

bout de papier

Vol. 31, No. 2

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

MARCH / MARS 2021

A YEAR UNDER THE VIRUS

CANADA'S FOREIGN SERVICE
AND THE COVID-19 CRISIS

**EN THAÏLANDE
À L'HEURE DE
LA COVID-19**

Grégoire-François Legault

**TEAMWORK
TAKES FLIGHT**

Tammy Ames

**A SANER, LESS
FRAGMENTED
WORLD IN 2021**

Jeremy Kinsman

**CONCOURS
DE PHOTOS DE
L'APASE 2020**

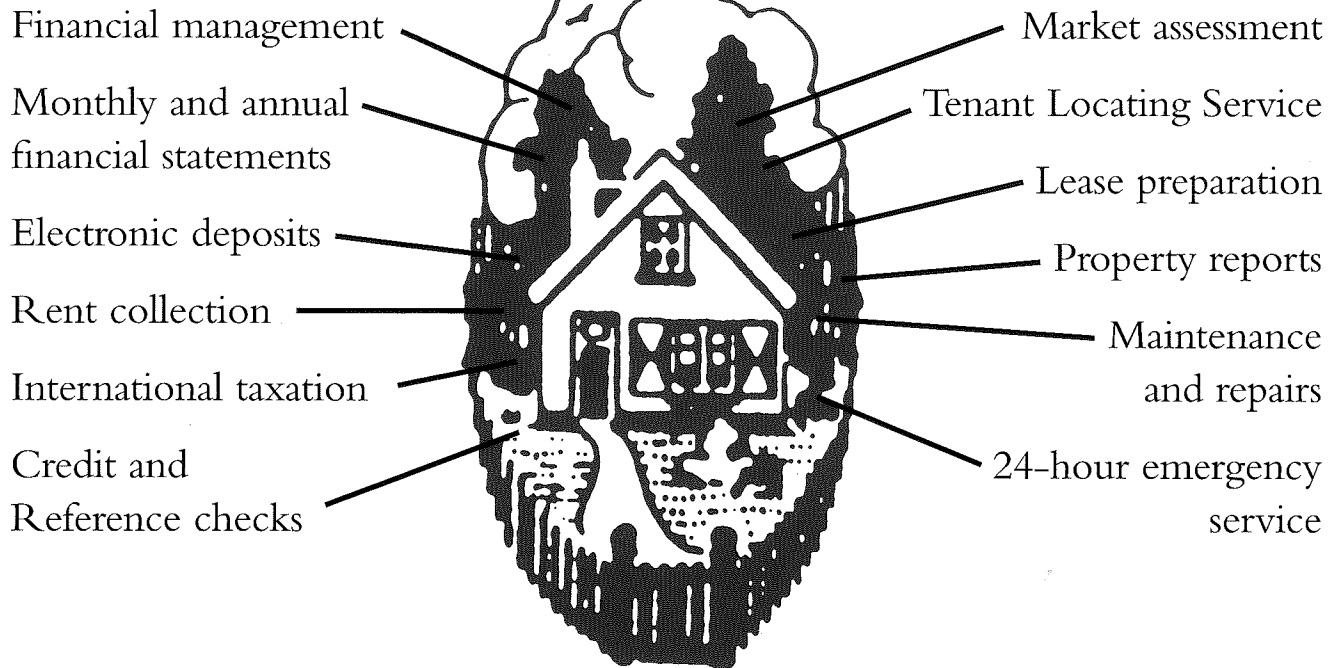


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A New Beginning

Daniel Livermore
Editor-in-Chief



IN DECEMBER OF LAST YEAR, much to my surprise, I was asked to become editor-in-chief of **bout de papier**. My appointment came more than 30 years after my first term as editor of **bout**, which was then a publication in its infancy, newly emerged in a magazine format. My job now, as Pam Isfeld, PAFSO's President, so kindly explained to me, was to "re-boot" **bout** as a magazine fit for 2021, with new content and a system for a thorough look at its purpose in a new and tougher world of digital communications. Then I could quit again.

bout de papier is the magazine of the Canadian foreign service, and the service of today is much different than the one I left years ago. The enthusiasm, work ethic, skill sets and dedication haven't changed. If anything, they are in greater abundance now than ever before. The Canadian foreign service of today is also far more diverse in every respect than it was in my day, and much more a reflection of Canada's true nature.

