

bout de papier

Vol. 28, No. 4

**From Saigon's "Fall"
to Canada's Shores**

**Understanding
Iran's Mindset**

**L'Islande et
les îles Féroé**



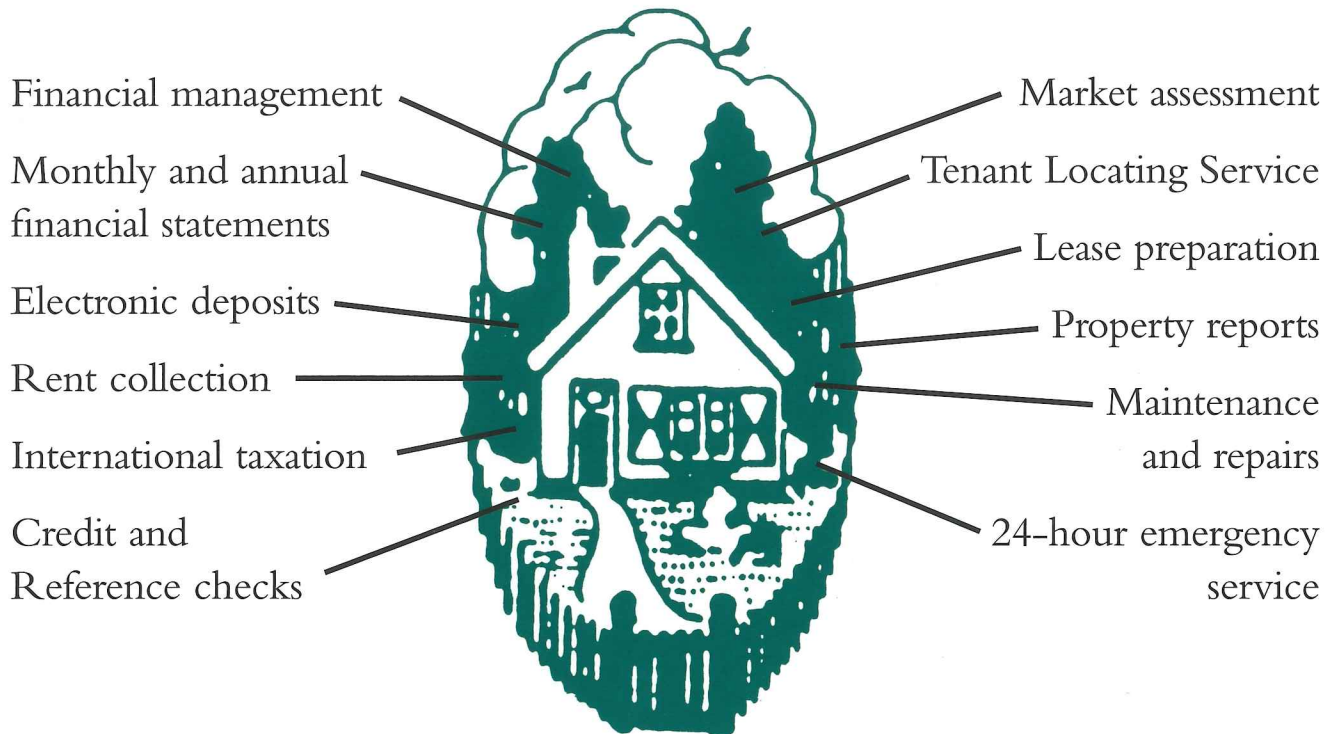
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Canada's Magazine of Diplomacy and Foreign Service
Le magazine canadien de la diplomatie et du service extérieur

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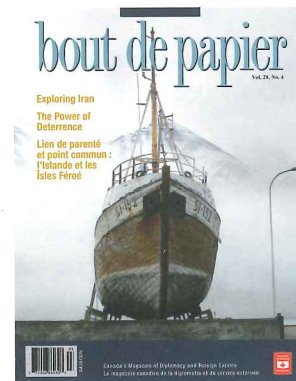
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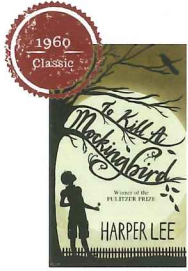
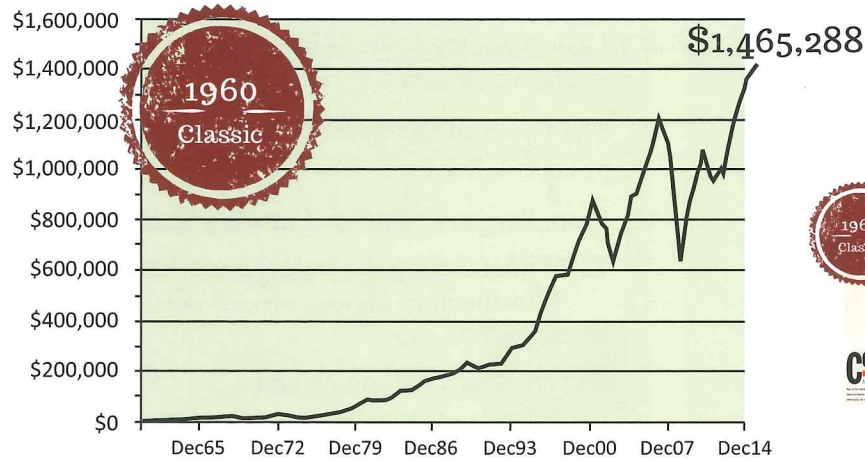
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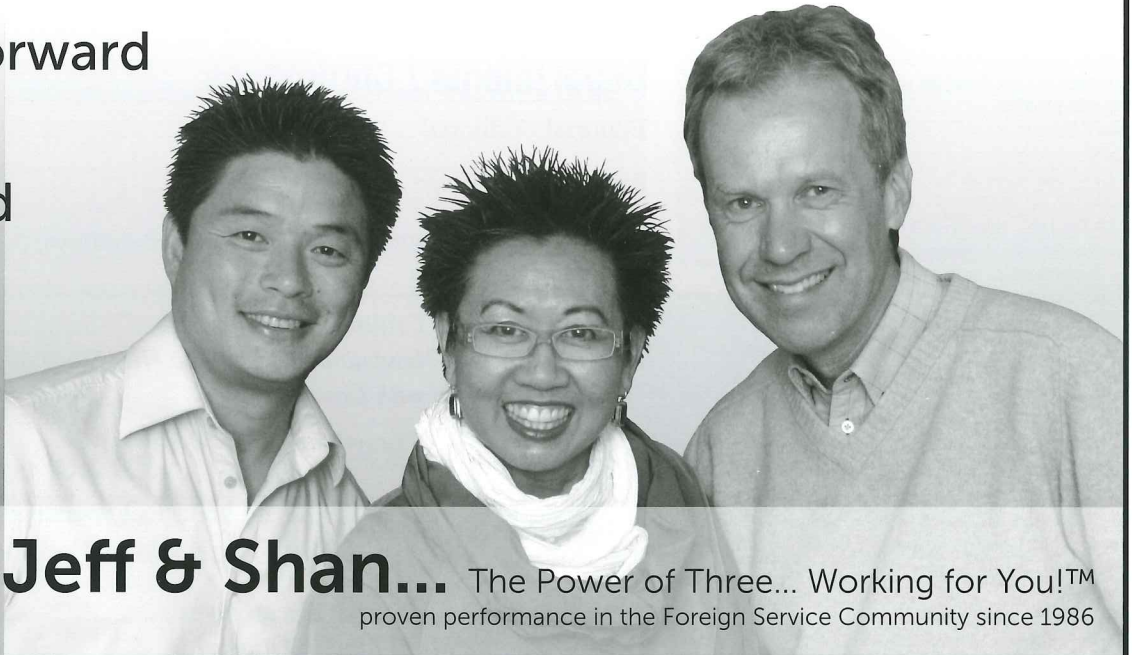


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Fresh Start? / Un nouveau départ?

Much has been written about John Baird's abrupt departure and the nature of his legacy. Many have articulated ideas on how to repair our foreign policy and restore Canada's once proud role internationally.

« Il faut qu'on se parle » – voilà une phrase des plus troublantes pour un couple et, de toute évidence, elle semble s'appliquer au mariage de professionnels et de politiciens qui composent l'Équipe Canada de la diplomatie. Un de mes vieux amis, qui ne savait plus quoi faire dans sa relation personnelle profondément troublée, a demandé à sa mère quel était le secret de la grande réussite du mariage de ses parents. La mère lui a expliqué qu'il peut se résumer par trois mots d'ordre : « engagement, communication et compromis ». Si le plus grand défi pour la diplomatie canadienne provient de cette relation gravement endommagée, c'est ici, à Ottawa, qu'il faut le relever. Faute d'un véritable engagement de la part de tous les intéressés à rebâtir notre propre version de ces trois mots d'ordre, les chances de changement sont minimes, quel que soit celui ou celle qui se trouve à la barre.

Turning to this issue of **bout de papier**, we commemorate the 40th anniversary of the fall of Saigon and the extraordinary work of Canada's immigration service in bringing tens of thousands of Indochinese refugees to Canada. It is a perfect example of how Canada functions when trust and respect prevail, of how our professionals

It is a perfect example of how Canada functions when trust and respect prevail, of how our professionals could overcome the most daunting of circumstances when unfettered and empowered to act confidently in pursuing Canada's interests.

could overcome the most daunting of circumstances when unfettered and empowered to act confidently in pursuing Canada's interests.

Michael Bonner nous fait franchir un pas de plus. Il nous donne un aperçu de la mentalité iranienne fermement enracinée dans l'histoire complexe de ce pays. Il fait la preuve que, pour éviter un conflit potentiellement catastrophique avec des adversaires difficiles et ambitieux, il faut une compréhension des enjeux qui va bien au-delà de clips sonores simplistes et de flux Twitter. Louis Delvoie se penche sur 70 ans de dissuasion nucléaire et nous

Louis Delvoie se penche sur 70 ans de dissuasion nucléaire et nous rappelle que nous n'avons pas besoin de réinventer la roue pour gérer de manière responsable des enjeux inquiétants, comme les ambitions nucléaires agressives de l'Iran – il suffit de réduire les déclarations inconsidérées, de peaufiner les techniques de négociations multilatérales et de se mettre à la tâche.

rappelle que nous n'avons pas besoin de réinventer la roue pour gérer de manière responsable des enjeux inquiétants, comme les ambitions nucléaires agressives de l'Iran – il s'agit de réduire les déclarations inconsidérées, de peaufiner les techniques de négociations multilatérales et de se mettre à la tâche.

This issue offers much else (Iceland anyone?), but just as our Foreign Service needs renewal, so too does your glossy magazine. With more than 40 quite remarkable years under our collective belt, time has come to look down the road, understand

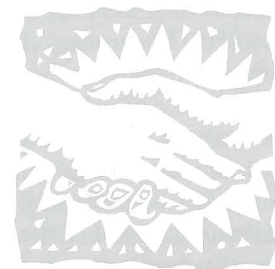
where we need to be in a rapidly evolving media world, and consider our options. Call it a mid-life crisis if you like.

Pour être plus précis, notre comité de rédaction a examiné en profondeur avec un consultant professionnel de Magazines Canada diverses options de « numérialisation » du magazine à la lumière des pratiques exemplaires de l'industrie. Avec le soutien du comité exécutif de l'APASE, nous commanderons une étude de faisabilité sur les moyens de passer au numérique. Cette étude portera sur divers aspects clés, notamment l'établissement d'archives numériques, la conversion de l'imprimé à en ligne, l'échéancier et les grandes étapes, les incidences pour les ressources humaines, les recettes publicitaires et – pour dire les choses simplement – notre capacité de continuer à produire un produit de qualité qui saura encore satisfaire les besoins des membres de l'APASE.

Readers are strongly encouraged to express their ideas (and any concerns) about any and all aspects of the magazine and its future by email to boutdepapier@pafso-apase.com. If you have views, let us know promptly as decisions need to be taken soon. Spring beckons and pretty much anywhere you care to look, it's time for a fresh start. ☺

– Stuart Hughes

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Lest We Forget / Souvenons-nous

I vividly recall a post-dinner discussion among senior US Air Force Officers on how best to remember fallen comrades. The discussion took place at a graduation ceremony in Washington, DC, in the early 2000s, mere weeks after 9/11. The attack on the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, was fresh on the minds of all those around the table and the lock-down by the US Secret Service of the Canadian Embassy down the road on Pennsylvania Avenue was fresh in my mind.

The attack on the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia was fresh on the minds of all those around the table and the lock-down by the US Secret Service of the Canadian Embassy down the road on Pennsylvania Avenue was fresh in my mind.

Comme j'étais le seul civil et diplomate du groupe, j'avais peu à contribuer à la discussion; j'ai avoué me sentir un peu comme un intrus à la table et j'ai même confessé, tout penaud, avoir peu réfléchi à la question de perpétuer la mémoire de collègues tués. J'ignorais si le ministère ou, même, l'APASE avait parrainé un moyen de rappeler le souvenir de ces employés tués dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions à l'étranger. Je devais par la suite apprendre que rien de réelle importance n'avait été fait.

Through the remainder of my Washington posting I took a new-found interest in the memorial plaque erected by the American Foreign Service Association in the lobby of the Department of State "in honor of those Americans who have lost their lives abroad under heroic or other inspirational circumstances while serving the country abroad in foreign affairs."

J'ai quitté Washington en y laissant aussi, malheureusement, toute idée de commémoration pour les agents du service extérieur canadien décédés.

Over the years, and perhaps more frequently of late, there have been repeated



Photo courtesy of Sam Garcia

calls to erect a memorial in Ottawa – specifically at the Lester B. Pearson Building – to commemorate those Canadian officers who have been killed or severely wounded while in the service of the Department and of all Canadians while abroad.

Et pourtant, la vision d'ériger un monument commémoratif suffisamment visible et adéquat ne s'est pas encore concrétisée.

Those deaths are significant, and it must also be acknowledged that the world is becoming a more dangerous place, not least for Canada's representatives abroad. While I am at times reluctant to admit it, more deaths and severe casualties among colleagues should be expected.

... more deaths and severe casualties among colleagues should be expected.

J'estime que le moment est venu d'agir et d'ériger un tel monument commémoratif. Et je ne suis pas le seul à avoir cette conviction. Bon nombre d'agents du service extérieur actifs et inactifs et de membres de la famille des victimes ont communiqué avec moi, tous pour demander instamment que des mesures soient prises. J'entends agir. J'ai eu des pourparlers avec les cadres

supérieurs du ministère à cet égard et je vais ensuite communiquer avec mes collègues dirigeants des autres agents négociateurs. Je me suis aussi engagé personnellement à collaborer étroitement avec le président de l'Association des chefs de mission à la retraite (l'ACMAR).

While nothing significant in Ottawa is ever simple, I am confident that we can overcome any bureaucratic barriers that might be raised in our path. It is a matter of doing the right thing for those who have made the ultimate sacrifice, and for those who will.

Souvenons-nous. ☺

Timothy Hodges

President, PAFSO / Président de l'APASE

Understanding Iran's Mindset

by Michael Bonner

***Note de la rédaction :** Sur le plan de la politique étrangère, il y a lieu de féliciter le gouvernement actuel d'avoir négocié un accord économique avec l'UE (l'AECG); cependant, la politique étrangère de notre gouvernement au Moyen-Orient a fait l'objet de beaucoup de controverse. Ce fut le cas en particulier lorsque le gouvernement a fermé l'ambassade du Canada à Téhéran et qu'il a clairement laissé entendre son appui au possible bombardement de l'Iran dans le contexte du conflit nucléaire avec ce pays. En l'occurrence, cet appel n'a pas été pris en compte. Mais, que ce serait-il produit dans le cas contraire? En rétrospective, combien de Canadiens ne connaissent pas grand-chose du pays? Michael Bonner, historien de l'Iran, nous aide à aller au-delà des croyances populaires et humanise notre cible potentielle : certes une première étape qui s'impose dans l'élaboration d'une stratégie diplomatique réaliste et responsable pour nos rapports avec les pays dont nous ne partageons pas les valeurs ni les objectifs. Dans un article connexe, Louis Delvoie propose une voie à suivre, un retour à un effort diplomatique qui a peu à voir avec les prises de son et qui nous ramène au travail ingrat, frustrant et ardu de la négociation d'une paix durable – le pouvoir de la dissuasion. Cette voie aujourd'hui fait les manchettes.*

The Achaemenids and Parthians are long extinct, and the Sasanian Empire fell nearly a millennium and a half ago. But the dream of an Iranian superpower, bound together by force of a revived religion, bestriding Eurasia, and projecting power into the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Levant, has dominated Iranian history ever since.

The present Iranian regime is only about 35 years old. But a judicious historian may already discern in its brief history the same themes that I have just described. The revived political Shiism of the Safavids; a potent ideology of state rejecting both capitalism and communism; a political class galvanised by nearly a decade of warfare in Mesopotamia against Saddam Hussein; a rigid social order dominated by a few powerful families; and state ambitions to military superiority over external rivals – all these must convince the historian that it is not the plot that has changed, but rather the actors.

And yet, in diplomatic and academic circles it is common to assert that the present Iranian regime cannot last, that Iran's young and well-educated population cannot stand for it much longer, and that another revolution is not far off. But this is a very tricky assertion. It is true that about 60 per cent of Iran's population is below the age of 30. Although this demographic must include many critics or enemies of the regime, it also comprises the volunteer paramilitary group known as the Basij. The Basij is a force of at least one and half million youth subordinate to the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps, and it is the organisation which arrests people for

dress-code violations and other supposed threats to public safety. It is also the principal force that crushed the post-election protests of 2009. So it can hardly be said that the liberal wing of Iranian youth has now, or has ever had, the upper hand. Many young people also grew up during the war with Saddam that followed the 1979 revolution; and so, however critical of the regime many of them genuinely are, and however much they may wish for a rapprochement with the United States, Iranian youth are at least equally eager to avoid another upheaval, this time constitutional.

