

bout de papier

Vol. 30, No. 4

CANADA'S MAGAZINE OF DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN SERVICE
LE MAGAZINE CANADIEN DE LA DIPLOMATIE ET DU SERVICE EXTÉRIEUR

THREE DAYS IN NOVEMBER

The Siege of Mumbai

Gary Luton

POSTCARDS FROM THE (DIPLOMATIC) EDGE

A Diplomatic Mission
to North Korea

James Trottier

BEHIND THE POD

The GAC Files with
David Morrison

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At the Crossroads
of Fraud, Data and
Intelligence

Zal Karkaria

Les Prix de
l'APASE 2018

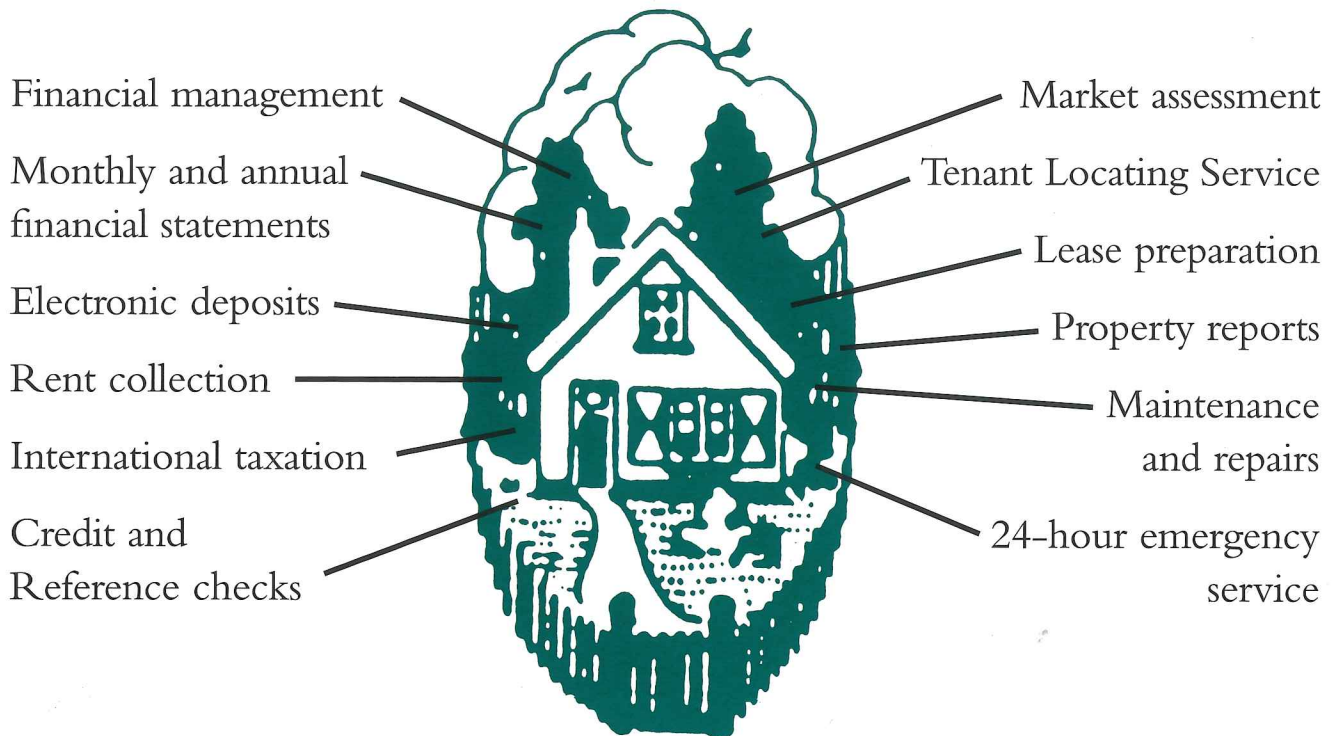


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Les soumissions d'articles par voie électronique sont bienvenues. Les articles comptent habituellement 2000 mots. Les sujets à venir incluent la marque du Canada et un focus sur Ottawa.

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Human Geography and the Foreign Service

Christian Ranger
Rédacteur en chef



PENDANT QU'IL NEIGE À OTTAWA, une énième caravane de migrants se forme au Honduras. Une vague humaine se gonfle. Elle se brisera dans deux mois à la frontière séparant les États-Unis du Mexique, son rivage principal, éparpillant ses coquillages : certains sur la grève, certains de retour à la mer, d'autres pris dans le ressac.

Au même moment, le président du G1 vitupère. Il exige qu'on lui alloue les fonds pour construire un mur. Son pays titanique serait menacé d'érosion par les vagues humaines qui s'échouent à son seuil, lapant le roc de ses institutions. La question paraît existentielle.

Je crois aussi qu'elle est fondamentale, mais sous un autre angle : la mobilité humaine semble en voie de devenir le premier enjeu des relations internationales de notre époque. C'est une intuition, pas une certitude, qui me vient sur le mode du « et si c'était le cas ? ». Avéré même en demitons, ce changement aurait des conséquences sur le Service extérieur. Voici trois vecteurs qui la sous-tendent.

Un : la migration est non seulement un sujet de débat politique dans presque la totalité des pays industrialisés, elle semble également devenir un enjeu clé des institutions régionales. Deux : le nombre de migrants augmente car le village global se démocratise, le désir de mobilité faisant surface comme jamais. Trois : la mondialisation la plus élémentaire aurait été celle des personnes, mais les états ont privilégié celle des biens ; or le balancier semble changer de direction.

unease around economically-driven internal migrations and pressure from irregular immigration, fueled by deleterious situations in Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan. How much effort, in France, to contain the radical right. In Germany, to moderate anti-Turkish sentiment. In Italy, to calm the rejection of Maltese arrivals. In the UK, to fight Brexit? Resolving those tensions is integral to Europe's future course.

Now take North America. For 25 years, it has been defined by NAFTA. Though the continent has a clearly circumscribed geography, the three countries it comprises have always refused the primacy of the region. They have considered themselves a collective of circumstantial interests, as if united by chance. Corollary: the European regional model, wherein countries partially renounce their sovereignty, has been roundly rejected in favour of an essentially commercial union.

The recent Canada-United States-Mexico Agreement (CUSMA) negotiations, meant to design NAFTA's successor agreement, put this regional definition to the test. Not only did they yield modest gains in comparison to the accord's potential – in contrast to what NAFTA was in the 1990s – but nobody wanted these talks. Not the White House, which would have welcomed a reason to toss the whole thing, and neither Mexico City nor Ottawa, which were essentially forced to the negotiating table. Rather than a project carrying a vision, CUSMA is the solution to a challenge.

With the commercial project on pause, migration is emerging as a defining regional issue. Even though it reveals profound differences between Mexico and Washington, it is now a core component of this relationship. A shared *modus vivendi* on migration could become the cornerstone of the US–Mexico alliance, whereas its absence could alienate both countries. Whatever the case, migration seems poised to have a shaping influence on the North American platform.

La vaste majorité des personnes qui souhaitent améliorer leur destin ne souhaitent pas se déraciner, quitter leur famille ou apprivoiser un nouvel environnement socio-culturel. La migration se veut d'abord locale. Les principaux motifs

La mobilité
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Around the world, political discourse is tempted to revile migrants – rarely individual migrants, with a name and a past, but a generalization of who they are believed to be. National politics in many countries engages the transnational community (diaspora politics) as well as segmented groups within the domestic sphere (identity politics). These methods are effective because they recognize identity and provenance. Whether as a topic or as an instrument, mobility is part and parcel of today's politics.

Europe knows the dynamic better than we do, having grappled with migration issues forever. The Schengen area, though the beacon of interstate mobility, today is under stress because of

de migration en Asie confirment que ceux qui peuvent passer de leur campagne à la ville voisine (ou d'un pays au prochain) le font.

La technologie élargit le domaine du connu, allongeant ainsi le rayon de la migration. Les médias sociaux permettent d'apprivoiser le lointain, pour autant que vous y connaissiez quelqu'un. Mais il y a plus : pour un migrant, le téléphone intelligent – outil de plus en plus commun et accessible, de sorte que la plupart des centraux-américains se dirigeant vers les États-Unis en possèdent un – est également une lanterne qui éclaire la marche et une manière de rester en communication avec les proches laissés derrière.

Selon l'Organisation internationale pour les migrations (OIM), quelques 3,3 pour cent des humains étaient en migration internationale en 2015. Plus que le taux, c'est l'augmentation qui frappe. Le pourcentage est en hausse constante depuis les années 70 et la hausse s'accélère. En 2015, ils étaient 244 millions.

Soulignons cependant que les tragédies – comme celle du Venezuela – ne sont pas les principaux moteurs d'exode à l'échelle planétaire. Quantité de migrations découlent d'accords mutuels et se déroulent selon les règles plutôt qu'en marge de celles-ci. Il n'y a qu'à voir les efforts déployés par les pays riches afin d'inviter les migrants économiques pour se convaincre de leur impact positif : les étudiants, les investisseurs, les travailleurs qualifiés. Ceux-ci sont courtisés par les universités et l'industrie privée.

Soulignons également le caractère de plus en plus circulaire de la migration. Dans un monde plus libre, il y a moins d'allers simples. Toujours selon l'OIM, deux tiers des migrants sont aujourd'hui des travailleurs, dont plusieurs rentreront éventuellement chez eux. Ceux-ci participent à la vie de leur pays d'accueil comme à celle de leur pays d'origine. Saviez-vous que la France est la quatrième destination des remises en provenance du Canada, derrière la Chine, l'Inde et les Philippines ? Les expatriés français aussi envoient des deniers à leur famille.

The longing for elsewhere is as old as humanity. Embodied by nomadism, it pre-exists writing, borders and private property – the instruments used to defer international mobility. People personally traded goods and spread ideas before systems were engineered to do so on a large scale. The dynamic still holds: goods follow people more than the other way around. In the grand project of globalization, understood as the international liberalization of various flows, that of human beings should intuitively have been first.

The free trade of goods and eventually services has been a prominent international issue for seven decades, starting in the postwar era with the GATT (1947) and the successive global rounds of trade negotiations. In 1994, NAFTA was an innovative trade agreement and, as late as the early 2000s, the Americas still nurtured the dream of a free-trade zone spanning Canada to Argentina.

Within this context, international mobility was a privilege for the privileged. Agreements such as NAFTA enshrined certain permissions of movement: for


economists, engineers, professors, etc. The bias in favour of economic elites is obvious.

But the tide may be receding. Worldwide opposition to free trade is significant and includes a growing cadre of leaders. Meanwhile, the UN convened the international community in Morocco last December to launch the Global Compact on Migration. The Compact asks everyone to treat migrants humanely. It calls on states not to squeeze them between the cogwheels of their apparatus, not to crush them under their inertia. As with every normative UN initiative, the Compact's ambitions outweigh the means behind it, but it nevertheless joins the firmament of norms describing the world we aspire to live in.

La libéralisation du commerce international a présidé à l'essor du service des délégués commerciaux du Canada, lui donnant multiples occasions de démontrer son excellence et lui conférant une forme de primauté. Il me semble probable que, dans un contexte de libéralisation humaine, les services qui appuient la mobilité – le service d'immigration et le service consulaire – connaissent éventuellement un pareil âge d'or, étayé de reconnaissance institutionnelle. Est-ce que ça n'a pas commencé à se produire, en fait ?

La diplomatie traditionnelle, incarnée par le service politique, gagne pour sa part une raison supplémentaire de se réinventer. L'érosion plus avant de l'état au profit de l'individu diminue l'importance des relations inter-étatiques que gère cette filière.

Enfin, la mobilité internationale interroge fondamentalement le mode d'expression de la générosité étatique. Nous savons que le flot des remises générées par les migrants expatriés est trois fois supérieur à l'aide au développement officielle. Vaut-il mieux stopper les migrants à nos frontières et tenter de corriger les conditions matérielles de leur village lointain, d'où ils ont décidé de partir, ou faut-il plutôt investir dans les institutions canadiennes susceptibles d'accueillir et d'intégrer ces mêmes migrants ? La question, il me semble, mérite réflexion – sa réponse affectera directement le service de développement, qui réintègrera le Service extérieur cet été.

I mention the snow falling on the east of the country because it highlights our situation. Migrants seldom aim for cold and snowy climates, yet they are a growing proportion of Canadians (22% in 2015). Though we received tens of thousands of irregular claimants in the last two years – mostly illegal border-crossers, who have become the subject of considerable public attention – Canada retains a rather unique situation among nations: it can select most of its immigrants. If geography had not bordered us with three oceans, if it had not placed us between the Arctic and the US, the anti-migrant sentiments that swept other countries would likely have taken much stronger hold at home. 

In the grand project of globalization, understood as the international liberalization of various flows, that of human beings should intuitively have been first

2019: A High Stakes Year

Pam Isfeld

President, PAFSO // Présidente de l'APASE



IL SEMBLE QUE 2019 SERA une année d'enjeux importants, non seulement pour le service extérieur, mais pour le monde entier : l'avenir des institutions de l'ordre international, de la démocratie, de la dignité et des droits de l'homme que de nombreuses sociétés considéraient comme sûres ou acquises sont maintenant sur la table. Mais, comme toute crise, celle-ci apporte à la fois danger et opportunité.

Like it or not, we are about to see whether or not the forces eroding democratic principles are sustained and organized, and whether we possess the agility and creativity to resist them. It has been eight years since the Arab Spring protests shook the Middle East and beyond, and the international mood has shifted from expansiveness to withdrawal, taking some domestic populations with it.

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However, 2018 also saw feminism emerge as a global force for change, and cities cooperating to allow their citizens to challenge national governments on issues such as climate change and immigration. And, while the emergence of the "platform economy" characterized by Uber and AirBnB causes concern in previously established industries, it also offers opportunities for entrepreneurs to bypass entrenched economic, and sometimes political, power. Establishments of all political and economic stripes are facing challenges from those who are not content simply with preserving the positive aspects of an old order, but instead seek fundamental, even transformational, change.

Les puissances progressistes comme le Canada devront lutter contre l'isolationnisme, les approches intransigeantes, les défis budgétaires et les intérêts personnels à court terme si nous voulons que nos sociétés diverses et ouvertes prospèrent. Le Canada a besoin d'un service extérieur robuste et résilient capable

de travailler à divers niveaux, depuis les organisations multilatérales jusqu'aux négociations bilatérales avec les grandes puissances et les courtiers en puissance non officiels, en passant par les débats publics, universitaires et de plus en plus « virtuels » sur des visions distinctes d'ordre international et social.

Canada's Foreign Service officers are well aware that these efforts can have personal as well as political implications. The arrest and detention of one of our former colleagues, against the backdrop of China-US tension, is one example. Another is the ongoing mystery behind the Havana Syndrome, which continues to affect a number of our members and their families. Although these risks are not new, the growing number of high-security missions, and the erosion of shared respect for and understanding of diplomatic and legal norms, is bringing them into sharper relief. In our last Triennial Survey, large numbers of our members reported experiencing physical and psychological stress, stemming from factors including overwork, environmental issues, lack of access to health care, and psychological harassment.

These "conditions of service" issues become more complicated as many of them fall outside the sphere of traditional collective bargaining, contracts, and traditional "hard" labour recourse mechanisms. Many of them, such as security issues and difficulty accessing health and educational resources, can affect our spouses and family as much, and sometimes even more, than FS employees themselves. Obtaining appropriate attention and resources in these kinds of circumstances can involve asking a cautious bureaucracy to take risks, spend money, and consider innovative solutions. It is as much an exercise in persuasion as in negotiation or bargaining.

L'APASE prend des mesures pour accroître sa capacité de défendre la santé du service extérieur dans son ensemble. En octobre dernier, l'Assemblée générale annuelle (AGA) a approuvé le financement, à même les ressources existantes, d'un poste de président rémunéré. Il s'agit d'un projet pilote d'une durée envisagée de deux ans. Le fait de permettre au président de travailler


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à temps plein avec le directeur général pour la première fois en 53 ans d'existence de l'APASE nous permettra de compléter les gains importants réalisés sur le plan des relations de travail de l'Association par de nouvelles ressources pour le côté professionnel.

The Full Time Presidency Pilot (FTPP) began on 4 February, when I started leave without pay from GAC. As your full-time President, my mandate and core functions will remain as they have always been, with a particular emphasis on advocacy, outreach, and media relations. (Members can find the full Terms of Reference on the wiki at myPAFSO.) My main deliverables will be a Strategic Review, which will be presented to the October 2019 AGM and – subject to approval of the second

year of the pilot – a Strategic Plan for October 2020. In the lead-up to the 2020 AGM, the Executive Committee (ExCom) will present recommendations to the membership on whether or not PAFSO should make the full-time presidency a permanent part of its governance structure.

Luckily, we have a very dedicated ExCom, including full slate of representatives from all four streams and two remote members. At our November ExCom retreat, the group identified three operational priorities, in addition to collective bargaining, for the coming year. These were Professional Development, which encompasses events as well as questions of professional recognition, training, and opportunities; Member Engagement, which will focus on increasing awareness and participation; and Governance, which includes the Strategic Review as well as structural issues such as negotiating the first contract with the new PAFSO staff union and ensuring that ExCom is exercising its fiduciary duty to members.

Je suis convaincue que le service extérieur professionnel du Canada est à la hauteur du défi de 2019 et qu'on sera encore plus fort d'ici 2020. 