Ce qui a changé au fil du temps, c'est le monde dans lequel le service extérieur canadien évolue. Le réseau diplomatique du Canada est plus vaste, et les postes souvent plus exigeants, dangereux et compliqués. Les diplomates travaillent dans un monde globalisé où la communication instantanée est à la fois une bénédiction et une malédiction. C'est aussi un lieu de travail où les pressions se sont amplifiées, où les défis dans de nombreux postes et capitales se sont accrus, mais où les structures de soutien et les lignes d'autorité claires se sont atrophiées ou encore se sont sérieusement détériorées.

A few harsh realities about being a Canadian foreign service officer have become even more evident to me since assuming this job. I had already known that the foreign service was not well appreciated among the senior ranks of the Canadian public service. Regrettably, my generation of the foreign service bequeathed to its successors waning public support and lack of understanding for what diplomats do.

Qui vient à la défense du service extérieur lorsque les budgets sont réduits ou de nouvelles réductions de services sont proposées? Qui défend la nécessité d'une expression compétente et dynamique à l'étranger des intérêts et des valeurs canadiennes? Le service extérieur est souvent le seul à plaider en faveur d'une politique étrangère dynamique pour le Canada à un moment où le monde est confronté à une myriade de défis complexes.


We've traditionally done well in terms of performance. Canadian missions abroad have assisted Canadians amidst pandemics and natural disasters. The Canadian foreign service, at home and abroad,

defended the most basic Canadian interests during the chaotic Trump presidency. For decades, we've been at the forefront of efforts to build a rules-based international order, at the United Nations and elsewhere. Those successes are important. They amount to a long track record of delivering the goods for a succession of governments, of differing political stripes, under the toughest of pressures.

At a difficult time for many foreign services, it is fitting that **bout de papier** support both PAFSO and the government in shaping the diplomatic tools for the years ahead. We can assist in providing a clear rationale for an enhanced international public affairs capability, as well as the restoration of an international cultural relations program. It's also time for the Canadian foreign service to identify its own needs for the years ahead, like better training and development programs, improved foreign language training, updated human resource management practices, and the setting of clear priorities and lines of authority.

Pour être efficaces, nous devons être présents, visibles et disponibles. Le service extérieur du Canada doit réfléchir à ce qui en a fait un interlocuteur précieux pour les personnes qui s'intéressent à la politique étrangère et aux affaires internationales dans la société civile canadienne, ainsi que pour le reste de la société canadienne. Beaucoup de vieux liens, maintenant rompus ou effilochés, doivent être rétablis, que ce soit avec la société civile, avec le monde universitaire et même avec les gouvernements provinciaux et municipaux.

Let's give the Canadian foreign service a motto that resonates with our membership and the public: "Service to Canadians at home and abroad." It's simple. It states our mandate and reach. And it embraces the open-ended challenges that lie ahead. And let's do better at informing Canadians about what we do and how we do it. That multi-faceted, flexible, dynamic foreign service, deployed in various locations around the world, is what we need to present to the wider public.

bout de papier will do its part to address some of the dilemmas and problems of the foreign service of today, as well as in offering views on the foreign service of tomorrow. To do that, we need your views. We invite greater participation in contributing to **bout** and broadening its range and depth. Let us know the subjects you want us to tackle. Let us know about your work and its challenges. Let a "re-booted" **bout de papier** speak for the Canadian foreign service and its willingness to meet the challenges of today and tomorrow, in the service of Canadians. 



PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE // MOT DE LA PRÉSIDENTE

What Next?

Pam Isfeld

President, PAFSO // Présidente de l'APASE

IN MARCH LAST YEAR, I wrote "A Letter to the Future," my contribution to the last issue of **bout de papier** before we put this magazine on hiatus, just as the COVID-19 crisis overtook us in Ottawa. By the time you read this relaunched version, we will have marked a full year of social distancing, working from home, mask-wearing, closed borders, and devastated lives and livelihoods. Words like "lockdown," "Covidiot," and "anti-masker" have become part of our everyday vocabularies, and I still can't remember to unmute myself on Zoom. In all this, our friend and colleague Michael Kovrig has now spent more than two years in arbitrary and unjust detention in China, with no release in sight.

As one popular internet meme put it, the expression "hindsight is 2020" now seems like a dire warning from the future. There's no denying that from the COVID-19 public health crisis – and its especially devastating impact on diverse communities, psychological health, and small businesses around the world – to the continued threat of climate change, and what we hope are turning points in the movements for racial and social justice, 2020 has transformed us in ways we could not have anticipated. And the fluctuations are not over yet. Change is likely to be the only certainty in our lives for some time to come.


