servi en Haïti ont été dépêchés à Port-au-Prince pour aider à rétablir les réseaux de l'ambassade, à recueillir de l'information et à faire rapport à Ottawa sur l'évolution de la situation de sécurité, politique et humanitaire. Ces agents, qui maîtrisaient le créole et le français, et étaient habitués à l'environnement de travail haïtien, ont été intégrés sans difficulté aux opérations de secours sur le terrain, fournissant un soutien à l'Équipe d'intervention en cas de catastrophe (EICC) du Canada et travaillant avec leurs collègues de l'ambassade à évacuer les quelque 5 000 ressortissants canadiens en Haïti qui demandaient l'assistance du Canada.



Alexandre Bilodeau with son, Lennon, in Ramallah on Palestinian Nakba (Catastrophe) Day.

Malgré les nombreuses difficultés auxquelles elle a fait face pendant son affectation, Rachna demeure l'un des plus ardents partisans du Programme. Réfléchissant à son expérience à titre d'agent du PERSM jusqu'à maintenant, elle note : « Dans l'ensemble, pouvoir travailler avec une équipe aussi capable et unie a rendu la tâche agréable dans les pires et les meilleures des circonstances. »

GSRP of today...

After roughly 10 years of existence, the GSRP has grown from a handful of recruits to more than two dozen who collectively cover over 40 countries. The program has also seen commensurate growth in its reporting output from the roughly 100 stand-alone reports in 2002, to over 1,200 logged in 2011. By design, the program has adjusted to evolving geopolitical realities and Government of Canada priorities over time, adding new positions and reallocating others in response to needs.

Of course, a reporting program is only useful if reports are actually being read. By this measure, the program has been extremely successful, with an ever-expanding readership and overwhelmingly favourable feedback.

Another important measure of a program's success is the level of job satisfaction felt by the people in it and how sought after they are for follow-on assignments. Here again, the GSRP can stand tall, as evidenced by the large number of officers who choose to remain in the program for multiple assignments. Part of the allure relates back to the work package itself, with its emphasis on relationship building, exposure to interesting locales and mix of stimulating issues. But, for those who have gone through the program before, there is also a sense of camaraderie that comes with working with a small, close-knit network of colleagues who have not only trained together, but continue to collaborate closely once in the field.

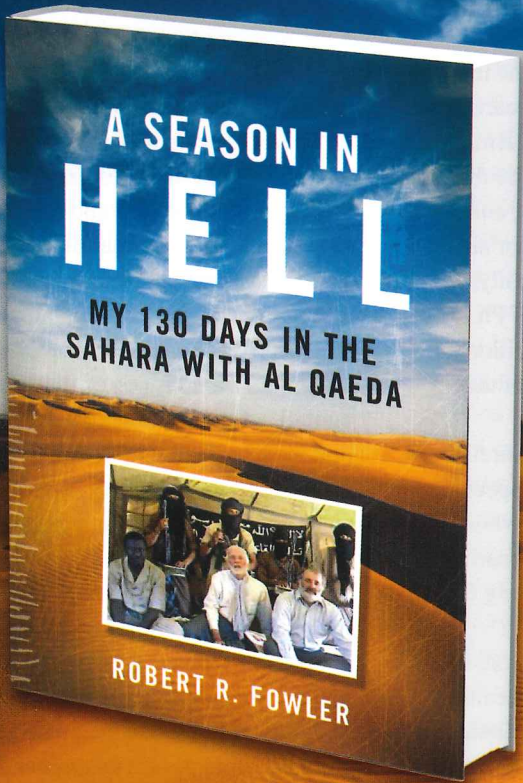
For Alex Bilodeau, who served previously as a GSRP officer in Ramallah, this is a key selling point. As he describes it, his GSRP experience has been enriched by working with a very close group of GSRP peers who regularly share best practices and analysis. As far as he's concerned, there is no better work to be had anywhere in the department.

"Including my years in language training, I have been with the program for five years now. I've seen it grow and refine itself, and become more and more appreciated by the Government of Canada."

Ten years on, the GSRP appears to be in solid shape and well-poised to meet the challenges of tomorrow. ☺

Ken England is Head, Global Security Reporting Program (GSRP), DFAIT.

Michael Kovrig est Chargé de dossier principal, Programme de rapports sur la sécurité mondiale (PERSM), MAECI.



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Useful Secrets:

Intelligence for Canadian Foreign Policy Professionals

by Sarah Taylor

When I left the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) in 2006 to join the International Assessment Staff (IAS) of the Privy Council Office – one of the main intelligence assessment bodies of the government of Canada – I entered a world of unknown unknowns, to quote Donald Rumsfeld. In this I was hardly unique; subsequent conversations with some former senior consumers of Canadian intelligence made me realize that they did not really understand the “funny papers” they had been given to read. Even if it was common, my ignorance of intelligence should have been surprising. I had spent 16 years working in the foreign service, one of the primary clients for foreign intelligence. I held a high level clearance and on one posting had regularly dropped in on friendly embassies to read the intelligence they agreed to share with Canada. Yet I had only a foggy notion of what I was reading, how it was produced, or how to make best use of it.

This article aims to help correct this state of affairs by giving readers a basic introduction to the world of intelligence. James Bond aficionados should prepare to be disappointed. Those, on the other hand, who have always wondered “What is that stuff they bring me to read?” will, I hope, find this helpful. I also suggest a few changes in current practice that might help bridge the gap between intelligence and foreign policy.

What is intelligence, and where does it come from?

The term intelligence is itself confusing. It can be more or less synonymous with information, as in “business intelligence”. Or it can mean information gathered through covert means, evoking the world of spies and secrets. But even in the covert world, many analysts work from “all-source intelligence”, meaning sources ranging from media reports through diplomatic reports to highly classified material. (In this article, the term intelligence, unless qualified as “all-source”, means highly classified covert

intelligence.) In addition there are many sub-categories of intelligence, including criminal, military, national security and foreign – the latter being that which the foreign policy community generally sees.

Adding to the confusion, the intelligence community as a whole carries out a range of highly varied jobs. Broadly speaking these divide into three distinct categories: special operations, collection and assessment. This makes for an exceptionally diverse community, from Navy Seals to holders of Ph.Ds in area studies, which the traditional need-to-know philosophy has made even more segmented.

Operations belongs to the rarefied world of James Bond and of Special Forces. These are the groups who undertake covert activities abroad such as the recent tracking and killing of Osama bin Laden.

Collectors access information, directly or indirectly, through covert means. They then analyze and disseminate this material. There is an operational aspect to collection, whether at home or abroad, but the goal is information gathering.

Collection results in single-source reporting: brief transcriptions of information obtained from liaison with other intelligence agencies, from direct contact with an individual (human intelligence or HUMINT) or by technical means such as listening devices (signals intelligence or SIGINT) or imagery.

Assessment involves using all-source intelligence to explain and make judgments on complex situations or issues. The assessment community plays no part in operations or collection, but is a major consumer of single-source intelligence. Assessors spend much of their time behind a desk, producing briefs or reports that look quite like diplomatic reporting: broad analyses that draw on multiple sources. Assessment can be seen as a bridge between the intelligence world and those parts of the public service that formulate policy. Assessment differs from diplomatic reporting, however, in its greater focus on the writer’s views than an interlocutor’s views, and in deliberately omitting policy recommendations. “Policy relevant but policy neutral” is the motto of the IAS.

How intelligence connects with policy

In the policy world, contact with collectors is regular and highly structured. Collectors meet with public servants annually to determine their requirements. Since collection is expensive, time-consuming and sometimes dangerous, collectors seek explicit guidance on what information customers want. They must also carefully consider which of these needs are best met through covert collection. Once collected, the most useful single-source HUMINT or SIGINT reports are disseminated to senior clients. These are the packages of “funny papers” that appear on senior desks on a weekly or bi-weekly basis.

The policy community’s contact with assessment is more variable and informal. Assessment priorities can be adjusted relatively rapidly in response to events, changes in policy direction or requests from clients. Policy staff are sometimes invited to attend discussions or meetings by the assessment community, notably inter-departmental expert group meetings, and to comment on draft assessments. Analysts may participate in policy discussions as resource-persons, and visit posts abroad to update their knowledge.

The uses and abuses of intelligence

Policy-makers receive intelligence materials from both collectors and assessors, but they rarely get any guidance on how to read them or on what these materials actually are. This can lead to significant misunderstanding and abuse. Readers are often dazzled by a high level of classification. In fact, “Top Secret” says nothing about the value of the contents; rather it indicates the sensitivity of the means by which it was collected. Moammar Gaddafi’s laundry list would be highly classified if obtained by tapping his cell phone.

Instead, readers should look at the source description at the start of a single-source item, or the description of the multiple sources used (the “assessment base”) in an assessment paper, to

get a sense of their reliability. Too often readers skim over these apparently administrative sections. They are not always couched in the clearest language, but they are much better indicators of the value of the contents than the level of classification. For assessments, the identity of the author is also important; as with diplomatic reporting, some analysts are better than others.

In fact, “Top Secret” says nothing about the value of the contents; rather it indicates the sensitivity of the means by which it was collected.