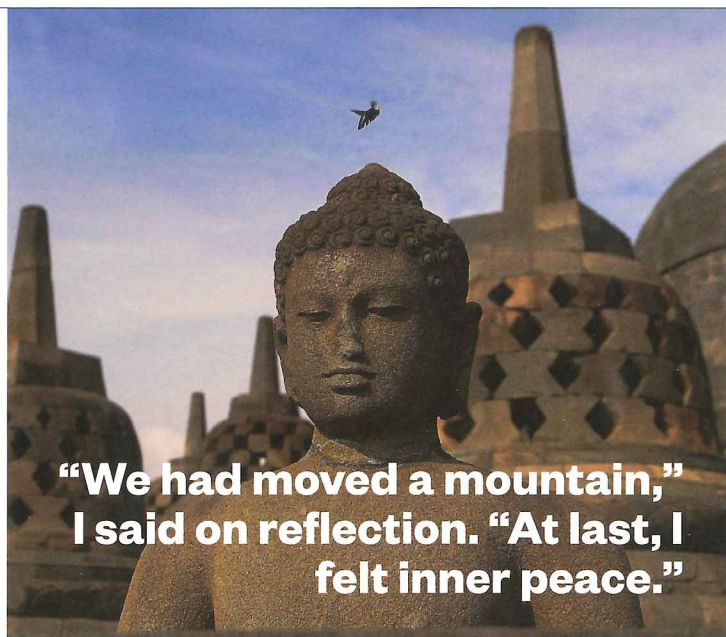
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**“We had moved a mountain,”
I said on reflection. “At last, I
felt inner peace.”**

FEATURE // REPORTAGE

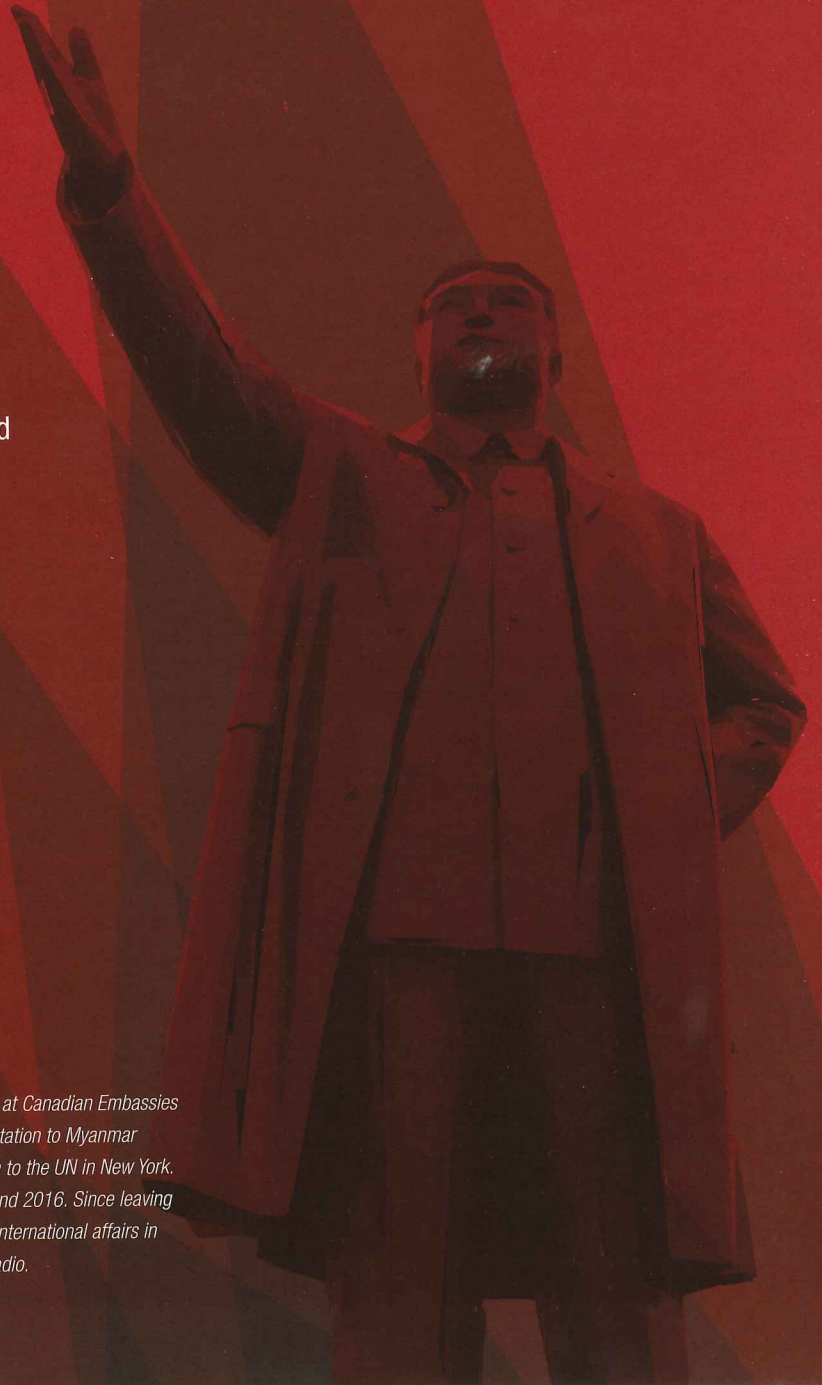
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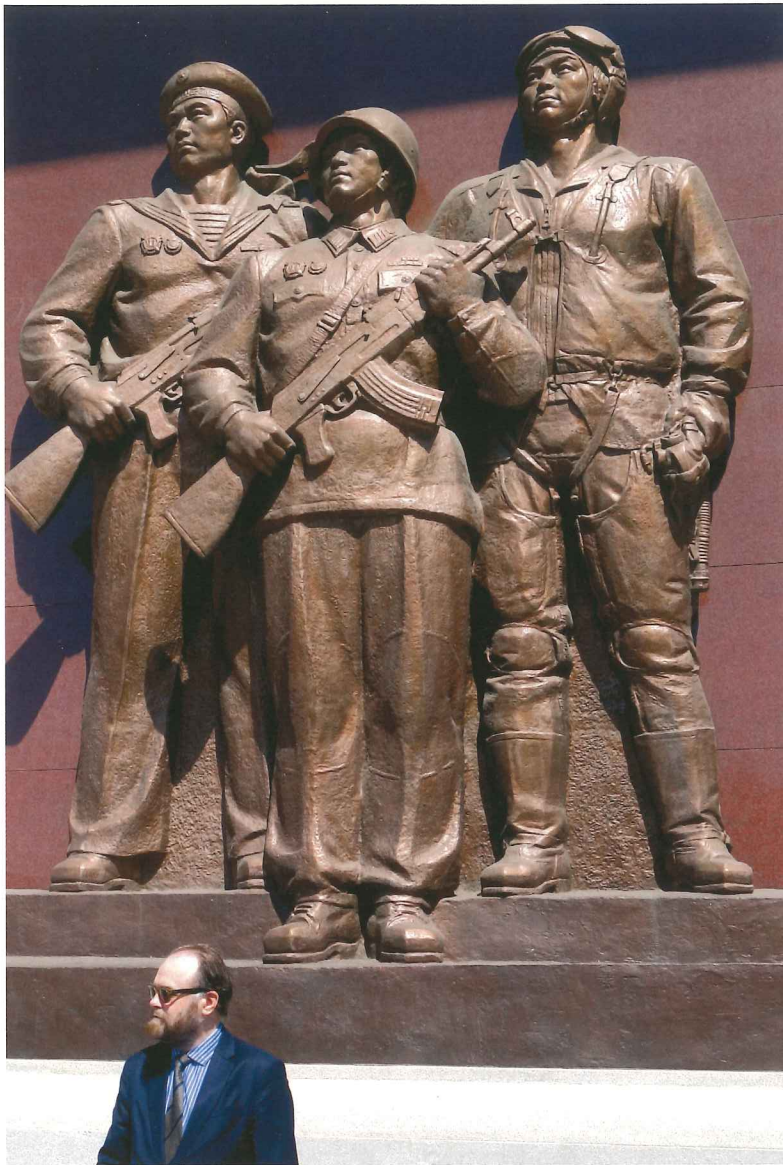
A DIPLOMATIC MISSION TO NORTH KOREA

by James Trottier

Canada has had diplomatic relations with North Korea since 2001, managed through the Canadian Embassy in South Korea. While directing the political/economic program in Seoul, I was cross-accredited as the Political Counsellor to North Korea. I led four Canadian diplomatic missions to North Korea in 2015 and 2016, where I was the first Canadian diplomat to visit since 2010.

JAMES TROTTIER directed political/economic programs at Canadian Embassies in Korea, the Philippines and Thailand, with cross-accreditation to Myanmar and Laos. He also served at Canada's Permanent Mission to the UN in New York. He led four diplomatic missions to North Korea in 2015 and 2016. Since leaving the Foreign Service in 2016, he has written regularly on international affairs in print media and has commented extensively on TV and radio.





LEFT

James Trotter outside the Victorious Fatherland Liberation War Museum in Pyongyang. Photo: Kevin Jo

NORTH KOREA, 10AM, DECEMBER 16, 2015. On a chilly sunny day, I attend the criminal trial of Reverend Hyeon Soo Lim, a Canadian citizen imprisoned since his arrest the previous February. He comes into the courtroom escorted by two tall uniformed state security officers, dressed in the winter jacket I provided him on a visit in October. He appears calm, if resigned.

Though held in a modern courtroom with the familiar set-up of judge, prosecutor and defence counsel, this trial is anything but conventional.

First, I was notified of the trial late the previous evening in a cryptic message delivered to my Pyongyang hotel from the North Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). The message advised that the trial would occur the following morning at an undisclosed location and that our delegation would be picked up at 9am and brought to the court.

Second, we are the first diplomats – and, in my case, the first lawyer – and among the few foreigners ever to attend a trial in North Korea. From their dress and demeanour, most people in the courtroom appear to be North Korean state security officers.

Third, the stakes could not be higher. The defendant is charged with “crimes against the state” and the prosecutor is asking for a death sentence. The defence counsel offers no evidence, admits his client’s guilt and joins in the condemnation... but proposes a life sentence instead.

After testimony by three witnesses, a video lifted from the internet of a speech by the defendant in Philadelphia presented in evidence, an aggressive cross-examination by both the prosecutor and the judge, a one-hour trial and a three-minute deliberation, the judge finds the defendant guilty and sentences him to life at hard labour.

Immediately after the trial, I hurry to the Swedish Embassy and report to Ottawa. Events unfold quickly. By the time I return for separate meetings with North Korean officials and the defendant, the North Korean side is aware of Prime Minister Trudeau’s statement expressing concern about the trial and Reverend Lim’s well-being.

I have a very animated discussion with North Korean security officials. They ask me what I think of the trial and they respond vigorously to the Prime Minister’s statement, slamming the table to emphasize points. Yet they remove their overcoats, which seems to indicate an intention to remain and continue our discussion. I reiterate the Prime Minister’s concerns and urge my interlocutors to resolve this case.

In my meeting with Reverend Lim, I am impressed by his stoic dignity and his resilience. I assure him of Canada’s absolute commitment to resolving his case.

These visits and discussions were significant steps in an ultimately successful effort to free Reverend Lim. On later visits, my colleagues and I continued to press North Korean officials regarding his well-being and release. He was returned to Canada in August 2017, after serving 32 months at hard labour. This case was resolved after a relatively short but arduous period of imprisonment, a pattern that is the norm for foreign prisoners in North Korea. However, the tragic case of Otto Warmbier – a young American who died in June 2017 shortly after being handed over in a coma by North Korean authorities to US officials – was a sad reminder of what can go wrong in such situations. In



ABOVE
The unopened
105-storey
Ryugyong Hotel
in Pyongyang.
Photo: James
Trottier

contrast to foreign prisoners, North Koreans are routinely punished without trial and imprisoned indefinitely.

Fellow passengers on the Air China flight from Beijing to Pyongyang include tourists going on group tours organized by companies from inside China (including one headed by a Canadian who facilitated former NBA basketball player Dennis Rodman's visits). A voice on the intercom announces: "Welcome to Pyongyang and thank you for flying Star Alliance. We hope you have enjoyed your flight." Aeroplan points are earned for travel into Pyongyang but, curiously, not for travel out.

Although a direct flight between Seoul and Pyongyang would take one hour, access to Pyongyang is through Beijing. Two airlines fly into Pyongyang: North Korea's own Air Koryo and China's Air China. Visiting involved flying from Seoul to Beijing on Sunday, obtaining a visa from the North Korean Embassy in Beijing on Monday morning, and then flying to Pyongyang early that afternoon.

Each visit to North Korea entailed a lengthy process involving Global Affairs Canada, the Foreign Ministry in Pyongyang, our respective Permanent Missions to the UN in

New York, and our embassies in Seoul and Beijing. Generally, we found out whether our visas were approved on Saturday at midnight. This meant either scrambling to make the flight on Sunday or cancelling our arrangements.

On landing at Pyongyang's new airport, our delegation is whisked through customs unlike regular travellers who are subject to thorough examination, including for written material. Contraband goods can mean confiscation, expulsion or worse. Despite having diplomatic immunity, I have left in Seoul any written material that

could be problematic, including a copy of *The Economist* which mentions North Korea.

We are met by our two MFA Liaison Officers (the "minders") who will be a ubiquitous albeit courteous presence throughout our stay. They book themselves into our hotel for the duration of each visit and bring us to meetings. They also recommend restaurants and landmarks.

The minders take us to the vehicle and driver provided by the MFA. As we drive down the highway, there is light traffic with pedestrians and cyclists sometimes hurrying across the road. Agricultural workers toil in the fields along the highway. As we approach the capital, high-rise apartment buildings appear and there is increased traffic. Some people crouch in front of apartment blocks, trimming the grass; residents are responsible for maintaining the space in front of their building.

Our hotel, the Koryo, is located near the central railway station. There is a large screen in front, where people gather to watch the latest in North Korean cinema, including sentimental dramas, as well as footage of missile and nuclear tests. We check in and pay in advance in euros (other options are US dollars and Chinese yuan; non-resident foreigners are not allowed to possess North Korean currency). There is a DHL kiosk at the counter for sending or receiving packages.

On top of our hotel is a revolving bar which is notable for its friendly staff, smudged windows, absence of customers, lack of most of the drinks featured on its menu and pricey scotch.

Rooms are expensive, clean, simply furnished and so dimly lit that it is difficult to read in the evening. TV channels are local, with two exceptions: RT, Russia's propaganda network, and, more surprisingly, the BBC World Service. No need for an alarm clock as loudspeakers throughout the city broadcast a loud and eerie ballad every morning at 6am. Musical ensembles serenade commuters outside the railway station and at key intersections.

Although there are a few guests in the cavernous lobby and the hotel restaurants, our floors are always eerily quiet. Agility and vigilance are required in elevators as the doors snap shut suddenly. A store adjoining the hotel has alcohol, food and clothing; the clerks do not allow photos of alcohol.

The Koryo is Pyongyang's top hotel, used for official delegations. After my visit in 2015, there was a major fire; guests had to flee. North Korean authorities at first denied that a fire had occurred despite internet footage of billowing smoke. They instead focussed on apprehending those who photographed the fire.

At my request, our minders make arrangements for access to the diplomatic quarter, so I can meet with the Swedish Ambassador, one of several such meetings on each visit. We also consult with the British and German Ambassadors. The diplomatic quarter is not fortified, but authorization is required for entry. The minders explain our

Generally, we find out whether our visas are approved on Saturday at midnight. This means either scrambling to make the flight on Sunday or cancelling our arrangements

destination to bored sentries posted at key street corners; they check our credentials and itinerary and wave us through to the Swedish Embassy.

The Swedish, British and German Embassies share a building that formerly housed the East German Embassy. The building and its compound reflect Soviet-era East German architecture and design.

Sweden serves as Canada's protecting power in North Korea. International law bestows upon Sweden the right and responsibility to intervene with local authorities to protect Canadian citizens. The concept is well-established under the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, but some states purport not to understand it.

Foreigners usually come and go to North Korea without incident. Still, the Swedish Embassy remains especially vigilant during such events as the Pyongyang Marathon when several hundred foreigners visit.

In Pyongyang, we rent a mobile phone to set up meetings with embassies, UN agencies and foreign NGOs operating in North Korea. For obvious reasons it is not used for substantive or sensitive conversations. This phone cannot be used to contact any North Korean, including our minders or the driver, because it operates on a network restricted to foreigners. If I want to reach our driver, I call a resident diplomat who speaks to a North Korean staff member who then calls our driver.

A mobile phone is a status symbol for North Koreans. There are an estimated three million in use in the country. There are two parallel mobile telephone systems, one for locals and one for foreigners. Users on one network cannot reach users on the other.

On each visit, we left our electronic devices at the Canadian Embassy in Beijing. In addition to the obvious security reasons for doing so, our iPads and phones would not work in North Korea anyway. North Korea has its own intranet which is inaccessible to foreigners, whereas access to the world wide web is restricted to a tiny fraction of the population. Visiting foreigners have access to neither.

The morning after our arrival, we drive to the Foreign Ministry. We are escorted down an ornate corridor to a conference room adorned with photos of North Korea's founding father, Kim Il-sung, and his son and successor, Kim Jong-il. Their images are ubiquitous in North Korea, including on badges worn by Party cadres. We meet for 2.5 hours. The meeting is conducted through interpreters, though our interlocutor speaks colloquial English. While exchanges deal frankly and fully with the range of contentious subjects that are of concern to Canada, discussions are civil. Some meetings occur over coffee and lunch at our hotel.

The MFA is located at a corner of the iconic Kim Il-sung Square, the heart of the North Korean state. The square is dominated by images of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il and is the setting for mass choreographed performances and military parades. Sometimes on our visits, the square would be filled with thousands of students and workers in colour-coded caps rehearsing future performances. The mood at these rehearsals can be quite relaxed, as opposed to that at the official performances themselves.

My meetings at the MFA were considerably longer than the norm for my meetings at foreign ministries in other capitals. This reflected North Korea's interest in speaking directly to Canada after not having had diplomatic visits since 2010 – despite not relishing what we had to say.

On Friday, I attend the weekly meeting of embassies, UN agencies and NGOs held at the office of the UNDP representative who reminds participants that the weekly movie night will be held that evening at the Polish Embassy and that attendees should pay attention to parking rules, lest they be ticketed by the police. All are invited to attend and encouraged to bring samples of their national food. In Pyongyang, these social events are a welcome diversion for the foreign community.

There are six UN agencies operating in North Korea, including the World Food Programme and UNICEF, as well as a number of foreign NGOs. Canada and other countries provide funding for programs that feed infants, small children, pregnant women and nursing mothers. Though food security is considerably better than during the famines of the 1990s, malnutrition remains a serious issue in North Korea.

BELOW
Conference room where meetings were held with North Korean officials and Canadian prisoner. Photo: James Trotter



Diplomacy in North Korea is a mixture of the familiar, the unusual and the surreal

The Canadian delegation pays a visit to the Kumsusan Palace of the Sun. Formerly the official residence of Kim Il-sung, the 115,000 square-foot mausoleum now hosts the embalmed remains of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il.

We are processed through an elaborate security protocol by North Korean officials in black suits armed with visible revolvers in shoulder holsters. The building is thronged with North Koreans coming to pay their respects. All visitors stand motionless on moving sidewalks that transport us slowly down long corridors, some a kilometre in length. Everyone is dressed in their best clothes, for this is a place of pilgrimage.

As we proceed down the hallways, our North Korean minders try to persuade us to bow at the statues and remains of the two leaders. I explain that we mean no disrespect but, in conformity with diplomatic practice and precedent, we will refrain from bowing.

We walk through a grand chamber with statues of the two leaders, through rooms equipped with giant dust-blowing machines meant to remove lint, and into the chambers housing the embalmed remains behind glass.

Kim Il-sung's head rests on a Korean pillow and a Workers' Party flag is draped over his body. All around us are solemn North Koreans and foreigners bowing; despite the social pressure, we hold our ground and stand erect. I remind myself of the Victorian era British envoy who respectfully declined to kowtow before the Chinese Emperor.

Being a diplomat in North Korea, as elsewhere, provides privileged access and glimpses of a reality screened from most foreigners. Diplomacy in North Korea is a mixture of the familiar, the unusual and the surreal.

In a world of hyper-communication, working as a diplomat in North Korea is also to be thrust into a different age – the ultimate digital detoxification. Visiting diplomats in North Korea have the rare luxury of being on their own, detached from day to day oversight from capitals and freed from the “administrivia” of a normal workday. In this respect, it is reminiscent of diplomacy of an earlier era. Paradoxically, such “freedom” occurs in the ultimate security state.