Iran's chief assets are a high population, huge territory, and large reserves of petroleum. It must also be said that its language and the Shiite religion are diffused in sizeable minority groups in the Middle East and in Central Asia. It is only natural that a country with such advantages should seek to project power and influence throughout its regional context, and perhaps throughout the world.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that the Iranian regime itself foresees social and political problems brought on by sanctions connected with Iran's nuclear programme. This is the reason for the interim agreement of November 2013, in which Iran agreed to suspend enrichment of uranium in return for a relaxation of some sanctions, and for sustaining nuclear negotiations which were extended past the recent deadline of 24 November 2014. But it was also the reason for the seeming rejection of Ahmadi-Nezhad's neo-conservatism and the election of president Rouhani who is often invoked in the West as a "moderate".

Such developments can be understood as small concessions calculated to buy time and lighten sanctions just enough to relieve some economic and political pressure. That being the case, I would argue that Iranian foreign policy, self-image, and state ideology will change only with great difficulty.

Iranian attitudes and policy will always be highly influenced, if not determined, by geography and history. This state of affairs is what Professor Thomas Juneau at the University of Ottawa has aptly called Iran's "strategic loneliness". Iran's chief assets are a high population, huge territory, and

large reserves of petroleum. It must also be said that its language and the Shiite religion are diffused in sizeable minority groups in the Middle East and in Central Asia. It is only natural that a country with such advantages should seek to project power and influence throughout its regional context, and perhaps throughout the world. Yet because of its many frontiers, Iran must take an interest in whatever happens in the Middle East, the Levant, Mesopotamia, the Persian Gulf, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and South Asia.

Iran has always been surrounded by suspicious and hostile neighbours, some of

whom, such as Iraq and Saudi Arabia, have been historical enemies. Juneau draws our attention to the fact that Iran also abuts two countries who seek regional and great-power status: Russia and Turkey, who will brook no rival in their own spheres of influence. Historically the power occupying Anatolia has always been Iran's chief rival, and today this is hardly different. The Roman and Byzantine Empires and later the Ottoman Empire were engaged in a seemingly interminable power struggle with Iran along their long porous frontier, running down from the Caucasus southwards into Arabia. A more powerful Iran would pose a serious challenge to Turkey's

Historically the power occupying Anatolia has always been Iran's chief rival, and today this is hardly different. The Roman and Byzantine Empires and later the Ottoman Empire were engaged in a seemingly interminable power struggle with Iran along their long porous frontier, running down from the Caucasus southwards into Arabia.

ambitions there, and the reverse is also true. In the same vein, two of the largest Muslim states near Iran are Iraq and Saudi Arabia, two realms of very recent origin, run mostly by Sunnis, which will never make common cause with Iran, and whose long-term viability may now be seriously questioned.

Iraq and Saudi Arabia, along with Syria and Jordan, will sooner look to Turkey for regional support and cooperation than to Iran. Matters could evolve quickly. An Iranian defeat of ISIS in its sphere of influence, which is far from an unlikely possibility, would significantly increase its power and prestige well beyond the tolerance of Turkey's Sunni Islamist leadership and of other countries in the region.

Iran also needs to keep a watchful eye on the east. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan is larger by population than any of Iran's immediate Muslim neighbours and it is the sole Muslim nuclear power, a source of great national pride. Pakistan faces serious Sunni-Shia sectarian conflict internally and while not interested in a test of wills with Iran, it certainly would not welcome a nuclear Iran, let alone a potential Sunni vs Shia arms race. Pakistan and Iran also both have Baloch nationalism to contend with. Iran has good reason to watch its back and keep Pakistan onside but how it will accomplish that remains to be seen.

Hostile competition between Saudi Arabia and Iran has manifested itself

recently in the form of OPEC's driving down the price of oil. Arguably it is driven by the Saudis' fear that the UN Security Council and Germany will acquiesce in the continued development of nuclear arms in Iran. Could they actually be aiming at bankrupting Iran? One may doubt whether the ayatollahs can govern with a significantly diminished price of oil in the long term, but again, only time will tell.

Russia's main interests vis-à-vis of Iran have changed little since the nineteenth century. Iran's ties to Central Asia have always troubled Moscow, since any instability in Iran is liable to reverberate into Russia's vulnerable southern flank

with all its petroleum reserves and the trans-Siberian railway line. Fear that the Iranian Revolution of 1979 would spread into Afghanistan and northward into Russia's Central Asian possessions is what prompted the last Soviet war in Afghanistan. Moscow still opposes any increase, however small, in Iran's regional prestige and influence – except in so far as Iran may represent a bulwark against Sunni extremism in the form of ISIS or Wahhabism.

That is why Russia blocks efforts to relax sanctions against Iran, and why it opposes Iran's building a nuclear weapon. Russian obstructionism at the UN Security Council has the added benefit of exaggerating its prestige, making it seem to be an indispensable country. Neither Iran nor America seems willing to wound Russian prestige, and this is one good reason why it was tentatively proposed for the present round of nuclear talks that Iran ship much of its stockpiled uranium to Russia for enrichment.

This brings us back to Iran under President Rouhani. His promises of reform, addressing Iran's economic crisis, relaxing social restrictions, and release of political prisoners got him elected in June of 2013. So far it seems that Iran is still rather far from the sort of reform that would please westerners. But Rouhani appears to have made good on the main

thrust of his platform, which was to try to undo the eight years of hardship which Ahmadi-Nezhad's confrontation with the West had brought to Iran.

Rouhani revived nuclear talks with the UN Security Council and Germany. The first fruit of this was the temporary suspension of Iran's nuclear programme in exchange for a small relief of sanctions worth about seven billion dollars. That temporarily forestalled further progress down the road to economic ruin, but there will be few, if any, other benefits. Whatever the outcome of the nuclear negotiations, Iran will still be surrounded by hostile rivals. Juneau stresses that good relations between Tehran and Washington would further antagonise them all, and Russia would be particularly resentful if somehow displaced by the USA. The Iranian regime's options for change on its own terms today seem extremely limited, and the incentives to change equally so.

Historically, Iran's response to being surrounded by rivals was to swallow them all up in a vast trans-continental empire – in effect to set up a world system with Iran at the centre. This worked so successfully in the past that Islamic thinkers (such as the mediaeval savants Dinawari and Mas'udi) conceived of monarchy and empire as distinctly Iranian achievements – an idea which is most elaborately set forth in the Iranian national epic, the *Shahnameh* or "Book of Kings". Henry Kissinger noted in his recent book *World Order* that many Iranians seem to think of themselves and their land not so much as a country but rather as a concept or an idea. Such a notion lies beneath the modern Iranian theory of a world order designed to usher in the end of time, with the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic as temporary stand-in for the twelfth Shiite Imam, the Mahdi, who will return to rule the world. This is the doctrine of *velayat-e faqih* (political leadership by a cleric) propounded in its most extreme form by ayatollah Khomeini in the 1970s. But the *velayat-e faqih* is best understood as grounded in far more ancient notions of Iran as a world order unto itself ruled by a semi-divine "king of kings" maintaining peace, justice, and the principles of the Zoroastrian religion until the coming of Saoshyant, the Zoroastrian messiah. The origin of this idea is certainly even older than Zoroastrianism, but it was given new,

Islamic garb in the Iranian Revolution of 1979.

Kissinger stresses that Iran's self-image conjoining imperial and religious causes clearly runs aground on the shoals of modern diplomacy among nation states. Former President Ahmadi-Nezhad often demanded that Iran be treated as a respected member of the modern system of nation-states, and the same demand is often made in Western academic and diplomatic circles. Yet in 2007 Ahmadi-Nezhad spoke at the UN to the effect that the world order inevitably would be overthrown and replaced by the rule of the Mahdi and that only submission to the right religion would bring peace to the world. This is little more than a populist recapitulation of Khomeini's doctrine that the new Iranian state would not be legitimate in its own right, but only as a vehicle in a religious struggle on a global scale. According to Khomeini, no states are legitimate – at least not as they are normally construed after the establishment of the international system of nations as we know it following the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

This is little more than a populist recapitulation of Khomeini's doctrine that the new Iranian state would not be legitimate in its own right, but only as a vehicle in a religious struggle on a global scale.

In the circumstances, is not surprising that Iran has shown little compunction about storming embassies, detaining foreign nationals for no reason, violating diplomatic immunity, trying to export its revolution through international espionage and Hezbollah, and addressing other nations in haughty and condescending terms. Western observers find this sort of behaviour particularly odd coming from a country which at times portrays itself (disingenuously) as a young nation struggling out of the "post-colonial" shadow of Great Britain and America, and at times as a world order unto itself and a reflection of the kingdom of God on earth.

How should the West deal with Iran? While cutting off diplomatic contact with Iran will achieve nothing, neither will engagement for its own sake. Western powers must determine what they want to get out of a relationship with Iran *before* such engagement begins. For most Western countries, the highest priorities would be

halting the spread of terrorism, espionage, and the building of nuclear weapons. Lifting sanctions would also help open Iran to Western business interests. There may be little other real benefit from good relations with Iran because it will never become a close ally of the West as long as memory of the last Shah lingers.

Finally, a word about false assumptions. Westerners need to understand that Iran's young population, whatever its political allegiance and attitudes to the West may be, is just as proud and just as conscious of Iran's greatness as is any other age-group. I am not suggesting that there is nothing resembling what might be called "ayatollah fatigue", and I am sure that many youth are disappointed by the Islamic Republic's failure to live up to its grandiose claims – especially after 35 years of suffocating authoritarianism. But disenchantment with political Shiism, does not mean that Persian youth have re-evaluated their belief in Iran's past and future greatness. Striking a new balance with the Iranian regime may be as much as can be achieved today. Given the Middle East's spreading instability and violence, we urgently need

to find a meaningful forward plan, because Iran will be a major player no matter what else happens. But perhaps the best possible change for all concerned is that Iran will use other, more friendly, and less abrasive means to pursue its historic goals. ☺

Michael Bonner received his doctorate from Oxford in 2014. He has travelled throughout the Middle East and Afghanistan. A specialist in Late Antique Iran and its early Islamic history, his master's thesis on sixth-century Iran was published in 2011 by Studia Iranica in Paris; they will publish his translation (with commentary) of part of the Iranian National Epic later this year. While completing his doctorate, he served as a policy adviser to a Member of Cabinet in Ottawa. Michael and his father, Communications and Negotiations Consultant Allan Bonner, have a long association with PAFSO and are notable friends of Canada's Foreign Service.



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The Power of Deterrence

by Louis A. Delvoie

In 2015, the world will be marking a notable anniversary, but one likely to be largely ignored outside of Japan. In 1945 the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the era of nuclear weapons began in earnest. That they have never again been used in the 70 years since then is a recognition of the terrible power of those weapons and a tribute to the wisdom of mankind.

It is not as if nuclear weapons did not become readily available to an ever increasing number of countries. The nuclear monopoly enjoyed by the United States at the end of the Second World War did not last very long. In the ensuing 20 years these weapons were developed and acquired by the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France and China. Thereafter the club was joined by Israel, India, Pakistan and North Korea; the only country to develop nuclear weapons and then get rid of them was South Africa. There are thus today nine countries with nuclear arsenals.

If the number of countries possessing nuclear weapons multiplied, so too did the means for delivering them. Starting off as bombs to be dropped from aircraft, they evolved into warheads to be fitted onto missiles. And the number and types of missiles also grew apace. First there were land based short range, medium range and long range ballistic missiles. Then there were ballistic missiles which could be launched from submarines. Finally there were cruise missiles which could be launched from the ground, from the air and from the sea.

The ever growing destructive power of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, combined with the multiplication of the number of systems for their delivery, led all sane men to one conclusion: nuclear war was unthinkable. No nuclear weapons state could ever launch an attack on another without running a sure risk of devastating retaliation. The once popular idea of a "decapitating first strike" went the way of the dodo once it became possible to launch from a wide variety of platforms,

including submerged submarines. It was replaced by the concept of "mutual assured destruction" (MAD), which envisaged nuclear weapons as deterrents rather than as usable weapons.

Although much decried today, the idea of MAD and the doctrine of deterrence repeatedly spared the world a Third World War. Many episodes in the period of the Cold War between East and West would have been sufficient to result in hostilities in an earlier era. These included the Berlin blockade of 1948, the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956, the Cuban missile crisis

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of 1962, the Arab-Israeli war of 1973 and the severe deterioration in Soviet-American relations in 1983–84. That none of these did actually lead to hostilities between the superpowers and their allies was in large measure due to the deterrent power of nuclear weapons.

While recognizing the value of nuclear deterrence, the international community was profoundly conscious of the dangers posed by nuclear weapons if the number of countries possessing them were to increase significantly. The greater the numbers of nuclear arsenals, the greater the risk that they might actually be used whether

deliberately or accidentally. Three fears were dominant in this regard. The first that they might fall into the hands of more or less rational leaders unconstrained by any system of checks and balances in their system of government (e.g. Moamar Qaddafi of Libya). The second was that they might be acquired by countries engaged in more or less continuous conflict (e.g. Israel and Egypt, India and Pakistan). The third was that they might be developed by countries lacking the technological expertise and sophistication required to ensure their safe storage and handling and to produce the necessary command and control systems (e.g. virtually all developing countries).

These concerns and fears led to the negotiation and conclusion of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968. In its time the NPT was viewed by many as a highly discriminatory instrument since it allowed the five original nuclear weapons states to retain their arsenals (albeit under obligation to decrease them) while prohibiting all other states from acquiring them. Nevertheless the NPT has proved to be a highly useful treaty insofar as it established an international norm, if not a taboo, against the spread of nuclear weapons. In the 45 years since it came into force, only five countries have violated the taboo and three of those never ratified the treaty (Israel, India and Pakistan) while a fourth actually destroyed its nascent stock of nuclear weapons (South Africa).

The increase in the number of nuclear weapons states and the end of the Cold War have not consigned the doctrine of deterrence to the dustbin. Quite the contrary. The fact that Saddam Hussein did not use

his stockpile of chemical weapons during the first Gulf War of 1991 was almost certainly the result of his fear that the United States might retaliate with the nuclear weapons it had in the region. That India and Pakistan have not gone to war in the last 15 years can be attributed to the deterrent power of nuclear weapons, since incidents such as Pakistan's military incursions into Indian administered Kashmir and the terrorist attack on Mumbai in 2008 might well in an earlier period have led to hostilities. The same holds true for North Korea which has a small stock of primitive nuclear weapons but is most unlikely to use them given that Kim Jong Un and his merry men know full well that to do so would provoke an instantaneous and massive retaliatory nuclear attack by the United States. North Korea is effectively deterred.

But what of the most recent fear of nuclear proliferation? Iran has been in the dock on this score for the last two or three years. Despite the government's denials, it is entirely plausible that Iran may be seeking to develop a nuclear weapon. It is a major Middle Eastern country with a population of 75 million. It has significant oil reserves with which to fund such a programme. It

is surrounded by nuclear weapons states – Pakistan and India to the east, Russia to the north and Israel to the west. It is engaged in a fierce and wide ranging competition with Saudi Arabia for influence in the Muslim world. Any or all of these factors might well explain an Iranian interest in nuclear weapons.

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What if Iran were to acquire a few nuclear weapons? Contrary to the jere-miads of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, it would not mean the end of the world or the end of Israel. There are many aspects of the Iranian regime which are entirely reprehensible and fully deserving of the condemnations that they attract. There are, however, two features of the regime which deserve to be underlined. First is that it is not a militarily aggressive regime. In the 35 years that it

has been in power it has not launched a single attack on a neighbouring country. (The bloody Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s was provoked and initiated by Iraq.) The second is that it seems above all interested in regime survival, and has never displayed any suicidal tendencies. In these circumstances, the idea of an Iranian nuclear attack on Israel seems extremely improbable. The Iranian leadership knows full well that if it were ever to launch a nuclear weapon at Israel, the Israeli response would be a massive retaliatory attack using Israel's vastly larger nuclear stockpile. The net effect would be to wipe Iran off the map. The Iranian ayatollahs may be distinctly unpleasant, but they are not insane. They too can be deterred.

Nuclear deterrence does not make for a perfect world, far from it. And the risk of these weapons falling into the wrong hands or being detonated accidentally is ever with us. But the fact that they have not been used over the last 70 years is well worth celebrating. ☺

Louis A. Delvoie is a Fellow with the Centre for International and Defence Policy at Queen's University.

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FROM SAIGON'S “FALL” TO CANADA'S SHORES

*Note de la redaction: Pour souligner le 40^e anniversaire de la « chute » de Saïgon à la fin d'une guerre particulièrement triste au Vietnam et dans la région, **bout** jette un regard sur le rendement extraordinaire de nos missions et de nos agents d'immigration, la saga des réfugiés qui se sont embarqués pour un long voyage jusqu'aux rives du Canada et quelques-unes des leçons tirées au sujet de l'édification d'une nation au Canada même. Les Canadiens ont de quoi être fiers, et les néo-Canadiens qui nous sont venus de l'Indochine ont fait honneur à eux-mêmes et au Canada. Trois articles rédigés par des membres de la Société historique de l'immigration canadienne (SHIC) se penchent sur l'histoire et les multiples facettes humaines d'un important chapitre de notre histoire sociale.*

Remembering the Indochinese Refugee Movement

by Michael Molloy with photos by Don Cameron

The Indochinese refugee movement was the largest refugee resettlement initiative ever undertaken by Canada, running from the fall of Saigon in 1975 until well into the 1990s. It was spawned and sustained by a wide range of push factors. Following the Communist victories in Indochina in 1975 there were summary executions, the forcing of perceived enemies into “re-education camps” and so called New Economic Zones, the unrelenting oppression of “class enemies”, ethnic cleansing of the large Chinese minority, nationalization of businesses and the Cambodian genocide. Compounding

the situation were natural disasters and wars between Vietnam and both Cambodia and China.