The international consulting company McKinsey calls a COVID-19 "landscape-scale crisis," which has generated exceptional uncertainty and increased stress and anxiety that have caused people to focus with tunnel vision on the present. Landscape-scale crises can cause equally large-scale traumatic responses in societies as enforced isolation disconnects people from their normal sources of social and emotional support. It's not uncommon for earlier traumas to resurface at both the societal and individual levels. Under such circumstances, humans have a deep need for meaning, transparency, and guidance. As I noted in my "Letter to the Future," everyone is seeking certainty, but unfortunately, there is still little to be had.

We're all asking when this pandemic will end, and there is some light at the end of the tunnel. As I write this, governments across the world are rolling out vaccination programs. At the same time, new variants of the virus are emerging, leading to increased travel restrictions and quarantine measures in Canada and elsewhere. Uncertainty about the effectiveness of the vaccines, how they will be administered to Canada-Based Staff and families abroad, and how the new public health measures will be applied, adds to the stress of the situation.

For many PAFSO members, this uncertainty comes after an exhausting year in which they worked around the clock, at missions abroad and at headquarters, at home and in their offices, to keep critical operations running and serve Canada and Canadians. This magazine contains some examples of the outstanding work performed in response to the pandemic. However, the beneficiaries probably don't know that a significant number of the people helping them have been separated from their families since the crisis began, and even more have not been able to see friends or extended family at all since last spring or even before. Fear and exhaustion are starting to take their toll, but the members of Canada's professional Foreign Service continue to act with competence, compassion, and genuine care for each other as well as for those we serve.

There is no question that Foreign Service Officers have been hampered in their pandemic response efforts by decades of erosion to our systems and structures. Much of our work, as consular, trade, political, immigration or development officers, relies upon relationships and contacts that take time, effort and personal connection to build. Canada is a G7 nation but we rank 18th in terms of diplomatic representation, well behind Argentina and the Netherlands, with only 1,000 or so Canada-Based Staff abroad in normal times. Many of our embassies and consulates are staffed by only 1–3 Canada-Based Staff, supported by dedicated locally-engaged personnel, which causes problems when anyone has to leave. At the same time, our bureaucratic infrastructure is bloated and lacks the agility to respond effectively to the current new and dynamic environment, including by providing appropriate administrative and health and safety support to staff abroad.

At PAFSO, all our instruments, including the revitalized **bout de papier**, are dedicated to reaffirming the value of a dynamic foreign policy, delivered by a strong professional Foreign Service, in these difficult times. Although our members have done extraordinary work under adverse circumstances, we would do even better with the right tools, resources and respect.

It's not easy to be optimistic when there are still so many uncertainties ahead of us. But in this year of unprecedented challenge and change, the Foreign Service community has pulled together to work through the crisis under incredibly difficult conditions. In this time of flux, I remain sure of one thing: the role and contribution of the professional Foreign Service will be significant in whatever is to come. 