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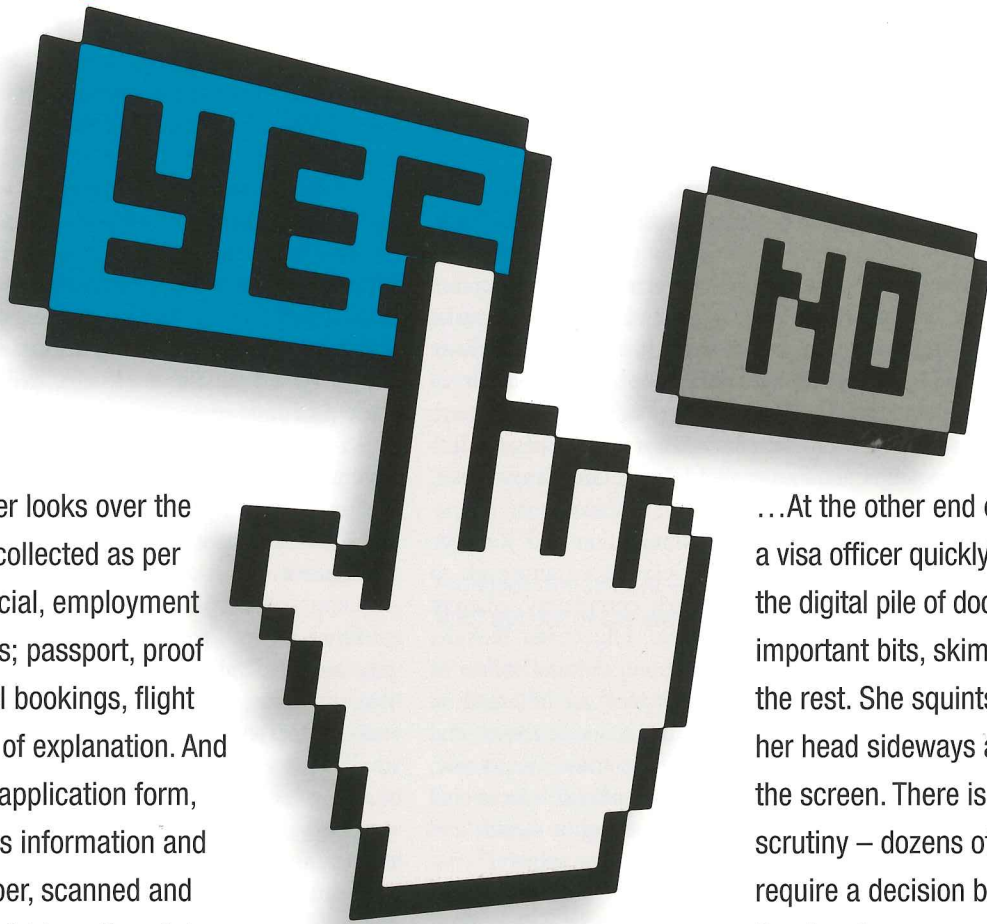
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At the Crossroads of Fraud, Data and Intelligence

THE RISK ASSESSMENT NETWORK

by Zal Karkaria



The hopeful traveller looks over the pile of documents collected as per the checklist: financial, employment and civil documents; passport, proof of prior travel; hotel bookings, flight tickets and a letter of explanation. And of course, the visa application form, summarizing all this information and more. So much paper, scanned and uploaded. The hopeful traveller clicks submit. And then, he waits...

...At the other end of this transaction a visa officer quickly scans through the digital pile of documents, noting the important bits, skimming through the rest. She squints, zooms in, tilting her head sideways as she stares at the screen. There is little time for close scrutiny – dozens of other applications require a decision before the end of the day. Approve or refuse? A decision is made, the response dispatched to the applicant. Depending on the results, he could find himself with official permission to start packing his bags – or staring at a long, dreary tick-box refusal letter informing him, with regret, that he does not meet the requirements for a Canadian visa.

ZAL KARKARIA joined the Foreign Service in 2004. He has completed postings in Nairobi and New Delhi, and worked in a variety of policy and operational assignments at IRCC Headquarters in Ottawa. Zal has been IRCC London's Risk Assessment Officer since 2016.

EVERY SINGLE WORKDAY, THIS SCENARIO repeats itself thousands of times, with IRCC officers such as myself across Canada and around the world deciding who will have the privilege of gaining legal entry to Canada. The question is – how do we know we are getting the decision right?

A new network for a complex world

Well-written legislation is not enough: local knowledge and, ultimately, judgment come very much into play

The Risk Assessment Officer (RAO) Network was created by IRCC management just over two years ago in order to help find the answer by providing decision-makers with the intelligence and data they need to make informed decisions. It's a much-needed function, as IRCC tries to keep up with exploding application intake from huge countries such as India, China and Nigeria and a shifting geopolitical context that seems to become more complex by the day.

As much as we may wish each application to be decided in a clinical fashion, based on verifiable, documentary evidence, the fact is, such an exact threshold is unrealistic. IRCC often deals with people from countries corroded by corruption or devastated by war. Officers know, for example, that it can be difficult to obtain an original document like a police certificate if your local registry has been blown up or where the local authority demands 10,000 rupees for its issuance. Officers also know that a sworn statement from three village elders does not meet the Canadian standard for proving parentage of, say, an infant being sponsored to come to Canada.

The Objectives of Canada's Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) provide an eloquent framework to help guide officers through the thick complexity inherent in processing a truly global clientele. Objectives include: "to enrich and strengthen the social and cultural fabric of Canadian society"; "to see that families are reunited in Canada"; "to facilitate the entry of visitors, students and temporary workers for purposes such as trade, commerce, tourism, international understanding and cultural, educational and scientific activities"; and "to protect public health and safety and to maintain the security of Canadian society."

But well-written legislation is not enough: local knowledge and, ultimately, judgment come very much into play. With offices in only a few dozen countries and limited contact with clients, visa officers must take a holistic approach to decision making if they're going to get it right because behind each visa application is a real person with specific motivations for wanting to enter Canada.

Thus, being a visa officer is part art and part science. RAOs are expected to be at the vanguard of the latter, though they are still somewhat in search of a professional identity.

Anti-fraud, and more

The RAO Network evolved out of Anti-Fraud Officer positions that had previously belonged to the Canada Border

Services Agency (CBSA). These officers were the leads investigating visa fraud. When CBSA's overseas priorities changed, however, the positions became available; after much bureaucratic wrangling between IRCC and CBSA in airless Ottawa boardrooms, IRCC found itself with a new corps of officials which it rechristened Risk Assessment Officers. This included a position in London where I've been the RAO since the summer of 2016.

However, IRCC management wanted these jobs to be more than just sussing out fake documents. The expectation was that RAOs would play a prominent role within the new "work-sharing" processing model IRCC has deployed to address rapidly rising intake. Work-sharing involves moving work around the global network to where capacity exists. A Nigerian applicant, for example, could have their visa processed in Accra, Nairobi, London or even Ottawa depending on the category in which they apply; a Pakistani visa application could be decided in Abu Dhabi or Warsaw, London or Ottawa.

RAOs are to be at the forefront of decisions to move work across the IRCC network. They are supposed to help identify cases that can be moved from over-burdened visa offices to those where operational capacity exists and help train officers in destination offices, so that they have the information they need to make decisions. RAOs would then follow up with quality assurance exercises meant to ensure these decisions were sound.

RAOs have embraced this role enthusiastically, if inconsistently. Anti-fraud work continues to represent a significant portion of the workload, especially in the many countries where sketchy consultants sell application packages of fake documents to anyone eager to try their luck with a Canadian visa application.

From Ghana, to India, to Vietnam, applicants submit fake bank statements, employment contracts, and payslips; fake diplomas, visas, passports and ID cards; and fake birth, marriage, divorce and death certificates in support of their application, sometimes having paid thousands of dollars to an agent for the documents. The quality varies – some go to great lengths to construct a false identity or fake employment history, showing an admirable attention to detail; others are not as meticulous, submitting blatant fabrications that would fail to fool a grade-schooler. Regardless, RAOs provide training to officers to help them spot these "non-bona fide" applicants so they can be refused, and if found to have misrepresented a fact material to the case, potentially barred from applying again for a period of five years.

This gatekeeper function is important in these times of mass migration flows and rising numbers of asylum claims in Canada and elsewhere. RAOs are expected to broadly define who poses a risk to Canada and who doesn't, and ensure that decision-makers with various levels of experience have the intelligence required to make sound decisions regardless of where that decision-maker may be located.

Canadians have remained remarkably upbeat about immigration as support has plummeted in countries across

the globe. So the stakes are high: the RAO role involves more than just finding fake bank statements and visas. It's an important component of an immigration system that has wide support across Canada because it is seen as being well-managed: broadly speaking, Canada lets in the people it wants and refuses those who don't qualify, fairly, efficiently and within the rule of law.

Relevant old school methods

But how does the department quickly approve the applicants that deserve our trust while scrutinizing the ones who do not? How do we accelerate the welcome process for desirable newcomers, while protecting Canada from those who would abuse our trust? RAOs play a key role in answering these crucial questions successfully and in maintaining the integrity of Canada's immigration programs.

Responding to these challenges is an evolving task and could require embracing different techniques, new and old. Let's start with the old. Since IRCC has moved increasingly towards electronic processing, where all documents are uploaded and officers see few, if any, originals, IRCC could increase the use of a tool associated with the days before electronic applications: interviews.

With their risk assessment mandate, RAOs are well-placed to take on this role. If anti-fraud work is the reactive response to risk in the caseload, quality assurance is a proactive measure used to identify potential problems up front. A potential component of a quality assurance framework could be a return to interviewing a small sample of applicants on a regular basis – not enough to slow down overall processing times, but enough to be statistically valid. RAOs can take on this responsibility.

Interviewing can be particularly important in countries with unreliable documentation. A skilled interviewing officer can quickly determine whether an applicant indeed has 15 years of experience as, say, a software engineer or nurse, or scrutinize and validate the travel plans of an alleged tourist. The results of these interviews would provide valuable information to decision-makers who may be sitting in an office a continent away and can also feed data crunching systems. In addition, they could further buttress the integrity and credibility of the immigration system. Finally, interviewing could also reconnect visa officers with their clientele, reminding them that they are processing actual people – not just applications.

Data deep dive

Now onto the new. While the anti-fraud stuff can be sexy, it only addresses a portion of the caseload and IRCC's overall strategy. The majority of applicants are not trying to fool us; they submit genuine documents and have every intention of respecting the terms of their visa issuance. Plus, we want them in our country: Canada's aging population needs immigrants, our educational institutions need international

students, some of our businesses need foreign labour and our hotels, ski resorts and airlines need tourists. Identifying these high-value applicants and quickly finalizing the paperwork is crucial if work-sharing is to be a success and IRCC is to manage the relentless growth of travellers seeking a Canadian visa.

Most agree that a key component of the response will be good data – and knowing what to do with it. That's where GCMS comes in.

The Global Case Management System (GCMS) is IRCC's IT processing machine. It is not well liked. GCMS is almost comically user-unfriendly: staring at its interface is like looking at a galaxy of text boxes, the screen crammed with a seemingly infinite number of data points in unreadable 8 pt font. Even the simplest task seems to require at least 15 mouse clicks, each less intuitive than the last.

But for all its carpal-tunnel-inducing faults, mastering GCMS's more complex functions may be the key to the success of the RAO Network and IRCC's work-sharing struggles. For GCMS's powerful reporting system is the vehicle for unlocking a treasure trove of data that – if harnessed effectively – can play a huge role in addressing the risk of moving work across the IRCC network by providing a base for predictive analytics. Although less sexy than nabbing fraudsters, leveraging the big data buried within GCMS and other systems is important for maintaining both program integrity and good client service.

Empower innovators – then get out of the way!

IRCC is just beginning to put advanced analytics into practice. Meanwhile, GCMS training for RAOs is not yet advanced enough to truly exploit GCMS to its full potential. The department, therefore, is unable to fulfill the potential of this powerful (albeit clunky) tool.

Now is as good a time as any for IRCC to re-examine how it trains and develops RAOs and other visa officers, who rightly spend considerable time learning the Immigration Act and Regulations – but far less mastering GCMS and its various capabilities. Effective training must combine knowledge of the Act and Regulations with a robust component on the more technical skills required of today's visa officer. The expectation that officers will “learn GCMS on the job” is outdated and inefficient. Meanwhile mid-career officers need additional classroom training to maintain their skills and knowledge while expanding their horizons based on new ideas and methods of doing business.

In addition, it is critical that the department demonstrate that it is capable of evolving, harnessing technology and talent in equal measures. Fresh ideas are needed, like deploying data analysts overseas, or creating a


How do we accelerate the welcome process for desirable newcomers, while protecting Canada from those who would abuse our trust?

viable analytics hub where program experts (i.e. visa officers) sit side-by-side with data analysts to produce the relevant information, statistical analysis and intelligence required to fuel an efficient and dependable work-sharing operation – instead of siloed in separate branches as is currently the case.

Innovative, tech-savvy officers – many of whom have already “hacked” GCMS on their own time to create new tools for improving application processing – should be identified and empowered to work on advancing predictive analytics and the leveraging of Big Data. Senior management engagement will be critical in order to protect these resources from outside meddling and surmount bureaucratic rules and sclerotic departmental structures that could hinder progress and get in the way of creative thinking. Finally, creativity, innovation and risk-taking need to move from buzz-words on a PowerPoint deck to being essential components of how we operate as a department.

Canada welcomes large numbers of immigrants and foreign visitors each year while maintaining a tolerant and open attitude towards newcomers. This delicate balance is admired around the world. When it comes to selecting,

welcoming and integrating new immigrants it is difficult to argue that any other country does it better. At this critical historical juncture, where borders are slamming shut across the globe as the number of migrants on the move is at record levels, it is crucial that Canada not lose track of what has allowed it to maintain its openness towards new arrivals. A key element is a managed migration system led by a department with specially trained staff dedicated to upholding the objectives of IRPA.

The creation of the RAO Network is a step in the right direction – acknowledgment by IRCC that it recognizes the challenges of accepting ever-growing numbers of newcomers and the opportunities presented by new processes and technologies. But simply creating a new network is not enough: a refreshed training program, new data-focused structure and a commitment to innovation are essential if IRCC is to maintain the trust of Canadians. 

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FEATURE // REPORTAGE

Three Days in November

THE SIEGE OF MUMBAI

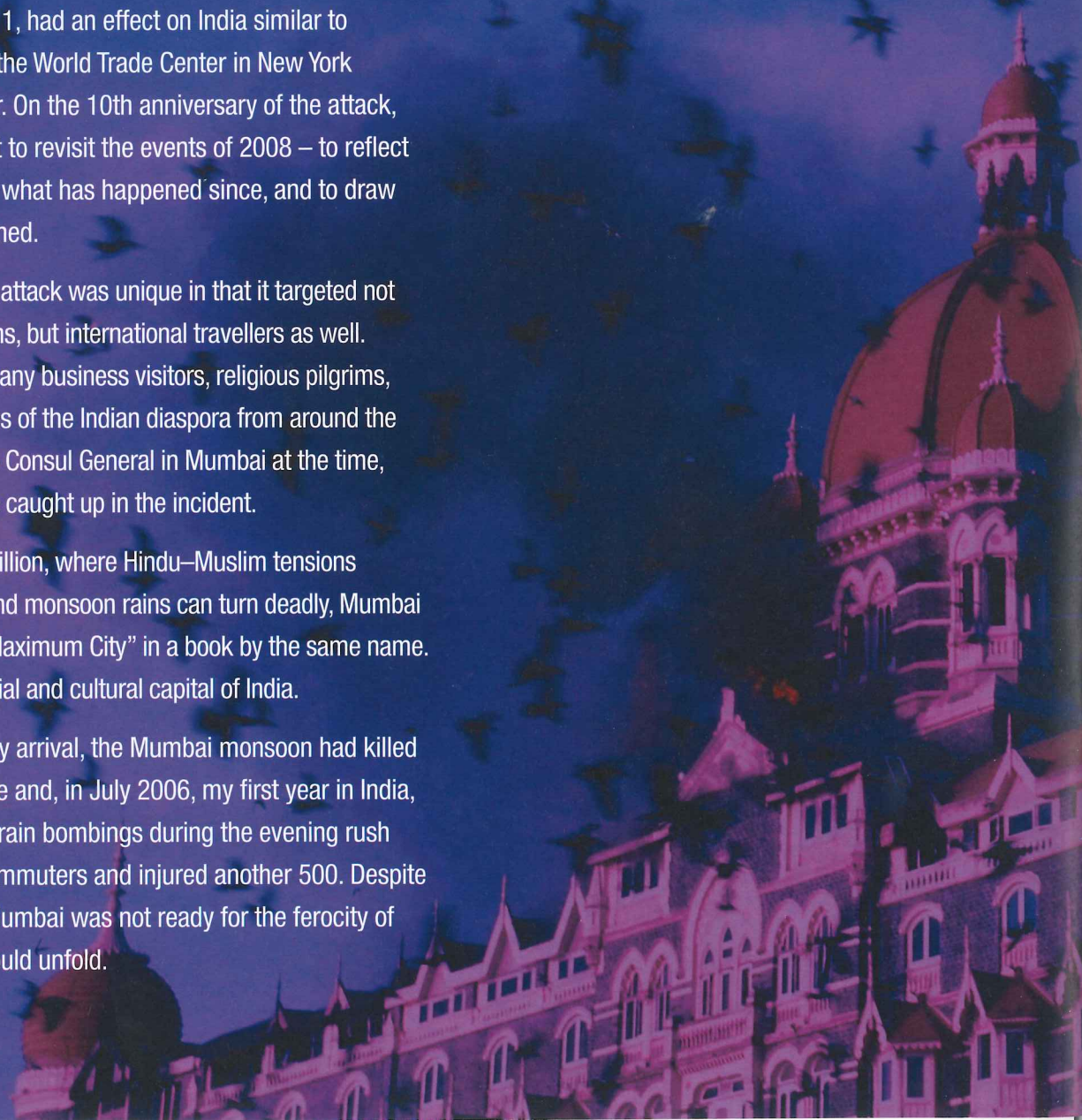
by Gary Luton

The 26 November 2008 terrorist attack in Mumbai, often referred to as 26/11, had an effect on India similar to the destruction of the World Trade Center in New York seven years earlier. On the 10th anniversary of the attack, it seems important to revisit the events of 2008 – to reflect on what occurred, what has happened since, and to draw some lessons learned.

The 2008 Mumbai attack was unique in that it targeted not only resident Indians, but international travellers as well. Victims included many business visitors, religious pilgrims, tourists and families of the Indian diaspora from around the world. As Canada's Consul General in Mumbai at the time, I was among those caught up in the incident.

A city of over 18 million, where Hindu–Muslim tensions periodically flare and monsoon rains can turn deadly, Mumbai is referred to as “Maximum City” in a book by the same name. It is also the financial and cultural capital of India.

The year before my arrival, the Mumbai monsoon had killed hundreds of people and, in July 2006, my first year in India, a series of seven train bombings during the evening rush hour killed 209 commuters and injured another 500. Despite these tragedies, Mumbai was not ready for the ferocity of the events that would unfold.