It's impossible to get an accurate count of all who perished in the jungles and minefields of Cambodia attempting to reach Thailand. Additionally, UNHCR conservatively estimates at least 250,000, mainly Vietnamese and Sino-Vietnamese “boat people,” lost their lives attempting to reach safety in neighbouring countries.

This movement added close to 200,000 new citizens – Vietnamese, Sino-Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian and members of various Indochinese minorities

– to Canada's population. Given the suffering that many experienced in making their escape, the conditions in the refugee camps, the struggle to adjust to a new

Given the suffering that many experienced in making their escape, the conditions in the refugee camps, the struggle to adjust to a new culture, climate and, often, language, and the cumulative trauma of all these, they have adjusted remarkably well.



Loading the last Canadian Hercules flight from Saigon Ton Son Nhut Airport 24 April 1975.

culture, climate and, often, language, and the cumulative trauma of all these, they have adjusted remarkably well. They and their descendants are found in all walks of Canadian life.

The apex of the movement for Canada occurred in 1979 and 1980. The government made an initial commitment to 5,000 Indochinese refugees in the 1979 annual refugee plan, partly influenced by the favourable publicity garnered by the acceptance of 600 refugees stranded on the *Hai Hong* (see Dara Marcus' article "Canada and the *Hai Hong*" **bout de papier** Vol. 28, no. 1). The escalating rate of arrivals of boats in neighbouring countries, more than doubling from 26,000 in April to 56,000 in June caused the ASEAN countries to close their shores. Boats were pushed off or towed back to sea and thousands perished. With the possibility of asylum rapidly disappearing, the Secretary



On the tarmac of Ton Son Nhut airport in Saigon 24 April 1975. The aircraft was from CFB Trenton. The people surrounding the aircraft were a mixture of the air crew, non-resident Canadian journalists, Canadian missionaries resident in Vietnam, Canadian citizens and their Vietnamese dependants being evacuated, all three of the locally-engaged Embassy drivers and the Embassy Canada-based staff. Although you can see an air force officer sitting in the forward door of the aircraft holding a baby, there were no orphans for adoption in Canada on this flight. That baby was the child of one of the Canadians being evacuated.

General of the UN called an emergency meeting in Geneva to respond to the crisis.

In June 1979, the new Conservative Government increased the Canadian commitment to 8,000 and asked that another 4,000 be sponsored by Canadian groups and institutions. In response to the Secretary General's appeal for greater effort by the international community, Secretary of State for External Affairs Flora MacDonald and Immigration Minister Ron Atkey went to Cabinet to argue for a much larger effort and, when MacDonald addressed the emergency meeting in Geneva on July 21, 1979, she announced a commitment to resettle 50,000 refugees. This was comprised of the 8,000 already pledged, 21,000 to be sponsored under a new, untested Private Refugee Sponsorship Program and a matching 21,000 to be settled by the government. When the Liberals returned to power in 1980, Immigration Minister Lloyd Axworthy added 10,000 bringing the commitment to 60,000.

The response of ordinary Canadians took everyone by surprise. In June 1979, 388 groups sponsored 1,609 Indochinese refugees. By the end of the year Canadians had overshot the 21,000 target as 5,456 groups filed sponsorships for 29,369 refugees. When the program ended in December 1980 there were sponsorships

thousand people. In Toronto, York University Professor Howard Adelman invited a few friends home to draft a letter to the government and ended up founding Operation Lifeline to coordinate sponsorship activity throughout Ontario and beyond. Across the entire country local leaders stepped forward

to promote and coordinate the sponsorships and to organize arrangements and services for the incoming refugees. (Interestingly, the City of Windsor was a year ahead of the curve as Mayor Bert Weeks had a Vietnamese refugee committee up and running by December 1977.)



Helicopter chartered by UNHCR to ferry Singapore based Canadian visa officers to the Anabas Islands. Left to right David Ritchie, fellow Singapore visa officer John McEachern, then-Corporal Ben Soave of the RCMP who retired as Chief Superintendent.

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on file for just under 40,000 refugees. While most churches in the country took on a refugee family it was the religious communities with strong memories of persecution and war, notably the Mennonites, the Dutch Christian Reformed Church and Canada's Jewish community, that took the lead. Canadians were inspired by remarkable leaders like Ottawa's Mayor Marion Dewar who called a meeting expecting dozens of citizens and had to find seating for over a



Malaysian fishing boats used initially to ferry visa officers, their files and overnight luggage on the four hour trip to the refugee camp on Pulau Bidong – slow, smelly (fish and exhaust), noisy, uncomfortable.



Personal effects of Embassy officers who had previously been evacuated offloaded from the aircraft. The two men on the left are Embassy drivers.

The refugees and the several hundred thousand ordinary Canadians who welcomed them and helped them to adjust to life here are, of course, the main elements of this story.

What is much less known is the story of how the refugees got here. That is the story of how, in 1979 and 1980, 20 or so young Canadian visa officers, led by three remarkable young managers, operating in remote, hot, humid, smelly, hard to reach camps throughout Southeast Asia identified, interviewed, selected, processed and transported 60,000 refugees to Canada on 181 charter flights with never a seat left empty. It is the story of the two impressive reception centres that the Department of National Defence and the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) organized on military bases in

Edmonton and Montreal to receive, orient and document the refugees and give them a few days rest after their journey. It is the story of how a little group of clerks,

It is the story of how a little group of clerks, supported by a stove-sized computer and a system inspired by the Berlin Airlift, matched 32,000 refugees with 7,000 sponsors.

supported by a stove-sized computer and a system inspired by the Berlin Airlift, matched 32,000 refugees with 7,000 sponsors. And finally, it is the story of how CEIC employment and immigration staffers played a critical role in coordinating

the sponsorship movement, settling 25,000 government assisted refugees and dealing with the myriad problems that eventually arose after arrival.

The book

Three years ago, with the 40th anniversary of the fall of Saigon approaching on 30 April 2015, a group of those young immigration, employment and visa officers, now in their 60s and 70s, decided it was time to tell their part of the story under the auspices of the Canadian Immigration Historical Society. Drawing on almost 1,000 documents from Library and Archives Canada and from the UNHCR Archives in Geneva, the CIHS writing team (Peter Duschinsky, Kurt Jensen, Michael Molloy and Robert Shalka), have teased out

the story of the upheavals in Southeast Asia between 1975 and 1980. They have described and analysed the events, the policy considerations, the political and bureaucratic decisions, and the operational innovations that made it possible to move so many people from so far away so quickly to Canada. The story of how it was done is told in the words of over 40 former CEIC, RCMP and National Health and Welfare employees, one stalwart Foreign Service wife and a doughty Scottish sea captain. These stories, sometimes shocking, sometimes funny and always quietly inspiring, make up two thirds of the book tentatively titled *Running on Empty: The Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission and the Indochinese Refugee Movement 1975–1980*. It should be published later this year.

The conference

Originally the book was slated for release in April 2015 but the writing team took a detour. York University's Centre for Refugee Studies (CRS), which grew out of the Indochinese program, heard about the CIHS book project and suggested the two organizations co-host a conference on the Indochinese movement. The conference *The Indochinese Refugee Program 1975 to 1980 and the Launch of Canada's Private Refugee Sponsorship Program*, was

Stories of dangerous sea voyages or treks through jungles, pirate attacks, hunger, thirst, privation and the horror of losing children along the way left the 100 plus participants in shocked silence.

funded by Citizenship and Immigration's Multicultural Branch and was launched with a one day workshop that examined Canada's current Private refugee sponsorship program.

The conference, held between 21 and 23 November 2013, heard first-hand accounts and testimony from three refugee panels, plus panels comprised of former visa officers and other federal, provincial and municipal officials, sponsors, community organizers, and media repre-

sentatives. Keynote speakers included Udo Janz, the Director of UNHCR's New York office and Senator, The Honourable Thanh Hai Ngo.

The refugee panels, featuring representatives of the Vietnamese, Sino-Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian communities, were particularly gripping. Stories of dangerous sea voyages or treks through jungles, pirate attacks, hunger, thirst, privation and the horror of losing children along the way left the 100 plus participants in shocked silence. The panel on first contact between newly arrived refugees and their sponsors demonstrated that in most cases the sponsorship program worked well. The conference also heard a sobering account of what happened when a sponsoring group was not up to the task. The final refugee panel about settling here demonstrated the importance of family, hard work and the resilience of the human spirit.

The conference proceedings were videoed along with 21 hour long interviews. These can be found at www.indochinese.aps01.yorku.ca/conference. The conference web site also includes a 30 minute documentary and a series of shorter thematic mini documentaries compiled from the proceedings.

Follow up

In January 2014 a post conference workshop designed an ambitious program to stimulate further research and make information on the Canadian experience with the Indochinese refugees more widely available. The first priority was to establish a presence on the internet www.Indochinese.aps01.yorku.ca. Work has begun on a docudrama based on the experiences of one of the conference participants.

The Centre for Refugee Studies is developing materials for use in high schools focusing on the Indochinese refugees and how Canadians assisted them. The materials should be online before the 40th anniversary of the fall of Saigon.

Consultations are under way with York University Library to create an online archive of documents and other materials relating to the Indochinese refugee movement and the Canadian response. The documents collected by CIHS in researching the book will constitute the nucleus of the new archive. The Society remains very

interested in collecting documents and memorabilia from the Indochinese refugee movement and if you have such materials and are looking for a home for them contact us through cihs-shic.ca.

As the original Indochinese refugees age, the CIHS-CRS partnership is making plans for a workshop in the fall of 2015 to bring together representatives of institutions that collect immigrant and refugee oral histories. The objective is to encourage institutions across Canada to collect and preserve the firsthand accounts of the refugees as well as those of sponsors, host families, and others.

A special edition of *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* on the Indochinese movement will be issued before the end of 2015. In addition an edited volume examining aspects of the Indochinese movement not covered in CIHS's book is planned. ☺

Michael Molloy is a Senior Fellow at the University of Ottawa and president of the Canadian Immigration Historical Society. He was involved in the Czechoslovakian and Ugandan Asian refugee movements, helped design the refugee elements of the 1976 Immigration Act and was Senior Coordinator of the Indochinese refugee movement 1979 and 1980. Postings included Tokyo, Beirut, Minneapolis, Geneva, Amman, Damascus, Nairobi and Toronto. He was Ambassador to Jordan (1996–2000) and Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process (2000–03). He is currently co-authoring a book on the Canadian Immigration department and the Indochinese refugee movement.

Don Cameron was on temporary duty at the Embassy in Saigon in April 1975 and was on board the aircraft in which the Canada-based employees were evacuated on 24 April 1975. From 1979–81 he was responsible for the selection of Vietnamese refugees in Malaysia as the Deputy Immigration Program Manager in Singapore.

Chronology – Canada and the Indochinese Refugees 1975–1980

Abbreviations E&I – Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission

SSEA – Secretary of State for External Affairs

DND – Department of National Defence

UNHCR – United Nations High Commission for Refugees

Early 1975: Pathet Lao and Khmer Rouge take over Laos and Cambodia.

April 6 1975: Indochinese orphans arrive in Canada.

April 1975: Effort to evacuate relatives of Canadian Vietnamese thwarted by strict exit controls.

April 24, 1975: Canadian staff of Saigon Embassy evacuated.

April 30, 1975: Saigon falls to Communist forces. 130,000 people rescued by US Navy.

May 1, 1975: Canada will accept 3,000 Indochinese refugees plus all sponsored by relatives.

May–December 1975: Canadian teams process 1,401 Vietnamese refugees from Guam and thousands more from military bases in southern USA. General Quang controversy.

October 1976: Canada to accept 180 “boat people”.

August 1977: Cabinet authorizes resettlement of 450 “Small Boat Escapees”.

January 13, 1978: Canada will accept 50 “Small Boat Escapees” families per month.

July 20, 1978: Cabinet approves monthly program for 20 overland refugee families in Thailand.

November 1978: Freighter, *Hai Hong*, with 2,500 refugees arrives off Malaysia. Canada takes 604.

December 7, 1978: Indochinese Designated Class Regulations simplify selection rules.

December 20, 1978: Canada’s first Annual Refugee Plan will admit 5,000 Indochinese.

Admissions 1975–1978: 9,080

March 1979: Mennonite Central Committee signs refugee sponsorship agreement. Forty churches and organizations follow.

April to June 1979: Boat arrivals in SE Asia escalate: April 26,602, May 51,139, June 56,941.

June 1979: Clark government increases 5,000 target to 8,000. Voluntary sector to sponsor 4,000.

Late June 1979: ASEAN governments announce they WILL not accept new boat arrivals.

July 20–21, 1979: At United Nations conference in Geneva Canada announces 50,000 refugees: 8,000 from June plus 21,000 sponsored privately matched by 21,000 govt. assisted refugees.

July 1979: New organizations to promote sponsorship – Project 4000, Operation Lifeline, etc.

July–August 1979: Reception centres established at DND bases, Montreal and Edmonton.

November 1979: Sponsorships by private groups surpass government’s target of 21,000.

December 1979: Government abandons pledge to match privately sponsored refugees with equal number of government assisted. Diverts savings to Cambodian refugee relief.

April 2, 1980: Liberal government adds 10,000 government assisted refugees. New total 60,000.

December 8, 1980: Charter #181 arrives with the last of 60,049 refugees.

Totals:

Privately Sponsored	32,281
Government Assisted	25,978
Relative Sponsored	1,790

Statistical Source: Employment and Immigration Canada:
The Indochinese Refugees: the Canadian Response, 1979 and 1980 (1981, Department of Supply and Services)

The War's Aftermath and Canada's Compassionate Response

by Peter Duschinsky with photos by Scott Heatherington

In the spring of 1975, North Vietnam, through its proxy the Viet Cong, redoubled its attack against fatally weakened South Vietnam. Saigon fell on the last day of April. Meanwhile the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia and the Pathet Lao in Laos won their wars against the governments in Phnom Penh and Vientiane. By early May 1975, all of Indochina was ruled by Communist governments. After a series of interconnected wars lasting three decades, the dominant role of the West in Indochina ended.

Masses of people had been displaced. The UN refugee agency (UNHCR) estimated that some 20 million people were uprooted, including more than half of South Vietnam's population. There was also an enormous rural-to-urban exodus: Saigon grew by two million. In Cambodia the civil war between the Lon Nol government and the Khmer Rouge, (as well as the Viet Cong incursions and the U.S. bombing campaign between 1970 and 1975) left some 500,000 dead and 2 million internally displaced out of a population of 7.5 million.

As war in Indochina drew to a close, the international community concluded that the problem of large population displacements should be open to solutions within the region. When some 125,000 refugees fled Vietnam, most countries considered Indochina to be an American problem and resisted the internationalization of the crisis. But it was not to be easily contained. People who had served in South Vietnam's military and bureaucracy (and the heavily Chinese or Catholic commercial and professional middle classes), feared the Viet Cong. Reports abounded in the capital of cruel punishment, in areas captured by invading forces, against all those deemed to be U.S. collaborators or class enemies.

By March 1975 panic overwhelmed South Vietnam. Masses of civilians, including women and children, trying to escape on departing planes at Danang airport, were shot by South Vietnamese



Loading baggage on the buses for the trip to the airport.

soldiers on March 29. Six days later, a U.S. Air Force C-5A crashed after taking off, killing 135 orphans and escorts on board. The Danang incident, the crash of the "baby flight", and desperate Vietnamese civilians left behind on the roof of the U.S. embassy were the sad ending of America's long war in Indochina.

Fox Butterfield, a *New York Times* foreign correspondent, described the scene at sea:

"About 71,000 Vietnamese abandoned their homes, their possessions, and often their families, and put out to sea in tiny

fishing boats or ungainly barges in hopes of finding the Seventh Fleet. How they knew where we were is a mystery. The first day, Tuesday, we were only 17 miles off the coast near Vung Tau, at the mouth of the Saigon River. By Wednesday we had moved out to 40 miles and later, because of the rumored sighting of a North Vietnamese gunboat, to 70 miles. But they came anyway. When we awoke on Wednesday morning there were 20 fishing boats off our starboard, all crammed with people, many of whom looked like poor fishermen. The Mobile had orders to take

on people only by helicopter and we had to refuse them. Some United States sailors openly protested, asking their officers why we were leaving them. A Vietnamese Roman Catholic priest in the bow of one wooden fishing craft bent to his knees and

implementation mechanisms inside Canada and in Southeast Asia to meet it.

On the policy side, Immigration Minister Robert Andras emphasized to cabinet that, following Canadian tradition, "humanitarian considerations ought to be

About 71,000 Vietnamese abandoned their homes, their possessions, and often their families, and put out to sea in tiny fishing boats or ungainly barges in hopes of finding the Seventh Fleet.

prayed to us to take him aboard. But we could not and the boats were pointed in the direction of the rest of the fleet where half a dozen merchant ships under charter to the Military Sealift Command were embarking evacuees from boats."

By April 1975, Canadian diplomats understood that South Vietnam would fall to the Communists within weeks. The initial assessment was that Canada's "future relations with a Communist-dominated South Vietnam or a unified Vietnamese state would not be important" and the new Vietnam would have "no bilateral interests for Canada". As Saigon was under attack, the U.S. State Department asked its Western allies to create a multilateral international refugee program to resettle refugees fleeing the Communist takeover. Most Western allies did not react positively to the request. Canada did.

Canada's main role in Vietnam quickly became humanitarian and refugee-related. Before Saigon's fall, following strong representations by Vietnamese in Canada, Canada agreed to admit family members of its Vietnamese residents. By 1 May, the government had agreed to admit refugees from Cambodia as well. Canada rapidly accepted that its reaction to the refugee crisis would extend not only to "relatives sponsored or nominated by Canadian Citizens or residents", but also 2,000 non-sponsored refugees in American-established refugee camps and 1,000 others in Southeast Asia. Canada became the first nation, after the U.S.A., to establish a sponsored-relative program and then an Indochinese refugee program.