Above all, the reader needs to understand the distinction between single source material and assessments. It is easy to focus on the former – which seem like “real intelligence” – and reject the latter, which read more like a competing stream of diplomatic reporting. Yet in reality most single source reports are what one agency terms “building block intelligence”, useful for developing a bigger picture but not that helpful when read in isolation. Even if all but the juiciest pieces are usually filtered out, they remain single bits of information without context, often partial or oblique, and hard for a non-specialist to assess.

My personal view is that we should be presenting senior readers in particular with far less raw intelligence and far more assessment. As one colleague put it, we should stop dumping raw ingredients on their desks and give them a cooked meal instead. To change this long-standing practice will demand major changes in the intelligence community, however, not least because the strategic assessment component is so small: some 200 analysts for the whole government of Canada.

Intelligence culture versus foreign policy culture

Even if there were a better balance between assessment and collection, intelligence products and practice would still sit somewhat uncomfortably with

the policy world. The intelligence community provides a service to its customers, but not always a friendly one. This discomfort arises partly from a difference in cultures, and partly from necessary differences in practice. The intelligence world is focussed on risk, warning and secrets; it comes into its own when others are up to no good. Diplomacy focuses on the positive and the art of the possible,

and requires a degree of trust in others. Combine its somewhat gloomy worldview with a tradition of policy neutrality, and it is easy for the intelligence community to seem like the perpetual skunk at the foreign policy picnic.

In addition, policy-making requires unanimity at key points – only one recommendation can be made to Ministers – while intelligence assessment incorporates dissent. When there is disagreement on a serious issue, analytical best practice requires that to be made clear. The intelligence community learned the dangers of glossing over minority dissenting views the hard way on the issue of Iraq’s purported weapons of mass destruction. Another lesson assessors learned from the Iraq WMD debacle was the danger of giving decision-makers the single, unequivocal answer they demanded, when an honest assessment based on the available intelligence was more a matter of probabilities and risks.

Since questions of such importance are sometimes in play, involving decisions to warn the public, apply sanctions or even go to war, intelligence methodology is by necessity painstaking. The most striking difference for me between the IAS and DFAIT was the time, thought and training put into assessments, in contrast to diplomatic reporting. Even when the issues in play are more mundane, analysts take great care to ensure they can back up their conclusions, and

Done properly, it provides a useful service to those whose job is to develop policy, make decisions and take action. It provides information not available through other means, and analysis from one of the very few areas of government where experts are paid primarily to think, write and brief.

avoid speculating beyond what their material warrants. Analysts often have the advantage over diplomats in long-term expertise in their subject area, and analysis entails a greater responsibility to justify one's conclusions than does reporting. Despite these differences, diplomats might benefit from some of the training analysts receive on thinking, analysis and writing.

To round out this list of differences, diplomats are posted in the countries they report on, while Canadian intelligence analysts mainly observe their countries of specialization from a distance. Intelligence analysts work in close collaboration with allies to a degree that would be familiar to members of the military, but less so to diplomats.

Finally, diplomacy is firmly founded in international laws and conventions; intelligence exists in a grey area of international law. While experiences from the Gulf War, Bosnia and Afghanistan may have reduced the numbers of those in the foreign service who consider spying to be un-Canadian and un-gentlemanly, a degree of suspicion persists.

Why intelligence matters

Intelligence work may be expensive and dangerous. It may exist in a legal grey zone. It may produce much dross for every valuable nugget. Nevertheless, it endures because it is useful. Done properly, it provides a useful service to those whose job is to develop policy,

make decisions and take action. It provides information not available through other means, and analysis from one of the very few areas of government where experts are paid primarily to think, write and brief. It is ironic, then, if Canadian policy practitioners are not able to make full use of intelligence material and resources because they don't understand what is being offered to them. My hope is that this article has gone some way to demystifying intelligence for readers. Above all, I look forward to the day when an introduction to intelligence is part of the basic training for all foreign service officers. When that happens, the "funny papers" will have become truly useful secrets. ☺

Sarah Taylor is a former Director for Asia, Deputy Executive Director and Acting Executive Director with the International Assessment Staff at the Privy Council Office. She is currently Deputy Head of Mission at the Embassy of Canada in Beijing and was previously posted in Hong Kong, Beijing and Jakarta as a foreign service officer.

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Are Our Pensions At Risk?

An Interview with Bernard Dussault

*Bernard Dussault est l'un des plus réputés spécialistes des pensions et du système canadien de retraite. Il a été actuaire en chef du gouvernement du Canada de 1992 à 1998 (relevant du Surintendant des institutions financières du Canada pour les questions autres qu'actuarielles). Il est actuellement actuaire-conseil en analyse des enjeux nationaux en matière de pensions; il donne l'heure juste sur la couverture et la solvabilité des régimes de pension et présente des options pour la meilleure voie à suivre (notamment une couverture élargie du RPC et du RRQ). En février, il a pris la parole devant une salle comble lors d'un colloque de l'APASE à l'édifice Pearson et il a accepté de partager les grandes lignes de sa pensée, par l'intermédiaire de **bout**, avec les membres du service extérieur du Canada qui n'ont pu être présents.*

bout: Canada's public servants are getting nervous about the future of their pensions, how worried should they be?

Dussault: Let me first state that my views are personal and do not necessarily reflect those of agencies I currently serve as a consultant. My overall sense of the situation is fairly straightforward. First, even if our federal public service pension system is sound and sustainable, the government's long term financial challenges are real, so some reform is inevitable and necessary; and second, the key issue – for all parties – is getting reform right so that commitments are honoured and savings are real. Incidentally, I applaud PAFSO's initiative in organizing a seminar on the topic – public servants need to be better informed and much more engaged in any pension reform process.

bout: Should public servants worry that the government will act unilaterally and impose retroactive measures?

Dussault: On both counts I would argue “no”, the government will not act unilaterally – or at least it will try to avoid the appearance of acting unilaterally – and it will not attempt to make any measures retroactive. Legally speaking, unfavourable retroactive changes are fraught with problems and, politically speaking, usually invite a nasty backlash.

bout: What, in fact, is the issue here?

Dussault: The question is whether the Public Service Pension Plan (PSPP) is solvent and in my view it is, unless and until the government itself goes bankrupt. In part, the debate is a matter of perceptions. Let me explain:

Contributions by public servants to the PSPP have always been deducted from their salaries, but it wasn't until 2000 that the government created a real “segregate fund” for the excess of PSPP contributions over benefit payments. In practice, the government's policy pre-2000 was to defer all accrued PSPP benefits until such pension benefit payments actually came due. Until 2000 the federal government used PSPP contributions to pay for other priorities.

Because no contributions were actually made to a “segregate fund” prior to year 2000, the pre-2000 PSPP financing approach corresponds to “pay-as-you-go” financing. Thus, all national deficits incurred after 2000 have been, and will continue to be, partly “caused” by the PSPP pre-2000 financing approach until the death of the last survivor among pre-2000 PSPP members.

That explains why the federal government is allegedly “targeting” the PSPP as a means to reduce recurring national deficits. However, going after the PSPP to reduce the national deficit overlooks two key factors. First, public servants

contributed their fair share to the pension scheme prior to 2000, so it is not right to blame them for the deficit. Second, the post-2000 PSPP segregate fund is in good financial shape and should remain so whatever demographic trends arise in this country because the size of the fund is a function of the pension benefits accrued since 2000. In other words, the size of the fund is related to the number of its members, not to demographic trends in society in general. If one wants to reduce the deficit because our population is ageing, the PSPP is the wrong target.

bout: Where is the pressure to reduce pension expenditures coming from? Is the government right to claim that the PSPP is solvent, or is the C.D. Howe Institute right in claiming it is not – and major increases in employee contributions are necessary?

Dussault: There have been repeated attacks on the PSPP by some organizations such as the C. D. Howe Institute (CDHI) and the Canadian Federation of Independent Business (CFIB). However, these attacks suffer from some faulty logic. Let me explain:

First, you can't always apply private sector solutions to the public sector. Three studies released in the past two years by the CDHI argue that the government's estimates of PSPP liabilities and contribution rate (or “normal

cost”) should be much higher and include a safety margin (or “risk premium”). The goal of such extremely high contribution rates would be to build up a contingency fund that would **guarantee** the payment of promised benefit payments whenever the PSPP fund fell short of PSPP liabilities (as a result of lower than expected investment returns or some other reason). If the government were to act on what the CDHI would like, PSPP contribution rates would go up to 34% of payroll versus today’s 19%.

These studies contradict the realistic and, in my view, accurate PSPP-related estimates made by the government Chief Actuary. Moreover, CDHI’s reasoning does not make sense for the public sector. With a pension plan sponsored by a private employer, a contingency fund is essential for the protection of all accrued promised benefits, especially if an employer goes bankrupt at a time when the pension plan faces an actuarial deficit. However, such employer bankruptcy-related pension insolvency risk is essentially absent for the PSPP. The Government of Canada may face budget constraints, but it is not expected to go bankrupt. If Canada actually declared bankruptcy, pensions might be the least of our worries!