Wednesday evening, 26 November 2008

Wednesday 26 November 2008 is a typical evening at the Consulate General. Working late, preparing for yet another large mission from Canada, we lock up the office just before 9pm. I share a taxi with a colleague and am dropped near Leopold's Café, an open-air meeting place popular with expatriates and tourists alike, not far from the iconic Taj Mahal Hotel. About 9:20pm, I walk by Leopold's Café, look inside and decide it is too busy to quietly read after a long day. I head further down the Colaba Causeway, a couple of short blocks, and around the corner to a quieter café on a tree-lined side street leading toward the sea.

I had in fact had lunch at Leopold's that day while running some errands. With an office both damp and cold, I often escaped the Consulate to warm up in Leopold's or other open-air restaurants in South Mumbai where ceiling fans, lime soda and vibrant street life reminded you that you were in India.

A short time before my fortunate decision, four rubber dinghies make their way to the shore of South Mumbai, ferrying ten well-trained *Lashkar-e Taiba* terrorists. Lean and fit, sporting t-shirts and jeans under the guise of tourists, they each carry credit cards and dried fruit, along with a bag containing an AK47, half a dozen magazines and an additional 400 rounds, eight hand grenades and an automatic-loading revolver. Five days earlier, they set out from Karachi, Pakistan, hijacked an Indian fishing trawler, killed four crew members and ordered the captain to proceed to Mumbai.

The shooting probably starts in the passenger hall of the main rail station, the Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus, less than 200 metres from the Canadian Consulate, shortly after our departure. Two of the terrorists arrive chucking grenades with guns blazing during the evening rush hour. In minutes they proceed to kill 52 people and wound twice as many.

No sooner have I ordered jasmine tea when reports of gunshots being fired on the Colaba Causeway begin to circulate. Is it political rivalry, a gang feud among drug traders, or something else? Not wanting to find out, I leave hastily, without paying for tea, as the waiters seek to clear and close the café. Making my way toward the seafront, I turn left and walk along a break-wall until the dome of the Taj Hotel is in sight. I think of seeking refuge there, as it has security and seems the safest place to be. For me like many a Mumbaiker, this hotel has been a home away from home.

Several minutes after I pass Leopold's, two of the terrorists drench the café with bullets. In less than 90 seconds, they leave 10 people dead or dying and many more seriously injured, before they head for the Taj. The wounded include Sourav Mishram, a reporter with Reuters. I have narrowly avoided the crossfire when the violence first broke.

Meanwhile, two other militants move north and plant bombs in separate taxis that would kill an additional five people and wound fifteen.

Two others enter Nariman House – home to a Chabad House, a Jewish outreach centre. Six occupants, including the owner and his wife, who was five months pregnant, are killed. Their two-year-old son survives the attack after being rescued by his Indian nanny.

The two who attacked the train station move on to the Cama Hospital. Alerted of their arrival, hospital staff lock down the patients. The terrorists hurriedly move on, pursued by Mumbai Terrorist Squad Chief Hemant Karkare in a jeep. He and three of his men are gunned down by the two terrorists, who then commandeer the jeep. The vehicle is later intercepted by a police patrol. One terrorist is killed and the other arrested, but not before another police officer's life is taken in an exchange of bullets.

GARY LUTON was Consul General of Canada in Mumbai from 2006–09. His most recent posting abroad was as HOM in Doha, Qatar. Currently he is Director of the Treaty Law Division.



Four of the terrorists soon reach the Taj Hotel, while an additional two shoot their way into the Trident-Oberoi Hotel. By the time I get close to the Taj, I can see that it is under attack. Crowds begin to form outside. The hotel will become the major flashpoint for the siege.

Shots ring out and grenades periodically explode on the lower levels. On the 21st floor of the adjoining tower, at the Souk Restaurant, the more than 100 diners who had been tucking into Middle Eastern cuisine now take refuge. A Korean delegation holed up in the Rendez-vous Room on the floor below is also trapped with nowhere to go. The Consulate has recently hosted the Premier of British Columbia and a large delegation in that venue.

Returning along the sea wall, I arrive at the home of Gul and Sheila Kripilani, a very short distance from the Taj Hotel. The Kripilanis are leading figures in the Canadian community in Mumbai. We have shared many a pleasant dinner and conversation, together with visiting Canadians, on their rooftop terrace overlooking the Arabian Sea.

I charge my phone and contact Sharon Landry, the Consulate's veteran MCO, as well as Rick McElrea, Senior Trade Commissioner, and Elaine Brouca to ensure they and local staff are safe. I awaken the High Commissioner, Joseph Caron, and DHOM Ken Macartney in Delhi to apprise them of developments.

After grabbing some food at the Kripilanis', I return near the Taj and call various diplomatic and Consulate colleagues as well as Indian officials. Joe Leahy, a friend and foreign correspondent with the *Financial Times of London*, calls to compare notes as he stands outside the Oberoi Hotel. I am also in touch with the *Times of India* photographer, Shantanu Das (some of his photos appear in this article).

Collectively, with Canadian and locally engaged colleagues and friends of the Consulate, we would work nonstop over the coming days trying to assist Canadians in distress, dispel rumours, piece together what was actually happening, and report effectively on the chaos that the rampage had produced.

ABOVE
In the early hours of the siege, hotel guests signal to rescuers.

Thursday, 27 November 2008

Shortly before midnight, the police finally surround the Taj Hotel, and several hours later the army arrives. I spend most of the night outside the main entrance, waiting in vain for any Canadians to emerge. A small number of staff and guests are later able to exit, accompanied by soldiers.

Shortly before midnight, the police finally surround the Taj Hotel, and several hours later the army arrives. I spend most of the night outside the main entrance, waiting in vain for any Canadians to emerge

By the very early morning the hotel is on fire following a heavy explosion near the central dome. Fire can be seen spreading across the top floor of the hotel, and fire trucks now provide a backdrop to the sporadic shooting that can be heard inside.

The terrorists by this time have moved from the heritage part of the hotel to the new adjoining tower, where they are ensconced with up to 150 hostages. People at the lower level windows pace about nervously and look out, their cell phones in hand. Many hours pass and, just before dawn, firemen finally open the locked windows and begin to rescue those reachable by ladders – more than 200 guests and staff in total.

By first light, National Security Guard (NSG) commandos are at last ready and given a *feu vert* to take back the Taj Hotel and Tower. The NSG is soon ushering those who had been hiding on the second floor Chambers Club. Another 100 people are evacuated over the next several hours. Meanwhile, the terrorists set fire to a room on the fourth floor.

A Task Force is set up involving all sections of the Consulate General and we prepare a 24/7 roster, engaging all our local and Canadian staff. Reinforcements arrive from the High Commission in Delhi that include Jordan Walsh, a young Consular Officer, and his public affairs colleague, H el ene Viau, responsible for reporting, communications and media relations.

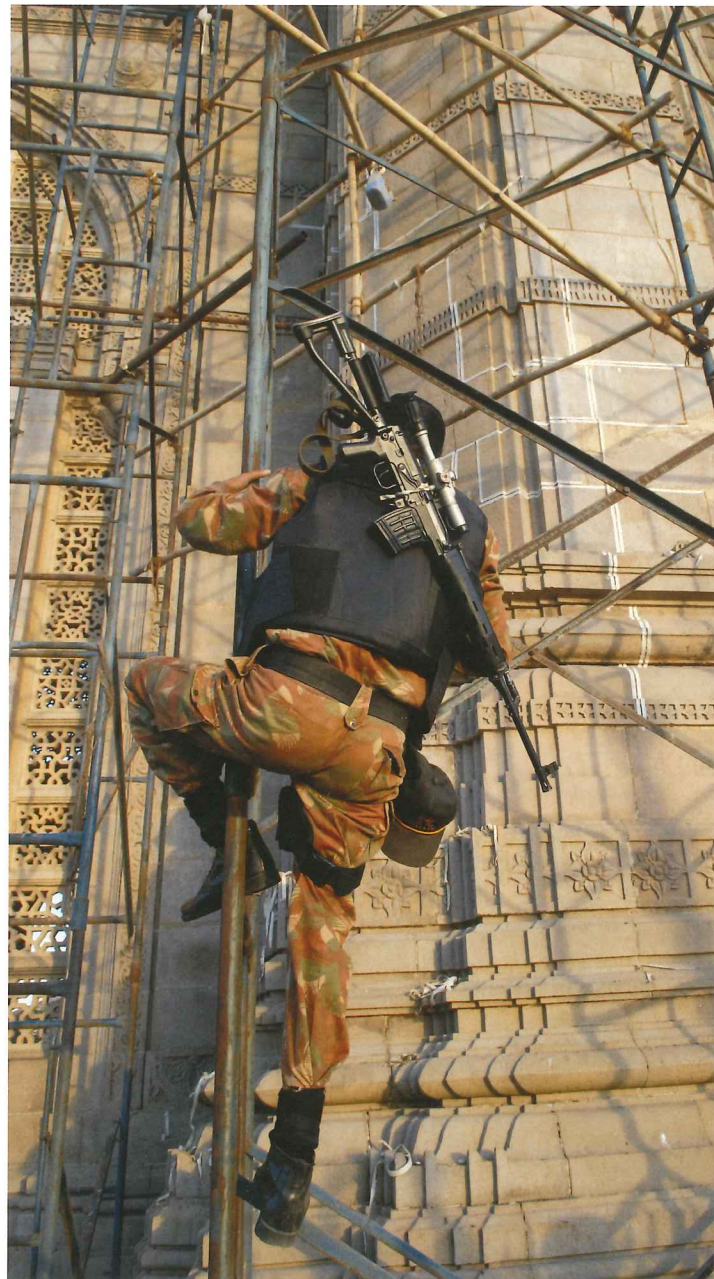
Arriving at 9am from Chennai, Walsh is astonished at the devastation the attack has on the city, which appears virtually empty. The usual loud and congested two-hour ride from the airport takes only 35 unnervingly quiet minutes, given the striking absence of cars, pedestrians, street vendors or *wallahs*, and even the homeless.

In the absence of hotel guest lists, inaccessible for the two hotels (they will only become available late Thursday), a picture of the many Canadians in harm's way gradually emerges through a very connected world. News of the Mumbai attack travels quickly and family, friends and media are calling the Foreign Affairs Operations Centre or the Consulate team directly. Families relay cellphone numbers and we get in touch with several of those trapped inside the hotels, until their cellphones go dead. We quickly relay messages to family and friends.

RIGHT
An NSG
commando
begins the
assault.

Several people make their way to the Canadian Consulate with stories to tell – physically unscathed, they are nonetheless traumatized. Some were outside the Oberoi or the Taj when the attacks occurred, without their personal effects or luggage. Others escaped or were released from the two hotels over the course of the day

A snapshot of some of the Canadians trapped in the two hotels include Marsha Maxwell, 62, a retired teacher caught in the Oberoi at the time of the attacks, as well as Alison Nankivell, a mother of two from Ottawa. Others include the Simonsons from Calgary. Montreal physician Dr. Michael Moss and his partner Elizabeth Russell, an accomplished nurse, are also in Mumbai for a short stopover on their return to Canada after a holiday in Goa.



Helen Connolly, a Toronto yoga instructor grazed by a bullet, was admitted to hospital and soon released. Montreal actor Michael Rudder remained in hospital in stable condition, recovering in intensive care from gunshot wounds to the arm, thigh and torso. Both Rudder and Connolly were in India on a meditation retreat with the Synchronicity Foundation, a US-based spiritual organization. Several of their party sitting at the same dinner table had been killed.

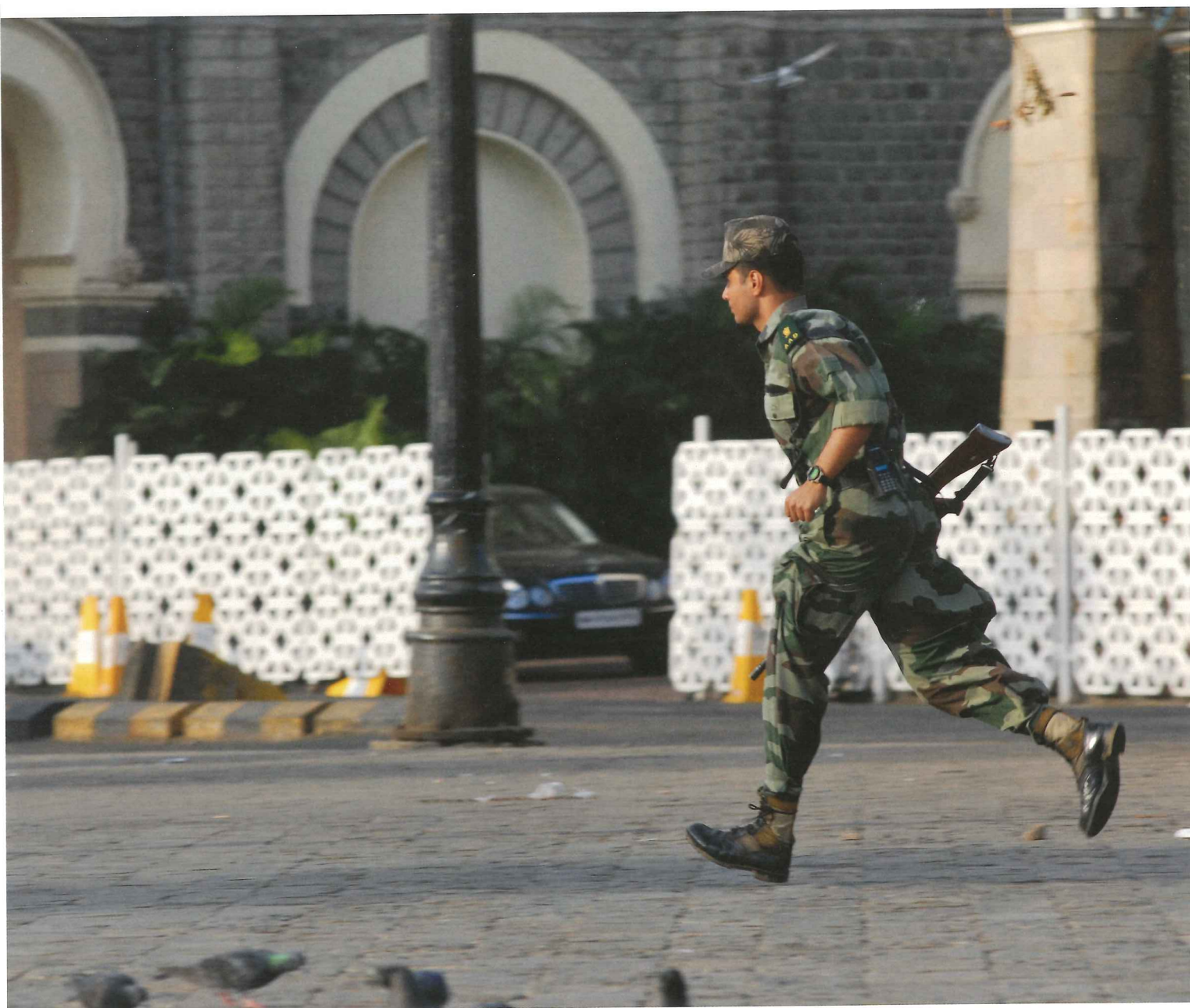
BELOW
A soldier from the Indian Army arrives on the scene.

Several flashbacks and images will later resurface from that day. A striking photo of the attack appears in a national magazine. It shows Consulate driver Bryan D'penha standing next to Ratan Tata, the Chairman of the Tata Group, owner of the Taj Hotel. Fingertips pressed to their

lips they stand side-by-side in mirrored disbelief as they watch the grand old palace burn.

What we witness during the numerous visits to the Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy (J.J.) Hospital as we try to identify the dead and the missing can never be forgotten. Fifty or more bodies, mainly recovered from the train station, are covered in cotton sheets and laid out on the floor of the hot and humid lobby. Confusion ensues after Taj Hotel victims are mixed with this group, but not separately identified.

The victims at J.J. Hospital include Michael Moss. After we mistakenly assume that he was killed at the rail station, we run a grisly and fruitless search for his luggage among the abandoned, disordered belongings left scattered in the station.



Friday, 28 November 2008

At the Oberoi-Trident Hotel, the elevators are out of service and the bottom windows smashed out. Some hostages are rescued by mid-afternoon on Friday. Later that day, this commando operation concludes. Two dozen corpses are recovered.

Meanwhile at the Taj, the first bodies are recovered from the lower levels of the hotel following the arrival of more NSG commandos. A series of grenade explosions thunder and gun shots are fired.

The consulate remains in regular contact with the police, working to piece together identity cards, various suitcases and jackets, purses and passports left behind during the confusion.

Saturday, 29 November 2008

In the very early morning of Saturday the 29th, further explosions and frequent gunshots are heard. By 8am it is announced that the Taj and Oberoi Hotels are under the control of security forces and each room is being searched.

The Consulate team is on site at both hotels, to ensure that those rescued are soon speaking with relatives, so all know that they were released. Since the hotels' IT systems were severely damaged during the siege, information will keep coming in for several days about registered guests.

We organize return travel for those in need. Still in hospital, Michael Rudder is now in a better position to speak and we discuss what arrangements can be made for an air ambulance to take him home.

When the attacks finally come to an end, 68 hours after they began, at least 164 people are dead, and more

Epilogue

Several Canadian ministers, in quick succession following the attack, visited Mumbai as a sign of solidarity with India. The lone surviving terrorist, Ajmil Kasab, was tried and executed on 21 November 2012. He was aged 25.

David Headley (born Daood Sayed Gilani), a Pakistani-American spy who undertook several reconnaissance missions to Mumbai to plot the attack, was sentenced to 35 years in a US prison on 24 January 2013. The Government of India continues to seek Headley's extradition.

Headley's boyhood friend and partner in business, Pakistani-Canadian Husain Rana, while eventually found

The morgue is busy with non-stop visits, as all Consulates attempt to determine the nationality of the remains of various unidentified victims.


That afternoon, I describe the attacks in an interview with the Canadian Press as "a blow not only to India, but to the international community and expatriates living in Mumbai." All diplomatic missions use the two hotels attacked frequently for delegations and ministerial visits. It is where we buy our books and newspapers, host lunches and dinners, and socialize after work. We know doormen, the florist, and the General Manager personally. The GM of the Taj lost his wife and two sons in the fire set on the fourth floor.

than 300 wounded. Two of the deceased are Canadians. Despite considerable pressure from media on the ground and in Canada to know more, only one Canadian victim has been publicly identified by late Saturday: Dr. Michael Moss.

Moss's partner, Elizabeth Russell, also died in the attack. Both were shot at point blank range while sitting by the pool at the Taj Hotel. The Consulate would later take DNA samples and help the families arrange to bring the cremated remains back to Canada.

The Consulate team is on site at both hotels, to ensure that those rescued are soon speaking with relatives, so all know that they are rescued

not guilty of involvement in the Mumbai attack, was convicted in January 2013 of providing material support to *Lashkar-e Taiba* and sentenced to 14 years in prison.

Following the Mumbai attacks, and more recent events worldwide, the potential threat of terrorism, particularly as it pertains to hotel and building security, is now better appreciated. As a result, vigilance, risk analysis and active shooter drills are increasingly important parts of security planning and training at Global Affairs Canada – both at home and abroad. 