In the chaos of the Saigon evacuation, with little diplomatic representation, no military presence and no Canadian immigration officers, the challenge to fulfill our commitments was daunting. Canada's Department of Manpower and Immigration (M&I) rapidly put in place policies and

regarded as paramount". To demonstrate the even-handed, non-political nature of Canada's program, he highlighted the similarity of our humanitarian efforts in South Vietnam and Chile. These movements were "solely to alleviate human distress, without regard to political or any other considerations", whether refugees were fleeing from a right-wing military coup in Chile or Communist conquest in Indochina.

The first challenge M&I faced was dealing with representations from Vietnamese in Canada, their Canadian friends, and relatives attempting to help their desperate countrymen. It was "unexpected" because, in early 1975, Canada had a very small Vietnamese community. Only 1,204 Vietnamese immigrants arrived during the preceding five years while 1,500 Francophone Vietnamese studied in Québec.

Despite these small numbers, as the situation in South Vietnam deteriorated, Ottawa Immigration headquarters was deluged with thousands of offers of help and guarantees for family members in South Vietnam. The small team on the M&I Asia-Pacific desk could not cope, and the whole of headquarters' foreign service contingent swung into action. Sponsorships were processed, and telexes with lists of names were sent to Canada's embassy in Saigon as rapidly as possible. Officials worked 14 to 16 hours a day, and two officers slept at the External Affairs communications centre to ensure that incoming and outgoing messages were dealt with promptly. To facilitate processing sponsorships across Canada, all immigration centres in the country remained open for one weekend doing Indochinese sponsorship work.

In early April, M&I directed the immigration officers in Southeast Asia to deal with the situation in Saigon where we had no visa officers. The Canadian High



Joyce Cavanagh Wood in Guam, May 1975.



Charles Rogers, Rebecca Wong and Dr. Kyriakidis.



Our heroic interpreters' assistants including Ngo Phung Phi and Nguyen Hoai.



Guam team: Rebecca Wong, Scott Heatherington, Vietnamese interpreters and our Marine Guard.

Commission in Singapore had primary responsibility for visa processing in South Vietnam, so Gavin Stewart at Immigration HQ phoned John Baker, a visa officer there, in the middle of the night, telling him to get on a plane to Saigon as quickly as possible. Baker found that Saigon was in a state of war, his plane landed amidst nearby smoke and explosions.

Baker's first challenge was to contact all active immigration cases and people whose desperate relatives and friends were sponsoring them in Canada. For those in or close to Saigon this was a difficult, but theoretically feasible, task. However, with no mail, no phones and shooting in the streets, it was impossible to contact those outside the city's immediate surroundings.

To leave South Vietnam people needed exit permits as well as visas. Permits to leave Vietnam were almost impossible to obtain, except for those with connections and the resources to pay bribes. Meanwhile, the high pressure work being performed in Canada was bearing fruit: every morning, the embassy in Saigon received a 20- to 30-foot roll of telex paper with incomplete names and addresses.

The streets of Saigon became ever tenser and more frenzied with artillery and rocket fire in the distance. Power at the embassy was intermittent and conditions chaotic. Even though staff worked 12-hour days, they could make little progress in handling the crowds showing up at the embassy and finding people on the ever-longer lists arriving from Canada. On 8 April, John Baker flew to Hong Kong returning the next day with Ernest Allen, Deputy Visa Manager in Hong Kong. Allen helped evacuate a group of Canadians from Saigon and flew with them to Hong Kong. But there was no way to meet the demand for visas of panicked people sponsored by relatives and friends in Canada. As he observed, virtually no Vietnamese showed up to attempt to leave with the Canadian evacuees, they simply could not obtain passports or exit permits and were not allowed to leave by their own authorities.

Charles Rogers, Manager of the Hong Kong Visa Office, came up with a solution. The Canadian government had committed to resettle any South Vietnamese or Cambodian whose relatives or friends in Canada were willing to name them to Canadian authorities. But, with the deteriorating situation in Saigon, connecting



Loading baggage on the buses for the trip to the airport.

names received from Canada with actual people in South Vietnam was impossible. Knowing that many of the people named from Canada were desperate enough to try to make it by any means, he gave them a blanket visa approval through the so-called Promise of Visa Letter (PVL). These letters provided a guarantee that their holders would receive a Canadian visa if they could present themselves anywhere to any Canadian diplomatic representative.

By the second week of April the embassy in Saigon could no longer manage the daily influx of lists of names from Canada. The lists were sent to Hong Kong where PVLs were prepared for everyone on the lists – a gargantuan task. Canadian officers Cameron, Tebbutt and Bowden carried the letters to Saigon where they were mailed. During a two-week period, Canada's mission in Hong Kong produced some 3,500 letters, covering between 14,000 and 15,000 individuals, all of which were mailed as fighting engulfed the South Vietnamese capital.

Vietnamese refugees in possession of PVLs showed up in camps and elsewhere in Southeast Asia decades after the fall of Saigon. It is impossible to know how many of these letters were eventually honoured. Given the conditions under which they were mailed, the actual number used by refugees was undoubtedly low. Yet the PVL served a real purpose. When it was virtually impossible to contact named refugees they provided hope to both

refugees and sponsors in Canada and demonstrated that extremely short-staffed Canadian missions in Saigon, Hong Kong and Singapore could perform their duties even as South Vietnam collapsed.

Canadian officialdom's efforts to help Vietnamese families in Canada rescue family members in South Vietnam went well beyond the call of duty and sometimes bordered on the heroic. Some officers were camped out for days in Ottawa office buildings; some worked without respite through weekends; some flew in and out of a city under siege. Terribly overworked staff at Canadian missions provided terrified refugees with future hope. Yet little could be done in besieged Saigon to rescue large numbers of people directly from Vietnam.

The story of the Canadian "baby flight" of 65 war orphans stands out. It was the first time that private Canadians, Canadian officials abroad and relatives in Canada of Canadian officials abroad acted in tandem to deliver a group of at-risk orphan children very rapidly to adoptive parents in Canada. In 1979–80, cooperation between the Canadian government and the Canadian people was to become the trademark characteristic of the Indochinese refugee movement.

The Americans created "Operation Babylift" to rescue the many Indochinese children in NGO-run orphanages using military aircraft to ferry the children to California or to safety at U.S. bases and to adoption in the U.S.A. Tragically, the

operation started disastrously when the U.S. plane crashed. More than one hundred children and escorts survived but 135 orphans and escorts did not.

Naomi Bronstein, a young Canadian not affiliated with the government (she was less than 30 years old at the time, with her own children and husband in Montreal) brought orphans to Saigon from her "Canada House" orphanage in Phnom Penh on almost the last U.S. military aircraft leaving Cambodia before the Khmer Rouge marched in. Some of the paperwork to find adoptive parents for the orphans in Canada had been done before the babies arrived in Saigon. Ms. Bronstein, through her own efforts, managed to get places on the U.S. baby flight leaving on 4 April. Meanwhile a Canadian military flight arrived in Saigon from Hong Kong to help with an early Canadian evacuation effort. When, after conferring with Ernest Hébert, the Canadian Chargé d'affaires in Saigon, Ms. Bronstein realized that there would be places for the orphans on the Canadian flight back to Hong Kong, she gave up the places on the U.S. flight. When that flight crashed, she rushed to the wreckage, and with others, managed to rescue some of the surviving children. The Canadian flight (with the orphans under Ms. Bronstein's care and some rescued children from the crash, as well as their caretakers) was uneventful. But conditions were very crowded. A Canadian Mennonite lady attempted to pacify three babies on her lap and some of the babies were resting in cardboard boxes on the floor of the aircraft.

In Hong Kong, High Commissioner Bud Clark asked wives of Canadian diplomats to accompany the orphans to Canada to help care for them. The children and their caretakers spent the night at a Hong Kong hotel, while staff at the mission worked feverishly to get all the paperwork ready. Next day, the orphans were on their way to Canada to adoptive parents across the country. They were accompanied, on a memorable flight full of cranky babies and diaper changes by Elizabeth Heatherington, Sandra Cameron and other diplomatic wives, as well as Naomi Bronstein (she received the Order of Canada in 1983 for her outstanding efforts).

The tiny Canadian embassy was evacuated in late April 1975. The Chargé, Ernest Hébert, saw his responsibility as staying in Saigon as long as possible to ensure the

safe evacuation of Canadians, and he performed this difficult task. But, with the demise of its role on the International Control Commission, Canada would have minimal strategic interest in Vietnam after the fall of Saigon. In the final evacuation flight on 24 April 1975, all remaining Canadians who wished to leave departed from the virtually deserted Ton Son Nhut Airport on a Canadian Forces C-130 aircraft; according to Hébert, 25 April was the last day for a safe evacuation, and so they left at the last possible moment. The visa officer, Don Cameron, who had been ferrying PVLs between Hong Kong and Saigon, was on that final flight, by then in a state of exhaustion.

Neither the UNHCR nor most Western observers expected the refugee outflow after the fall of Saigon to last and did little to find a solution for the masses of refugees escaping from South Vietnam. However, in the case of the Vietnamese refugees evacuated by the U.S. Navy, or leaving Vietnam on their own in small boats, the Americans had little choice. Very rapidly, they had more than 120,000 refugees, in temporary accommodations in the Philippines and in Guam, who had to be moved as quickly as possible to camps in U.S. territories on Pacific islands and on the U.S. mainland. Canada's main effort was in resettling refugees from Guam, Hong Kong and camps in the U.S.A., providing welcome assistance to the beleaguered Americans.

The people who selected and sent the refugees during the 1975–76 Vietnamese refugee movement to Canada were extremely dedicated visa officers, immigration doctors, and security officers, ably assisted by communicators, clerical staff and translators (often the translators were themselves refugees). Most were young, some had never worked outside Canada. Few in number, they accomplished a great deal with limited resources, working long hours under trying conditions. They had a strong sense of adventure and were ready to be on the road at a moment's notice. Their ability to innovate was extraordinary. These factors would characterize the very nature of the movement from its beginning and would carry over to the much larger Indochinese refugee movement of 1979–80.

After North Vietnam's victory over the South, Canada's commitment to resettle

family members of Canadian residents and Convention refugees (the two categories often overlapped) was rapidly implemented. Canada was one of very few developed countries to react immediately and effectively to the crisis and was second only to the U.S.A. in the number of refugees accepted. Between 1975 and 1978 Canada admitted 9,000 refugees from Vietnam and Cambodia. In fact, the 1975–78 Vietnam refugee processing effort was exceeded only by the Hungarian (1956–57: 37,000 refugees accepted) and Czech (1968–69: 11,000 refugees accepted).

In the years that followed Canada would make even greater efforts: between 1979 and 1980, with the enthusiastic support of private Canadian sponsors, Canada absorbed 60,000 additional Indochinese refugees. By the time the movement ended in the mid-1990s close to 200,000 new residents had been added to Canada's population. The Indochinese refugee movement was a success in part because of good leadership at all levels of government and because of the participation of thousands of Canadians who reached out to the refugees through the sponsorship program. But other key elements in ensuring the success of this movement were the dedication and enterprise of Canadian officials both overseas and in Canada and the great latitude the governance system of the time permitted them in performing their tasks. ③

Peter Duschinsky is a retired immigration Foreign Service Officer. Posted to Paris, Chicago, Cairo and Budapest, he also served in Ottawa as Director, International Liaison. A Board member of the Immigration Historical Society, he is working with other members on a book on the Indochinese refugee movement to Canada.

Scott Heatherington was serving at the Canadian Commission in Hong Kong when Saigon fell and was part of a small team sent to Guam in May 1975 to select over 1,401 refugees for Canada. After a



varied career, that included policy and operational assignments abroad for CIC and DFAIT, he was Canadian Ambassador to Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia from 2008 to 2012.

Living on Adrenalin

by Kurt F. Jensen

Canadian Immigration Foreign Service Officers, tasked with saving a large number of Indochinese refugees, conducted a humanitarian effort of enormous scale in circumstances that often defied description. These are a few of their stories, compiled by the Canadian Immigration Historical Society for a book to appear later this year.

The fall of Saigon

John Baker, head of immigration in Singapore, was in Saigon during the anxious final days. He recalls “everyone huddling around the communicator as ‘important’ telexes arrived. One telex asked the mission for an inventory of everything in the Embassy (including the attached residence). The communicator looked up at the *Chargé* seeking a comment – the reply was, “Tell them to f... off” which was duly sent. Several years later, I ran into John Hadwen, then Director General of Consular Affairs, who had been sitting in the DEA Comcentre when the message arrived. Not only did he think it was hilarious but, in the circumstances, most appropriate.”

The operation

Officers were quick to recognize the severity of the humanitarian crisis in Southeast Asia and were determined to help as many as possible. *Marius Grinius* recalls that, “in many respects selecting refugees for Canada was relatively easy. The key was not to think too much about the yes/no life-changing decisions that you had to make 30 or 40 times a day. Otherwise you risked being overwhelmed. The enormous press of numbers ensured that one did not dwell on any philosophical or existential aspects. The criteria for acceptance were simple. By the end of the interview you decided whether the family, and it usually was a family, sitting in front of you, could establish themselves in Canada. An ideal scenario was a family unit comprised of two able-bodied parents, with at least

grade school education, a trade and perhaps speaking French or English, one or two single siblings who could contribute to the family as wage-earners, and grandparents who could look after the children while parents were working. A tough, energetic grandmother and matriarch was always welcome. The family dynamics and the parents’ willingness to work at any job to start a new life in Canada invariably ended with a positive decision. Sometimes,

An ideal scenario was a family unit comprised of two able-bodied parents, with at least grade school education, a trade and perhaps speaking French or English, one or two single siblings who could contribute to the family as wage-earners, and grandparents who could look after the children while parents were working.

however, as Bill Sheppit put it, ‘You made your decision based on the gleam in a child’s eye.’”

Likewise, *Scott Mullin* remembers that, “we were selecting people ‘who, in the opinion of the visa officer, will successfully establish in Canada....’ That flexibility allowed me to take cases such as an elderly man married to identical twin sisters. He had a son in the US but the Americans would not take him, his ‘wives’ and his three other sons and their families, because of the second wife. Once I had established which one was the eldest of the two sisters, the younger wife simply became his wife’s sister and the family was accepted.”

Tove Bording and *Bill Sheppit* were the selection team in Singapore shortly after the fall of Saigon. The workload was insurmountable, and one of the team was

always away at a camp. Sheppit recalls that “Going to the refugee camps was always a challenge. On one trip in a rental car, I was forced off the road by a timber truck. My car did a 360° turn and then rolled over. Fifty feet off the road by the time the car stopped, I got out with nothing broken but with glass in my hair, a little bit of blood and covered in red mud with office files all over the inside of the car from my opened suitcase. I was picked up by an

intercity taxi and driven back to Singapore. When I walked into the office with the suitcase, covered in mud and blood, Tove, reflecting on my recent annual appraisal, suggested that I was obviously trying for an outstanding appraisal!”

Bording recalls one of her early camp visits. “Khlóng Yai was a tiny fishing village with no place for us to stay. It was monsoon season and the road was terrible. I thought it was under construction since we drove in and out of huge excavations. As we could not stay in Khlóng Yai, we had to go back to Trat each night and return the following morning, making four trips over that road. It was only after I returned to Singapore that I learned that the road wasn’t under construction and that its rough condition was due to the road being mined, with a mine sweeper sent over the road twice a day!”

Refugees' stories were harrowing. Sheppit writes of his last interview in Mai Rut on the Cambodian border: "I spoke with a man who had walked from Phnom Penh starting with 12 in his family. As they walked out they were stopped by the Khmer Rouge and took some casualties. Two of the women were later murdered. Three of the family made it to the Thai border only to encounter a mine field where two of them were blown up. The man I met was the only one in the group to survive."

As Bording explains, "Critical in our deliberations was the humanitarian side. You made decisions which were 'right' and didn't worry about it. I encountered four cousins who insisted that they would only go if all were accepted. Two of them had good employment prospects. They were going to Manitoba and I talked them into going ahead to get established before the next two cousins arrived. I had committed to taking the second two, one of whom I think was only 17. After a while, facing the grim realities in the camps, you didn't ask headquarters – you did the right thing and sorted it out with headquarters later. When I was ready to visa the second of the two cousins we received a message from headquarters saying they had changed their minds, not to take them because Winnipeg had said something. I sent them anyway because we had made a commitment to help."

Human tragedy had an effect on all who served in the region. Cutting corners and going the distance to help save people came naturally. As Bording relates: "Late one afternoon, I received a call from the Singaporean immigration authority informing me that they had detained a man and woman with two children they had adopted in Thailand. They were all destined to Canada but the children had no visas and could not be returned to Thailand as that country would not re-admit them. I asked that they be allowed to come to our office which was refused. I suggested that the Singapore authorities hold the adults' passports if we could have 48 hours to process the children. They were given 24 hours."

"The next morning the two adults with two small children in tow appeared in my office. The woman, although living in Canada, was a US citizen so I had no authority to allow retention of her passport."

Happily she made no objection. In addition, the adults were not a couple but friends who had each adopted a child. The children, a little girl of four and a boy of six, settled in a corner and played quietly with their toys. One of our designated doctors immediately arranged medicals for the children, which the children passed. I had the required documents prepared to facilitate the travel and then the problems began.

"To arrange travel I asked the Singaporeans for a 24 hour extension which they refused even though all airlines out of Singapore were fully booked. A call to CP Air in Hong Kong produced space on their flight although they too had been fully booked but would bump other passengers to help. However, to get to Hong Kong, the children required visas. My colleagues at the British embassy, which was already closed for the day, agreed to initiate the visas but then we found we couldn't get a flight to Hong Kong. Then suddenly we found four seats on a PAN AM flight from Singapore to San Francisco, and US colleagues were called and proved prepared to get all four on their way. Technically, the legality of the adoptions was questionable but I sent them all off and advised headquarters to sort it out when they got there, which headquarters did. Two sweet little children were saved after being rejected, through no fault of their own, not just by individuals but by entire countries."