My second point is that if critics claim that the PSPP has an “unfunded liability” (for pension benefits accrued before 2000), it is not because public servants didn’t contribute to the Plan. The problem, if there really is one, results from the government’s unilateral decision to spend, rather than set aside, both its pre-2000 PSPP contributions as well as the contributions already paid by public servants. The onus thus remains on the government, and ultimately on all Canadian taxpayers, to honour its responsibilities toward PSPP members. Reducing already accrued PSPP benefits on account of this “unfunded liability” would be unfair. Actually, it would penalize PSPP members by charging them twice for their PSPP pre-2000 contributions: when they paid into the scheme, and when their pension benefit payments come due.

In my opinion, whatever pressures the CDHI and others bring to bear, there is no real cause for PSPP members to panic about precipitate and unfavourable changes to the Plan. Any changes would require legislative amendment to the *Public Service Superannuation Act* (PSSA). Normally, amendments are implemented gradually, do not affect already accrued benefits and are not applied retroactively. Moreover, all accrued PSPP pension benefits are better protected than under any other Canadian pension plan because the promise to pay them is legally enshrined in the PSSA and because the plan sponsor, the Government of Canada, is not likely to go bankrupt.

bout: What is the best way to proceed – both for public servants (and their unions or professional associations like PAFSO), and the Government?

If the government were to unfavourably amend the PSSA, and thereby prejudice the interests of public servants, it should provide a clear rationale for such amendments and ensure they are consistent with the global compensation of public servants. In my view, the government:

- a) Should not reduce **indexation** of pension benefits, as this provision is designed to protect the purchasing power of pensions, not to increase them;
- b) Should not replace the **Defined Benefit** (DB) PSPP by a Defined Contribution (DC) plan.

There are several reasons why I make that second recommendation. DC plans can defeat the purpose of a pension plan, which is to provide a decent and stable retirement income, i.e. financial security during retirement. Under a DC plan the average return on investments is lower because most members are not investment experts. Moreover, as we have seen, volatility in capital markets affects the return on investments of each member to an extent that can (and actually does) cause financial distress to many members of a DC plan.

Finally, if the government is looking for an immediate reduction in the cost of providing pensions, and it is, adjusting the existing public service DB plan is much more effective than a gradual move to DC plan. If applied only to new hires, the latter would not produce significant government savings in the short term (meaning not for a decade or longer).

There are better options for both public servants and the government. Marshalling accepted facts, figures and solid economic logic, the government could consider a reduction in the scope of the PSPP. That could take one or more forms, including:

- a) a gradual increase from 40% to 50% in the members’ cost sharing;
- b) a gradual removal of the “age 55 and 30 years of service” rule;
- c) a gradual increase in the normal pensionable age of 60; and
- d) a gradual change in the pension formula from basing pensions on “**final average**” salaries to “**indexed career average**” salaries – a much fairer formula, in my view, that is already used for the Canada Pension Plan.

It happens that the first three of the above forms are enshrined in the federal budget tabled in the House of Commons on March 29. There needs to be good dialogue between the government and the public service representatives on the future of the public service pension system to ensure that the PSPP will not be subject to unfavourable changes further to those of the March 29 budget. Wherever there are legitimate needs and concerns between two parties there is usually common ground. We have options that may meet the key concerns of both.

bout: Thank you. 🙏

Peyton Vaughan Lyon

1921–2011

Born Winnipeg, October 2, 1921.

Died Ottawa, March 24, 2011, aged 89.

Teacher, commentator and historian on Canada's role in world affairs. Vigorous advocate of the cause of Palestine. Died of natural causes.

By his middle years Peyton Lyon had fallen into the habit of writing letters to the editors of newspapers. A friend, who was a man of the world, chided him: "You have become a second Eugene Forsey." It was, Peyton remarked, the highest compliment he had ever received.

Peyton Lyon's early career prepared him for a life of advocacy. Service in the RCAF took him to West Africa where, as a navigator on a Wellington bomber, he searched for German raiders in the South Atlantic. Four years at the University of Manitoba gave him an apprenticeship in debating and in student politics. A Rhodes Scholarship in 1949 sent him to Oxford, where he was challenged by the daunting curriculum in philosophy, politics and economics. There followed a doctoral thesis exploring the stormy life of Claude Saint-Simon, the founder of French socialism.

External Affairs then beckoned and he spent six years in Bonn and Ottawa. Government service did not offer a field for advocacy so it was on to a university career teaching political science, first at the University of Western Ontario, then at Carleton University. The latter institution had just inaugurated a program of graduate studies in international relations. The Norman Paterson School had begun in 1965 and Peyton Lyon became a charter member of its faculty. Peyton established his credentials as a serious student of Canadian foreign policy when he contributed a volume to the ground-breaking series "Canada in World Affairs", sponsored by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Lyon's contribution was a fair-minded treatise on the Diefenbaker administration, 1961–1963.

There followed other publications of a serious nature: books, articles submitted to journals and to accompany appearances before parliamentary committees. Subjects ranged from constructive roles for Canada in the United Nations, NATO and military relations with the United States in the Cold War. He considered free trade between Canada and the United States and its

benefits for both countries. The Israel-Palestine conflict engaged his attention. An engrossing project was an invitation from Foreign Minister Joe Clark, in 1990, to explore the case against Herbert Norman, a Canadian diplomat whose loyalty had been questioned. Lyon derived great satisfaction in upholding Norman's reputation. During his last years Lyon devoted himself to advancing the Palestine cause.

There were three basic characteristics in Lyon's public comments. His work was based on a thorough understanding of Canada's performance as an international actor. It reflected independent thinking and it was consistently courageous. Peyton was an enthusiastic teacher, taking time with his students and never losing his temper. His views were sometimes controversial but Peyton always stood his ground.

David Farr is a retired Professor of History at Carleton University. He first met Peyton Lyon in 1950 when both were members of New College, Oxford. They were closely involved in the establishment of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton.

Michael Rooney

1959–2011

Life is Good: A Celebration of Michael Rooney

The outpouring of love and affection for our friend and colleague, Michael Rooney, bears witness to the high esteem in which he was held by all whose lives he touched. We offer our heartfelt condolences and lasting affection for his beloved wife, Jane, and their children, David, Sarah and Jonathan. Our grief runs deep at the loss of one so dear, filled with so much life, and still so young at only fifty two. We shall miss him.

In death, as in life, Michael left us a rich legacy. It is built upon an impressive record

of achievement over two decades at DFAIT – beginning as a locally-engaged officer at the Consulate in Detroit to Director of Team Canada and later Departmental Assistant to the Minister for International Trade – but more importantly as a loving husband, father and brother. It is also through a lifetime of living and sharing based on what I would call the Gospel according to Michael: "Life is Good!"

Michael uttered this mantra for as long as I knew him – as a friend, a colleague, and a fellow traveller on the track at the Ottawa Heart Institute. It was more than a catch phrase or hollow consolation. Be it

in victory or in defeat, in joy or in sorrow, or in celebrating success or coping with disappointment, that dictum went to the very essence of his being. He believed it. He proclaimed it. He lived it.

Michael was neither a philosopher nor a theologian. He was straightforward and pragmatic, yet my sense is that both philosophers and theologians would agree that Michael understood something fundamental about life and its purpose – he connected with something much greater than ordinary life.

In *Made for Goodness*, Archbishop Desmond Tutu writes, "Goodness is our

essence... [It] changes the way we see the world, the way we see others, and, most importantly, the way we see ourselves. The way we see ourselves matters. It affects how we treat people. It affects the quality of life for each and all of us."

Our challenge in this too brief passage on earth is to refine the goodness within ourselves, to find and honour the goodness in each other. These were the hallmarks, the very heart of Michael's life. In the tributes that poured in following his death three words, three hallmarks, keep surfacing: Laughter, Loyalty, and Love:

LAUGHTER – Michael could find humour in any situation and made us laugh in good times and bad. He lightened our load, helped heal wounds,

relieved the tension, and kept us looking on the bright side. He often dismantled the armour of mistrust and paved a path from conflict to cooperation. What a precious talent for any team, whether on the hockey rink, in Tower C, or around the family hearth!

LOYALTY – His brand of loyalty was thoughtful and constructive, and he was proud to serve his country. His values were rooted in the call to serve others which he did with unfailing dedication and commitment. At home, at work, or at play, you could count on Michael always.

LOVE – Michael understood what St. Paul, in his Letter to the Corinthians, referred to as unconditional love. Jonathan, Sarah, and David experienced

it firsthand. So did others: orphaned as a young man, Michael took his younger brother and sister under his wing with the loving support of his soul mate, Jane. He may have been born with a heart defect, but there was nothing defective about his heart and his capacity for loving others.

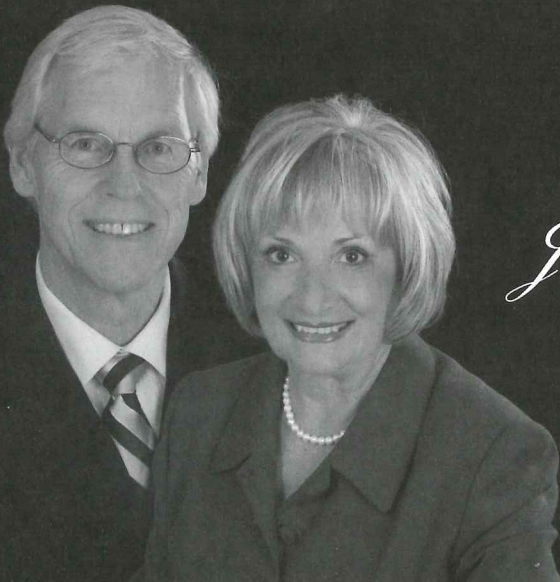
As he rests in the warm embrace of God's love, I can almost hear Michael say: "Life is good...and Life beyond Life is also good!"