FEATURE // REPORTAGE

Behind the Pod

**THE GAC FILES WITH
DAVID MORRISON**

by Sabrina Yoong

In late July 2018, **bout de papier** had the chance to sit down with David Morrison to talk about *The GAC Files*, a podcast inspired by the people, events and ideas that shape Global Affairs Canada. *The GAC Files* is one of the first Government of Canada podcasts originating from the ranks of public servants, and sheds a unique and innovative light on the work our department does. This interview has been condensed and edited for clarity.

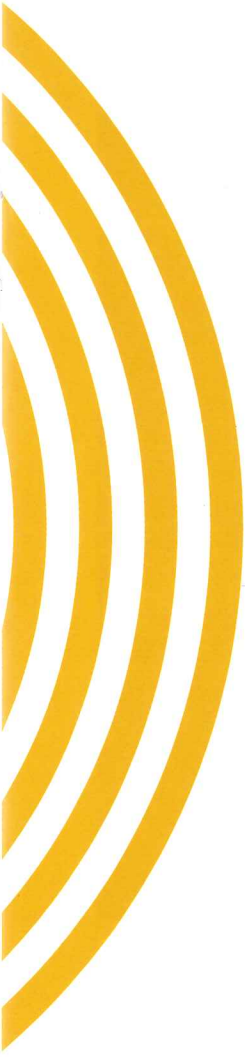


So why a podcast?

I came into my new job [as Associate Deputy Minister at Global Affairs] convinced that organizations don't communicate well enough internally, which leads to people not knowing what the journey is, where we are in the journey and how their individual work fits in. I've seen it done well at UNICEF where everyone who works there seems to know the four elements of their strategic plan and how their own work contributes, and I think this makes an organization generally stronger.

I found a trust deficit at GAC. People were doing all sorts of great work on human resources, for example, but nobody believed in senior management. There's a concept of "they" – as in "I was afraid they would take away my posting", or "they never stick to their promises on HR".

All of a sudden, I was the "they".



SABRINA YOONG is a podcast aficionado and Foreign Service officer currently on posting in Mexico City. Originally from Ottawa, she joined then-DFAIT in 2008 as an MCO. Her favourite political/foreign-policy adjacent podcasts are Pod Save the World, Commons and Rough Translation.

I do know why some people feel cynical about some of the things that have gone on at GAC, and I understand it. I decided it was kind of on us, as senior management – we weren't communicating out well enough that we were actually sweating the problems that everyone brings to our attention: the need for more promotion processes, the need for more transparency, where we are on the road to gender parity in the EX ranks, and so on. The frustrating thing, in my view, was that sometimes there was a good news story that we hadn't told effectively enough.

Then along came "Me Too". I worked in the department in the early stages of my career, and then left for 17 years. I joined right at the end of the 1980s, and if you believed even half of what you heard in those days about the shenanigans that were going on, we had a problem at Foreign Affairs. When I began to look into the variables that create situations in which bad behaviour occurs, I realized we had a perfect storm: small branch offices (Embassies and High Commissions) dominated by men, who controlled access to what everyone wanted (promotions and assignments) in the days when all of that traded upon reputation. There's a real power asymmetry, and it probably, historically speaking, led to a whole bunch of bad behaviour.

Someone I respect put this to me as a real leadership moment, in that, before something forced us to react, senior management should get out front. From that point, it took about eight weeks to get out a broadcast message. I think the eventual message was actually quite good, but my frustration was that the time it took us to communicate was far too long. This is when I first hit upon the idea of a podcast as a new means of internal communications at GAC.

What were some of the challenges you faced starting an official podcast?

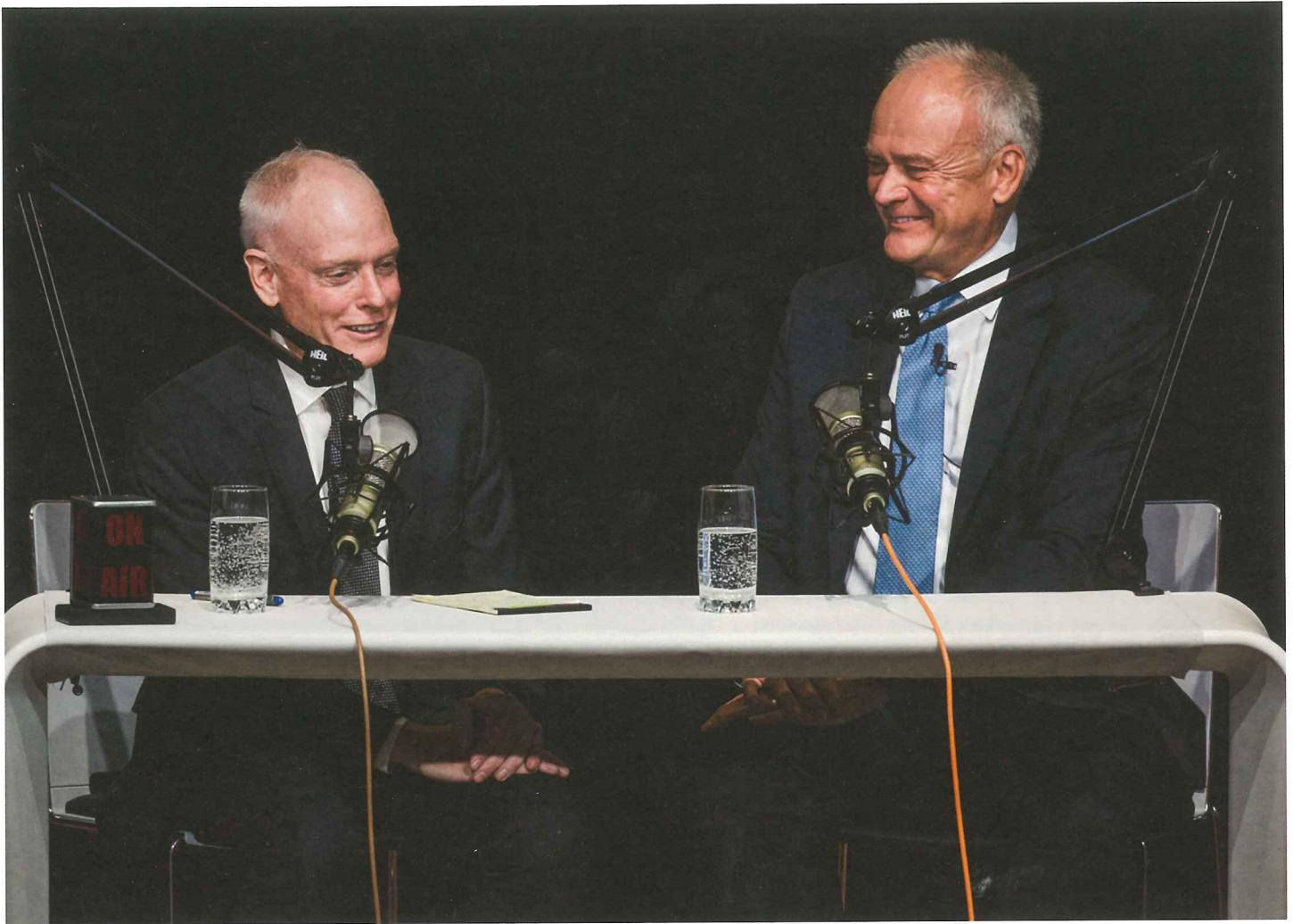
The first challenge was when I was told by colleagues: "This has to be on the intranet." I was convinced that if it simply sat on the corporate intranet nobody would ever listen to it. You wouldn't be able to download it onto your device. It would just be people listening at their desktops which kind of defeated the purpose I had in mind; you wouldn't be able to listen in the car, at the gym, etc.

We never asked for permission, because it wasn't clear who to ask! I had only recently become a deputy minister, so I kind of just asked myself. Certainly I told Ian Shugart.

The second speed bump was official languages. I kept being told that "you can't do this because everything will have to be in both languages." I really pushed back because I thought it would be sufficient to do what Canadian public servants always do: some French, some English and try to respond to questions in the language they were asked. I thought that would be sufficient. And as anyone who listens to *The GAC Files* knows, my French is not great, but I figured I could make a go of it. In the end, I opted for a bilingual format but also to have transcripts of all episodes in both languages. That was kind of like a belt-and-suspenders approach to ensure we were in compliance with official languages policy.

Tell me about the sausage-making of *The GAC Files*.

So, when I got excited about this, I googled "how to do a podcast." It's actually pretty easy: you need a couple microphones, a device to record into and then you sort of send it to iTunes and



ABOVE
The GAC Files host, David Morrison, has a farewell conversation with Peter Boehm about mental health and his incredible 37-year career at Global Affairs.

Photo: © GAC-AMC

Stitcher or other hosting services. In terms of approach, I thought I would simply imitate the format of one of my favorite podcasts, which is called *The Axe Files* and features David Axelrod, former President Obama's strategist. It was really about interviewing my colleagues and getting their stories. I think many colleagues at GAC have very interesting stories, so I didn't worry about running out of topics. I eventually pitched the idea to the people in my office. Some of them raised their eyebrows, but they were supportive or came around. We brainstormed about how it could work, and how long each episode should be, who should be interviewed, and so on.

We then brought in internal communications – the L-branch – and went over some of the tech issues with the S-branch. At first the acting ADM of Communications, Charles Mojsej, sat in on each interview. Now it's pretty routine. The team comes to my office and sets up the mics in about 15 minutes, before the interview. Andrea Martin takes pictures and there's a sound person who works the levels during the recording session.

I get something about the person to be interviewed a couple of nights in advance if I don't know him or her personally. We deliberately

started with colleagues who are also friends of mine, like Stefanie Beck and Peter Boehm, because I knew I could talk to them and get things going in a way that would be accessible to a new audience. That's why we didn't start with the harassment episode, but only wove it in later. As I got into it I found I was keenest to focus on the individual and his or her journey. With Peter, I asked about his special-needs son, and what I wanted to get at was the support he had – or hadn't – received from the department, because that can be an issue. Stefanie's a single parent, I'm a single parent, so what's that like when pursuing an international career?

I did one with David Da Silva, who in addition to being a very good and talented officer, is co-chair/founder of the LGBTQ+ network. The department has always been able to tell employees that are going to be posted what the legal framework is for same-sex couples in Chile or Algeria, but we learned how the network he's involved with has stepped up to tell colleagues what it's actually like to live in country X or Y.

I recently interviewed Sacha Levasseur-Rivard. He was a pure development guy, then worked in a Geo, and now he's doing Public Affairs. So that's

a story of a fairly young person navigating an amalgamated department. And that's not just his story, that's a story about the modern department.

I'm fascinated by people's stories. I saw the podcast as a way of humanizing people, break down barriers, and try to catalyze a GAC-wide conversation on things that are important.

What would you say has been the most surprising thing about creating a podcast for the department?

Just how easy it was. From me saying "I have this idea," to being on iTunes with three episodes, was about five weeks. Or perhaps the most surprising thing is a combination of how easy it was to start and what an appetite there is for learning more about what it's like to work at GAC.

What are some of your favourite podcasts that you would recommend to *bout de papier* readers?

My favourite is *The Axe Files*, the one I've already mentioned. It's long format, they last an hour and I listen to them when I'm running. I learn a lot about the people he interviews but also a lot about what's going on in US politics or US public life.

My first podcast, like many people, was the *Serial* podcast on Adnan Syed, which was like a radio drama (an NPR investigative journalism podcast into the death of a

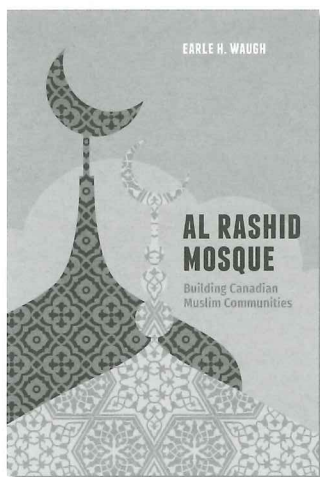
high school student and subsequent trial and conviction of her boyfriend). I think I googled "Best podcasts of 2014/2015" and listened to that. I listened to *S-town* (another NPR investigative journalism podcast about an alleged murder that took place in Woodstock, Alabama).

I listen to *Desert Island Discs* (a BBC Radio 4 interview program about what people would bring to a deserted island) and you can go back 20 years and listen to some episodes.

I also listened to *Presidential*, which was done in 2016 by a young woman at *The Washington Post*, Lillian Cunningham. She figured out that Trump was going to be the 45th President of the US and that he would be elected roughly 45 weeks into the year, and so every Thursday for the whole year she had a podcast on one of the American presidents.

In January 2019, David Morrison left GAC to become Foreign and Defence Policy Advisor to the Prime Minister at the Privy Council Office. 

I'm fascinated by people's stories. I saw the podcast as a way of humanizing people, to break down barriers, and to try and catalyze a GAC-wide conversation on things that are important



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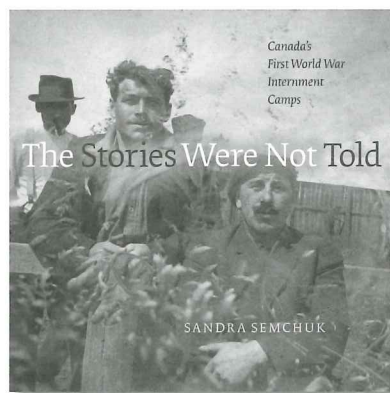
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FEATURE // REPORTAGE

Les prix de l'APASE 2018

RECONNAISSANCE DE L'EXCELLENCE

Event photography by John Finnigan Lin

LE JEUDI 14 JUIN 2018, collègues et invités se sont réunis pour célébrer l'excellence au sein du Service extérieur canadien lors du dîner de remise des Prix de l'APASE 2018. C'est au son de la cornemuseur-major des Sons of Scotland, Bethany Bisailion, que les invités ont fait leur entrée dans la salle de bal Trillium du Centre Shaw, à Ottawa, pour une soirée exceptionnelle. Pam Isfeld, qui était alors président de l'APASE, a accueilli les participants à la 29^e remise des Prix du service extérieur canadien et leur a chaleureusement souhaité la bienvenue.





« Les lauréats et lauréates du Prix du service extérieur incarnent les meilleures qualités du service extérieur professionnel : souplesse, adaptabilité et discernement, de même que la capacité de faire jouer leurs connaissances et leurs réseaux étendus au service des Canadiens et des Canadiennes, même dans des circonstances difficiles et dangereuses. Ils sont capables de percevoir les nuances de gris et d'offrir des analyses nuancées sur des enjeux complexes. Ces compétences se font encore plus importantes – et mêmes rares – au fur et à mesure que le monde devient plus polarisé et fragmenté.

– Pam Isfeld, présidente



David Manicom, Assistant Deputy Minister, Settlement and Integration IRCC and Lisa Catana.

LISA CATANA est renommée pour ses améliorations avant-gardistes au complexe Système mondial de gestion des cas (SMGC) d'IRCC, qui traite toutes les demandes d'immigration. Elle a élaboré à l'intention des cadres supérieurs un outil appelé ROSIE qui convertit les données brutes en information utile et une page d'aide appelée JIM, qui vise à aider ses collègues à naviguer

le système. Son Tableau de bord suprême facilite la gestion du volume de travail du SMGC dans toutes les catégories d'immigration.

When the Canadian High Commission in London began processing electronic visa applications from Nigeria, Lisa created NOMA, a tool to allow pre-assessment of this complex caseload. Most innovations in government rely on lengthy reviews and a top down

Lisa Catana

“ Much of our job in the Foreign Service is representing Canada to the world. As immigration officers, we have the added responsibility to, in essence, select the next generation of Canadians. In practice, this boils down to trying to determine the success of potential immigrants based on data and metrics and documents.

When my family came from Italy, they were coming from a farm, with little formal education, and limited skills in our official languages. On paper, it seemed like a difficult fit.

implementation; Lisa's innovative tools go viral, spreading by word of mouth to colleagues and managers. For innovations that have enabled faster, more efficient processing of applications and work-sharing among offices, better management of visa operations and improved client service, Lisa Catana receives the 2018 PAFSO Award.



Jérôme Pischella

« Je crois vraiment que ce qui différencie le SDC d'autres services gouvernementaux sont nos efforts de concentration, qui ne peuvent ni ne doivent se tourner vers l'interne; nos clients ne sont pas seulement les représentants politiques, mais les milliers d'entreprises, entrepreneurs et innovateurs canadien(nes) qui façonnent notre pouvoir économique. Pour un délégué commercial, le succès des clients est notre succès, nous sommes leurs partenaires en intégralité, pour le meilleur et pour le pire.



JÉRÔME PISCHELLA, délégué commercial affecté au consulat général à Denver, « trouve des clients là où d'autres n'en voient pas, conclut des ententes dont d'autres sont incapables et trouve des solutions là où la plupart abandonnent ». Il a étoffé les relations du Canada avec les acheteurs de grains du Maroc au point où ce pays est devenu le deuxième plus grand acheteur de blé dur canadien. Jérôme a convaincu Techstars, un accélérateur de TI de

Denver, de l'existence de débouchés en financement de jeunes entreprises de TI canadiennes. Techstars a ouvert des bureaux à Toronto et à Montréal, donnant ainsi aux jeunes entreprises d'IA canadiennes accès à du financement et à des partenariats partout dans le monde.

His efforts facilitated collaboration between Toronto's MaRS and the only American federal laboratory dedicated to clean technology and renewable energy, providing

200 Canadian clean tech companies with opportunities in the US. With encouragement from Jérôme's team, a Colorado-based dairy products firm will invest \$200–225 million in Alberta, creating a potential 150–200 jobs. For leadership, innovation, team building and determination in advancing Canada's interests abroad, Jérôme Pischella receives the 2018 PAFSO Award.

Ian Shugart, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Jérôme Pischella.





Sébastien Roy

« Dans mon travail je tente toujours d'apporter de nouvelles solutions aux problèmes auxquels les AGC sont confrontés. Nous opérons dans un système pas toujours ouvert à la nouveauté et où les changements prennent beaucoup trop de temps. Une multitude de mes collègues AGC ne demandent qu'à mettre l'épaule à la roue pour emmener notre fonction à un niveau supérieur.

Sébastien Roy and Heather Jeffrey, Assistant Deputy Minister Consular, Security and Emergency Management.

SÉBASTIEN ROY, AGC aguerri, est un véritable innovateur qui élabore constamment de nouveaux outils et de nouvelles applications visant à améliorer l'efficacité des programmes de gestion et d'affaires consulaires dans les missions d'AMC. En tête de liste de ses contributions vient un système de gestion de rendez-vous en ligne qui est actuellement en voie d'être déployé dans toutes les sections consulaires partout dans le monde.

Au cours de la crise à Bangkok en 2014, il a conçu une carte électronique de la ville qui a aidé l'équipe de déploiement rapide à identifier les points chauds et à fournir des conseils de sécurité appropriés aux Canadiens et aux Canadiennes à Bangkok.

Other innovations Sébastien developed include 3D floor plans of the mission's Staff Quarters, an electricity consumption monitoring system and a mission "wiki" that

brings together the information and forms staff routinely need in an elegant "placemat" format. A skilled manager, Sébastien listens carefully to challenges facing his staff, assesses potential solutions and provides clear guidance. As an innovator combining creative thinking with technical expertise, and as a manager and a leader, Sébastien Roy receives the 2018 PAFSO Award.