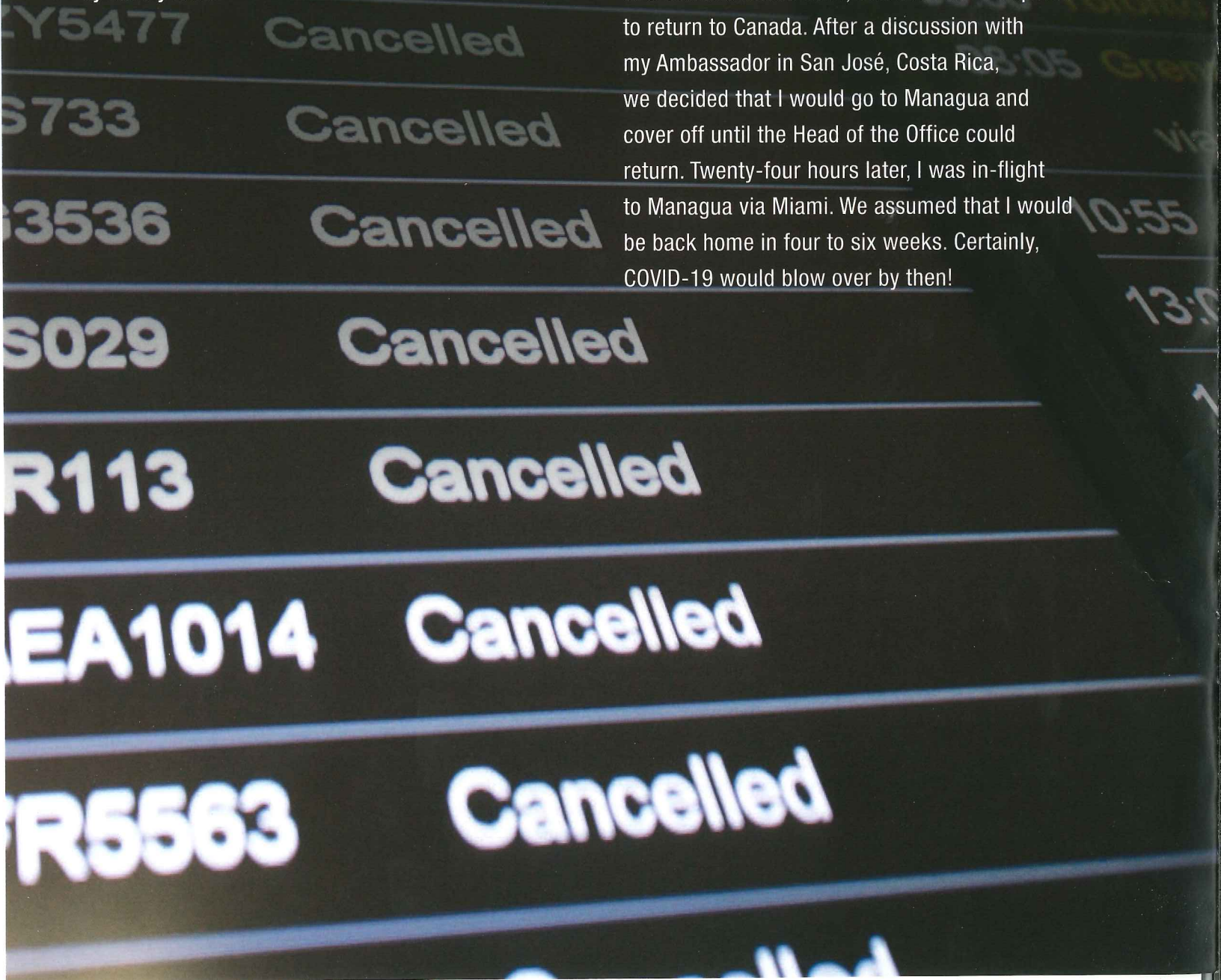
TAMMY AMES is the Senior Trade Commissioner in San José, Costa Rica also covering Nicaragua and Honduras.

FEATURE // REPORTAGE

Teamwork takes flight

by Tammy Ames

In mid-March 2020, the world changed. Countries began to close borders; airlines began to cancel flights; within days, many of my colleagues and their families were being repatriated to Canada. Then, we encountered a snag. Managua, Nicaragua, had only two Canada-Based staff, and both were required to return to Canada. After a discussion with my Ambassador in San José, Costa Rica, we decided that I would go to Managua and cover off until the Head of the Office could return. Twenty-four hours later, I was in-flight to Managua via Miami. We assumed that I would be back home in four to six weeks. Certainly, COVID-19 would blow over by then!



OH, HOW MISTAKEN WE WERE. One hundred and eighteen days later, I returned home.

I'm a Trade Commissioner and have worked my entire career in Trade. While aware of the work my colleagues did in other sections, it was an entirely new experience to be the only Canadian on the ground. From my first day in Managua, everyone was patient with me and walked me through the myriad of things I needed to know and do. Things were going as well as could be expected, but airlines continued to cancel flights, and borders remained closed. Canadians in Nicaragua were becoming more and more anxious as the Prime Minister encouraged everyone to return home. Within weeks of my arrival in Managua, all commercial flights were cancelled. We were well and truly stuck, and I knew that my six-week plan was no longer even slightly reasonable.

In April, the Canadian Honey Council (CHC) contacted us. Canadian farmers needed workers to harvest honey over the summer. Traditionally, those workers are flown in from Nicaragua. The CHC had decided to send a plane to pick up these much-needed workers.

That's when work got complicated.

It seemed simple: hire a plane in Canada to fetch the people you need. But during a pandemic, there is a phenomenal amount of work that must be done with various governments to obtain permissions and authority. Canada had closed its borders to non-citizens. Exemptions were needed for these workers. The workers' visas and passports were in Mexico City, with no direct flights to get them back to Nicaragua. This was another layer of complexity in an already difficult situation. When we discovered that there would be empty seats on this plane, we quickly offered them to Canadians who wanted to return home.

Like a mostly well-oiled machine, we swung into action.

We needed COVID-19 loans for Canadians without means. The Consular team in San José, along with headquarters in Ottawa, worked frantically to approve the loans in record time. The Mission Consular Officer and his team in San José developed MOUs/agreements to get the payments to the Honey Producers, who needed to be reimbursed. The Political section wrote and got approval for diplomatic notes at all hours of the day and night, and forwarded documents to the Nicaraguan government, while also overseeing a social media campaign about the flight.