The camps and the refugees

David Ritchie remembers the camps and their enduring smells. "At night, we sometimes slept on the same wooden tables at which we interviewed, rather than face the rough sea journeys back to the mainland. On one such occasion, I lucked into the improved accommodation in the camp's wooden hospital. I was fortunate to get an upper bunk to avoid the rat traffic which continued all night long."

An accurate figure of the number who left Vietnam but never arrived in a country of first asylum will never be known but it is certainly many, many thousand. Don Cameron remembers that, "Apart from the weather, the principal threat was attack by pirates. At the very least a pirate attack resulted in the theft of all of the refugees' gold and valuables. In many

cases the pirates wounded, killed and threw overboard refugees who attempted to resist and raped many of the girls and women. In some cases rape victims were thrown overboard to drown and in others they were taken by the pirates to brothels on shore. On arrival in one camp I was approached by the camp leader, the UNHCR representative and a Red Cross doctor asking me to help remove from the camp as soon as possible several recently

At the very least a pirate attack resulted in the theft of all of the refugees' gold and valuables. In many cases the pirates wounded, killed and threw overboard refugees who attempted to resist and raped many of the girls and women.

arrived young women who had been repeatedly raped during a pirate attack. The doctor told me that the only reason they were alive was that their boat arrived directly at the camp where immediate medical attention was available. We got them to Canada quickly and they wrote after they arrived that they were doing well and were under the sponsorship of a supportive religious community."

Every officer who served in Southeast Asia has similar stories of adapting the system to help those in need. Cameron also recalls "the arrival of a boat in a port on the east coast of Malaysia. The boat had been spotted at sea by the Malaysian police and escorted to the dock. Vastly overloaded, there was standing room only. The boat had successfully crossed the Gulf of Thailand only because the weather was calm. As the boat was emptied the police discovered a young woman who looked to me to be dead. Bloody rags were tied around the stump of one of her arms. Alive but unconscious, a flywheel from the boat's engine had torn the arm off two days before. I told the UNHCR official at the scene that the young woman was accepted for resettlement in Canada. By chance I was at the Kuala Lumpur airport when she left for Canada and recognized her only because of the missing limb."

Adventures in selection

Murray Oppertshauser writes of being "... in a Hmong hill tribe camp in the middle of nowhere in Northern Thailand. One interview was different. I was confronted with the impossible situation of a Hmong man with two wives and a multitude of children. This was a culturally acceptable familial relationship in Hmong society but hardly accorded with Canadian norms or laws. Having to make a decision in what appeared to be an otherwise nice and acceptable family unit, I advised the family to go outside to discuss which one of the wives would become the widow of the principal applicant's 'dead brother.' Moments later, a decision had been made and the extended family was accepted for Canada."

A thick skin and a good sense of humour were definitely needed back then, outside the office and within. *Marius Grinius* recalls arriving as "a six-month-old FS-1D in Bangkok with six more months of probation to go. Finally the 'promotion' telex to FS-1 arrived. Murray handed it over to me with the following written note: 'Congratulations. This will be the last promotion you will ever get.' I took it in the best way." Grinius recalls other exchanges. "On the road from Nong Khai to Udorn Thani, after a long day of selection interviews at the camps, our van was behind a pick-up truck with a tall pile of cages with chickens in them. Murray was sitting up front in our van and called over his shoulder, 'Grinius, get up here. I want to show you where you are in the embassy hierarchy. See that chicken in the bottom cage?' I replied 'Thank you, Murray. Good to know.'"

Oppertshauser was an extraordinary manager and remains a no-nonsense elder statesman today, highly esteemed by all who worked for him... Grinius described him as "one of the best leaders that I had the privilege to serve, and I include my 12 years of military service." Within a year of arriving in Bangkok (with resources to process 20 families a month), Oppertshauser built an operation that moved a mixed clientele of over 18,000 Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian refugees to Canada on 52 Charter flights.

Ian Hamilton's compassionate efficiency in the evacuation of refugees from the *Hai Hong* is remembered and admired to this day. His successor, Al Lukie redeployed

Canadian and international resources to service thousands of refugees stranded in Indonesia and managed twin airlifts out of Singapore (26 flights) and Kuala Lumpur (56 flights) that brought over 26,000 refugees to Canada. Gerry Campbell, a veteran of the Uganda operation, returned to Ottawa after temporary duty in Singapore and was the catalyst for a revolutionary overhaul of the processing system that saved thousands of hours of work. He later led a team in Hong Kong that moved over 12,000 refugees on 45 charter flights.

Staying healthy was also a challenge. *David Ritchie* recalls that "On the first of my many trips to the huge, purpose-built camp at Galang, a UNHCR representative convinced us to interview a small number of refugees who had been left behind in a now abandoned camp, somewhere in Riau province. We travelled by boat and then by a 4X4 vehicle deep into uncut tropical forest. At our destination, waist-high grass and creepers had reclaimed most of the old camp. It was now home to just 100 or so poor souls, who were being nursed by the Indonesian Red Crescent for a variety of infectious diseases that prevented them from being moved. We had to machete the entire open air shelter that was to act as our interviewing area. Dust and flies and perspiration filled the equatorial air. None of us dared wipe the sweat from eyes, lips or nose all day long since most of the applicants were suffering from highly contagious conjunctivitis. Somehow, we all escaped without succumbing to 'pink eye.'"

Unconventional selection protocols were sometimes necessary; *Ritchie* recalls the challenges of selecting unaccompanied minors. "In combing the camps for unaccompanied minors, I discovered that there were very few children who were alone. I did find several hundred unaccompanied young males, who may or may not be under the age of 16. These teens were the result of the efforts made by many Vietnamese families to avoid the forced military conscription of their sons. Out of desperation, many poor families saved enough money to place a son on an escaping boat. In the camps, the UNHCR had trouble figuring out the actual ages of these kids.... My solution was to employ several former Saigon bar girls as my volunteer refugee clerks and interpreters. They were delightful women who had a shrewd eye and ear for anyone of the opposite gender.

I was entertained by their easy way with G.I.-English. Most importantly, I found these women's intuitive knowledge of young males invaluable in assessing the actual physical and psychological age of these young draft-dodgers. The kids' reaction to the very attractive women sitting on either side of me told me a lot about their age of development, maturity and worldliness. I managed to find several dozen young men who were indeed alone in the camps and truly in need of a foster family's love and protection."

The Southeast Asian operation involved a fleet of charter aircraft ferrying hundreds of refugees to Canada every week. *Murray Oppertshauser* remembers that, "Wardair was the most professional. On their first flight to Thailand, they brought with them an engine for a 747 to park with the Thai airline service staff. That engine went home on the last flight out. 'If something should happen to one of our engines along the way then we had another one ready.' CP Air and Air Canada also were good.... Max Ward, head of Wardair, loved the refugee movement and took the project under his wing. He met the first two or three incoming charter flights in Edmonton, boarding the airplanes before anybody else to check on the passengers. On Wardair, the refugees were served their food on china dishes. The other airlines gave them plastic plates. Max Ward said, 'They're paying customers, they get treated like anybody else....' "

The stories of this intrepid group would not be complete without that of *Colleen Cupples*. Supervising a departing charter flight, she spotted a tiny Vietnamese girl in the line-up carrying a bucket almost as big as she was. She gently asked her what she was carrying. The child took the lid off the bucket. It contained water: "When we left Vietnam we were all very thirsty. Now I am going to Canada. I don't know how far away it is but it is certainly a long journey, and I am never going to be thirsty again." ☺

Kurt F. Jensen is a retired Foreign Service Officer who found a post-career vocation in teaching at Carleton University and writing on historical topics.

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Lien de parenté et point commun : l'Islande et les îles Féroé

photos et texte par Alan Bones

Le Canada et les peuples de l'Atlantique Nord partagent une affinité incontestable – un climat semblable, une tradition maritime, une autonomie résultant de la distance et de l'isolement, des paysages époustouflants, des cultures chaleureuses et accueillantes et une vision du monde remarquablement similaire. L'Islande et le Canada ont des liens culturels particulièrement étroits à cause, notamment, du grand nombre d'Islandais qui ont émigré au Canada entre 1870 et 1914. Plus de la moitié des Islandais possèdent, ne serait-ce que généalogiquement, de la parenté au Canada. Les Islandais ne ratent jamais l'occasion de nous rappeler que les Falcons de Winnipeg, l'équipe qui a remporté pour le Canada sa première médaille d'or olympique en hockey sur glace, comptaient 19 de leurs congénères sur 20 dans leurs rangs.



Malgré la situation nordique de l'Islande (elle frôle à peine le cercle Arctique, d'où sa latitude au nord de Yellowknife), le Gulf Stream lui donne un climat qui a longtemps favorisé son autosuffisance sur l'agriculture, notamment l'élevage de moutons. Jusqu'à tout récemment, le pays était une société à prédominance rurale : déjà, vers la fin des années 1870, la proportion de la population islandaise vivant dans des collectivités de plus de 30 personnes était estimée à bien en-deçà de 20 pour cent. L'élevage de moutons a eu une autre conséquence à long terme pour l'Islande – les géographes ont estimé que jusqu'à 25 pour cent du pays était boisé lorsque les Vikings y débarquèrent vers 870 EC. Leurs moutons les accompagnaient, mais ils avaient tendance à se perdre dans les forêts. L'abattage généralisé d'arbres

entraîna une érosion qui empêcha la régénération spontanée des forêts. L'Islande est aujourd'hui essentiellement dépourvue d'arbres. Cela contribue à sa splendeur géographique, toutefois : des panoramas de chutes multiples coulant le long des nombreuses falaises rocheuses de l'Islande et d'immenses vallées inoubliables rendues lisses par les glaciers surgissent presque à chaque détour.

La pêche constituait principalement un moyen de subsistance en Islande jusqu'à l'avènement du moteur de bateau motorisé, mais elle ne tarda pas ensuite à devenir un élément crucial de l'économie nationale. L'art historique islandais de la navigation maritime convenait parfaitement aux riches zones de pêche du plateau continental de l'Islande.

L'Islande et le Canada ont des liens culturels particulièrement étroits à cause, notamment, du grand nombre d'Islandais qui ont émigré au Canada entre 1870 et 1914.

Lieu de mise bas sur iceberg, Jökullsarlon, sud de l'Islande. La matière noire sur l'écoulement glaciaire est de la cendre du volcan Eyjafjallajökull.





Rassemblement de moutons à l'automne, près de Þingvellir, Islande



Vestmanna sur Streymoy, Îles Féroé



Terre ancestrale, Látrar, nord de l'Islande

Il va sans dire que les volcans sont l'une des caractéristiques qui définissent l'Islande. D'origine entièrement volcanique, et à la jonction des plateaux tectoniques nord-américain et européen, la lave y est toujours à ras de surface et elle a permis à l'Islande de devenir le chef de file mondial en matière d'énergie géothermique.

... des panoramas de chutes multiples coulant le long des nombreuses falaises rocheuses de l'Islande et d'immenses vallées inoubliables rendues lisses par les glaciers surgissent presque à chaque détour.

Les îles Féroé, composante autonome du royaume du Danemark, sont l'un des secrets le mieux gardés du tourisme. Situées à mi-chemin entre l'Islande et l'Écosse, elles ont peu de liaisons aériennes avec, soyons francs, quelque destination que ce soit... et une population d'à peine 45 000. Le langage des îles, le féroïen, semble s'apparenter à l'islandais,



Sighufjörður, Islande

Kirkjubøur, Îles Féroé



Stori Drangur, Îles Féroé





Un danger routier courant en Islande



Reykjavik, Islande



Route rurale près de Sauðarkrökur, Islande



Chutes Gullfoss, Islande

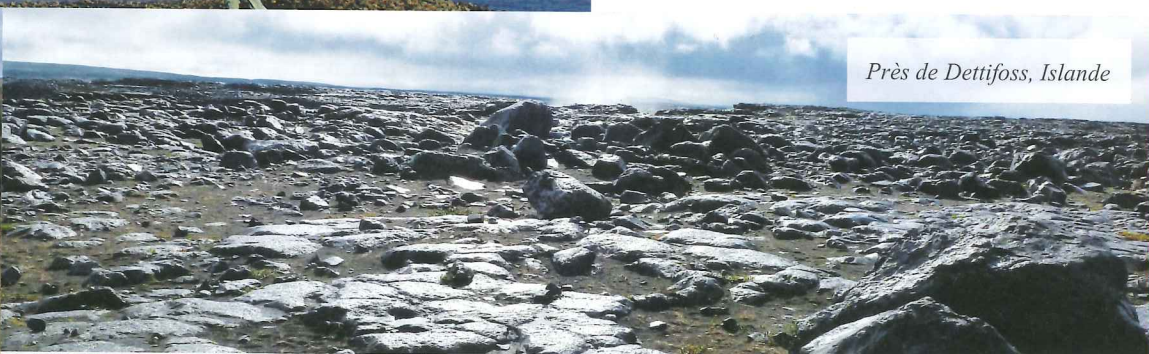


Éruption du volcan Eyjafjallajökull, mai 2010, Islande

mais son vocabulaire et sa prononciation surtout sont nettement différents. Distinctes de l'Islande par leur longue histoire d'urbanisation (relative), elles ont un « air » d'Islande tout en conservant leur culture et leurs paysages uniques.

Les photos figurant ici, prises en Islande et aux îles Féroé, font ressortir, du moins je l'espère, quelques aspects de ces deux endroits avec lesquels les Canadiens peuvent ressentir à la fois un lien de parenté et un point commun. ☺

Alan Bones a servi en Malaisie, au Mexique, au Soudan et en Islande et il est actuellement directeur adjoint pour la Syrie à la Direction du Moyen-Orient du MAECD.



Près de Dettifoss, Islande



Husavík, Islande

Paul Dingledine

1946–2015

Paul became a Trade Commissioner in 1970 after completing a BA in Economics and an MBA at McMaster University. He worked for a year in the UK before joining the Foreign Service. I first met him in the early 1980s, shortly after the amalgamation of the Trade Commissioner Service and External Affairs. We played on the External Affairs curling team and I quickly learned that Paul could both strategize AND sweep. It was this quality that impressed me most as I came to know him better over the years.

Both Ron McLeod and Don McLellan, who joined with Paul, recall getting to know him on their 13 week cross Canada tour in 1971. Of note was a major snowstorm which forced the cancellation of their program. The group was required to haul luggage three kilometres down Signal Hill in St. John's NL to catch taxis to the airport. Paul vowed to pack lightly when travelling, something he did a lot of in the following decades.

His first postings were to Trinidad (promoting trade in 14 countries), Israel (during the October War) and India. Brian Baker, a TCS classmate, notes that after sailing through these high-risk posts without incident, Paul returned to Ottawa in 1979 for some well-deserved R & R. Coming out of a curling club in Ottawa, he became embroiled in a mix-up with two escaped convicts from Kingston. They were up for murder and attempting to steal a car. When the police arrived the escapees commandeered their vehicle, its driver and Paul. This turned into a seven hour chase – Paul in the back with a sawed-off shotgun in his side – from Ottawa down to the 401 and back again with other police vehicles in hot pursuit. Eventually wanting something to eat (where would one get something to eat in Ottawa of the '70s at 3 AM?), Paul thought of a 24 hour doughnut shop at Westgate. They pulled in for coffee and doughnuts. Negotiations for his release began and concluded successfully. Paul said the worst part was the police in the car behind trying to shoot out the tires on his vehicle. He became the poster boy for TCS personnel: anyone attempting to duck a high risk posting was told: "Ah yes.

Well just look at Paul Dingledine. It can happen to anyone, anywhere!"

Paul spent two years in Ottawa as Deputy Director of Operations, and subsequently as Policy Advisor on International Trade for the Trade Commissioner Service. In 1981 he became Consul in the Canadian Consulate in Hamburg Germany. That was cut short when he was asked to serve as Senior Departmental Assistant to three consecutive Ministers of International Trade. Our paths crossed again in 1990 when he was Director of Middle East Trade Relations (and part of the Gulf War Task Force), and I was Director the Departmental Press Office. We worked long days and nights for most of that summer.

I remember Paul suggesting one day that I really needed a break from the windowless Operations Centre and the non-stop pizza feedings on which we survived. He invited me up to his cottage on Farm Lake in the Gatineau Hills for an idyllic day of sunshine and real food, without journalists or consular cases. The cottage continued to be his haven and home for many years. Family, friends and colleagues enjoyed his generous hospitality and the peace and quiet of the lake. When abroad, Paul always returned for a month in the summers to recharge. After he retired, Paul welcomed Harvard Fellows to his cottage to kick off their study tour and to ensure that they experienced what he called "the real Canada".

In 1990, Paul was appointed the first Canadian Ambassador to Iran in the 10 years since the American hostage crisis and the "Canadian Caper". Stuart Hughes recalls Paul saying that he liked and enjoyed Iranians but found dealing with the Iranian government a major challenge. The inescapable sense of duplicity hung heavy in the air and grew heavier with time. "The best thing the Canadian government did to restore relations was to send me there", he said with gravitas... and then added that "the second best thing they did was to get me the hell out of there after two years!" Don McLellan, who succeeded him, remembers Paul regaling him about how he, eager to leave, was first refused an exit visa by Iranian authorities! After

Tehran, Paul spent a year at the Kennedy School at Harvard where he found himself in what he described as the somewhat surreal position of defending Iran against some of its overheated critics. That was Paul: funny, perceptive, fair and sound.

Fellow Trade Commissioner, Richard Kohler, remembers Paul in the period between Germany and Harvard:

"During the eighties, we laboured together as Deputy Directors in TCS HQ – Paul Overseas Operations, me Domestic – and played squash regularly at Carleton U; he was a fierce competitor. I later succeeded him as Director of Middle East Trade Relations. His act a hard one to follow, the division was well oiled and high-performing and the staff loved him. I visited Paul several times in Tehran while he was ambassador and was amazed at his ability to function positively in such a hostile environment; he motivated constant good cheer amongst his personnel despite frequent obstacles. One time the Iranian authorities arrested all the embassy's locally engaged staff manning the Canadian booth at a trade fair for 'lack of decorum' (revealing too much hair under hijabs). Paul skillfully parlayed their immediate release. He also 'hugged and healed' a traumatized mission following Trade Commissioner Derrick Harrow's tragic accidental death. Paul was a consummate professional with a passion for the world around him, good friends, home décor, his beloved cottage and its architecture, cuisine, gardening and spirited debate."