Robin Wettlaufer

“ The forces shaping the Middle East have little to do with the political elites of old. Canada will need to equip itself diplomatically for this challenge.

This requires forward-looking approaches – creative, adaptable, expeditionary diplomacy. As Canadian diplomats, our primary mission is to engage and influence today’s real opinion-shapers and decision-makers. This includes youth in an ever-younger world, opposition movements, clerics, armed rebels and insurgents, and populist forces appealing to the angry and disenfranchised. It is not easy, they aren’t necessarily like-minded, and they don’t all wear pinstripes or speak English.



Selon un haut diplomate britannique, **ROBIN WETTLAUFER**, représentante spéciale du Canada auprès de l’Opposition syrienne depuis 2014, en poste à Istanbul, « symbolise le cran du Canada, sa détermination et son don inné pour le maintien de la paix ». Grâce à sa compréhension approfondie de la situation syrienne et à sa capacité à fonctionner dans les hauts cercles de la diplomatie internationale, Robin est à la fine pointe des efforts du Canada en

matière de paix, de stabilisation et d’aide humanitaire. Aussi à l’aise avec ses homologues qu’avec les dirigeants de l’Opposition syrienne, Robin est grandement respectée et appréciée des uns comme des autres. Elle a amplifié les contributions du Canada et rehaussé le prestige dont jouit le Canada dans le dossier syrien.

When the Syrian Negotiating Committee re-organized, Robin – and her Swedish counterpart – skillfully

managed to increase the number of female representatives on the Committee, achieving concrete results in a male dominated context. A talented woman in a high-level position, Robin is the embodiment of Canada’s feminist foreign policy. For outstanding accomplishments as Canada’s Special Representative for Syria, Robin Wettlaufer receives the 2018 PAFSO Award.

Ian Shugar, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Robin Wettlaufer.



2018 Panel of Judges // Jury de sélection 2018

The panel selecting this year's Award recipients comprised people of great distinction in their own fields:

M. SERGE APRIL a joint les rangs du ministère des Affaires extérieures et du Commerce international (Affaires extérieures) en 1968 et il a servi dans de nombreuses missions avant d'être nommé ambassadeur au Sénégal. Il a aussi été Haut-Commissaire adjoint à Londres, ambassadeur en Pologne et ambassadeur aux Pays-Bas. À Ottawa, il a occupé plusieurs postes supérieurs, notamment ceux de conseiller principal pour les Relations fédérales-provinciales, directeur général du Service juridique, négociateur en chef des accords aériens pour le Canada et conseiller principal pour les questions juridiques. M. April a pris sa retraite en 2006.

MS. ANNE ARNOTT is a retired public servant, with 38 years of experience in the immigration field. She joined the Foreign Service in 1981 and spent 16 years abroad, with postings in New Delhi, Kingston, Hong Kong, New York and London. In her last decade before retirement, she was Director General of Case Management Branch and of International Region, before going to London as Immigration Program Manager and Area Director. Anne was a proud member of PAFSO and was Vice President for two years. She is herself a recipient of the PAFSO Award.

M. YVES BRODEUR a joint les rangs du ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Commerce international en 1982 et a eu une carrière très diversifiée cumulant des postes de responsabilité tant au Conseil privé, à la Centrale qu'à l'étranger. Il a été membre de l'équipe de haute direction du ministère dès 2003, d'abord à titre de Directeur général (Communications), puis de Sous-ministre adjoint (Afghanistan) et Sous-ministre adjoint et Directeur politique (Sécurité internationale). Il a été porte-parole de l'OTAN, ambassadeur auprès de la République Turque et ambassadeur et Représentant permanent du Canada à l'OTAN. M. Brodeur est à la retraite depuis 2015.

DR. LINDA DUXBURY is a professor at the Sprott School of Business at Carleton University where she teaches Masters and PhD courses in Managing Change, as well as the Masters course in Organizational Behaviour. Dr. Duxbury has completed major studies on balancing work and family in the public, private and not-for-profit sectors and has published widely in both the academic and practitioner literatures. She is currently undertaking a national study on balancing work, childcare and eldercare and is also working with several police forces across Canada on an action research study into how police need to change to be more sustainable.

MR. TOM MacDONALD joined the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce in 1974 and retired from Global Affairs Canada in 2016. He was Ambassador to Argentina and Paraguay, Consul General in Sydney and Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Oman and Yemen, as well as Chargé d'affaires in Libya and Brunei. He also held a number of senior positions at Headquarters and represented Canada in a wide range of bilateral and multilateral trade negotiations, including as Chief Textile Negotiator, as a member of the NAFTA negotiating team and as lead negotiator for the 1996 Canada-US Softwood Lumber Agreement.

DR. ROLAND PARIS is University Research Chair in International Security and Governance at the University of Ottawa, where he teaches in the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs. He was recently the Prime Minister's senior advisor on global affairs and defence and has held several advisory positions in the Canadian government. Dr. Paris has won numerous awards for his academic research on international affairs as well as prizes for his teaching and public service. He provides regular analysis and commentary for national and international media.

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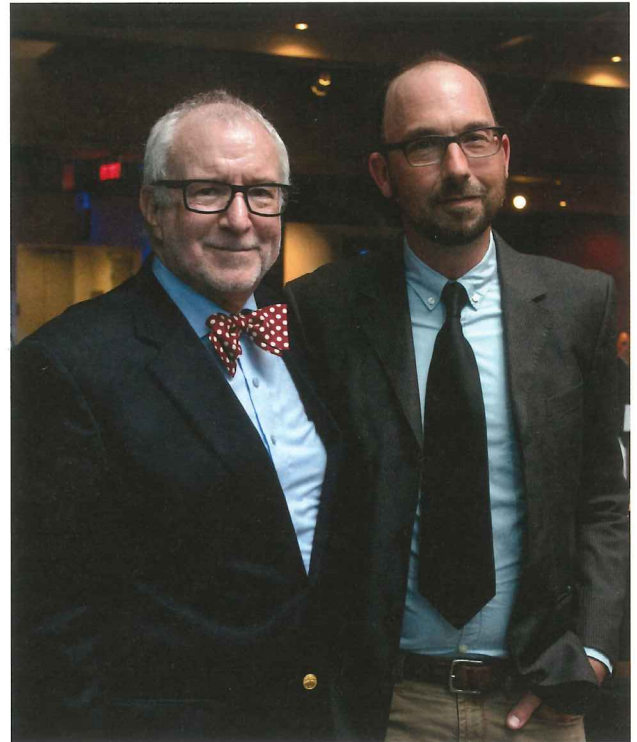
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– *Richard Kohler*

Outre les quatre prix de l'APASE, l'Association des chefs de mission à la retraite (l'ACMAR) a annoncé le nom du lauréat du prix pour la meilleure contribution au magazine **bout de papier** de l'APASE : Eric Schallenberg, agent des communications de l'APASE, pour la refonte complète de la matrice du magazine (volume 30, n° 3).



Richard Kohler, Past President and Executive Vice-President of RHOMA and Eric Schallenberg.

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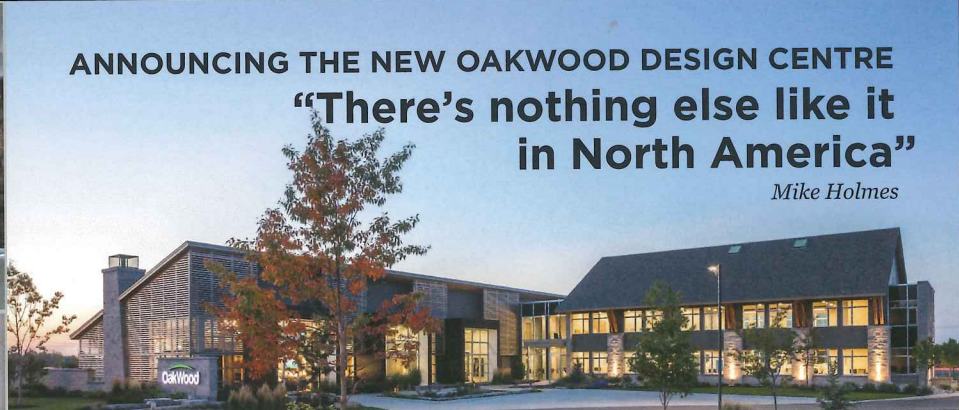


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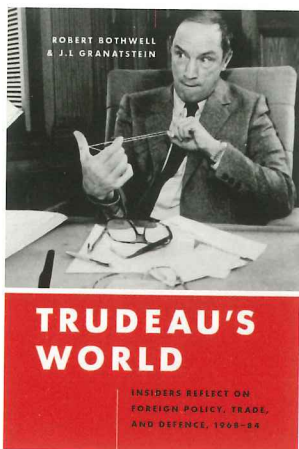
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BOOK REVIEW // CRITIQUE DE LIVRE

Trudeau's World: Insiders Reflect on Foreign Policy, Trade, and Defence, 1968–84

reviewed by Dan Livermore

BY ROBERT BOTHWELL
AND J.L. GRANATSTEIN

UBC PRESS, VANCOUVER, 2017.

412 pp, \$45.00

DANIEL LIVERMORE studied history at Queen's University, where he obtained a Ph.D. in 1975 immediately prior to joining External Affairs. He served for over 30 years in the department as a Foreign Service officer, and his last assignment prior to returning to the historical profession was as Director General, Security and Intelligence.

WHAT DO HISTORIANS DO WITH the interviews they conduct with insiders about the conduct of government business?

If you want the succinct story, two of Canada's most respected historians of Canadian foreign policy, Robert Bothwell and Jack Granatstein, have come up with a fascinating book, full of familiar names from the "DFAIT" and "External" past.

“ Any claim that the French embassy did not interfere in Canada's internal affairs was bullshit.

– Hon. Marc Lalonde, Principal Secretary (1968–72)

It's a book of collected interviews that served as the basis of *Pirouette*, their analysis of Pierre Trudeau's foreign policy, published in 1990. The interviews are gems, selected from among hours of conversations with ex-ministers, ministerial aides and senior mandarins.

The book begins with a useful introductory explanation on how the interviews were conducted, how they were recorded and what they were about. Its claim that many of the interviews are “superb in content and revealingly frank” is unduly modest. For insiders who know how government works (and sometimes how it doesn't), this is wonderful material. Outsiders will be fascinated by the

“ If the cabinet had known how small the FLQ was, it would never have acted as it did in deploying troops and invoking the War Measures Act.

– Hon. Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs (1968–74)

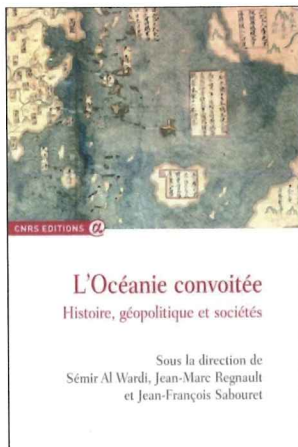
diversity of views on many subjects, which must have made it difficult for the authors to pull together coherent strands of thought about some of Canada's most significant foreign policy debates.

The book defies easy summary because it touches on so many subjects, from foreign policy reviews and the Third Option, to the FLQ crisis and its impact on “External Affairs”. The authors are right to stress the frankness of the interviewees' opinions. Conducted only a few years after Trudeau's resignation in 1984, the interviews touching on the strengths, weaknesses and roles of others will strike readers as both amusing and stunningly cogent.

“ On the question of the Jews and the Middle East, Trudeau was always very careful. MacEachen and DEA had a tendency to distance Canada from Israel, feeling that we were unfair in the broadest sense to the Arab cause, and Trudeau shared this view.

– Hon. Ivan Head, Special Assistant to Trudeau (1978–80)

The portions looking at “External's” many internal issues, from personnel problems, to reorganization, to credibility with the Prime Minister, will resonate strongly today. This book is too important to fly so low under the radar screens. To any currently-serving Foreign Service officer, it's invaluable reading, if only to prepare for the time when the historians come calling.



BOOK REVIEW // CRITIQUE DE LIVRE

L'Océanie convoitée

Histoire, géopolitique et sociétés

critique de livre par Frank Asi Talatini

**SOUS LA DIRECTION
DE SÉMIR AL WARDI,
JEAN-MARC REGNAULT ET
JEAN-FRANÇOIS SABOURET**

CNRS ÉDITIONS, 2017.

634 pp, 53,75 \$

FRANK ASI TALATINI est un agent du Service extérieur actuellement en poste à Hong Kong. Il a joint le ministère des Affaires mondiales Canada à titre d'agent de gestion et des affaires consulaires en 2009, après une carrière dans le secteur privé à Montréal. Il a été en affectation à Abou Dhabi de 2011 à 2014 et à Bangkok de 2014 à 2018.

ISSU DE DEUX COLLOQUES SUR le thème de l'Océanie convoitée tenus à Paris en 2015 et à Tahiti en 2016, cet ouvrage réunit une quarantaine de spécialistes et propose une analyse des enjeux actuels de la région, sous l'angle historique, politique, économique et culturel. Longtemps isolée, délaissée et considérée comme la chasse gardée de l'Australie, de la Nouvelle-Zélande – et dans une moindre mesure des États-Unis et de la France – cette immense « mer d'îles » fait aujourd'hui l'objet de convoitises nouvelles de la part d'acteurs à la fois inattendus et ambitieux.

L'Océanie, un carrefour stratégique d'influences

La première partie de l'ouvrage, « Une histoire des convoitises », revient sur différents événements qui ont marqué l'histoire récente de la région, de l'arrivée des missionnaires à la décolonisation en passant par la Guerre du Pacifique, les rivalités de la Guerre froide et la fin des essais nucléaires. Pour les lecteurs moins familiers avec la région, il s'agit d'une excellente introduction aux enjeux géopolitiques et géostratégiques discutés en deuxième partie : « Asie, Europe, Amérique : des regards sur l'Océanie ». En effet, on peut voir à travers le prisme de l'histoire de ces petites îles lointaines et peu peuplées, la lutte d'influence qui s'exerce entre les grandes puissances de ce monde.

La Chine occupe une place particulièrement importante, avec plus de huit chapitres qui lui sont consacrés dans cette partie. Pour les auteurs, c'est le chef de file d'une Asie montante qui vient défier les États-Unis et ses alliés traditionnels sur leur propre terrain de jeu, via son ambitieux projet de nouvelles routes de la soie. Comme ailleurs, la présence chinoise se fait sentir en Océanie par une politique conciliante d'aide au développement et d'investissement massif dans les infrastructures-clés de ces états insulaires du Pacifique. À l'image de la Chineafrique, une Chineocéanie serait sur le point de se constituer avec les avantages et inconvénients qui en découlent.

À l'autre bout du monde, quel rôle peut encore jouer l'Union Européenne et notamment la France, dans un contexte d'autonomisation politique de

ses territoires du Pacifique et de multipolarisation économique de la région ? Au-delà des partenaires traditionnels de l'Océanie, tels que l'Australie, la Nouvelle-Zélande, le Japon, la Corée du Sud ou Taïwan, d'autres pays ont récemment manifesté leur intérêt grandissant pour les micro-états océaniques, dans le cadre de leurs ambitions diplomatiques (Maroc, Émirats arabes unis, Cuba), stratégiques (Inde, Russie, Indonésie) ou commerciales (Vietnam, Turquie, Italie). Ces « convoitises inattendues », présentées dans la troisième partie de l'ouvrage, portent, entre autres, sur des ressources halieutiques, minières et sous-marines largement sous-exploitées, des zones économiques exclusives peu surveillées et le soutien non négligeable de 12 micro-états membres votants de l'ONU.

Au cœur de ces rivalités internationales qui les affectent, la quatrième partie appelle à « ne pas oublier les Océaniens : entre convoitise, séduction, réticences et résistances » et s'efforce tant bien que mal de discuter des perspectives d'avenir qui s'offrent à eux.

Un appel à découvrir davantage l'Océanie

Pour toute personne qui souhaite en savoir plus sur cette vaste région méconnue, « l'Océanie convoitée » est un livre de référence à recommander. Au-delà de la carte postale, la région est en proie à une formidable effervescence liée à sa position géographique, géopolitique et géostratégique. Les auteurs réussissent à offrir une analyse multidisciplinaire et détaillée des enjeux politiques, diplomatiques, socioéconomiques et environnementaux qui bouleversent les îles du Pacifique.

Si cette approche éditoriale fait la force et l'originalité de cet ouvrage, elle est également à la source de certaines lacunes observées au cours de la lecture de ses quelques 634 pages. Certains chapitres tels que celui sur les premières missionnaires anglo-saxonnes, l'histoire de la politique maritime du Japon dans le Pacifique ou encore l'étude anthropologique des chants et danses d'une île polynésienne auraient eu leur place dans une autre pu faire l'objet d'un ouvrage à part.

En voulant couvrir une multitude de thèmes liés de près ou de loin à l'Océanie, le livre peut paraître hétéroclite par moment. Coordonnée par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'Université de la Polynésie française et financée par le Secrétariat permanent de la France pour le Pacifique, la publication a cependant le mérite d'offrir aux lecteurs des perspectives variées en anglais et en français. Avec la participation d'auteurs européens, australiens, néo-zélandais, asiatiques et océaniens, elle favorise, de fait, une approche régionale et collaborative de l'Océanie contemporaine.

Le Canada, le grand absent

Il est cependant regrettable qu'il n'y ait pas eu de participation canadienne ni de chapitre évoquant les relations entre le Canada et les pays océaniques, sans doute faute de référence ou d'intérêt. Malgré l'existence de liens historiques, culturels, politiques et économiques avec l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande et une participation en tant que Partenaire du Dialogue du Forum des îles du Pacifique, l'engagement du Canada se fait encore bien timide en Océanie, une zone située en dehors de sa sphère d'influence traditionnelle.

Pourtant, notre nation, bilingue et multiculturelle, pourrait jouer un rôle de partenaire idéal dans une région majoritairement anglophone avec une minorité francophone, offrant ainsi de nouvelles alternatives aux forces en présence. C'est le message qui émane d'une présentation de la géostratégiste Cleo Paskal de l'Université de Montréal, livrée en mars 2017 à Ottawa, dans le cadre de la série de discussions *Au pied du Banyan*, organisées par le bureau Asie-Pacifique du ministère des Affaires mondiales Canada.

Au-delà des intérêts politiques, économiques et stratégiques, notre pays pourrait apporter sa contribution dans cette zone en proie aux effets du changement climatique. Enfin pour mieux comprendre l'Asie-Pacifique et tirer profit du nouveau Partenariat transpacifique global et progressiste, le Canada gagne à s'intéresser davantage au vaste océan qui le borde à l'ouest. A mari usque ad mare.

Au-delà de la carte postale, la région est en proie à une formidable effervescence liée à sa position géographique, géopolitique et géostratégique

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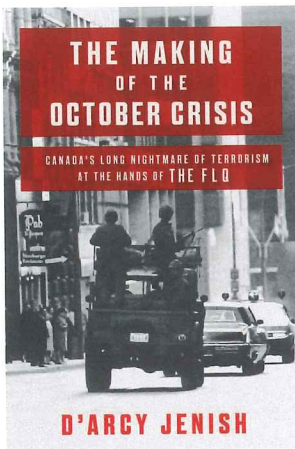


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BOOK REVIEW // CRITIQUE DE LIVRE

The Making of the October Crisis: Canada's Long Nightmare of Terrorism at the Hands of the FLQ

reviewed by Kurt F. Jensen

BY D'ARCY JENISH

DOUBLEDAY CANADA, 2018

368 pp, \$31.50

KURT F. JENSEN is a retired Foreign Service officer who went on to teach at Carleton University.