The Reverend Laurette A. Glasgow is a retired member of DFAIT and former Ambassador to Belgium, Luxembourg and the Council of Europe; she was recently named Special Adviser for Government Relations for the Anglican Church of Canada.

Rooney family members asked **bout de papier** to convey their heartfelt thanks to PAFSO and DFAIT colleagues for their love and ongoing support, with special thanks to the Reverend Laurette Glasgow who officiated at Michael's service. "We miss him terribly but he will live on in our hearts forever"; to that end an endowment fund in his memory is being established at the Ottawa Heart Institute Foundation. (Editor: Contributions can be made to the Michael Rooney and Family Endowment Fund at the University of Ottawa Heart Institute Foundation www.ottawaheart.ca).

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Klaus Goldschlag

1922–2012

Editor's Note: Klaus Goldschlag died on January 30th. Born in Berlin, he came to Canada in 1937 at the age of fifteen, adopted by Alan Coatsworth. He graduated from the University of Toronto and Princeton, studying oriental languages. He joined the Canadian Military and later External Affairs, serving as Ambassador to Turkey, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as Deputy Under-Secretary of State. He received an Outstanding Achievement Award for Public Service and was made an Officer of the Order of Canada in 1983.

Il a également contribué au Lester B. Pearson College et au Collège universitaire de l'Université de Toronto. Une bourse d'études en relations internationales au Trinity College, qui porte son nom, est financée notamment par la Fondation Donner. Précédé par son épouse chérie Shan, il laisse dans le deuil trois filles et plusieurs petits-enfants qui faisaient sa fierté.

Klaus Goldschlag was one of the most remarkable personalities to represent Canada. In the view of many, he contributed mightily to the substance and character of Canadian diplomacy. So **bout** offers a special tribute: Paul Heinbecker on the man and his achievements, and Ferry de Kerckhove on the indelible experience of being a young officer working with such a very human "maître" of diplomacy.

Klaus Goldschlag, the Man and His Accomplishments

by Paul Heinbecker

In government, success has notoriously many fathers. That makes it all the more remarkable how strong the consensus is that Klaus Goldschlag was a giant of the Foreign Service, someone whom all agree stood out and, his physical stature notwithstanding, stood above. He was a thinker whose genius was matched by his integrity and whose humanity touched everyone from government ministers to security guards. Klaus was a man of ideas, of erudition and cultivation, legendarily hard-working, wonderfully witty and, at the same time, exceptionally kind.

As former Undersecretary Si Taylor has observed:

"It was his extraordinary intelligence that commanded admiration and respect. Anyone who heard his reviews of the international scene, during briefings in Ottawa or diplomatic exchanges abroad, was bound to ask himself whether Klaus was not the finest exponent of the Canadian perspective on the world he had ever heard."

His was the mind and pen behind some of the biggest foreign policy initiatives of the Trudeau years. In the early Seventies, Klaus worked with then Foreign Minister Mitchell Sharp to produce a paper on Canada-US relations. The paper was

drafted primarily by Klaus, and it offered the government three options. The government opted for the Third Option, i.e. diversifying our international economic relationships, which became a guiding principle of Trudeau's foreign policy. It was a big idea by a big thinker. Ahead of its time, the Third Option languished for many years as the Europeans focused inward and the Americans proved more receptive to partnership. The idea's time has now come as the Harper Government negotiates a new economic relationship with Europe and launches new links with China and India.

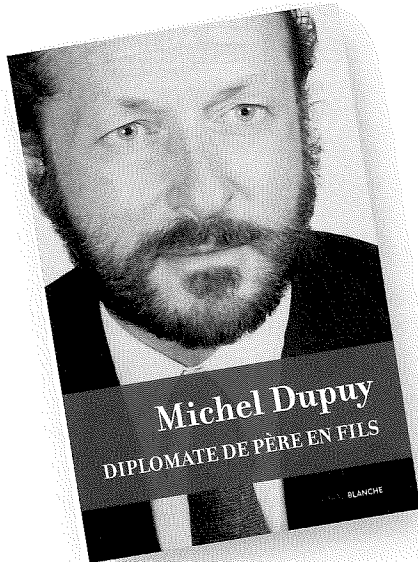
When Allan Gotlieb took over as Undersecretary in the later part of the Seventies, he realized it was essential to appoint as Political Director someone to match the intellect of Pierre Trudeau, who hadn't bothered to hide his skepticism about advice from "External" as it was then called. Allan persuaded an unhappy Klaus to come home early from Rome, a post he loved in a country he adored for its music and food and to which he returned often in later years. Confirmation of the wisdom of Allan's judgment was not long in coming. In Allan's own words:

"A test soon arose when a major world disarmament conference was

convened at the UN. Most heads of government or state planned to attend but Trudeau dug in his heels. 'Why should I go?' he asked. 'I have nothing to say.' I told the Prime Minister I would guarantee that he had something to say, to which he replied 'show me.'

I arranged for him to meet with Klaus and there followed several meetings with myself, Klaus and others. As a result of Klaus' intellectual input into his address, Trudeau became a highly committed advocate of the need for urgent action. The strategy of 'suffocation' [of nuclear weapons in their crib/labs] was just one of several ideas that Klaus proposed and Trudeau adopted. In other words, Trudeau did a hundred-percent turn."

These things would have been enough to crown any career, but there was much more. On assuming office in 1979, then Prime Minister Joe Clark announced he was moving the Canadian embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, causing an instant, strong and very negative reaction among friends and foes alike, including Washington and the Canadian business community. At External, Allan Gotlieb



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and Klaus Goldschlag set about helping the government extricate itself from the position it was in. At their suggestion, the Prime Minister appointed Robert Stanfield (his predecessor as leader of the Progressive Conservative Party and statesman), as a one man commission to make recommendations on the matter. Klaus worked directly with Mr. Stanfield as they made their way through the legal, political and economic thicket, and recommended putting the move off until such time as the legal status of Jerusalem was agreed, a recommendation Mr. Clark accepted.

A man with a rare acuity and wonderful antenna, a few years before the collapse of East Germany he reported back to Ottawa from Bonn that converging political events would bring down the Berlin Wall. Although the message was received in Ottawa with some incredulity, Klaus was later proven right in both his political observations and his predicted timing.

Klaus was known for his sharp wit and lucidity. Of Africa and the Caribbean, he once said: "In Africa, we have no interests but we have a foreign policy. In the Caribbean we have interests but no foreign policy." Former Ambassador (to Germany), Tom Delworth, observed that Klaus was gifted, one of the most serious and creative people he had ever encountered, who at the same time knew when and where and how to laugh at it all, whose motto could have been "if faut prendre tout au sérieux, rien au tragique".

The misadventure that cut short his appointment as Ambassador to Germany and limited his powers was a personal tragedy for him, but equally a tragedy for the Foreign Service and for Canada. But it was the measure of the man that he was able to put one foot in front of the other every day, even when that day was filled with therapy, doctors, disappointment, and tragically the death of his beloved and adoring wife Shan. His daughter Caroline observed that he never allowed himself to get depressed, even through five interminable years of pain management after the accident.

Paul Dubois (also a former Ambassador to Germany) captured the man's extraordinary character thus:

"Juif en Allemagne hitlérienne, orphelin de père, déplacé vers le Canada en adoption à 15 ans, se refusait de condamner les autres. Il insistait qu'il fallait savoir pardonner et à continuer à avoir confiance en l'homme. Sa vie est un témoignage vibrant de cette conviction profonde..."

When I was departing to Ankara on my first posting, the late Jim Nutt who, along with Gordon Osbaldeston,* had recruited me into the Service, knew somehow that Klaus would soon become Ambassador to Turkey. They told me that I was lucky because I would learn something from him. And learn I did.

I worked with Klaus for three life-changing years, getting an international relations education from him that money could not have bought, as I sought to emulate his drive for excellence, his great dedication and his professionalism, and to earn his respect. But it was the many personal kindnesses that he and Shan extended to me, a very young officer far from home that I remember best, taking me along to countless archaeological sites throughout Anatolia, nursing me back to health in their residence when I contracted a serious bout of hepatitis and opening their home to Ayse and me for our marriage, kindnesses that only strike me as the more remarkable the older I get.

A friend as well as an inspiration to his colleagues, contemporaries and juniors, it is no deprecation of those of us who followed to say that they don't make them like that anymore.

Jim Nutt later became Assistant Undersecretary (for more see **bout, Vol. 26, No. 2); Gordon Osbaldeston was to become Undersecretary and Clerk of the Privy Council.*

Paul Heinbecker is a retired Canadian Ambassador, Distinguished Fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation and Director of the Centre for Global Relations at Wilfrid Laurier University.