Our Immigration section in the Canadian embassy in Mexico City found a solution to get the workers' passports

back to Nicaragua in the nick of time. Meanwhile, the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) made sure that the airport in Calgary, where the flight would touch down, was ready to receive the workers and Canadians, many of whom would continue to other destinations in Canada. We sent a team to the Managua airport and crossed our fingers.

The night of the flight, the team on the ground at the airport met the Canadians and processed payments on the spot. When the flight departed at 2 am, 35 Canadians were on their way home. Our Bee Flight was a success, and we could relax.

Until it was time for the next one.

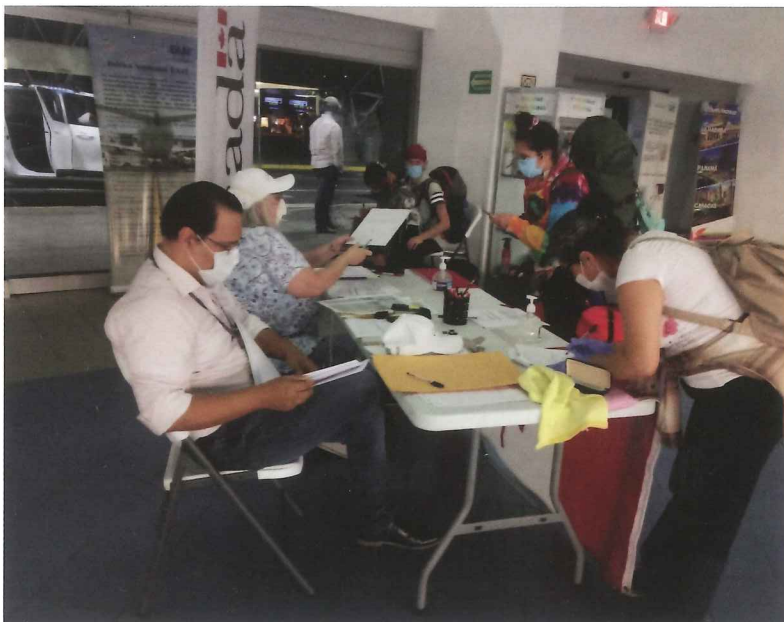
Since we'd done it successfully once, the second experience was certainly less stressful. However, nothing is ever easy. Because the local government changed their requirements for COVID-19 testing of flight crews, the flight had to be delayed. Finally, everything worked out; paperwork was submitted, and again we found ourselves at the airport at 10 pm on a Saturday night to ensure that another 27 Canadians could go home.

Nature loves a little joke; a little hitch is always needed to add some excitement. That night at the airport, a Nicaraguan worker approached me; he had not received the documentation which would allow him to board the flight.

We were well and truly stuck, and I knew that my six-week plan was no longer even slightly reasonable.

The author (right) and two locally-engaged staff: driver Pablo Robles (centre) and Consular Officer Juan Gazol






Consular Officer
 Juan Gazol and
 Senior Trade
 Commissioner
 Tammy Ames
 process the
 documents
 of Canadians
 traveling home
 from Nicaragua
 on the flight.

At 11:00 on a Saturday night, I sent a message to my CBSA and Immigration colleagues without much hope that I would hear back, since I didn't expect them to be monitoring their cell phones. To my happy surprise, I had a response within minutes. The information was being forwarded to Calgary, and the happy traveller would be able to enter Canada when he arrived. The worker and I both nearly fell to our knees to give thanks to that CBSA officer who came through at a nearly impossible hour on the weekend.

That was our last Bee Flight. We weren't able to get every Canadian on those flights. But shortly afterwards, some charter flights to the US began, and Canadians were able to leave Nicaragua. Without the collaboration and support of my colleagues from three different Canadian missions and three departments in Canada, the Bee Flights would not have happened.

It was one of the most stressful and rewarding experiences of my career. I met many fascinating Canadians along the way, while helping them get home or get their family members' home. This type of work was definitely different from my usual Trade work, and I certainly learned a great deal about Consular Services and the sheer amount of paperwork that has to be managed for such an event. I will be forever grateful to the teams in Managua, San Jose, Mexico and, of course, Canada for keeping me sane. Although I was the sole Canadian Embassy staff member in Managua at that time, I was never truly alone, and I knew that I had the full support of my colleagues and friends. When serving Canada abroad, teamwork is essential, and I'm proud of all who helped pull off our Bee Flights. They are examples of the best that Canada offers the world. *buzz* *buzz* 

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FEATURE // REPORTAGE

En Thaïlande à l'heure de la COVID-19

par Grégoire-François Legault

GRÉGOIR-FRANÇOIS LEGAULT est deuxième secrétaire et vice-consul (politique, économie et affaires publiques) à l'ambassade du Canada en Thaïlande.