JENISH HAS WRITTEN A VERY READABLE popular history of the October Crisis. He approaches the story from a human interest angle, with stories of many of the protagonists, great and small, detailing what happened to them and how events impacted on them.

A positive element of the book is that Jenish starts with a background of what led to the events. He does not limit his focus just to the narrow October Crisis but begins his historical run up to the events of October by recounting the bombing and propaganda campaign which began early in the 1960s. He touches lightly on the various ideological positions as Quebec society emerged from the Quiet Revolution with some elements seeking a more revolutionary path.

For the reader interested in the human dimension of events, this book is clearly of interest. Jenish succeeds in providing dynamic insights into the actors on both sides of the story. For readers seeking understanding and insights into the various political forces at play, this book falls short by providing limited analysis of events, little in-depth exploration of the existing circumstances, and few details on the dynamics driving or influencing a perilous and rather unusual moment in Canadian history.

This is a descriptive story of events from the perspective of participants and provides a genuine feel for the motivation and emotions of some of those affected by or perpetrating the events. But the book does not provide an interpretation of the history

of those dangerous days. There is no exploration of what makes all the protagonists tick.

There is no evidence that Jenish consulted government files relevant to the events, whether at the local, provincial or federal level. He has clearly used the many memoirs of the story's central characters which emerged in the years following the October crisis. His primary resource for the book has been the public record as provided by the media. This he has augmented with interviews conducted with some of the key police figures involved as well as with some politicians. But no interviews were carried out with any of the felquistes who drove the historical events. This is a shortcoming. Views of these key actors from the perspective of time would have added a very important dimension to the book.

The book should not be dismissed by those more used to reading detailed analyses of events. The book seeks to capture details of some of the historical voices which are often muted in the heavier tomes on important historical events. Of particular interest is the story of Robert Côté, of the Montreal police bomb squad, who is a regular participant in the unfolding events.

While the approach which Jenish has employed provides only a single dimensional insight into a complex story, the book offers a good portrait of the October Crisis from a perspective seldom available.



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A
HIGHER
LOYALTY

TRUTH, LIES, AND
LEADERSHIP

JAMES
COMEY

BOOK REVIEW // CRITIQUE DE LIVRE

A Higher Loyalty: Truth, Lies, and Leadership

reviewed by David MacDuff

BY JAMES COMEY

EDITED BY LISA WARDEN,
FOREWORD BY MIKHAIL
GORBACHEV

FLATIRON BOOKS, 2018

312 pp, \$34.99

DAVID MacDUFF is a career Foreign Service Officer and deputy director of the US Transboundary Affairs division at Global Affairs Canada.

MOST READERS OF FORMER FBI DIRECTOR James Comey's memoir will likely flip directly to the end of the book for his explanations of the FBI's decisions in the face of Hillary Clinton using a private e-mail server while Secretary of State, or for insights into Comey's contentious relationship with President Donald Trump.

Clearly, had the 2016 presidential election taken a different course and had Comey not been removed from his position, he would likely not have written the book, or this book at this time. However, much of the value of his volume is not just in his account of recent history but also in his insights about leadership and the qualities of US leaders. As the existing book reviews have focused on Comey's falling out with and firing by Trump, this review considers the book's other content.

A Higher Loyalty starts with Comey's experience as a prosecutor in Manhattan, working on cases as diverse as the Mafia and Martha Stewart's insider trading. This carefully selected material acts not only as background – notably because of its emphasis on ethical leadership – but it also helps frame Comey's later depiction of President Trump and the critique of his behaviour in office.

Comey notes that when inheriting the FBI directorship from Robert Mueller, now the Special Counsel to the US Department of Justice on Russia's involvement in the 2016 US elections, he found his new organization to be overly traditional. Leadership was largely an afterthought. To move ahead, Comey aimed to make the FBI the US government's "premier leadership factory" and a preferred supplier of leaders in the private sector after special agents retired. Among his key goals was to recruit more visible minorities and women to demographically balance the FBI and renew its leadership. Indeed, he was at one such event in Los Angeles when he learned that he had just been fired.

Comey enjoyed privileged access to senior US decision-makers, including presidents, and his analysis of their qualities is among the best attributes of the book. He observes that the typical "Washington listen" is a period during which a speaker cedes the floor to another person only to return to make the points s/he intended to make all along.

Comey's perspective on President Obama contrasts sharply with the "Washington listen." He notes that Obama was an excellent listener: through active listening, including one-on-one discussions, Obama drew out his interlocutors and purposefully sought alternative views.

To be sure, there are some shortcomings with Comey's focus on leadership. From this reviewer's perspective, Comey's leadership model, as with so many others, would benefit from a discussion of followership. After all, there are often more followers than leaders in any given organization: what motivates the latter? Furthermore, we can all be leaders or followers in different contexts: what are these? A more dynamic model of leadership and followership would help organizations maximize the potential of both.

If Comey's book is only read for the "inside story" of the 2016 election, it may be soon forgotten among the avalanche of books on Trump. If, however, readers step back and absorb some of its enduring insights, it will likely stand the test of time.

The Hungry Diplomat

by Lisa Bitto

BANNOCK. When I was hired as a Foreign Service Officer in 2006, the Department was still a year away from cutting the Cross Canada Tour – a powerful tool to ensure a broad perspective of the Canada we were to represent abroad. I was lucky to be part of the penultimate Tour. We each had assigned responsibilities and I was one of several participants who set up meetings in each province and territory we visited. Without planning to do so, we each arranged to meet with Aboriginal groups in every P/T. It seems there was an implicit understanding of the importance of the Aboriginal voice in Canada, but I don't think any of us could have claimed to have a good knowledge of the wide range of perspectives (which varied significantly from visit to visit) and issues.

LISA BITTO is a political Foreign Service officer and has been baking bread nearly three decades, after she discovered it wasn't hard at all. It started with making pizza for supper from a recipe in Reader's Digest to get out of the chore of washing dishes, a most detested task. She can now be found loafing at home at least once a week.

THOSE OF YOU WHO WENT to Girl Guide or Boy Scout camp as a kid might remember wrapping dough around a stick and cooking it over the campfire, then devouring it with some butter and jam. This was known as “bannock” and it's unfortunate that we may not have learned more about this Indigenous Canadian food with a complicated history.

Bannock, quite simply, is a kind of quick bread. It can be baked or fried, simple or rich with the addition of dairy and/or fruit, and prepared indoors or outside. At its most basic, bannock is made with flour, salt, baking powder, water and usually a fat. The bakers among you will recognize that combination of ingredients as similar to a biscuit or scone.

But it's so much more than that. Look to its past and some will see it as a symbol of strength and resiliency of Canada's original peoples, borne of colonial roots.

“How's that?” you say. It is eaten by First Nations and Métis across Canada, but made with ingredients mostly from European culture. Even the word “bannock” is credited to the Scots, who made

oatmeal or barley cakes on a bannock stone – a flat piece of sandstone, used as a cooking surface. But just because the word is Scottish, doesn't mean North American bannock was a European invention.

Prior to European arrival in North America, roots, plants and seeds were ground and baked in a similar way. It was a clever and practical way to eat on the go for activities like hunting, because it allowed people to carry ingredients with them and quickly prepare food over a fire.

When the English and French immigrated to North America, Indigenous culture was systematically suppressed and efforts were made to erase it altogether. In addition to drastic measures such as taking children from their families and forbidding them from speaking their first language, communities were also forbidden to perform traditional activities and eat many customary foods. They were forced to use European ingredients like white flour, which provided calories but limited nutritional value. Their bannock evolved to use the ingredients they had in a new way, but for traditional activities.

Many of us struggle to move from convenient processed foods to a more whole-food diet, which we know is healthier. The forced switch to a European diet from traditional foods meant that Indigenous health suffered. Even today, many see the high rate of diabetes amongst the First Nations, Métis and Inuit as a problem resulting from colonialism.

Bannock is also a beloved treat: a familiar comfort food that appears baked, with a cup of tea, or at a powwow in the form of a fry bread taco. Nonetheless, I saw many online bannock posts referring to it as a luxury, to be consumed in moderation, in the same way I try to be careful about not eating too much sugar or white bread.

A number of eateries in the west of Canada have bannock on their menus, and several restaurants have made bannock a cornerstone of their business. Kekuli Café has two locations in British Columbia and serves traditional bannock and fry bread in a full menu range of breakfast and lunch options, as does the Bannock House in Regina, Saskatchewan. Bannock Restaurant in Toronto offers

upscale bannock sandwich and burger options as selections as well as pizza and roast duck poutine. So if you ever need an excuse for a cross-Canada road trip, perhaps you just found your inspiration.

This seems an opportune time to bring up another controversial issue: that of cultural appropriation. Should people whose culture hasn't had to survive what First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples have, be able to include bannock in their bakery, restaurant or cookbook? In my opinion, cultural appropriation is a kind of stealing; knowingly taking something that isn't yours, without providing credit. I think food from any culture should be prepared carefully and with respect. And in this case, I think that any professional who chooses to put bannock on their menu owes a debt that can be paid by raising the awareness of the strength and loss endured by those who created the product being enjoyed. Doing so also adds the richness of knowing the history and context of what you are eating.

And you thought it was just bread.

RECIPE // RECETTE

Mi'kmaq Four Cent Luskinikn (Bannock)

by Lisa Bitto

INGREDIENTS

- 2 cups** all-purpose flour
- 2 tbsp** baking powder
- 2 tbsp** sugar
- ½ tsp** salt
- 1 tbsp** butter
- 1 cup** water

I really wanted to find a recipe from my part of the country, so I was happy to find this one by the anonymous Mi'kmaq Mama from Elsipogtog First Nation near Richibucto, NB. It's named for its economical ingredients and can be either baked or pan-fried. Like any quick bread, it's best enjoyed the day it's made, but you can re-heat or toast it the next day too. It also freezes well.

1. If baking, preheat oven to 400°F and grease a 9" baking dish or cast iron pan with oil. If frying, pre-heat a cast iron frying pan on low-medium, adding oil just before you fry the dough to keep it from overheating.
2. Mix first five ingredients in a bowl. It will be sticky; don't add additional flour.
3. Scrape dough in prepared pan and flatten with a fork.
4. Bake 20–25 minutes to golden brown, or cook on stovetop until golden brown on each side, flipping once.
5. Rather than slicing while still warm, break the bread apart when ready to eat, for the best texture.

If you prefer a richer dough, you can substitute some or all of the water with milk, or up to half of the water with cream, and/or add a bit of melted butter or lard. You could also add fresh or dried blueberries or cranberries, or raisins. Enjoy plain, with butter and jam, or with butter and cinnamon-sugar, and a cup of tea or coffee.

The Medium and the Messages

KING CONSULTS FDR

by Hector Mackenzie

SUCCESSFUL CANADIAN PRIME MINISTERS DEVELOP the habit early of consulting those with expertise or experience across a wide spectrum before making any critical decisions. Nobody who has occupied that office proved this rule better than William Lyon Mackenzie King, whose tenure as first among equals is unsurpassed. King was notorious for his methodical and careful approach to deciding on the optimum (or least risky) course of action. Very often he would excuse the time taken to make up his mind by stressing the need to consult key advisers as well as his counterparts in other governments. Not without some justification, King believed that his wider circle often gave him much better advice about the world than the Canadian foreign service.

King's closest relationship with any American president was his remarkable rapport with the man who held that office longer than any other, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Apart from many summits and personal visits, they corresponded frequently and spoke often on the phone. As veteran politicians and leaders of neighbouring countries, they respected and trusted each other – though King never forgot who was a world leader and who was not (though FDR would refer to King's long time as an international statesman as adding weight to his views and advice).

Thus it is no surprise that when King contemplated political retirement, FDR contacted him and urged him to stay on at a time of uncertainty and trouble in the world and that King paid close attention to what FDR said, though he did retire earlier than FDR advised.

What makes the episodes recorded in the documents below exceptional is the fact that FDR died in April 1945, well before his sage counsel to his Canadian friend. Marshall McLuhan once remarked that "the medium is the message," but it's unlikely he had in mind Geraldine Cummins when he referred to the medium (she preferred to be called an automatist in any event). Even so, Cummins was the medium who put King in touch with his distinguished but deceased friend at a séance in his hotel room in London when he was there for the Royal Wedding. The session in 1948 took place when he returned to London for a conference of Commonwealth prime ministers. The documents below come from the Geraldine Cummins Papers, Cork City and County Archives, Cork, Eire – in a file entitled "Roosevelt Message to Mr. Mackenzie King". Editorial clarifications or corrections are in square brackets. Only those parts of the sessions recording FDR's advice from beyond the grave have been reproduced below.

Saturday afternoon, November 22, 1947

[Note in pencil at the top: "(Present: anonymous sifter Mr. Mackenzie King, Miss E. B. Gibbes, automatist Geraldine Cummins. Miss Gibbes made notes of some of Mr. King's remarks)"]
... *[from "Franklin"]*

I am most uneasy. You can put my mind at rest. I learnt that you might consider retiring. I beg of you at whatever cost to continue in public life.

It is wiser from the point of view of your health to retire. But I feel it is your duty not merely to your country but to the world to stay on.

I am most anxious that you do *[so]* for two reasons.

One is I want you to retain Canada's independence. There is a bunch of rough necks in finance in USA. They would like to get hold of Canada through economic penetration. It is not a visible merging of the two countries but an invisible one behind the scenes they are after. That is my view. I may be wrong. But you want capital for development of your country. In that respect your care and foresight will prevent any encroachment on your independence and liberties. I fought finance all my life. I don't want big business later on to get undue control of Canada.

Read this. Do you agree?

I understand your reluctance to continue in office and no man more richly deserves a rest. But my own feeling is that you are needed still. You are not Winston *[Churchill, wartime British Prime Minister who was defeated in the general election of 1945, then returned to power in 1951]*. Winston was in the opinion of his own people a fighter and by God a fine one too. But you have the wisdom he lacks - the caution and that integral honesty that hold a country together. I know no man who can do it so successfully as you can.

There is that cheerful cut throat Joe Stalin *[General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and leader of the USSR]*. Don't imagine he is going to leave your country alone. It isn't war. Oh no, not at present or for a few years. But you had experience of his intrigues in that plot *[the espionage network revealed by the defection of cypher clerk Igor Gouzenko from the Embassy of the USSR in Ottawa in September 1945]* not long ago. He knows Canada has those valuable minerals *[and]* more will be found. He would like to stir up discontent, make mischief in your country and between your people and my people. You are worried for many reasons Mac. I know there are good men. *[Douglas]* Abbott *[then Minister of Finance]* is a sensible fellow no doubt. But I want your wisdom behind it all. I don't know how long you will remain the skipper. But even in opposition you would be mighty useful - a break *[sic]* on men who are too impulsive, too anxious for quick returns. Mac you know the old saying. The 19th century was the century of USA. The 20th century will be Canada's century. That is in my opinion far more likely to come true if you remain in public life some years longer. Say what you think??

My God man. No. I had my faults. But you will admit I could size up character pretty rapidly. You have that slow Scotch way with you. You are not clever you are wise. That is why I want you to hold on and why I called you up through Miss *[Marguerite]* Le Hand *[FDR's longtime personal secretary who died on 31 July 1944]* and I saw you wanted to get out. Don't. Don't...

We all urge you to go on in your job but we are going to get behind you and help you. You will not know how we come. But when you sleep we will put suggestions into your mind. Wilfred L *[Sir Wilfrid Laurier, former Prime Minister and King's mentor, apparently in life and after death]* of course will *[form?]* our Brains Trust. So go forward with confidence knowing we are behind you. Don't let the doctrinaire theorists in the English gov[ernment] get hold of you either and pass their theories on to you. Keep your independence of thought.

... We want to keep you going old man for the sake of the whole continent of America. Canada has a great future no doubt but not if US gets too strong a financial hold there. You can keep her big business within bounds. They can't fool you ... Have I your assurance you won't retire yet at least stay on some years more?

[pencil note: "Mac was evasive in his reply"]

Cautious Mac!! Don't be rushed by any of us. Good luck.

Always your friend.

Franklin DR

Apparently later message from session with someone else, 22 March 1948.

To "Mac" from "Frank" or "the President"

[put pressure on him not to retire before; now sees need to rest; also refers to writing memoirs]

Script "signed" Marguerite A. LeHand

Note [attached to document below]

This second script obtained for Mr Mackenzie King is unpublished and did not therefore appear in my book *Mind in Life and Death*. I merely mentioned evidence in this script in my book.

The popular press had made such a cheap story out of my visit with Miss Gibbes to Mr Mackenzie King's bedroom for this sitting I thought it better not to include the script in a serious book.

Geraldine Cummins

I did not show the script to Mr. Leiterman Canadian Television Corp when they visited my house, 25 Jubilee Place, Chelsea.

Oct. 23, 1948. Dorchester Hotel [London, UK]. Present Mr. Mackenzie King, Miss E.B. Gibbes, Geraldine Cummins autonomist disabled by a cold in the head. Returned by Mr. Mackenzie King's [Executors] to Miss Gibbes.

[from FDR:]

What I want to tell you is that three years from now is the critical time. That is when you will be wanted for advice.

... And now you Mac. Spend 6 months away from all affairs of state then you will be fine. But if you don't take six months you are going to get in a pretty bad way. Now so long Mac. No war for three years about as we see it here. Then you and others may prevent it but it is going to be touch and go later.

F.D.R.

Soviet Russia Yes.

They are not ready to fight. But they will try to make us attack to bring them unity. If we don't attack us they believe we won't they expect to conquer France through the present cold war. But as I see it France gets a big leader who pulls the country out of the mess. In that the Kremlin misjudges counts too much on success. They will fail to get hold of France through the Communists. Our people must be firm with them and they the Soviet will begin to retreat for they are not ready to fight. I guess they will think about fighting in two years time. But not now. So we have to stand up to them and bully them at this moment. Stalin and co have in mind a big scheme of cold war for Asia. Look out for underground developments in Asia later. It is a weak spot and I don't like it in connection with the defence of my land and yours. Brings them nearer to us if they get away with their schemes.

Just tell your people to keep their attention partly on Asia. Not to forget it while they discuss Europe. Europe more a red herring while Asia being dealt with by the Kremlin. That is my view and my warning.

In Memoriam En mémoire de

CHRISTIAN SARRAZIN

1949–2017

In Zurich, on September 18, 2017, surrounded by his family, Christian Sarrazin passed away peacefully of a rare neurological disease.

Né à Ferme Neuve, Christian eut une enfance heureuse au sein de sa famille. Il a complété son baccalauréat à l'Université McGill et obtenu une maîtrise en Économie de l'Université de Louvain. Passionné de politique et grand admirateur de P.E. Trudeau, chez lui seul l'attrait de vivre à l'étranger primait sur celui de la politique.