« Un être unique »

par Ferry de Kerckhove

En 1977, alors que jeune agent au retour d'Iran, je m'occupais de cinq pays de l'Europe de l'Est, dont la Roumanie, le dossier nucléaire lié à la vente du CANDU à ce dernier pays préoccupait beaucoup les esprits. La Roumanie avait beau pratiquer une politique étrangère indépendante, elle n'en faisait pas moins partie du bloc soviétique. Le degré de connaissance du dossier nucléaire au ministère n'était pas des plus élevés. Mais un jour, Klaus Goldschlag, sous-secrétaire d'État suppléant – pour moi la stratosphère, celle où l'air était irrespirable à moins de porter quelques gallons de plus que ceux d'un agent de pupitre – convoque tous ceux qui étaient impliqués de près ou de loin dans le dossier. Nous entrons tous dans son bureau et Klaus, sans la moindre irritation, mais très fier de lui, nous annonce qu'il a trouvé une documentation largement supérieure sur le dossier nucléaire que tout ce que le ministère lui avait fourni... et il brandit le Adelphi Paper qui couvrait tous les aspects de la question en profondeur. Lecture obligatoire... et fort utile.

Quelque mois plus tard, un sous-ministre roumain vient en ville. Klaus vient me voir dans mon bureau au 7^e étage de la tour A – Klaus convoquait rarement les agents à son bureau; il préférait venir dans les leurs, ce qui était à la fois enivrant pour l'honneur qu'il nous faisait, et inquiétant car les demandes étaient toujours précises et exigeaient généralement un effort supplémentaire – il ne venait jamais pour des brouilles. Il me demanda ce que je pensais de son idée d'inviter le sous-ministre roumain à déjeuner chez lui, dans sa maison sur la rue Acacia à Rockliffe. Il ajouta « cela ne doit pas arriver souvent à ces gens du bloc de l'Est d'aller dans la maison de leurs interlocuteurs occidentaux! »

Je lui ai dit que c'était une excellente idée – je n'avais absolument aucune idée si c'en était une ou non. J'ai été convié au déjeuner qui s'est très bien déroulé et à la fin du repas, comme il y avait un trou dans le programme, Klaus m'a demandé si j'avais une idée sur quoi faire avec le bonhomme en question. J'ai eu un de ces

très rares traits de génie qui surviennent une fois par siècle et j'ai suggéré de conduire le sous-ministre à la période de question de 14h00. Cela me valut une accolade de Klaus.

Le plus gros problème que nous posait Klaus à tous était ses infects cigares – on pouvait fumer dans les bureaux à l'époque! – dont il venait allègrement nous empestier lors de ses visites. Quand je suis passé au dossier France, j'ai eu droit à bon nombre de ces visites « cigarifiées » mais le plaisir de pouvoir discuter presque d'égal à égal avec cet être prodigieusement intelligent faisait passer le cigare au second plan. C'est Klaus qui m'a appris les nuances de la confidentialité quand il me conviait à ses dialogues en profondeur avec l'ambassadeur de France, Daufresne de la Chevalerie et que, horrifié au début, je voyais Klaus lire à son homologue des extraits de télex classifiés venant de nos missions, pour alimenter une discussion nourrie. Klaus s'exprimait admirablement en français. Un jour que je préparais un rapport sur une de ses discussions avec l'ambassadeur de la Chevalerie et que je lui en avais envoyé une version préliminaire, il vint me voir dans mon bureau et me dit avec un ton un peu chafouin : « vous savez, mon français n'est pas très bon alors je vous invite à regarder la correction que j'ai apportée à votre texte car en cherchant à simplifier, j'ai sans doute fait des erreurs impardonnables ». Son texte était parfait et avait réduit une de mes interminables phrases de moitié!

Klaus avait un sens de l'humour extraordinaire. Nous étions à Paris pour la première visite en France de Madame Flora MacDonald, visite mémorable s'il en fut. Nous nous retrouvons devant le ministre français des Affaires étrangères Jean François-Poncet, qui fut d'une gentillesse extrême avec notre ministre. Quand celle-ci remercia son homologue français pour le remboursement d'une dette de 10 millions \$ que la France nous devait suite à son départ du commandement intégré de l'OTAN sous de Gaulle – un vieux dossier – Jean François-Poncet qui ne savait pas vraiment de quoi il s'agissait,

quand un de ses fonctionnaires le lui expliqua à l'oreille, dit alors « ma chère sœur, c'est un cierge que nous pouvons brûler sur l'hôtel de notre amitié » Klaus était à côté de Flora et moi à côté de Klaus. Klaus alors me chuchote à l'oreille : « je comprends mal le français. A-t-il parlé d'une vierge dans un hôtel? Donnez-lui mon numéro de chambre ». Essayez de vous imaginer ma réaction, à moins d'un mètre du ministre français, tentant désespérément de ne pas pouffer de rire. Ce fut épique.

Mais j'ai eu « ma revanche » le lendemain car à cette époque fastueuse des relations internationales, on s'offrait des cadeaux. La France avait fait livrer dans chaque chambre d'hôtel non pas des vierges mais différentes jolies choses d'un prix moyen mais de qualité. Coup de théâtre : Klaus n'a rien reçu. Erreur du protocole français, liste incomplète, que sais-je. Klaus vient me voir en me demandant très ennuyé, s'il y avait lieu de se plaindre mais qu'évidemment il ne pouvait le faire lui-même. Je suis allé discrètement expliquer notre désarroi à mes collègues français et justice fut faite si ce n'est que pour réparer « l'outrage », les Français offrirent à Klaus un service en porcelaine de Limoges d'une valeur qui le fit s'interroger sur son droit à le garder.

Klaus était un être unique, un pédagogue remarquable, passionné de son métier, soucieux de faire en sorte que les jeunes agents apprennent à réfléchir en profondeur au cours de leur développement professionnel, un homme d'une incomparable ouverture d'esprit. Sa propre jeunesse tragique loin de le rendre acariâtre ou sombre lui avait insufflé un humanisme envoutant. En ce qui me concerne, Klaus Goldschlag, comme John Halstead, a été un grand mentor pour moi et plus de 30 ans plus tard, sa mémoire continue de m'inspirer. ☺

Ferry de Kerckhove est ambassadeur à la retraite, membre du conseil d'administration de l'Institut de la Conférence des associations de la Défense, membre du Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute, agrégé supérieur de l'École supérieure d'affaires publiques et internationales de l'Université d'Ottawa et orateur sur le Printemps arabe.

How to Avoid Being Killed in a War Zone: The Essential Survival Guide for Dangerous Places

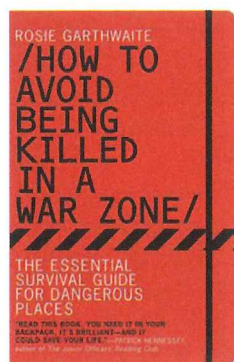
HOW TO AVOID BEING KILLED IN A WAR ZONE: THE ESSENTIAL SURVIVAL GUIDE FOR DANGEROUS PLACES, by Rosie Garthwaite, Bloomsbury USA, 2011, 304 pp. \$22.50

As events of recent months in North Africa, the Middle East and Japan have demonstrated, emergency preparedness and response are key elements of the mandate of every Canadian mission abroad. Individual preparedness is equally important.

How to Avoid Being Killed in a War Zone: The Essential Survival Guide for Dangerous Places, looks at some of the modern keys to survival in difficult situations. The book does not, as its title suggests, only tell about the hazards of war but also many other dangers, like natural disasters, street protests and conflict ridden areas where violent criminals operate. The book will therefore be of interest to friends and colleagues working or travelling to a country with any type of heightened risk.

The author, Rosie Garthwaite, is a TV journalist, producer and writer based in Doha working with Al Jazeera. Clearly a bit of a thrill seeker, Garthwaite joined the British Army as a teenager. She began her career as a reporter for the *Baghdad Bulletin* and other news agencies in Basra, Iraq in 2003, following her graduation from Oxford University. She has since travelled to other challenging environments and wrote the book based on some of her experiences when she found that there was no single guide on what to do when you find yourself in imminent danger while travelling abroad.

While written primarily for journalists, importantly the book not only shares Garthwaite's survival techniques, but includes 68 other contributions from doctors, journalists, NGO workers and



in Lebanon).

All contributors have an interesting story or quotable anecdote to tell. There is practical advice offered in chapters ranging from "Planning, Preparing, Arriving," "Getting Around

**"Be as prepared as you possibly
can – it is not cool to be
under-prepared."**

in a Dangerous Place," "Surviving a Kidnapping" to "Arming Yourself against Trauma." While many parts of the world remain relatively safe, sections on dealing with bureaucracy and dangerous driving will be of interest to many. Detailed medical information has been vetted by Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), which will also receive a share of the royalties.

One of the fundamental messages of the guidebook is that listening to local people you trust is the most important thing you can do. Her most valuable piece of advice, however, is that preparation is essential. "Be as prepared as you possibly can – it is not cool to be under-prepared," Garthwaite said in a recent interview.

While there are sections on frostbite and heat exhaustion, perhaps what is missing (with the growing modern threat of urban terrorism) is how to avoid and

others, ranging from John Simpson (world affairs editor and long time senior correspondent at BBC News) and Terry Waite (conflict negotiator and former hostage

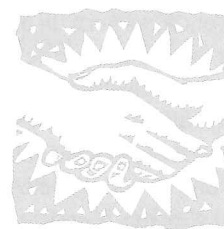
survive an attack on a five star hotel or escape from a burning modern high rise. Clearly not all danger these days comes from the frontline or the street.