Je me souviens encore de la journée du 8 janvier 2020. Notre nouvelle ambassadrice est arrivée du Canada ce jour-là. C'est aussi la première fois, à la suite d'un article paru dans le « Wall Street Journal », que j'ai brièvement discuté avec des collègues de cette étrange pneumonie s'apparentant au SRAS en Chine et des implications pour la Thaïlande, une destination touristique hautement prisée par les Chinois qui représentent en temps normal environ 25 % des 40 millions de touristes y voyageant chaque année. Le 13 janvier, les autorités sanitaires confirment durant une conférence de presse qu'une personne d'origine chinoise arrivée à Bangkok le 8 janvier a testée positive au nouveau coronavirus. Cette annonce marque la première fois que le virus a été détecté à l'extérieur des frontières de la Chine. L'ambassade en Thaïlande se met alors en mode précrise et commence à réviser ses scénarios de contingence en cas de pandémie. Avec du recul, j'affirme que nous n'avons ménagé aucun effort pour affronter cette crise qui demeurera certainement un événement marquant de ma jeune carrière. Le texte qui suit offre un bref retour sur une année charnière, vue d'une des plaques tournantes de l'Asie du Sud-est.

COMPARATIVEMENT À LA MAJORITÉ DES PAYS membres du « Five Eyes », sauf pour la Nouvelle-Zélande, la présence diplomatique du Canada en Asie-Pacifique est relativement minimale. Ce n'est qu'en activant la cellule de gestion de crise en février que nous avons pu mobiliser les ressources des autres ministères hébergés sous le même toit que l'ambassade du Canada à Bangkok afin de répondre à l'urgence. En fin de compte, la Thaïlande, ainsi que le Cambodge et le Laos, deux pays gérés en partie à partir de la mission à Bangkok, auront échappé au pire de la première vague. La Thaïlande et le Cambodge n'ont jamais complètement fermé leurs frontières, ce qui a permis aux vols commerciaux de continuer, bien qu'à fréquence largement réduite. Grâce à notre fantastique équipe consulaire et aux efforts déployés par nos « renforts » internes, il aura été possible de répondre à l'explosion de demandes de services consulaires. Que ce soit pour recevoir des mises à jour sur les vols disponibles pour rentrer au pays, mettre la main sur des laissez-passer pour traverser les frontières interprovinciales, ou encore obtenir un prêt d'urgence, la section consulaire a répondu à des milliers de demandes en l'espace de quelques semaines, du jamais vu pour une équipe qui en situation normale est déjà débordée.

L'événement le plus marquant pour une bonne partie du réseau diplomatique canadien dans ce coin du monde fut la saga du bateau de croisière MS *Westerdam*. Arrivé à Sihanoukville au Cambodge en mi-février après s'être fait refuser le droit d'accoster au Japon, à Taïwan, aux Philippines, à Guam et en Thaïlande, bien des efforts, incluant un coup de fil du ministre Champagne à son homologue cambodgien, seront déployés pour permettre aux 279 Canadiens d'être rapatriés au cours des deux semaines qui suivirent.

Pour être franc, notre équipe n'avait tout simplement pas les outils nécessaires pour travailler à distance au tout début de la pandémie

Les deux aspects les plus difficiles durant la première vague en Thaïlande furent la technologie ainsi que la santé mentale. Pour être franc, notre équipe n'avait tout simplement pas les outils nécessaires pour travailler à distance au tout début de la pandémie. Nous n'avions pas assez d'ordinateurs portables, les réseaux étaient horriblement lents en raison de leur surutilisation; à bien des reprises, il m'aura fallu faire des journées de 12 à 14 heures pour terminer l'équivalent du travail que je suis normalement capable de compléter durant les heures régulières de bureau. Avec l'incertitude grandissante au fur et à mesure que la pandémie a pris de l'ampleur, de la parenté âgée au Canada faisant partie des groupes vulnérables, et

le fait de se sentir physiquement coupé du monde, je me suis retrouvé plusieurs fois à broyer du noir. Heureusement que la gestion à l'ambassade a rapidement reconnu l'importance de s'assurer de la bonne santé mentale de tous les employés et que des mesures ont été rapidement mises en place pour atténuer les aspects les plus dommageables du confinement – pratiques qui ont été partagées ailleurs dans le réseau diplomatique du Canada en Asie du Sud-est.