Christian joined the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1974 and had a distinguished career with postings to San Francisco, as well as Beijing, before being appointed Canada's first Consul General in Shanghai. The late Carl Rufelds, his mentor in San Francisco, was "immediately impressed by Christian's personality, diligence, intelligence and potential. It was a pleasure to follow his career and (to) see what a Helluva good officer he became."

Shanghai was truly the highlight of his career, as he felt that he was breaking new ground in China. His mastery of Mandarin allowed him to fully appreciate China's culture,

history and traditions. Of those days, Ted Lipman, a China-hand reminisced that "Christian and I worked together in Beijing in the late 70s, as well as, HQ. He had a wicked sense of humour, which I shared. In Beijing, we sent a bogus telex to our boss and Senior Trade Commissioner, posting him to Shanghai. Ironically, he never made it there although Christian and I did."

In his ultimate public service position, Christian was appointed Chief Operating Officer of Canadian Commercial Corporation, a large crown corporation responsible for government to government foreign trade. Then-Deputy Minister Nick Mulder said that what struck him was the depth of Christian's trade and rules knowledge and how cool and calm he was, when others were less focussed.

Rick Kohler, good friend and a fellow Trade Commissioner recalled fondly the many facets and diversity so abundant in Christian's eclectic profile. "He possessed a remarkable dashboard of interests from diplomatic statecraft to the arts, music, cuisine and literature."

Cynthia a intégré sa vie et les deux ont forgé une relation étroite pendant plus de 20 ans. Elle s'est consacrée entièrement

aux besoins de Christian alors que sa santé périclitait. Christian était d'avis qu'il fallait vivre la vie avec dignité, le plus longtemps possible. Il manquera profondément à Cynthia, à ses enfants, à sa famille aimante et à ses nombreux amis, qui se souviendront de lui.

EDWARD GORN joined the Foreign Service in 1966 and over 30 years, held assignments with External Affairs, Trade and Commerce, as well as, the Canadian Exporters Association.



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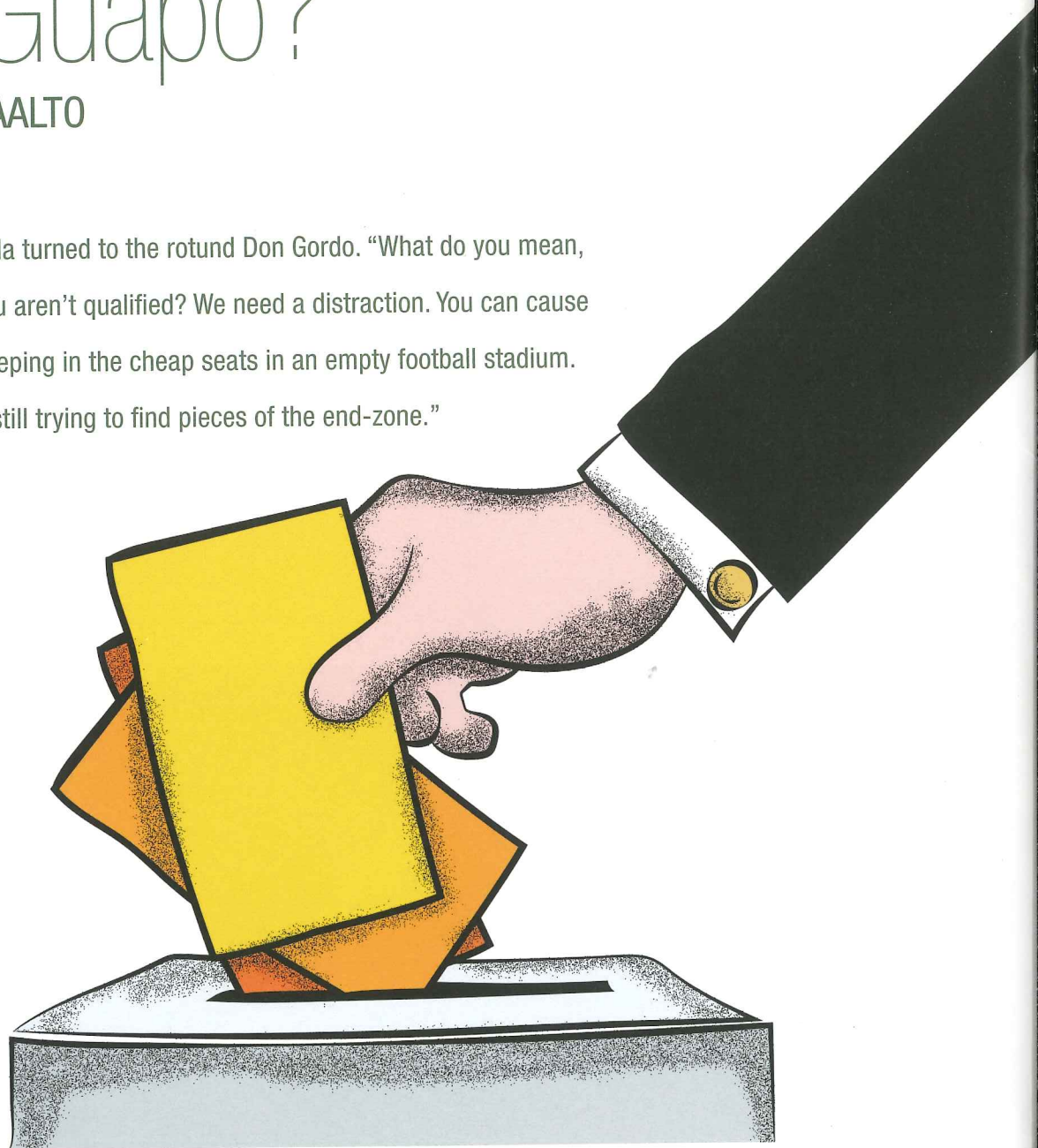
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Who Stole the Vote in Rio Guapo?

PARTY TIME FOR A AALTO

by A Aalto

Esmeralda turned to the rotund Don Gordo. "What do you mean, papa, you aren't qualified? We need a distraction. You can cause a riot sleeping in the cheap seats in an empty football stadium. They're still trying to find pieces of the end-zone."



"BUT WHAT IS THE PURPOSE? What is my motivation?" "Your motivation is whether or not I cook you *mole poblano* for dinner tonight. The purpose? It's election time in Rio Guapo and someone is planning to steal the vote. Election observers are trying to stop them, but they need help, so my direct action group is stepping in. We have a plan, but it requires someone with your special skills."

"I thought your group restricted its workers to women. Again, I don't qualify." "WAMPUSS – Women Acting as Men Pontificate Uselessly or Stand Silent – does focus on applying feminist power to concrete political ends, but that doesn't mean we disdain cooperation across the gender divide. Some of you have your uses. Occasionally."

"*Mole poblano*, eh?..."

As this puzzle was drafted, A AALTO was involved in election observation abroad, although not in Rio Guapo. In doing so, he was protected by diplomatic immunity. This puzzle is dedicated to those brave people who observe without this protection, often in danger of intimidation and attack and sometimes in danger of their lives. It is also for Michael Small, whom Aalto promised years ago to one day use "the outgoing Chinchilla administration" in a puzzle. With thanks to Mrs. Aalto for a particularly good job of editing. This is a work of fiction: any resemblance to actual people or places is coincidental. More or less.

A week later, Don Gordo and Esmeralda sat in a small windowless room in Hermoso Perdador, capital of Rio Guapo. The leader of the local elections NGO, Maria Hermana Nueva, was briefing them on the political situation.

"The governing party is not running for re-election. Always ready for a party, it has been known as 'the outgoing Chinchilla administration' since three days after coming to power: now the phrase is true in both senses.

"Five parties are participating.

"The Integrity Party is run by a were-walrus who breaks into a marimba at interesting moments, like the middle of a debate, in church, while eating sushi, running a marathon or taking a mud bath with the front line of the national women's soccer team. Other than that, the party is a model of conformity, running on a centre-right platform whose most popular plank is to build a wall of taco stands along the US border to teach the gringos how Latino food actually tastes.

"The Highlife Party is run by a former military dictator who has re-invented himself as a democrat. He puts strong emphasis on 'family values', especially placing his relatives in all government offices. He supports decentralization of power so as to increase the number of available offices for his numerous grand-children (he is on his sixth wife). He took his pencil-thin moustache from a man named Sleazewagon, who wants it back.

"The Destiny Party is run by a disciplinarian who has created a cult of obedience. Aspiring members are locked in a cell and forced to read the complete works of Ayn Rand, Jacques Derrida, Friedrich Hayek and Kahlil Gibran until their brains dribble out their ears. Despite this indoctrination, the party is tolerant of everyone, except those who are tolerant of LGBTQ, women, minorities and short people. They are also in favour of sects education.

"The Reality Party started out as a single-issue pro-marijuana group. When informed that dope was already legal, they lobbied for toking to be mandatory, on the grounds that sobriety confers an unfair advantage. Inspired by Brexit, they want a global referendum on Earth dropping out of the solar system and trying again around Proxima Centauri. 'We could hardly do worse than we did this time!'

"The Prosperity Party positions itself on the left, while stressing economic development and monopoly democracy. It succeeds because voters have not realized that the party's

'pro-poor' policy means it favours more poor people, so its rich supporters can get that second Ferrari (slogan: 'Expanding income inequality since 1947'). It also holds that only the elected government knows what's good for the country (slogan: 'We serve you right'). Its leader's life partner disappeared last year with their tango instructor, Reklas Youf; it's not a good idea to bring up the topic of dancing."

"So one dictator in waiting, one corrupt semi-reformed dictator and three who are loco en la cabeza," said Don Gordo. "More or less," Maria sighed. "But they're what we have and the people deserve to make their own choice. One of the parties is however trying to corrupt the process. We are not sure which one, but our mole in the Election Commission has warned us that the Electronic Counting Machine (ECM) has been compromised."

Don Gordo cocked an eyebrow. Esmeralda said, "You'd better explain more to him, if he is going to plan his actions." Maria went on, "To ensure an accurate count of the ballots, the Commission bought a new machine. All the sealed ballot boxes are brought to a central office here in the capital and opened in front of party agents and observers before being poured into the ECM. The machine reads and counts them automatically. No-one has a chance to tamper with the ballots once they are cast. But our mole tells us that the Chairman of the Commission and his chief technician have been bought. Whatever the ballots say, the machine will give a read-out awarding victory to the party paying the bribe."

"So what can be done?" asked Don Gordo. "We tried telling the Commission, but the Chairman convinced the rest we are troublemakers who had been bribed to disrupt the election. Then we started getting threats if we didn't stand down. Most of us no longer sleep in our own houses. We have also excluded everyone with families from our action group; we are putting only our own lives in danger.

"Caramba! What are you planning to do?" exclaimed Don Gordo. Esmeralda cut in, "We need to restore the ECM to neutrality. WAMPUSS Infotech has come up with a counter-program with ballots taking the place of computer cards. If they can be dumped into the ECM's hopper before the count begins, that will do the trick. But there are two problems."

Maria said, "First, we need the backdoor entry code for the ECM, to be inserted into the WAMPUSS program. Our mole can supply that. Because all the Commission staff

members are under high surveillance, though, she has had to disguise the message. We are awaiting delivery.”

Suddenly, a drone crashed in through a wall, dropped an envelope on the table and crashed out through the ceiling, startling two lovers, a practising tuba quartet and a large flock of vultures on the roof. People jumped up, startled, over a 10-block radius. “Subtle,” muttered Don Gordo. Maria opened the envelope. “Ah, I was afraid of that. She has chosen a puzzle format again. It always takes us forever to solve them.” “Perhaps I can help,” said Esmeralda. Maria handed her a chart and a page of 10 clues.

After studying the chart and list, Esmeralda said, “Right. A simple 5 by 5 square of blank boxes to be filled in using the clues relating to the five parties. Each party has a different name, leader’s name, leader’s nickname, electoral symbol and home city. Helpfully, the options in each category are listed in the first column. Once the puzzle is completed, the boxes will contain 25 words, each one beginning with a different letter. (I and J count together for these puzzles.) In order to encode a message, you use the row number and column number to designate each letter. If the word in column 3, row 7 was “purple” for example, then P would be coded by 37. But once we have the decoding chart, we need a message to decode. Do we have one?”

Maria looked at the envelope. “She always hides it somewhere. Ah here it is.” Turning the envelope inside out, she displayed in faint pencil letters the string: **56-26-38-48-47-48 18-47-38-47 39-47 27-26-30-16-26**. Esmeralda soon had the chart filled out and then deciphered the message. Maria smiled and nodded when she saw the entry code. “Always the patriot.”

Don Gordo spoke up. “That solves the first problem. You said there was a second.” Maria responded, “Yes. We need access to the machine to add the fake ballots. But it is too well guarded. Our only chance is on Election Day, right before the count starts. The Commission is holding the ceremony in public, to increase the impression of transparency, so we can get into the same room as the ECM. We need just 30 seconds unobserved. That is where you come in, caballero...”

Election Day, and voters flocked to the democratic fiesta. Last minute appeals were made, joints handed out, cod fillets distributed, exotic cocktails with little umbrellas served, money (some of it not counterfeit) changed hands, frenzied promises (a few of them honest) offered. People trooped into the polling stations and exercised their democratic rights. In the late afternoon, the polls closed and the ballot boxes were trucked to the central counting office, escorted by the observers who had stood guard at the polls all day.

The ECM was set up at one end of a large ballroom, behind a simple rope barrier. Tall tiers of ballot boxes were piled at one side. The room was nearly full; the Commission had made sure of a good audience from all over the country. Right behind one end of the rope was a cluster of women in brightly coloured clothes typical of the mountains. One looked a lot like Esmeralda, but all had a bulky appearance.

- 1 The cormorant, fish and leaf symbols are adjacent in that order. (The symbols are for illiterate voters, to ensure they know the party they are supporting.)
- 2 The column numbers of the Prosperity party and Timothy O’Leary’s party add up to 4.
- 3 Arturo Velveta in column 5 runs the Highlife party from the city of Querida.
- 4 Marino Elefante, “El Gaucho”, heads the Integrity party.
- 5 The Destiny party headed by “The Ayatollah” uses the whip for its symbol. (It was supposed to be a gazelle but the leader’s nephew isn’t much of an artist.)
- 6 “The Skipper” runs her party out of the port of Xena.
- 7 Mama Typhoon and “The Mouse” are at opposite ends of the chart.
- 8 The Reality party is run by “The Bonze” from Nirvana, high in the mountains.
- 9 The party based in Kelowna and the party run by Louis Ui are in even-numbered columns.
- 10 The party based in Zumba and the party with the yacht symbol are in columns with numbers adding up to 9.

The Chief Electoral Commissioner stepped to the podium and said a few incomprehensible words, after which he threw a switch to turn on the ECM. His officers picked up the first ballot box and moved toward the hopper. Just as they were cutting the seals to open it, a large glass door at the back of the hall crashed open. A fat man with a huge moustache and a sombrero staggered in and fired three shots from a large revolver into the ceiling. The ballot box dropped to the floor. The intruder opened the doors wider and a gaudy covered wagon drawn by matched zebras rolled in, to flashing lights and blaring klaxons. Out of the back poured a dozen naked acrobats juggling pots of fire, bottles of wine (many tossed to a welcoming crowd), small live animals and snakes (many of which escaped, to considerable hysteria). From the balconies descended showers of tacos, coins and spiders on the heads of the audience. The zebras broke loose and began eating the banks of flowers around the room. A mariachi band appeared out of a trap door in the floor and soon half the audience was dancing. Shouting,

	Options	1	2	3	4	5
6 Leader	Elefante O'Leary Typhoon Ui Velveta					
7 Nickname	Ayatollah Bonze Gaucho Mouse Skipper					
8 Party Name	Destiny Highlife Integrity Prosperity Reality					
9 Symbol	Cormorant Fish Leaf Whip Yacht					
10 HQ City	Kelowna Nirvana Querida Xena Zumba					

"Stop dancing, you fools, stop dancing!" the Commission Chairman gestured for the guards to regain control, but as they were mustering, the side of the wagon hinged down and a vast flow of guacamole spread across the floor, leaving them floundering helplessly.

Maria turned to Esmeralda as their group climbed over the rope. "Madre de dios! We could be putting on a Roman orgy up here and no-one would notice." Esmeralda shrugged, "He's a professional." The women's group surrounded the ballot box on the floor, hiding it with their long skirts. Moving fast, they removed the top and added sheaves of what looked like ballots from under their serapes, before retreating to the ballroom floor looking considerably thinner.

In the end, no-one stole the vote in Rio Guapo. The election was free and fair, despite everything. After the tumult in the ballroom faded, the count resumed. No party got a majority, so Mama and Marino agreed on a coalition

(or "marimba maravillosa"). Ui's rise proved resistible. O'Leary got the votes of a small circle of friends. Velveta didn't get to be the big cheese. The rich went on grafting but the poor got slightly more. Don Gordo's troupe got away clean, which is more than can be said for the audience or the guards. Esmeralda and her friends had a small fiesta and got to work on the next problem.

Can you duplicate Esmeralda's work and provide the code phrase that de-activates the corrupt over-ride on the ECM? **bout de papier** will determine the winner by drawing from a sombrero containing all the correct answers received by May 15. The winner will receive a book signed by A Aalto. Not necessary to win, but can you give the two main ingredients in the sauce for mole poblano?

TESTING TURING

Answer

The answer is **LOVELACE**, which is the deciphered version of **BENT BOLT**.

Ada Lovelace was a pioneering programmer in Victorian England, when the only computer was Charles Babbage's Difference Engine.

DEFINITION OF ORIGINAL WORD(S)

Less than 90 degree bend
Sore joints
Venice landmark
French dessert
Environmental structure
Social media giant
Pioneer of rock (RIP)
Ancestors
Hanks role
Sauce for grilled seafood
Good investment
Work-out spot
Boy wizard
Beatles song
Good compromise
Cryptocurrency
Proficient journeyman
Anteater
Golding work
Pacific islander
Musical timesetter
Fish
Legal renunciation
Masterpiece
Sabre duel

DEFINITION OF ALTERED WORD(S)

Smart fisherman
Camelot allergy
She married in haste
Arson in Paris
Social media
Martial arts kick
Placido's overweight brother
Ancestral birds
"Life is like a box of Chiclets"
Welsh goat
Feel-bad investment
Work-out spot for Dentyne
Bearded ceramicist
DPRK leadership succession
60s fortune teller
Assassin's fee
Bad day on the stock exchange
Fat anteater
Top short-order cook
Large Pacific islander
Big city garden figurine
Religious fish
Bivalve that gave up
Beautiful Chinese pan
Puzzles like this one

ALTERED WORD(S)

ACUTE ANGLER
ARTHURITIS
BRIDE OF SIGHS
CRIME BRULE
EGOSYSTEM
FACEBOOT
FATS DOMINGO
FOREFEATHERS
FORREST GUM
GAELIC BUTTER
GUILT-EDGED BONDS
GUMNASIUM
HAIRY POTTER
HERE COMES THE SON
HIPPI MEDIUM
HITCOIN
LACK OF ALL TRADES
LARDVARK
LORD OF THE FRIES
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