Returning to Ottawa, Paul served in several key positions including Director General for Relations with the United States and Director General for Security and Intelligence. Among other challenges, the latter involved extensive travel to negotiate international approaches to combat terrorism, particularly with the G8 countries. He retired in 2003.

Paul later did some contract work for the Department on sensitive Middle East issues but spent most of his time at the cottage. He demonstrated his design and carpentry skills in multiple renovations. He also turned his analytic ability, strategic

thinking and his well-honed diplomatic skills to help build and support a coalition to oppose the local municipality's proposal to construct a huge engineered landfill dump in a pristine area of forest and lakes. By then I also had a cottage nearby. We spent a number of days acting like spies at bridges across the Ottawa River to observe, and give chase, to truck-loads of Ontario waste (to determine whether it was ending up illegally in Quebec landfills). Paul's thorough and well-documented report on transportation impacts was a key element in the Quebec Government's decision to turn down the proposal. In later years Paul became too ill to maintain and enjoy his cottage and, sadly, died on June 12, 2014 in Ottawa. Richard spoke for all his friends when he said that "Paul leaves behind a great vacuum; I will miss him". ☹

Michael Brock joined the Foreign Service in 1972. After completing many headquarters and overseas assignments, Michael retired as Director General Cultural Affairs.



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Don't Tell the Newfoundlanders: The True Story of Newfoundland's Confederation with Canada

reviewed by Gar Pardy

DON'T TELL THE NEWFOUNDLANDERS: THE TRUE STORY OF NEWFOUNDLAND'S CONFEDERATION WITH CANADA, by Greg Malone, 2012, Viking Canada Edition [2014], Toronto, 314 pp., \$22.00.

Sixty-five years ago this spring Newfoundlanders ended their nearly half-millennium of convoluted and unique constitutional history by voting narrowly to become the tenth province of Canada. In many ways this constitutional history did not differ materially from other parts of the British Empire except in its final denouement.

There is a weak historical consensus that the Island was "discovered" in June 1497 by an itinerant Genoese sailor in the employ of Henry VII. John Cabot or Giovanni Caboto, claimed this "new founde land" for England. Less than a century later a foppish and frequently penurious nobleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert, accompanied by minstrels, Morris dancers and a Hungarian poet sailed into St. John's harbour in August 1583 and re-iterated English ownership. Gilbert's ship along with all hands sank before it made it back to England. Nevertheless, through the magic of faux historians, we have Gilbert's last words before he sank beneath the North Atlantic. Echoing the sentiments of thousands of Newfoundlanders ever since, Gilbert is "recorded" as shouting "Courage, my lads! We are as near to Heaven by sea as by land." The accompanying Hungarian poet, Stephanus Parmenius, drowned earlier during the voyage but not before he left us with the unofficial motto of the Island *Piscium inexhausta copia* or in the vernacular, Fish Without End.

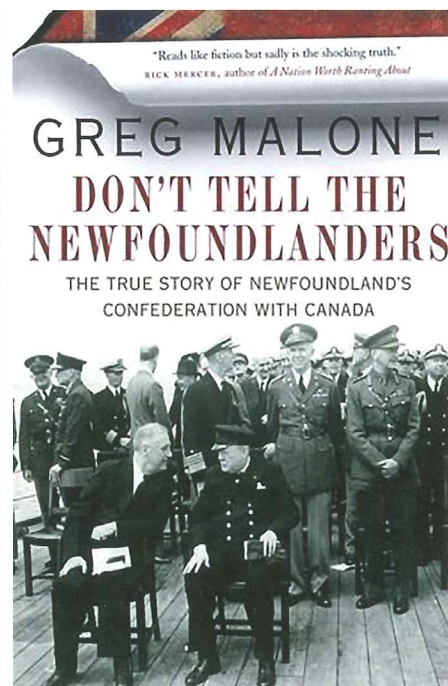
As with most of the bits and bobs of empire managed from London, Newfoundland experienced the full range of British colonial administrative mechanisms. First were the "Fishing Admirals" – government by the first-arrived ship captain in a port each spring; next came several Proprietary Governors who had visions of cotton and other crops emerging

from the rocks; and then British naval officers with an excess of rum, lash and buggery were put in charge.

It was 1832 before the Island had its first elected assembly along with an executive council run by a governor out of London which as a group simply added to the abundance of fog. In 1855 there was "responsible" government, seven years after it occurred in Canada (then roughly Ontario and Quebec) and Nova Scotia. In 1907, Newfoundland along with New Zealand was granted Dominion status by London. Party politics emerged largely reflecting the religious differences between southern Ireland Catholics and west England Protestants. Fish dominated and its world price determined standards of living. It was a harsh mercantile system where money stayed with the merchants on land and the dangerous work was done by fishermen on the stormy waters of the North Atlantic.

The cost of an oversized contribution, both in men and money, from the Island to the First World War coupled with the earlier disastrous decision to build a railway (from fish stage to fish stage) lumbered the Island with an oversized debt. The 1929 global economic crash was fatal creating near fiscal bankruptcy conditions. The British were not doing much better and any help from the Mother Country was conditional on the surrender of responsible government and direct control of finances by London. The elected Newfoundland Assembly agreed and from 1933 onwards there was government by a secretive commission consisting of four British, two Newfoundlanders and one Canadian all appointed by London.

This 1933 decision by the Newfoundland legislature to temporarily yield its status as an independent country was a unique one in the history of the world. It is the major theme in Greg Malone's book, *Don't Tell The Newfoundlanders*. Malone is a well-known Newfoundland actor having helped develop the television series *CODCO* and appearing in the *Republic of Doyle*. He has been an occasional politician



having lost as the NDP candidate in a 2000 Newfoundland Assembly by-election. More recently he has been associated with Elizabeth May and the Green Party.

The Joey Smallwood version of Confederation has dominated post-1949 history. While there have been occasional weak assaults on its basic tenet that the process was a democratic one, the overall success of the venture has dampened interest in any background story. One such assault was the 1992 movie *The Secret Nation* starring Mary Walsh, Cathy Jones and Rick Mercer. Ms. Walsh, a graduate student in history at McGill, returns home looking for information on the referendum conspiracy that led to the 1949 union. Needless to say, while a good movie, it was seen by fewer people than live on Funk Island.

Mr. Malone's book is the first serious attempt to put a measure of investigative scholarship into the issue. His interest in the matter was triggered by St. John's lawyer James Halley who from his student days at Dalhousie Law School in 1949 harboured doubts on the Smallwood version of events and over the years assembled "a large collection of research materials

relating to Newfoundland's federation with Canada." Malone also pays tribute to the work of Paul Bridle who between 1974 and 1984 produced three volumes of *Documents on Relations Between Canada and Newfoundland*. In over 3,500 pages Bridle details Canadian activities between 1935 and 1949 that led to Newfoundland becoming the tenth province. His interest and involvement in the matter goes back to 1944 when he was assigned to the Canadian High Commission in St. John's which had been opened the year before. Needless to say the sheer scope of Bridle's work ensures it is even less read than those who saw *The Secret Nation*.

Malone's central thesis is that the British controlled and dominated unelected Commission of Government in St. John's manipulated the 1948 referendums to create the majority decision to become the tenth province of Canada. Malone states this was contrary to the 1933 understanding that post-Commission decisions on the future of Newfoundland were to be made by an *elected* Newfoundland government. "The constitutional arrangements whereby confederation between Canada and Newfoundland was effected were extraordinary, dubious and as controversial in London and Ottawa as they were in St. John's." Neither Canada nor Britain wanted to use the British North America Act which had provisions for additional provinces, instead "Canada preferred to negotiate with Britain while Newfoundland was temporarily under British control."

The British sidestepped its decision to have an elected Newfoundland assembly make final decisions on the constitutional future of the Island. The British Newfoundland Act of 1933 promised that "as soon as the Island's difficulties are overcome and the country is again self-supporting, responsible government, on request from the people of Newfoundland, would be restored."

Instead the British decided there would be an elected National Convention in Newfoundland that would "consider and discuss" the future constitutional status. As Malone makes clear this was a dramatic change from the original proposal that would allow the National Convention to "discuss and determine" the future for the Island. In making the change the British retained the right to override any and all recommendations made by the National

Convention. This it did when the Convention at the end of its work in January 1948 voted for two options to be decided in a referendum – retain Commission of Government or return to Responsible Government as it existed prior to 1933.

Smallwood and his allies in the Convention had pushed to include Confederation with Canada as a referendum option but were defeated 29 to 16. After the vote and dissolution of the Convention Smallwood mounted a vigorous campaign directed at London to have Confederation included as an option in the June 1948 referendum. The British first consulted with Canada and in March 1948 ordered that confederation with Canada be included as a third option in the planned referendum. A fourth option – economic

Neither Canada nor Britain wanted to use the British North America Act which had provisions for additional provinces, instead "Canada preferred to negotiate with Britain while Newfoundland was temporarily under British control."

union with the United States – was promoted by a group of St. John's merchants but never had much traction and was not included in the referendum.

Once Atlee replaced Churchill as Prime Minister in 1945, the British secretly created conditions that would not see a return to Responsible Government even though the main condition in the 1933 Newfoundland Act for its return was met – "financial difficulties overcome," probably in the fear that American interests would come to dominate on the Island. A National Convention delegation to London in 1947 had trouble even finding a hotel and led the *London Daily Express* to comment "How cold, graceless, ungenerous and chuckleheaded is the attitude of the Government towards Newfoundlanders..." Once the British decided that it wanted confederation then there was little room to maneuver for those who promoted a return to Responsible Government. Lord Beaverbrook, formerly one of Churchill's most able ministers in charge of aircraft

production during the early days of the war and now out of government, charged that "our rulers spoke for Britain with the voice of a shark lawyer."

The role Canada played in the years leading up to the 1948 referendum was one of caution so as not to be seen as fueling the possibility of another Newfoundland rejection of confederation. Norman Robertson even went so far as to caution the Canadian High Commissioner in St. John's, Scott Macdonald, that "All correspondence on our Newfoundland policy should be marked 'Confidential' since... it may be difficult to prevent correspondence, which might conceivably be embarrassing, from becoming public unless it is given a security marking."

The British visited Ottawa in September 1945 and, as described by Prime Minister Mackenzie King, for the purpose of "very confidential and informal discussions on matters relating to Newfoundland." Mackenzie King went on to say in a message to Scott Macdonald in St. John's "Ostensibly [the] mission would be for other purposes, and therefore this information is for you alone." Peter Clutterbuck from the Colonial Office headed the British delegation and in a separate note prior to the visit noted that "You should know that we have been careful not to give Newfoundland Government any inkling of [his] impending visit or its object."

Reporting on his discussions in Ottawa Clutterbuck noted that earlier "the Canadians had themselves been giving a good deal of thought to the Newfoundland problem and had certain ideas which they were anxious to discuss with us before conclusions as to future policy were reached." To his surprise, Clutterbuck wrote that "the initial reaction of the Canadian officials to this approach was almost entirely negative." Clutterbuck with the presentation of this Canadian view simply stated that "who would be surprised if Newfoundlanders began to think seriously of turning to the United States?" This "entirely negative" view was typical of Mackenzie King's approach on all large issues but with C.D. Howe pushing hard for the inclusion of Newfoundland the hard Canadian interest was never far from the centre of the discussions.

Clutterbuck went on to note the mention of American interest quickly turned the discussions around. "At this

stage the Canadian officials became more helpful..." In his report Clutterbuck then wrote the Canadians asked what the British government's reaction would be if "the Canadian Government were to indicate to us that they would welcome a recommendation by the proposed National Convention in favour of Newfoundland joining up with Canada." With his reply Clutterbuck set the stage for eventual confederation: "I said that any such invitation would be warmly received by my Government; it had always been felt... that union with Canada was the Island's natural destiny."

Malone goes on to write "Newfoundland's fate was sealed. Canada had the dollars – it was the buyer and would set the terms. Britain was the vendor and would deliver the goods – Newfoundland." Three months after these discussions Clutterbuck was knighted and appointed British High Commissioner in Ottawa to "preside over the final transfer of power."

Nevertheless the June and July 1948 votes were near run things. The results of the June 3 vote as reported from St. John's by Paul Bridle were:

Commission of Government for a period of five years	21,944
Confederation with Canada	63,110
Responsible Government as it existed in 1933	69,230

The results did not provide a majority for any of the three options so the British scheduled a second vote for July 22, 1948 to decide on the two leading ones – confederation and/or responsible government. Bridle in his reporting noted that the appeal of the "proposal [for] responsible government should endeavour to negotiate economic union with the United States." He went on to comment that Chesley Crosbie's "sincerity appears to be so taken for granted" and that a "substantial body of people" were willing to accept his views and "give him a chance." Mr. Crosbie was the leader of the economic union with the United States political grouping and, of course, the father of John Crosbie who has enriched Canadian politics with the same level of sincerity.

The second vote on July 22, 1948 was decisive but not overwhelmingly so. Confederation received almost 78,000 votes while responsible government received

just over 71,000. Confederation won with 52 per cent of the vote cast; 150,000 Newfoundlanders voted out of a possible electorate of 176,000. The total was about 5,000 less than those who voted on June 3.

In ending his documented account of how Canada and Britain conspired to ensure confederation was the final outcome of the postwar constitutional process in Newfoundland, Malone deals with the largely underground belief of many that the British rigged the results of the second referendum. (This was the main theme of the 1992 movie *The Secret Nation*.) This has been an ongoing controversy since the referendum and Malone presents the largely circumstantial evidence – the

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tallying of the votes in the governor's office, the destruction of most of the ballots shortly after the one and only counting, no poll-by-poll compilation, no recount despite the narrowness of the results, elliptical statements by those involved – with some completeness. He concludes "From London to St. John's there were many who cried foul about Newfoundland's entry into Confederation, but none of them could hold raw power to account. However the very very nasty taste, as one British MP put it, has never gone away."

The double dealing of the British and the Canadians and their common perfidy is well summed up by Malone's title *Don't Tell the Newfoundlanders*. The history of Newfoundland's rejection of Confederation on three earlier occasions was known and as the results from the 1948 votes demonstrated remained a strong force in the land. The British wanted out and were prepared to manipulate arrangements to achieve that end. Ottawa, despite the suggested reluctance of Mackenzie King reflecting his personal operating characteristic, wanted Newfoundland for a variety of geopolitical and economic reasons but realized that overt action on its part would make this even more difficult to achieve. Smallwood

served Canadian and British interests but it was his own personal commitment to union with Canada as much as outside manipulation that led to Confederation in 1949.

Greg Malone tells the story of confederation with the accuracy of the historian with an exhaustive documentary record. It is a compelling account. No one argued that the British were more than normally perfidious in the postwar period and that Canada was prepared to play the game as the prize in Canadian terms was an immense one. But what is missing from the account are details of the larger game Britain was playing.

Central to the Newfoundland issue was the condition of Britain in the immediate postwar period. It had just emerged from a war that was a close run thing; millions died and its infrastructure was in ruins, its economy was non-existent and central banks everywhere were not generous in offering financial assistance. Equally the Empire was not only fading it was disappearing. In 1947 the Subcontinent was partitioned; India and Pakistan along with Burma and Ceylon emerged as independent countries and in less than a decade the forces for decolonization of the Empire in Africa and elsewhere was well underway.

In all of this Britain played a short game of divestiture of places and matters of marginal value. The 300,000 Newfoundlanders in this game were very small potatoes and appeal to their contribution to the wars of Empire found little resonance in London. The detailing of British perfidy as Mr. Malone has done provides a valuable account of the death of what for many of us was a "home, in the place where the Irish mystics dreamed of going." That home lives on for many even though many Newfoundlanders live in it as a poetic abstraction. Camelots still have a role to play. ☺

Gar Pardy was born on the Rock just as the War started and was one of the 300,000 Newfoundlanders who became Canadians as a result of the post war constitutional changes. He is retired from the Canadian Foreign Service and comments on foreign and domestic issues from Ottawa.

A Quiet Kill: A Forsyth and Hay Mystery

reviewed by Tammy Ames

A QUIET KILL: A FORSYTH AND HAY MYSTERY, by Janet Brons, TouchWood Editions, 2014, 192 pp., \$14.95.

This short mystery novel (just under 200 pages) begins with a bang, or rather a pool of blood, when the Senior Trade Commissioner is found with her head bashed in and her throat slit in the dining room of the Canadian Official Residence in London. What follows is a complicated investigation by RCMP officer Liz Forsyth, sent from Ottawa to handle the crisis, and DCI Stephen Hay of Scotland Yard who team up to find the killer.

It should be noted that the author is a former Canadian Foreign Service Officer with several postings abroad, so much of the internal government machinery is clearly something with which the author has first-hand experience. The story takes place in 1997 allowing the author to avoid references to current government policies and characters, but it seems some things and some stereotypes never change.

There is a wide range of possible suspects revealed, from a possible random serial killer off the street, to a variety of diplomatic staff and locally engaged help. The murder of a Canadian business man, with a possible similar motive, throws an even bigger wrench into the mix.

Because of the wide range of characters (and most get their own point of view), there are moments when the narrative seems a bit choppy, occasionally skipping from character to character without any clear logic for doing so. However, in the end some of those narrative hops make more sense. In part the technique leads you down the garden path with each suspect, ensuring that you see each one as a viable candidate for the role of the murderer; I confess, I didn't guess who it was until very near the big reveal.

Some head hopping threw me off a bit. For example, Inspector Forsyth is out for a solo birthday dinner, and in the middle of her rather morose inner thoughts, there is one paragraph of what the waiter thought about a solo female diner. It didn't add anything to the story and I wasn't sure why it mattered what he thought. Some readers

find that kind of head-hopping annoying, although I am one of those who don't really mind and, as a rule, it was easy enough to follow whose point of view you were reading.