Avec plus d'une douzaine de coups d'état depuis 1932 et une situation politique depuis les années 2000 des plus instables, une affectation en Thaïlande pour un agent politique promet toujours d'être haute en rebondissements. Bien que des élections aient eu lieu en mars 2019 mettant fin à la période la plus récente de gouvernance par junte militaire, le retour vers une véritable démocratie n'est pas encore complété. La dissolution d'un parti politique d'opposition en février 2020 soutenu par la jeunesse thaïe, l'enlèvement d'un jeune dissident politique au Cambodge en juin 2020, ainsi que la gestion mitigée de la pandémie, en particulier de l'économie, a encouragé des milliers de personnes à manifester contre le gouvernement tout au long de la deuxième partie de l'année. Le reportage politique, ces fameux « câbles diplomatiques », sur les manifestations en Thaïlande a donc repris énormément d'importance, reléguant la COVID-19 au second plan.


Dès le départ, l'équipe politique a su tirer profit de son réseau de contacts pour comprendre la crise. Anticipant les développements à suivre, la mission a rapidement mis sur pied un plan de contingence au cas où la situation déborderait. Pendant plusieurs mois, jusqu'à la mi-octobre lorsque la police a finalement commencé à utiliser la force pour disperser des manifestants, le renouveau de l'instabilité politique en Thaïlande n'a pas généré beaucoup d'intérêt. Tout d'un coup, en partie en raison de la médiatisation des développements politiques et les comparaisons aux manifestations à Hong Kong, la centrale a soudainement essayé de comprendre les causes du renouveau de l'instabilité politique en Thaïlande et les implications pour le Canada. Avec un réseau diplomatique à l'étranger poussé au bout de ses limites par la pandémie et beaucoup de missions encore en état de gestion de crise, il ne restait simplement que peu de bande passante pour faire face à des pressions additionnelles.

Le fait que la Thaïlande a échappé au pire de la première vague nous a permis durant la seconde partie de l'année de reprendre nos activités courantes...ou presque! Il faudra quand même quelques mois pour que nos contacts locaux

aient de nouveau confiance pour participer à des rencontres en personne – avec bien sûr de nouvelles mesures sanitaires en place telles que le port du masque ainsi que la distanciation. Contrairement à certaines missions dans la région fonctionnant à ras bord, nous avons les ressources nécessaires pour aller de l'avant avec l'organisation d'événements complexes lors de la seconde partie de l'année. Par exemple, en moins de trois semaines, nous avons mis sur pied une conférence régionale sur la liberté de presse en Asie du Sud-est pour préparer le terrain à la 2^e Conférence mondiale sur la liberté de presse. Les participants de la Thaïlande ont pu nous rejoindre physiquement au Club des Correspondants étrangers à Bangkok, tandis qu'une vingtaine de participants se sont connectés en ligne pour prendre part à l'événement dont le rapport de conférence se trouve en ligne.

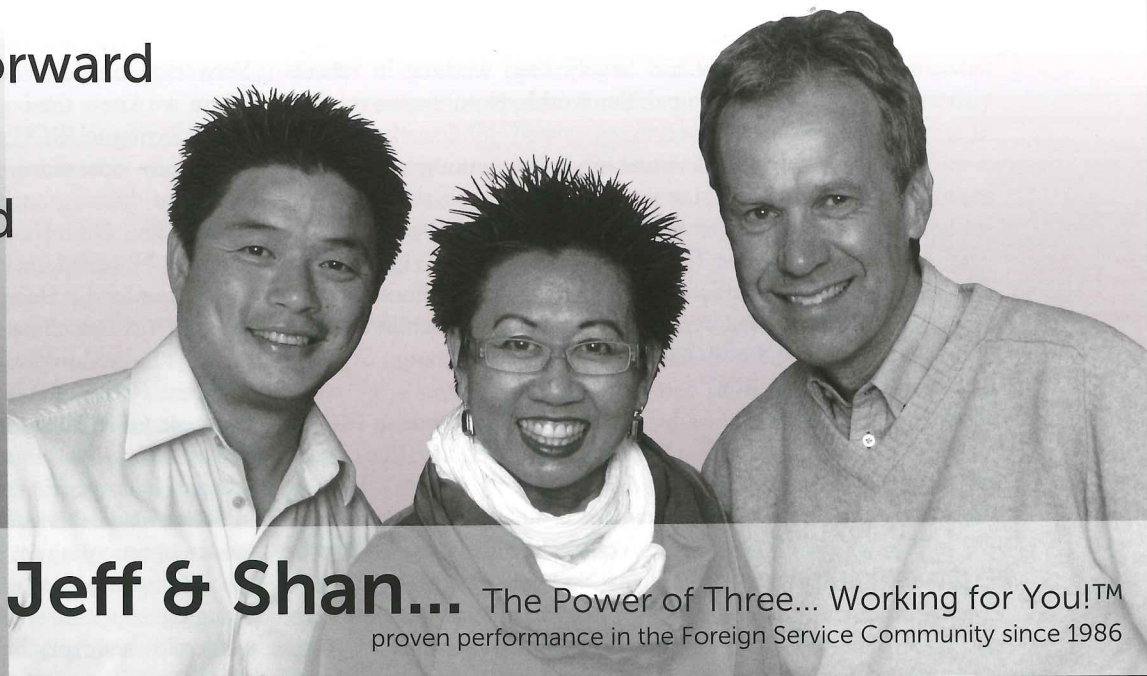
La nécessité est mère d'industrie; malgré toutes les discussions sur « la fonction publique 2.0 », ce sera une pandémie mondiale qui finalement forcera le réseau diplomatique canadien à s'adapter en l'espace de quelques mois. Une autre des leçons importantes à tirer de cette crise est que malgré l'avancement des technologies, ces dernières