Increasingly diplomats, aid workers and tourists find themselves in situations where they nearly get themselves killed. The book is both detailed and practical, is designed not only to help journalists but will assist any person living in or visiting dangerous places. Sharing near-miss experiences, such as what to do if you find yourself in the middle of a riot, helps heighten our situational awareness and prepare us mentally on how to do things more safely, or with less risk, in any potentially difficult or dangerous situation.

For those DFAIT and OGD staff being posted abroad, obtaining a basic level of formal training in the area of crisis management is important. If you find yourself in a danger zone you will be glad to have read the book. Bound like a reference manual, the book has a bit of something for everyone and may just help you and your family get through these challenging times by thinking constructively about what might happen, while hoping that it never does.

Gary Luton is currently Head of Mission in Doha, Qatar. His previous posting was in India where he led the Canadian Crisis Team in Mumbai during the terrorist siege of that city in November 2008.

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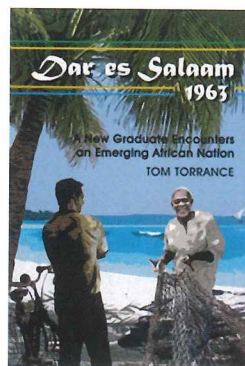
Dar Es Salaam 1963

DAR ES SALAAM 1963 by Tom Torrance, General Store Publishing House, 2010, \$19.95

I got to know Tom Torrance in the early 1960s when we were both students at the University of Toronto, where he was working on a degree in Political science and Economics and dreaming of some day making a difference in a developing country. After graduation, he obtained a job as an economist with the government of Tanganyika (now Tanzania) in *Dar Es Salaam*. Unlike internationally sponsored jobs, this one was to pay purely local rates. Written almost fifty years later and based on diary notes and letters home, this book is his account of his first three months there.

Dar Es Salaam 1963 is a pleasant, informative and sometimes fun memoir. Reading it now, I am struck by the fresh idealism and innocence Tom brought to his African adventure. A lot of our generation probably shared that, but very few acted on it as he did. This 23-year-old youngster arrived in Tanganyika entirely on his own, with no backing from any aid or governmental organization and no money. He had, he tells us “come out to Africa to do some good and dabble in a bit of poverty.” For three months he lived in a primitive thatched hut in a Salvation Army camp four miles from his workplace, with no transportation except his legs and eventually, a bicycle. When his bicycle was stolen, it was a blow because he couldn’t afford to buy another one.

The thirty-six short chapters depict life in Tanganyika as it is emerging from British colonial rule into independence. In them we encounter a range of characters – some colourful and some sad – young African magistrate trainees, journalists, American Peace Corps volunteers, seedy ex-pat colonial administrators, the occasional dedicated aid worker, an African revolutionary,



a fisherman, the odd mysterious and shady misfit. Tom uses his conversations with them as a vehicle for describing and explaining Tanganyikan life and culture, economics and politics, hopes and fears. We learn of the history of the independence movement, President Nyerere’s dreams of a genuine African socialism rooted in traditional African family life, the condescending elitism of the colonials, the ubiquitous poverty. We also share Tom’s “learning curve”

as he realizes the limitations of his supervisors, the frustrations caused by “neo colonialism”, and the pervasive racism of the colonial mentality. He tells us: “when I moved to Tanganyika, many of my stereotypical ideas about Africa, colonialism, and even of Canada were shattered.” On a lighter note, we also learn of the forays of our “innocent abroad” into the more exotic side of *Dar Es Salaam*, including inadvertent encounters with drug dens and hookers.

There are many interesting photographs and descriptions of the sights, sounds and smells of the African countryside, cityscape and coast. There is the

heat and squalor, and the contrast between the African housing and the elegant colonial residences, but also the breathtaking beauty of the early mornings at the camp, the cheerful bustle of the harbour, the colour and variety in the markets. There is a vivid account of a joyous Muslim end of Ramadan festival – “a riot of colour, smell and noise”, where, he says, “we sensed the overwhelming charity, goodwill, and the chance to make a fresh start prevailing in the populace”. In hindsight, a poignant contrast with more recent darker pictures.

In light of history since that time, there is a wistful feel to this book. In many parts of Africa much of the idealism has been undermined by tribal, class and religious conflict, ruthless corporate exploitation, corruption and cynicism. As Tom points out in his Appendix, the hopes and dreams for Tanzania have not been fulfilled. Yet he also notes that Tanzania is a multi-party democratic republic with a much increased literacy rate and life expectancy. It was recently mentioned by Obama as an example of the kind of country worthy of serious aid investment. The dreams and hopes and efforts of people like Tom have not been in vain. 🌀

Elizabeth Harlow is Professor Emeritus with the Philosophy Department at Ryerson University.



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Reds and (Cordons) Rouges: Bennett and Skelton in Geneva

The Champlain Society and its general editor, Professor Roger Hall of the University of Western Ontario, have graciously consented to this pre-publication glimpse at the forthcoming volume of documents by Oscar Douglas Skelton edited by Professor Norman Hillmer of Carleton University, which is scheduled for publication next year. Professor Hillmer has kindly provided us with the documents (and the introduction) reprinted below, which has been lightly edited to adapt the material for publication in **bout de papier**, including the removal of annotation and reformatting the documents, which come from the Skelton Papers at Library and Archives Canada (with the exception of the published speech). The editorial board of **bout de papier** thanks these distinguished scholars for their courtesy and their characteristic collegiality as well as the Champlain Society for permission to reprint the documents below as well as Professor Hillmer's editorial explanation of the context for the documents (which now follows).

When Prime Minister R. B. Bennett and his under secretary of state for external affairs, O. D. Skelton, arrived at the League of Nations in September 1934, Bennett was ill and ill-disposed toward the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Bennett and Skelton had agreed in Ottawa to back League membership for the Soviets, but the prime minister needed more convincing. Skelton provided it, and took the extraordinary step of insisting that he, not Bennett, was the Canadian spokesperson at the key committee meeting on the Soviet candidacy. Skelton's speech, as Bennett wished, took "a whack at the Rooshians," making a frontal assault on the Soviet experiment in Communist rule.

At the same time, however, Skelton announced Canada's commitment to support Soviet League membership in the name of international cooperation and world peace. Skelton was pleased by the historic vote that brought the USSR into the concert of nations, but he commented acidly on the high-living hypocrites of Soviet diplomacy as they took their place at the League.

– Hector Mackenzie

Extract, O. D. Skelton to Isabel Skelton, 16 September 1934.

Hôtel de la Paix

Genève

Sunday, 16 September 1934

I think our distinguished patient is now out of the woods. His temperature is down and his bronchial tubes cleared quite a bit. Yesterday he had a walk about noon, along the lake and out on a pier full of people swimming and boating. "If my colleagues could see me now", he remarked, "sitting on this bench watching five year old youngsters dabbling their feet in the water,

what would they think Bennett had come to?" The walk followed a visit to the adjoining hotel, les Bergues, the French headquarters, to sign the telegram to the Soviet Union inviting them to enter the League. I had a difficult morning with him on the subject; his head was convinced Russia should come in, but his heart wasn't & various telegrams he had from Canada & England hardened his heart. Finally [Stanley] Bruce [former Australian prime minister, then serving as Australian high commissioner in London and representing Australia at the League of Nations] & I succeeded

in persuading him that much as we disliked the procedure of a formal invitation, it was the method that had been established & if we willed the end we must will the means, particularly as we had been instrumental in toning down the invitation more in line with our restrained ideas, & in making sure we'd know what the reply would be before the invitation was sent. But he signed reluctantly. At present he's fed up on the League, but I'm hoping he'll feel better disposed toward it after he recovers his vitality a bit.

Extract, O. D. Skelton to Isabel Skelton, 18 September 1934.

Hôtel de la Paix

Genève

Tuesday, 18 September 1934

Yesterday was a busy day, with full Assembly & committee meetings piled in thick all day. I found myself compelled to share in the Russian limelight. The P.M. began to react after having signed the invitation, particularly on reading the appeals of some of his ultra-Tory English friends. Driving to the committee hall after lunch [today] he said he had decided to go into the Sixth (or Political Questions) Committee & take a whack at the Rooshians. I told him he couldn't as I & not he was the Canadian member of the Sixth Committee & in any case he had to preside at the same hour over his Second or Economic Committee. Well then, he said you'll have to tackle it. I tried to argue him out of some of his more extreme positions & succeeded in some measure but he stuck to it I must lambaste them on propaganda & famine. Just then we reached the committee rooms & I had to go in. So I scribbled down some notes while the big guns were speaking & took the rostrum. I toned down his points as much as I could & embalmed them in some of my own ideas, so didn't have to stretch my conscience too much. The speech was not long, & seemed to go quite well. We had a great audience, & a tense debate, quite the high light of the Assembly. It was quite amusing that on a question the P.M. had so much at heart it should be I who spoke for Canada. If I had had a little time to prepare I could have improved it, but under all the circumstances I thought I got off very lightly.

Speech of O. D. Skelton at Sixth Committee of the League Assembly [Geneva], 18 September 1934.

[Report of the Canadian Delegates to the Fifteenth Assembly of the League of Nations (Ottawa, 1935), 21-22.]