As far as the reality of life as a public servant is concerned, I believe the author captured this quite well, whether in 1997 or 2015.

"With the reductions in staff it was hardly surprising that the real work of the High Commission was not being done. Who had time to advance foreign policy, to deal effectively with bilateral relations, to maintain multilateral efforts, or to thoughtfully analyze the issues when working as a glorified travel agent? That headquarters was in the middle of yet another departmental reorganization made matters even worse: most of the high-priced help at Foreign Affairs were using their brains studying new reporting arrangements and organization charts, not working on foreign policy."

There is also an undercurrent of possible attraction and friendship between Forsyth and Hay and, given the title of the book, it appears there will be more stories starring the two detectives in the future.

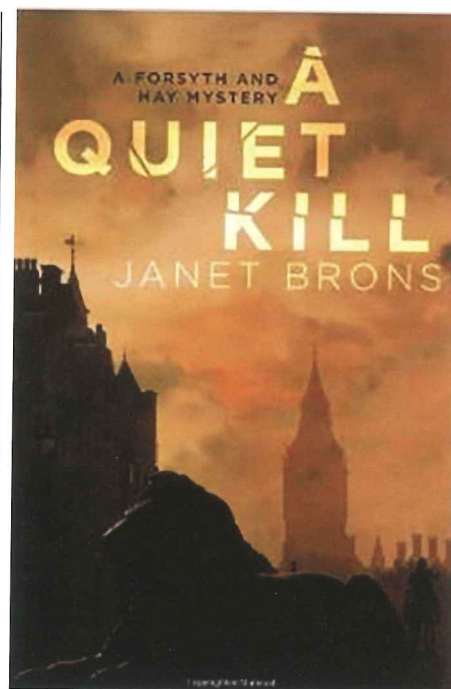
I found Kay Forsyth a sympathetic character. She's a mature divorced woman, more about common sense than social status and looks. The stylish social-conscious wife of the High Commissioner rubs her the wrong way, and when she's forced to purchase something suitable to wear to the Christmas reception, I could relate to poor Kay's attempts to find something suitable:

"So far everything had been too young, or too old, too tight or not tight enough, too colourful or too dreary. She was even past looking at the price tags. She couldn't understand why some women loved shopping. To her, every dress that didn't work was a personal insult, a shortcoming, an affront."

After finding success with a dress...

"Now came the hard part. If it was one thing she hated more than buying dresses, was buying shoes."

It took me a while to keep all the characters straight as I was reading, a common



challenge in a story with a large cast of characters. But, once I got it straight who was who, I did enjoy the characterization, if stereotypical, of the many suspects. That includes those of the diplomatic staff whom most of us in the Service will recognize bits and pieces of in our fellow officers, and perhaps in ourselves.

The book is not without its flaws in structure and perhaps has an overabundance of characters for such a short novel. That said, if you are a fan of murder mysteries on the lighter side (and if you've ever held a grudge against a Senior Trade Commissioner!), perhaps this is your chance to live vicariously through the characters you'll encounter. ☺

Tammy Ames is currently the Senior Trade Commissioner in Kuwait and has had postings in Prague and Warsaw, along with assignments at HQ in various Geographics and the Investment Bureau. She also served on the PAFSO Executive Committee for three years.

Visit Janet Brons at
members.shaw.ca/janetbrons/

THE HUNGRY DIPLOMAT

by Lisa Bitto

Food is arguably one of the world's most important and ubiquitous diplomatic tools. Many items we eat and drink have a storied past, political importance or trade significance. This column explores one food, drink or ingredient at a time.

MAPLE: I don't believe I've ever met a single person who doesn't like maple syrup. It's simply one of the most likeable flavours out there, up there with vanilla and chocolate. I also don't remember visiting a Canadian Embassy or Consulate where there wasn't at least a few bottles of maple syrup kicking around as a Canadian-branded gift at-the-ready.

Canada loves the maple tree; so much so, the familiar maple leaf graces our national flag (particularly interesting given that sugar maples generally don't grow west of Ontario). We have five species of maple, but only sugar and black maples are considered ideal for producing syrup. There's a good reason maple syrup is considered a "Canadian" product: we produce 80 per cent of the world's maple syrup according to Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada's website. Ten million gallons with a value of over \$400m were produced in 2013, most of which comes from the great province of Québec. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Ontario also produce it, but don't even come close to approaching La Belle Province.

When we ship it out of the country, the U.S. gobbles up 65 per cent of Canadian maple products. Now stop reading for a minute and try to guess the next two biggest importers. You're never going to get it, but it'll make for some fun cocktail party trivia. Japan (9 per cent) and Germany (8 per cent). Who knew?

The price of syrup is set annually in advance of the sugaring season, meaning the price doesn't reflect that year's production. Sounds risky, yes? They

buffer that risk in Québec with the now-famous maple syrup reserve in Laurierville, with smaller reserves stashed elsewhere (just in case). I, for one, am comforted to know that my supply is secure with 4.5m gallons sitting in the Global Strategic Reserve. And now it's even more secure. You may remember 2012's Great Canadian Maple Syrup Heist: six million pounds of maple syrup worth \$18m stolen from a warehouse; the thieves replaced it with water to escape notice until a

guard reported seeing water near one of the barrels during an inventory check. In an event that both elicited mirth and horrified readers around the world, police took this uniquely Canadian crime very seriously, arresting 26 people. Only a quarter of the syrup has been recovered according to an October 2014 Global News article.

There is a surprising amount of provincial/state and federal regulation involved in the syrup industry in Canada and the United States. Colour,

My Favourite Butter Tarts

A little non-traditional, but really, really good.

Thinly roll out homemade or store-bought dough for a single pie crust. Cut into 12 circles using an upside down mug as a guide. Place rounds into a muffin tin. Drop a large pinch of flaked unsweetened coconut into each shell.

In a large bowl, combine 1/3 cup butter, melted and 1 cup brown sugar (I prefer dark rather than golden, but you decide). Add 2 tbsp milk, 1 large beaten egg, 1 tbsp maple syrup and 1 tsp vanilla extract. Mix well until smooth and well-combined.

Pour equal amounts of the filling into the tart shells. Bake at 375°F for about 20 minutes. Cool. Devour.

Recipe adapted from the very wonderful cookbook The Happy Baker by Erin Bolger.

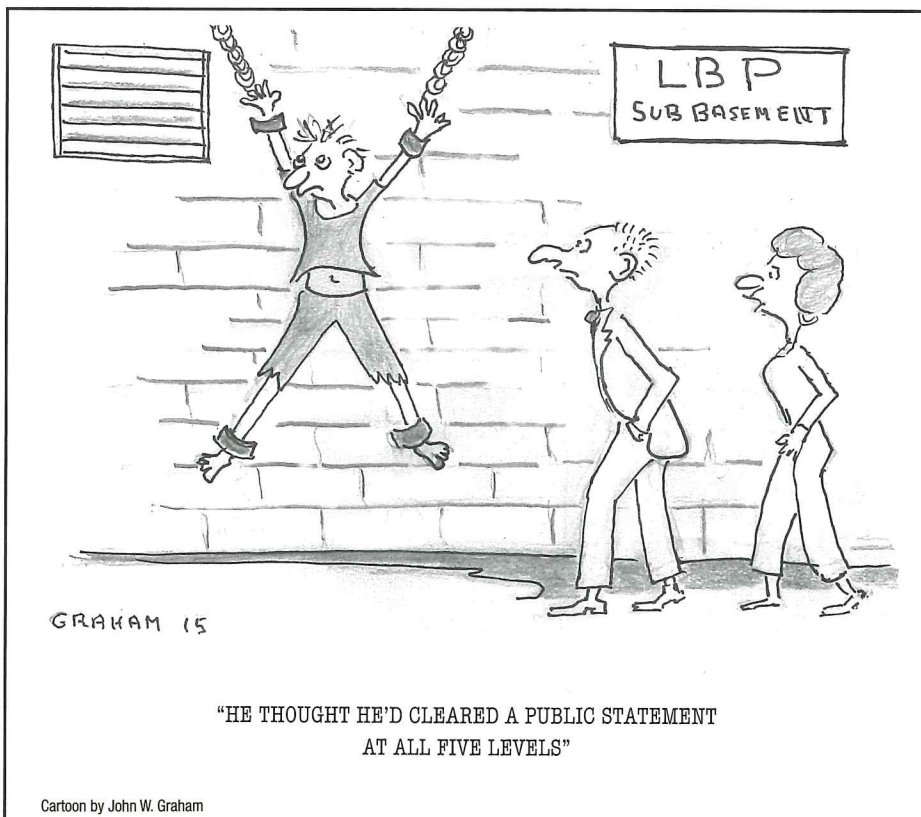


flavour, marketing and even density requirements all ensure that the product that is sold to consumers maintains a high standard. Have you ever wondered about the names on the syrup can: Light, Medium, Amber, Dark? They can actually vary according to the province or state, but the terms are always based on the amount of light you can shine through the product. My Canadian syrup preference for both baking and eating is either Amber or Dark, since the maple flavour is more pronounced than the other grades. My Vermont maple syrup preference is now "Amber Color/Robust Taste" since they changed the grading names in 2013. As of January 2015, the Canadian Food Inspection Agency has announced that Canadian producers have two years to follow suit, in an effort to bring consistency to North American consumers.

As someone who has road-tripped to Vermont exclusively to buy from multiple producers, and usually has more maple syrup in the cupboard and fridge than any other foodstuff, my

favourite uses are French toast, waffles and pancakes. If you would like to get a little fancier, try making maple butter on the stove, stirring equal quantities of maple syrup and butter over low to medium heat until you get a warm, delicious mixture that looks a lot like toffee sauce; great over the aforementioned breakfast items, as well as ice cream. Syrup also does very well in baked goods like cookies or cake, but the quantities required to ensure a sufficiently pronounced flavour gets expensive quickly; read the recipe carefully before you commit. That being said, I rarely miss a golden opportunity for a sweet escape. ☺

Lisa Bitto has been a political stream Foreign Service Officer for nearly nine years, and an avid baker, cook and food geek since her mother first refused to bake her cookies and she took matters into her own hands. She usually chooses her vacation destinations based on the food.



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What in the world (and in Ottawa) is the Department of External Affairs doing?

*Canada's foreign ministry was trying to cope with a prime minister who openly questioned its role, its commitment to the government's agenda, its effectiveness and whether its results justified the expenses associated with international diplomacy. At the same time, it was unsure whether it could rely on its minister to defend its position at the cabinet table – so unlike now! For those who may sometimes be afflicted with nostalgia for an imagined better past, **bout de papier** offers this confirmation that “nostalgia ain't what it used to be.” In this issue (where we focus on the terms of reference) and the next (which will deal with the findings) we will reprint extracts from and about the “McGill Report” on the role of the Department of External Affairs, which was prompted, whatever the reassuring language reprinted below, by serious doubts and significant concerns which had had a major impact on morale. These passages are reproduced from the editor's copy of the report.*

– Hector Mackenzie

Department of External Affairs / Ministère des Affaires extérieures

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OTTAWA, August 15, 1975

Ottawa File : 1-1-11

CIRCULAR DOCUMENT [TO : HEADS OF POST / DIRECTORS GENERAL / DIRECTORS]

Admin. No. 46/75 (SAR)

The Role of the Department of External Affairs

1. Since the Government of Canada undertook a thorough-going review of foreign policy in 1968 we have had a great many stones overturned, a number of new procedures and new mechanisms have been instituted, and much thought and labour has been devoted to adapting the instruments of Canadian foreign policy and foreign operations to the needs of the times. The White Paper “Foreign Policy for Canadians” of 1970 contained a short section on “Organizing for the Seventies.” A task force chaired by Mr. Sydney Pierce was charged at that same time with studying and reporting on the integration of Federal Government operations abroad. Out of the Pierce Report of 1970 and subsequent cabinet decisions came ICER (the Interdepartmental Committee on External Relations), the PMC (Personnel Management Committee), the integration of support services abroad, CPMs (Committees on Post Management), the country programming system, the “seven principles” of policy coordination, etc. We have also seen in the past few years attempts to come to terms with such closely related matters as the role of a diplomat, of international units in Government departments and of provincial offices abroad.
2. Much of this activity has been related to the role of the Department of External Affairs in the processes of government but no comprehensive review and evaluation of that role has been undertaken in recent years by the Department itself. Any organization must be capable of re-examining itself periodically if it is to maintain continuing vitality and I have decided that it is time such a review was undertaken by the Department of External Affairs. This decision was not taken because we face any immediate crisis but in the light of the cumulative effect of swift changes in the environment in which the Department operates at home and abroad. I have observed that there is a good deal of persistent questioning among members of the Department about what we are supposed to be doing and some uncertainty elsewhere in the Government about the role of External Affairs. I have therefore asked Mr. Allan McGill to take responsibility for organizing a review of the role of the Department of External Affairs in the Government of Canada.
3. This varied experience, which is by no means unique in our Department, should stand him in good stead in organizing a review of the Department's role.

Objectives

4. Within the general aim of ensuring that the Government and the people of Canada are effectively served by the Department of External Affairs, the objectives of the review are to examine the role of the Department in the Government of Canada; to establish whether the role is clearly defined, known and agreed; to determine how far the Department meets valid expectations arising from its role in the Government; to identify anomalies in the definition of the role or in the Department's performance of its agreed role.
5. It is not the intention at this stage that the review will focus on such specific matters as the organization and structure of the Department, or ICER or the Foreign Service or that the end-product will be a set of recommendations for changes of structure. It is important first to define, clarify and evaluate the role of the Department of External Affairs in the context of existing structures. The results of the review may throw some light on structural weaknesses which will prove useful to the Department and to the rest of the foreign policy community whenever they may be considering institutional matters but the primary objective is clarifying the role of External Affairs.

Concept

6. The study is conceived of as an "open" one, designed not so much to diagnose ills and prescribe remedies as to hold up a mirror to the Department so that those who staff it can more clearly see the context in which they perform their tasks. To ensure a proper perspective of our role we must also consult others and provide them with an opportunity to define their views on what is expected of External Affairs. The review will pay a good deal of attention to comparing perceptions with reality in the hope that, in the process, some misconceptions will be dispelled, some obdurate facts will be delineated and some clearer sense of purpose will emerge.

Method

7. It follows from this concept that a larger number of members of the Department of External Affairs, and persons outside who have significant involvement with the Department, should contribute to the study. It also means that much of the documentation assembled in the course of the review will be as low in classification and as widely disseminated as possible. One of the few things to be treated in principle as confidential will be the names of persons who volunteer frank opinions.
8. A further aspect of the proposed open approach is that the results of the review will be produced and circulated in serial form rather than embodied in one comprehensive document at the end of the process. There will be an attempt to make the process of review cumulative by putting out for further discussion and comment propositions which emerge from the earlier stages.

Substance

9. The review will take the form of a search for answers to a series of questions along the following lines (these are illustrative only and not necessarily sequential):
 - (a) **What are the "scriptures"?** How is the role of the Department of External Affairs defined and described in legislation, statutory instruments, cabinet decisions and other policy directives, studies and reports?
 - (b) **What do people think the role is?** What perceptions of the role of the Department of External Affairs are prevalent in the Department itself, in other agencies and departments of the Canadian Government and among attentive and informed persons outside the Government?
 - (c) **What is expected of the Department?** What requirements of the Government of Canada are expected to be fulfilled by the Department of External Affairs in the performance of its role, as perceived by those inside and outside the Department?
 - (d) **What are the misperceptions?** To what extent are prevalent ideas about the role of External Affairs held by those inside or outside the Department at variance with the "scriptures" or with current realities?
 - (e) **How well does the Department perform its role?** In what respects does the Department of External Affairs function in accordance with its accepted role or exceed it, or fail to meet expectations based on a valid conception of its role?
 - (f) **What do other countries do?** What is the role of the foreign ministry, in theory and in practice, in other countries with some comparability to Canada?
10. Apart from items (a) and (f), which are straightforward matters of research, answers to these questions will be sought mainly through a process of dialogue. There will be widespread interviewing and questioning of individuals, seminar-type discussions for those who can conveniently be brought together and written questionnaires to those not otherwise accessible.
11. As the program of work on the review develops, members of the Department at home and abroad will be canvassed with specific requests for views and information. In the meantime, observations and comments on the subject of the study will be most welcome to Mr. McGill at any time and can be sent directly to him without waiting for further solicitation.
12. I would like this circular to be made available to all members of your staff. For your information, I shall be sending copies of it to the heads of all government agencies and departments with a significant involvement in external operations.
13. This Circular Document is cancelled effective December 31, 1975.

- H. B. Robinson

Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs

"Record of [an open general] meeting held on October 2, 1975, to explain SAR Study of the Role of the Department as outlined in Circular Document Admin. No. 46/75" [enclosed with Circular Document Admin. No. 67/75(SAR) of 4 November 1975].

The meeting opened with a statement from Mr. Allan McGill, describing the background to the study he was conducting. The idea for the study had occurred to the Under-Secretary shortly after he took over the Department. As happens to all officials coming to such a position, he had been offered a series of suggestions and admonitions concerning new courses he should take or policies he should amend. After listening to these proposals, he decided that it was essential to have a clear picture of the role of the Department before setting out to alter structures or policies.

Some people had reacted to news of the study by questioning the necessity of "yet another" such exercise. In fact, however, the last time a comprehensive attempt was made to define the Department's role was in a 1964 circular document written by Mr. Ralph Collins. Subsequent events, such as the growth of new government departments, the birth of new international organizations, broadened Departmental responsibilities, the development of provincial interests overseas, and the increased mobility of Canadians more than justified a re-examination at this time. Since 1964, attitudes had also changed and the general interest in and knowledge of foreign affairs had spread. The foreign policy review of 1969/70 had taken place, followed by the White Paper, "Foreign Policy for Canadians". The goal of maximum possible integration of foreign operations had been enunciated. As part of this process, ICER had come into being, and it had overseen the development of the country programming procedures. The Department had taken steps to cope with new circumstances and adapt to change, but perhaps at the cost of losing sight of its basic role in government.

The study was above all an open exercise. Its aim was to collect evidence of both the perceptions and the reality of the Department's role. It would have to be a collective effort by all concerned, or it would not work. There were indications that many people within the Department were working away conscientiously and effectively at a specific job, but had little feeling for the direction of the enterprise as a whole. A main point of the study was to show the Department to itself in all its facets.

Clearly there were problems concerning the Department, both internally and in its external relations. The size and seriousness of these problems were open to debate. They included jurisdictional disputes between departments and internal difficulties over performance of the role. With regard to the last point, the study cannot be limited simply to definition; performance will have to be evaluated as well. Reasons for non-performance, where it exists, will have to be explored.

The suggestion had been made by some that the existence of the study indicated a defensive posture on the part of the Department, but this was not necessarily so. Mr. McGill's experience so far indicated that a great many people in the Department knew what they were doing and that there was no general lack of confidence. People in other government departments were often either worried about External Affairs' power or wanting the Department to do more. It may well be a finding of this investigation that there is a widespread desire for an expanded External Affairs role. Some would no doubt object strenuously to such a development, but this would certainly not be a universal reaction. External Affairs was not a weak sister; indeed it was a sign of strength that the Department would undertake this sort of self-examination.

Mr. McGill went on to say that he would be talking to informed observers outside Government. An example of an organization which could contribute was the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), which had asked to meet with him. CUSO will probably prepare a brief based on their experience abroad, thereby providing a valuable set of perceptions of the Department. Their views may turn out to be unflattering, but they would be useful. Other sources of opinion will be academics and journalists.

What is to come from this study? The report will be divided into several sections, including one on the "scriptures" or written mandate for the Department's activities, one on the way other countries have approached the problem of an MFA, and one including the cross-section of views about the Department.

Q. Was the study linked with a supposed morale problem in the Department?

A. It was not specifically linked according to the terms of reference of the study, but clearly morale would enter into any consideration of performance. One point of the study was to clear up uncertainties that might be affecting morale. Although morale was not mentioned in the terms of reference, it would undoubtedly come up, and any comments in this area would be noted. A press story some weeks ago about a study of morale "problems" in External Affairs was confused and inaccurate and did not apparently refer to this study. So far, the number of people in the Department who appeared to know what they were doing, and why, was impressive. Admittedly, some people seemed uncertain of their direction. ☺

FABRICATI DIEM, PVNC

A classic mash-up for Shamus Dikk

by A Aalto

D Essex Mackinaw, world's driest lawyer, sat stiffly in a chair across the table. He emptied his briefcase one file at a time, arranging them squarely in front of him. "Thank you for agreeing to this meeting, Mr. Dikk," he started. "Please allow me to introduce my client, Dr. Benjamin Trovato. I have recommended your services based both on your record of successful achievement in detection, and also on your established *sang froid* concerning the, ah, less easily explained elements of certain legal cases we have shared."

"Pleased to meet you, Dr. Travato," I said. "Call me Ben, please," he replied. Travato was short and pudgy, with a mop of white hair, a snub nose supporting round rimless glasses, and an infectious grin. "Doobie and I have been great friends since we met at the Latin Club in college." I looked around and then realized. Doobie? I managed to keep a straight face. Almost. Mackinaw glared at me. "When the professor explained his situation, at first I was not fully sure whom to call in. Then I thought of you, *pro bozo publico*."¹

"So what's the problem?" I asked. Mackinaw started to speak, but Travato cut across him. "In my work as a literature professor, I recently came across something startling!" The lawyer nodded at him to continue. "The story starts in 1623, when English baronet Sir Edward Dering bought the first copy of Shakespeare's First Folio. Only about 250 copies are now known to exist. Our university library holds one of them, although not Sir Edward's."

"A few weeks ago, I was going over the Folio's version of *Henry V*, when I ran across Falstaff's death scene. I was enjoying it thoroughly when it suddenly occurred to me that Falstaff doesn't appear in *Henry V*. I verified my suspicions against modern versions. Then I went back and scanned the Folio for other changes. I found lots – Romeo and Juliet surviving Friar Lawrence's potions and fleeing to Heidelberg, Hamlet seeing a good psychiatrist and resolving his Oedipus complex, Othello divorcing Desdemona and marrying Iago, that sort of thing. But the changes in the First Folio were not stable – they kept appearing and disappearing."

"I consulted a few colleagues, but they were all *copulamus non sapiens*.² So I tried the techies at the Centre – Liebnitz's crowd? They worked it out. A man named Sleazewagon had stolen Sir Edward's copy of the Folio. Simultaneously, he somehow acquired the legendary Qin eraser. The first Qin emperor was an outstanding military leader but the biggest fruitloop 'til Captain Crunch came along. He wanted to remake China in ideological terms. Along with burying Confucian scholars alive, he had all

books, except a few on law and technology, destroyed. Given his (quite accurate) suspicion that the scholars were not handing in all their scrolls, he had the state geomancers create a device to register any book it touched and reach out to destroy all later copies. The eraser was entombed with him outside Chang An."

"Anyway, Sleazewagon hacked into the Gutenberg Project, which makes a digital record of every book it can find, including the First Folio. Then he kludged the Qin eraser into his anti-Gutenberg program. When activated, the program is supposed to erase all the Folios except his own, which would thus become unique and priceless."

"But the first roll-out of the program wasn't strong enough. Shakespeare's literary corpus somehow fought back. The temporary plot shifts reflect a loosening grip on reality, but not enough to effect erasure. So Sleazewagon engaged a black hacker's collective of alienated lobsters from Joe Batt's Arm to strengthen the program. Then he had it coded into a virtual reality set-up modelling Julius Caesar's assassination scene from Shakespeare. To spread the impact, he substituted killers from other Shakespearean plays for the original Roman conspirators. Sleazewagon himself would also replace one of the conspirators and deliver the death-blow with the Qin eraser, disguised as a knife. With that blow, the program would be executed."

Effie laughed. "A classic killer app!" But Mackinaw scowled. "That's ridiculous. Once he has the program set up on his computer, all he has to do is click EXECUTE." I replied, "Agreed. Sleazewagon's a genius, if twisted. He's also a melodramatic, self-aggrandizing twit. But here that works in our favour. If we can crash his VR scene and block the hit, we can disrupt the program. But how can we get in to make our play?" The Professor beamed. "By an amazing coincidence, I have access to a holodeck with a cutting-edge intrusion function. It's part of our Extreme Literature project. I've been using it to spy on Sleazewagon's preparations. I have lots of spare costumes, and the program itself takes care of the language problem."

Not long after, toggled in togas, we entered the holodeck. The professor operated the controls remarkably smoothly for a man who acted like Mr. Pickwick on his seventh glass of port. Soon we were surrounded by the sights, sounds and smells of classical Rome. "Via Argiletum, the road leading into Subura. We'll be meeting our local contact in Bulbericus' place," Trovato explained. Pushing through the raucous crowd, we turned down a side street

¹ "Support your town clown"

² "Fuddle-duddled if we know"

Brutus and his seven co-conspirators have been replaced in the VR scene by seven murderers from elsewhere in Shakespeare, plus Sleazewagon. Each murderer comes from a different play and killed a different victim in that play, using various methods (some duplicated).

1. Goneril killed with poison. So did the killer from *Hamlet* but not the one from *Othello*.
2. The Earl of Richmond, replacing Brutus, killed with a battle-ax.
3. Sleazewagon is on the killers' list five rows above the row listing Regan, the victim from *King Lear*. He has no play or victim listed, but carries a knife.
4. Longinus' replacement Tybalt is from *Romeo and Juliet*.
5. The plays in the first and last rows are named after the victims in those rows.
6. The "lean and hungry" Senator's substitute killed a king; the play involved is named after the king's son, who has the same name as his father.
7. Killer Lucius appears in a row four away from victim Richard III and three away from killer MacDuff in the opposite direction.
8. Decius' replacement killed Aaron by burying him alive.
9. MacBeth and Mercutio both fell to the sword.
10. The plays in the first, seventh and eighth rows are all named after kings, the play in the third after a prince.
11. The killer Claudius, the victim Roderigo and the play *Titus Andronicus* are in adjacent rows in that order.
12. Iago killed with a knife.

between tall apartment blocks and entered a crowded space with a smell of spilled wine that meant tavern in any century. The bartender came over.

Travato cleared his throat. Mackinaw turned to him and said sternly, "Ben, no." "But when will I ever get another chance?" the professor replied. Turning to the barkeep, he said, "Gimme a martinus." Bulbericus rolled his eyes but responded, "Don't you mean 'martini', sir?" Trovato chuckled and declaimed, "If I want two, I'll ask for them!"

I spoke to the barkeep. "We're supposed to meet a guy named Flavius Maximus. He here?" A large man in legionary armour stood up from a bench in the back of the room and came over. He said, "Flavius can't make it, so he asked me to fill in." Bulbericus added, "Said he had a blind date. I told him, 'Don't go, Flavius, don't go.' But would he listen?" The centurion went on, "Name's Costus, I work at the Colosseum. *Veni vidi velcro*.³"

³ "I came, I saw, I stuck around"

Trovato asked, "Are you up on the problem?" "Yes, and I have the information you're looking for, about the assassins. I'm afraid it's a bit incoherent – the soldier I detailed to gather it is smart enough, but he gets into the Falernian. He was drunk as Bacchus when he wrote this report. There's a chart, but he never finished it. *Excretus est ex altitudine*.⁴ He's now on his way to the Persian front." Costus handed over a wood-framed writing tablet with words cut erratically into the wax.

I filled in the chart, putting Sleazewagon in the bulls-eye. Costus nodded. "Good. We'd better get over to the Senate before it's too late." As we headed for the door, Bulbericus called out, "*Illegitimi noli carborundum*,⁵ Costus". The legionnaire shrugged and replied, "*Cuius testiculos habes, habes cardia et cerebelli*!"⁶

We strode down the slope past Caesar's old house, turned right through the Forum and marched onward to the Campus Martius – all pointed out by the professor. The assassins were going to fall on Caesar as he passed Pompey's statue on his way into the Senate meeting. It was the Ides of March. We arrived just as the drama was being played out. A crowd of senators in broad-striped togas milled around the steps, hassling a tall, pale-skinned, balding man with deep-set dark eyes and a commanding presence. "Caesar," breathed Costus. "And that guy, over there" – he pointed – "is the one we're looking for."

We hustled over. A scuffle broke out, with one of the senators grabbing Caesar's toga and yanking it down, entangling his arms. Then our target pulled out a dagger and slashed at the struggling man. Just as

⁴ "He was severely reprimanded" (more or less...)

⁵ "Don't let the bastards grind you down"

⁶ "If you grasp their attention firmly, their hearts and minds will follow"

Conspirators	Killers	Victims	Weapons	Play
Brutus				
Casca				
Cassius				
Cinna				
Decius				
Longinus				
Metellus				
Trebonius				

he did so, Costus and I jumped him, and he only nicked Caesar in the shoulder. As we pulled the failed assassin away, his friends took care of the doomed leader. The professor checked his smart-scroll. "Mission accomplished. Caesar is still dead of course, but not by the Qin eraser, so the folios are safe." The disguised Sleazewagon cursed and was led away by two of Costus' men.

Back in the office, Mackinaw turned to his friend. "Well, Ben, that turned out acceptably well. But it would have been better if you had consulted me earlier. "*Cogito eggo sum*,"⁷ agreed his friend ruefully, "But you came through for me." Mackinaw replied, "As Popeye once declared, *cogito ergo discoraceo*."⁸ "Ah," interjected Effie, "*Quip pro quo!*"⁹ "I'm happy to see things resolved," I said, "But just as happy to *carpe dime et fugito*¹⁰ – as the bakers say, *quod subigo farinam*.¹¹ Enough already..."

Can you duplicate Shamus' feat and indicate which of Caesar's assassins Sleazewagon impersonated? **bout de papier** will decide the winner by drawing from a hat containing all correct entries received by July 17. The winner will receive a book autographed by A Aalto. Not necessary to win, but can you also "translate" the title of the puzzle? ☺

⁷ "I think I am a waffle"

⁸ "I think therefore I yam"

⁹ "A snappy return"

¹⁰ "Take the money and run"

¹¹ "Because I knead the dough"

Free-lance prestidigitator and migrant worker A Aalto continues to shuttle between Canada and Tanu Tuva. This puzzle is dedicated to the memory of the incomparable Terry Pratchett, whose death on March 12 robbed the world of a great master of cod Latin epigrams, surreal footnotes and trenchant social criticism embedded in very funny stories. Sir Edward Dering really did buy the first (and second) copy of the First Folio. Bulbericus' tavern plied its custom in Ostia (not Rome) over a century after Caesar's assassination, but the holodeck can compress time and space. On Flavius Maximus and the "martinus" exchange, see Wayne and Shuster's immortal "Rinse the Blood Off My Toga" www.youtube.com/watch?v=sdrzQNvI24w. Thanks as always to Mrs. Aalto for sage advice.

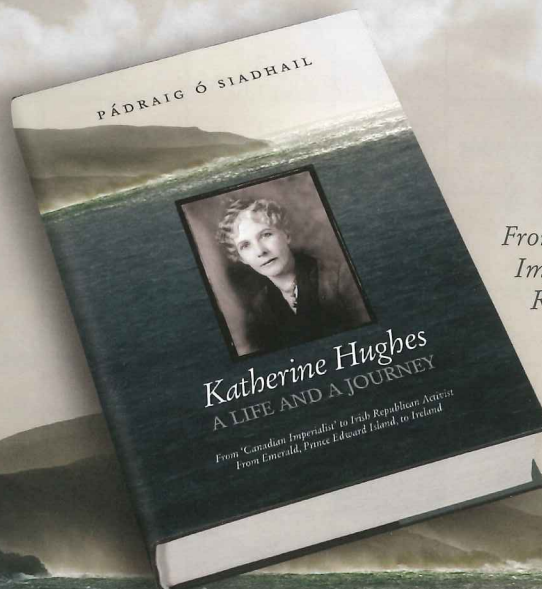
Katherine Hughes

A LIFE AND A JOURNEY

P Á D R A I G Ó S I A D H A I L



From 'Canadian Imperialist' to Irish Republican Activist. From Emerald, Prince Edward Island, to Ireland



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A member of the Irish Catholic community in Emerald, Prince Edward Island, Katherine Hughes (1876-1925) travelled far and accomplished much during her short life. Her career was varied and eventful: a teacher in a Native school; a journalist (Montreal Star); a biographer (Archbishop Cornelius O'Brien; Father Albert Lacombe; Sir William Van Horne); private secretary to Alberta's second Premier; Alberta's first provincial archivist; and most importantly, Irish political activist in support of Eamon de Valera and the cause of Irish independence. Hughes' travels took her across Canada, to Europe, including Ireland, the USA, Australia and New Zealand. In this book, Pádraig Ó Siadhail charts Katherine Hughes' physical journeys and discusses the challenges of understanding Hughes' internal journeys from Canadian political insider in the era before female suffrage to Irish political outsider.

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The Case of the Marco Polo Passport by A Aalto

Answers to Vol. 28, No. 3

No winner (ALAS).

The guilty party is the **AMBASSADOR**.

The completed chart is below. Unlike previous puzzles of this type, this time I deliberately did not give enough clues to fill in every box. That is not however necessary to solve the puzzle: there are sufficient clues to let you fill in enough of the chart so that you can **ELIMINATE** everyone except the Ambassador – as shown by the red squares.

Seat	1	2	3	4	5
Person	Ambassador	PM	President	Speaker	Museum Head
Foreign language(s)		Urdu	Estonian and others	Urdu	Swahili only
Height		Tall	Short	Tall	
Gender	Male		Male	Female	Male
Hair colour	Black	White	Black		Black
In country?		Yes	Yes		No

Jo GAR was the central character in Raoul Whitfield's noir detective stories set in inter-war Manila. I have done neither author nor his character real justice, but I hope the thought counts.

Marco Polo really did have a Mongolian passport, although I have no idea where it is now. Rustichello da Pisa was Polo's Boswell, who co-wrote the famous travelogue while the two were imprisoned together in Genoa around 1298.

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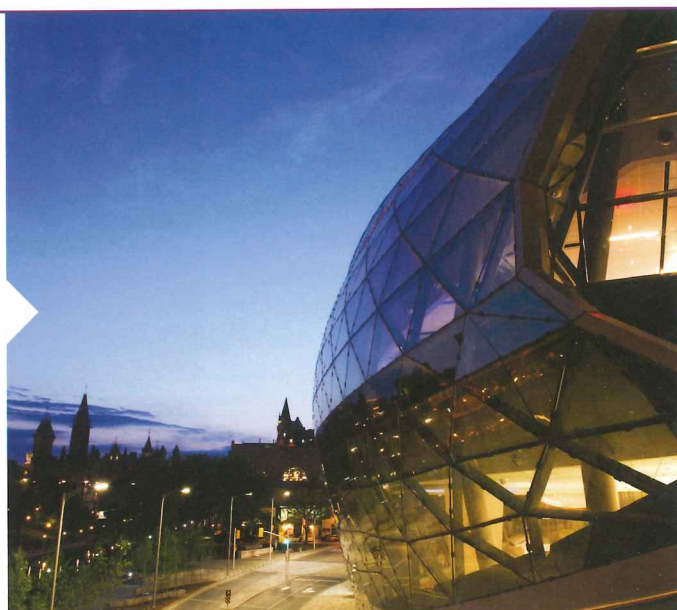
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- ✓ Rental Income Protection.
- ✓ Premium Discounts
 - Alarm System Credits
 - Claims Free Credits
 - Non-Smoker Credits
 - **15%** REDUCTION ON YOUR AUTO INSURANCE PREMIUM
- ✓ And, of course, Affordable Premium Rates.

PROTECT the investment you have in your home.
Call us for your personal quotation, or for further information.