Canada is one of those countries which find substantial difficulties in the entrance of Soviet Russia into the League, but believes that under the present world circumstances its entrance is desirable. Our fundamental difficulty lies in the wide difference that exists between the social and political principles of Soviet Russia and those of our own country. We are emphatic and unrepentant believers in freedom of opinion, freedom of the Press, freedom of religious belief and worship, and the organization of industrial life on a basis of individual initiative controlled to bring it into harmony with the common good. These principles of liberty and tolerance and the institutions of parliamentary democracy which are their political complement are not the principles upon which the Soviet Union has been established. We recognize, however, that in varying degrees they are not principles which are accepted unreservedly by other States now members of the League, for which we have the highest respect. While believing firmly that in the long run the League can succeed only by the application in the international sphere of these ideals of liberty and democracy, we recognize that for the present we must agree to differ and that we cannot require other States to conform to such principles, or reject their collaboration in the League so long as they share in the one indispensable condition of readiness to work together for the peace of the world.

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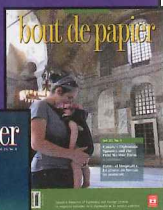
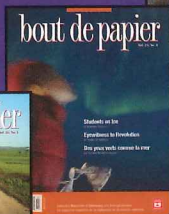
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There were, however, two other considerations which may be stated briefly. One was the possibility of propaganda, to which reference has frequently been made this afternoon. We in Canada have not been free from serious interference in our internal affairs by representatives of the Third International, which it has frequently been difficult to distinguish from the Government of the Soviet Union. We believe, however, that the unreserved acceptance by the Soviet Union in the letter which has been read to-day of the undertaking to observe all the international obligations of the Covenant must necessarily involve a satisfactory attitude on this point.

A further question is the apprehension felt by many thousands in Canada who have relatives and friends in Russia as to the continuance of the sufferings and the famine which were reported in many districts of the Soviet Union last year and on previous occasions. We believe, however, that like other Members of the League, the Soviet Union will be prepared to do what is possible to relieve distress and will be prepared to sanction any assistance, devoid of political bias which individual citizens of any other Member of the League might desire to tender to those in distress, just as similar sanction would be given reciprocally.

We have therefore shared in the indication which was given in advance of readiness to support the proposed entry of Russia into the League and shall vote for her admission, in the trust that her presence in the League will facilitate good neighbourliness and mean the opening of a new and better era.

Extract, O. D. Skelton to Isabel Skelton, 18 September 1934.

Hôtel de la Paix

Genève

Tuesday evening, 18 September 1934

We just came back from the historic scene of admitting the USSR to the League. It was well staged but the chief actor didn't rise to the occasion. [Soviet Foreign Minister Makxim] Litvinoff spoke well in parts but much of what he said was in bad taste, a pushing parvenu....

Extract, O. D. Skelton to Isabel Skelton, 25 September 1934.

Geneva

Tuesday, 25 September 1934

Saturday noon [Walter] Riddell [Canadian Advisory Officer, League of Nations (Geneva)] had a lunch for the P.M. & myself at his home, with Litvinoff & [Foreign Minister Józef] Beck of Poland as the star outsiders. "Lit" as the P.M. calls him was seated between R. B. & myself. He talks English, a bit broken & guttural, but enough for his purposes, and so the P.M. had a better chance of conversation than he does when he finds himself seated in a sea of French-speaking members. He got on quite well with Lit, razzing him quite a bit. Then yesterday I was invited by the Soviet people to lunch at the Bellevue - some twenty, chiefly French, Balkan & Baltic, only 3 English speaking, so my French got lots of practice. Some of the junior members of the party from Georgia & the Caucasus generally, I liked quite well. What struck me most was the lunch itself - caviar, lobster, pheasant, pâté de foie gras etc, with cordon rouge champagne, Chambertin etc to say nothing of vodka - quite the swankiest lunch I had seen in Geneva, & quite a striking commentary on proletarian principles & practices. ☺

2-D or not 2-D

Another questionable quiz from A Aalto

Sultan of SuWaNi (and former Centre Librarian) Dryan Tweedie put down his coffee-mug. "The first thing to realize is that Earth is really a reality show." Felix Africa looked up and said, "Like, all the world's a stage?" Chief MacBannock interjected, "Hmph. Next you'll tell me we're just lines of type on page 41 of some magazine."

Bugbyte looked thoughtful. "A reality show? That could explain Lady Gaga, French politics and Newt Gingrich getting bitten by a penguin." Felix's eyes popped. "Right! And Twitter! And the Greek economy! And chocolate-covered ants! And the Stephen Fry nude scene in the latest Holmes flick!" The table went silent. "**Nothing** explains the Stephen Fry nude scene in the latest Holmes flick," said Bugbyte firmly. Liebnitz tapped the table. "People, Dryan's come a long way to brief us. Let's let him finish before we go intellectually walkabout."

"Thanks, Ludwig," said the sultan. "Anyway, Mabel and I travelled into our Borneo backcountry recently to visit GEODE. You remember, the crystal cave that's developed artificial intelligence and speaks through resonations in his stalactites. Boy, did he have news. Seems he got his, uh, hands on a copy of the latest *Interstellar TV Guide*. The cover story is about the live finale of *Lose It in Space*, coming up tomorrow. This contest has been running for seven thousand years, best ratings in the galaxy. And it's held on Earth."

"Fascinating," said Bugbyte, "but if this show has been on for eons and none of us has noticed, why the problem now?" Dryan adjusted his bow tie. "Well, the last two players of the original million are up. The game judges have set a task and the players have drawn lots for achieving it or stopping it. And the task is..." He gulped. "The end of the world. Armageddon. Ragnarok."

Hamish nodded, "Tomorrow, you say? Good. I'll have time to finish the business plan."

Liebnitz coughed. "Could you be more specific, Dryan?" "Of course. Both contestants have humanoid avatars here, heading credible organizations. The aggressor runs the National Institute of Pancakes." "Did someone say 'credible'?" Felix murmured. The Sultan continued, "His plan is to reduce the world to a 2-D projection, using a device he calls a Flatterer, then fold it up and mail it to the judges." Liebnitz nodded. "Yes, since the world would only have only two dimensions, there would be no problem folding it as many times as necessary. Although the mass would be unchanged, so postage could be a killer. But go on."

"The defending contestant runs a group called Alpine Altimeter Associates. As the defender has to follow the aggressor's lead, he has invented a device termed the Wafflator, designed to inflate a 2-D plane by forcing cubic projections into the matrix, like a waffle iron does to batter.

The two devices are set up near each other in the Flatiron mountains of Colorado."

Bugbyte spoke up. "Do these people have names?" "According to GEODE, as aliens from other planets, their names would tear our throats out to pronounce. Fortunately, the avatars have plainer ones. The defender is a Mr Scruggs." Liebnitz winced and put his hand over his eyes. "So I'm guessing the other's name is Flatt." The Sultan looked surprised. "Have you met Dr Flatt?" "Let's say the names strike a familiar chord."

Chief MacBannock said, "I'm a bit lost here. We have two powerful alien forces cavalierly engaged in some odd culinary sport that could end the world for the rest of us. As if we didn't get enough of that sort of thing from the politicians. What can we do?"

Dryan replied. "Normally, nothing. The show does not permit the involvement of what are seen as the great galactic unwashed. In any event, the two devices have security controls. The Wafflator, for example, scans the brain for patterns related to its function, to make sure the activator is authorized. Another control is a 26-letter code lock. The activation code changes every five minutes. Scruggs' smart-phone displays the codes as they change – at least it did until Flatt sent Scruggs a Trojan horse."

MacBannock asked, "And the horse stepped on the phone?" "In a manner of speaking, Chief," replied Bugbyte. "But how do we help the defender?" The

sultan said, "The rule about local allies is set aside for the finals, so GEODE contacted Scruggs to offer help. Our AI friend worked out the code for a specific five-minute interval, right at the end of the program when, to maximize audience numbers, Flatt will surely activate the Flatterer. But GEODE has been unable to contact Scruggs again to give him the code. So we must get to the Flatirons before the deadline and find him."

"Fine," said Liebnitz. "So what is the code?" "No idea," replied the sultan. "GEODE knew I'd just forget a verbal, and if I wrote it down, Flatt's team would steal it. In fact, while I was checking into the Knights Arms down the street, they stole my car, my suitcases and my clothes. Including the ones I was wearing."

Felix grinned. "I was wondering about the full medieval armour." "Be that as it may, all is not lost." The sultan flourished a magazine. "As a librarian, I am used to protecting the written word from barbarians! This special issue of *Better Thrones and Dungeons*, which GEODE mocked up, hides the code. Now give me some help." The team gathered around Dryan, who opened the journal to its puzzle page.

"First, look at this half-finished Sudoku. It makes no sense. Many of the numbers filled in are greater than 9, which is not permitted. But an alien like Flatt wouldn't know that and his henchmen (sorry, Bugbyte, henchpersons) are not really the Sudoku type. So we write down the numbers and get the four-block ciphertext 17-24-14-21-5-10-26-16-2 17-24-22 18-17-12-4-16 2-1-25-7-12."

"Then we go to this table labelled 'Quips'. It has two main columns of 26 entries each, one with the letters A to Z to its left and the other with the numbers 1 to 26. Each entry in the left-hand main column matches up with an entry in the right-hand one to produce a humorous quip. Linking up the entries into quips associates one letter with each number, allowing us to decipher the activation code."

"This is where I come in," said Liebnitz. Soon he had it solved.

Early the next day, the group made its way to the Flatirons on the Centre's stealth

jet rickshaw and located two large transparent domes, facing each other across a meadow in a mist-shrouded forest. One, with flamboyant signs on the camera side reading "National Institute of Pancakes" and "Flatt's Flatterer", was bustling, workers in lab coats making adjustments to what looked like a cross between a huge Tesla coil and a Tiffany perfume atomizer. The other dome, marked with a discreet "AAA", held what looked like Carmen Miranda's hat with a keyboard. But this dome was utterly deserted.

A figure emerged from the busy dome. It wasn't just fat, it was spherical. But the face was jovial. "Ah, welcome. I am Dr Flatt. You must be Mr Scruggs' human allies. But I'm afraid he's gone. A dreadful accident, yesterday. His avatar was crippled and he had to get a new one. So sad. But I hope he'll make it back for the showdown. I'd hate to win by default."

Flatt spun away. Liebnitz and Bugbyte rushed to the dome, to puzzle over what must be the Wafflator. Felix and the Sultan patrolled the perimeter. Hamish resolutely checked his BlackBerry.

The air shimmered and a tall stick-like bearded figure appeared. "Scruggs," he said to the Chief. "Am I too late?" Before MacBannock could reply, Liebnitz hurried over. "Thank God you've made it. We have the code and there's time left to activate your device."

"Indeed?" said a voice. "Then let's see if we can't delay things a bit." Dr Flatt and a dozen soldiers had established a defensive line in front of the Wafflator dome. Scruggs looked worried. "They won't attack us – wouldn't look good on camera – but if we attack, they are free to retaliate. And I don't think we can take them."

Felix, who had been huddled with Bugbyte, suddenly stepped out, pointed something at the line and shouted, "All right, minions of evil. Eat hot death!" Everyone cringed, only partially because Felix appeared to be holding a flamingo pink celery stalk emitting pulses of lime green light. Bugbyte whispered to Liebnitz, "He found it in the dome. Alien-made, maybe a weapon, he figured there was nothing to lose."

The line of riflemen began to shrink and change. Soon there were only six-inch mannikins with hawk noses and bald heads, wearing trench coats and carrying lollypops. Dr Flatt scowled, "Hah! The Hooluv-Z'yabay B. OK, Scruggs, touché. But what you've failed to notice is that the Flatterer is already running. This mountain is all that's left of Earth in 3-D. Too late now."

Scruggs flipped back his shirt-cuff and stared at what was probably not a living opal tarantula. "Flat wrong, Flatt. We're just in time. The Wafflator is only effective if fired while the Flatterer is engaged. Who has the activation code?" Everyone looked at Hamish, who started slapping his pockets. Sighing, Bugbyte removed the Chief's new Stetson and plucked a piece of paper from the sweat-band. Snatching it, Scruggs ran for the defender's dome. At the machine, he tapped the activation keyboard frantically, gripped the firing handles and... nothing happened.

Flatt leaned into the doorway. "Of course, when you get a new avatar, the brain substrate isn't primed. Now your security scanner doesn't recognize you. Pity. You've only got three minutes left and it needs an hour to re-program. Maybe if there was someone around with a similarly inherent affinity for the basic purpose of your Wafflator – but what are the odds?" He chuckled.

His corpulent form was wrenched from the doorway as Liebnitz, Bugbyte, Dryan and Felix rushed in. Each tried to fire the device. All failed. They turned to scan the forest. Trees and rocks twisted in ways that hurt the eyes, eerily unfolding like origami in reverse, and soon existed only as an iridescent slick floating on nothing.

"Maybe I can try. I mean, if no-one else wants another go." It was Hamish. Liebnitz looked at him somberly and said simply, "Please do." The Chief stood hesitantly before the machine, tapped the code into the keypad, grasped the handles, closed his eyes and pulled the triggers. Nothing happened. The slick crept closer. His shoulders slumped.

Then a silent bell rang and a twisted loop appeared in the air above the Wafflator. Bugbyte breathed in sharply.

Quips

A	I do benefits for all religions	1	I realize I am listening to it.
B	somewhere on this globe every 10 seconds, there is a woman giving birth to a child	2	but then I have arthritis and I don't deserve that either.
C	I feel wonderful about getting older	3	now beam down my clothes.
D	war doesn't define who's right	4	I want to do it by not dying.
E	whatever women do, they must do twice as well as a man to be thought half as good	5	I ordered French toast during the Renaissance.
F	very funny Scotty	6	to your face?
G	all I ask is the chance to prove that	7	stands a surprised woman.
H	some day we'll look back at this moment and	8	it was called "King Solomon's Mimes."
I	I put a dollar into a change machine	9	people who can't cope with drugs.
J	before you criticize your fellow man, walk a mile in his shoes	10	no, I made a couple of mistakes.
K	moral indignation is	11	she must be found and stopped.
L	I don't want to achieve immortality by writing the Great American Novel	12	come sit by me.
M	you can tell what God thinks of money	13	chances are that you won't either.
N	a couturier who set up shop at the Indy 500	14	considering the alternative.
O	I went to a restaurant that offers "breakfast at any time"	15	then he'll be a long way off, and barefoot.
P	if you haven't anything nice to say about anyone	16	fortunately, this is not difficult.
Q	then there was the 30s gangster who told his moll she couldn't have a second belly-button	17	I'd hate to blow the hereafter on a technicality.
R	some editors are indeed failed writers	18	just look at the people He gives it to.
S	I don't deserve this award	19	money can't make me happy.
T	I went to a play with actors in Judaic temple robes and whiteface	20	sufficient unto each dame is the navel thereof.
U	behind every successful man	21	plough into a parked car.
V	did you sleep well?	22	just who's left.
W	If your parents have no children	23	jealousy in a halo.
X	reality is a crutch for	24	NASCAR de la Renta
Y	I'm always relieved when someone is delivering a eulogy and	25	but then so are many writers.
Z	folks 'round here call me Slade McKeester	26	nothing changed.

"The Möbius strip. A 2-D object in the 3-D world." The edge of the oily flatness rippled. An odd cubic fringe appeared and pushed it back. Gradually the world reappeared. The group around the Wafflator broke into cheers and rushed up to hug Hamish. As the counter-wave reached it, the other dome began to fade. Dr Flatt shook his fist. Felix turned to Scruggs and asked, "Can I say it? Can I tell him that flattery will get him nowhere?" Scruggs looked at him and just said "No".

When Liebnitz later told Hilda MacBannock how her husband had saved the world, she replied, "I'm proud of him but hardly surprised. Hamish could waffle for Canada."

Can you duplicate Liebnitz's feat and provide the four-word activation code for the Wafflator? **bout de papier** will decide the winner by drawing from a box containing all correct entries received by July 16. The winner will receive a book autographed by A Aalto. Not necessary for winning, but can you also name the four quips written or notionally spoken by Canadians? 🌐

And now, in the interests of equal time, here is a message from the National Institute of Pancakes. It reads, and I quote, "3-7-14-23 13-17-3-3-4-16-2".

— George Carlin

Free-lance prestidigitator **A Aalto** is on his second temporary assignment abroad in six months, this one not far from SuWaNi. The puzzle is dedicated to champion banjo picker Earl Scruggs, who died on March 28. The signature tune for Scruggs and his partner Lester Flatt was Foggy Mountain Breakdown (you'll know it when you hear it). For many of the quips, thanks not only to the immortal (although also deceased) George Carlin but also to Bob Hope, Jack Benny, Lily Tomlin, Charlotte Whitton, Marion Pearson, Dick Cavett, Woody Allen, Steve Wright, Wayne & Schuster, T.S. Eliot, Maurice Chevalier, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Spike Milligan, Dorothy Parker, Sam Levinson, Evan Davis and H.G. Wells.

The Problem of the Time Traveller's Tango

A Aalto channels a puzzled Dr. Watson

Answers to Vol. 26, No. 2

WINNER: ALAS NO WINNER

The villain's full name is REX HARRISON FORD.

The other full names are JANE RUSSELL CROWE, ELI WHITNEY HOUSTON, HUBERT HUMPHREY BOGART and MICHAEL JACKSON POLLOCK.

1	HENRI	RICHARD	BENJAMIN	FRANKLIN	ROOSEVELT
2	STEPHEN	HARPER	LEE	MARVIN	GAYE
3	MURRAY	ABRAHAM	LINCOLN	ALEXANDER	POPE
4	BABE	RUTH	BENEDICT	ARNOLD	TOYNBEE
5	RON	PAUL	MARTIN	LUTHER	BURBANK
6	DAN	GEORGE	WASHINGTON	IRVING	BERLIN
7	SATYAJIT	RAY	CHARLES	TAYLOR	SWIFT
8	CAESAR	AUGUSTUS	JOHN	MILTON	OBOTE
9	GIORDANO	BRUNO	WALTER	SCOTT	FITZGERALD
10	HORATIO	NELSON	EDDY	ARNOLD	SCHWARZENEGGER
11	BOB	DYLAN	THOMAS	WOLFE	TONE

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