ne peuvent entièrement remplacer les interactions physiques, car après tout, l'homme demeure un animal grégaire.

Au moment où je mets mes réflexions sur papier, la Thaïlande fait maintenant face à une deuxième vague. Après six mois passés à travailler de façon quasiment normale, le retour au confinement est dur pour le moral de toute l'équipe. Cette année devait être passée à célébrer le 60^e anniversaire de l'établissement des relations diplomatiques entre le Canada et la Thaïlande. Déjà, nous avons dû reporter ou modifier la plupart de nos événements pour le premier trimestre, et ce, malgré tous nos efforts de planification. Armés de notre expérience lors de la première vague, je crois que nous sommes quand même beaucoup mieux préparés, et ô combien plus sage, pour faire face à la tâche. 

**Le fait que
la Thaïlande
a échappé
au pire de la
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Welcome to the RROC

A STORY OF EVACUATION, DEDICATION AND DEPARTMENTAL TRANSFORMATION DURING THE PANDEMIC

by Zal Karkaria

ZAL KARKARIA has been a Foreign Service Officer with IRCC for 17 years. He has been posted to Nairobi, New Delhi and London and has undertaken various assignments at IRCC headquarters. He is currently involved in a fast-moving project to develop the next generation of visa processing IT tools for the department.

THE TASK WAS HUGE, and like so much that has happened in the past 12 months, unprecedented. As Migration Offices around the world began evacuating staff early last year IRCC needed to figure out a way to keep processing urgent visa applications for entry to Canada. The solution was part innovation, part improvisation. A new Migration Office was set up, seemingly out of thin air, nominally based in Ottawa. Most of the staff would not be able to meet in person, many had never met at all and, days earlier, they had largely been working in various missions around the world. Now, however, they found themselves evacuated to Canada, thrown together in a virtual office but working apart, where their work stations were located in hotel rooms and other temporary rentals where they were forced to quarantine for 14 days upon arrival. In addition, these “offices” also doubled as bedroom, living room and even schoolroom for their children. And thus, the IRCC Rapid Response Operation Centre – “the RROC” – was born.

As Migration Offices around the world began evacuating staff early last year IRCC needed to figure out a way to keep processing urgent visa applications for entry to Canada.

This was the response of IRCC’s International Network (the home branch of the department’s Foreign Service Migration Officers) as the impact of COVID-19 struck, first in China, and then almost everywhere else the department operates its 60 Migration Offices. Just over 150 officers and their families were evacuated to Canada representing close to half of all IRCC officers overseas. Many were assigned to the RROC which grew from a few early China evacuees to 117 staff members comprised largely of officers evacuated to Canada from abroad.

This included Liz Snow, veteran of numerous overseas postings with IRCC. Evacuated from Manila to Ottawa in March, she was appointed as Senior Director of the RROC upon arrival and found herself leading what effectively went from a place to park evacuees to one of IRCC’s largest visa processing offices.

“Nothing about it made sense on paper,” she reflected recently. “It was all so new. We never worked virtually liked this. We (IRCC’s International Network) can deal with compartmentalized issues where we knew the boundaries and timings.” She was referring to IRCC’s extensive experience with emergency operations. These include responding to natural disasters such as the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami and 2011 Haitian earthquake, and several successful resettlement operations originating around the world: Hungary in 1956, Uganda in the early 1970s, Indochina later that decade and, most recently, in the Middle East, with Operation Syrian Refugees (OSR). All had relatively clear purposes and goals. OSR, for example, though highly complex, had a definitive target: resettle 25,000 Syrian refugees by a specific date.

What made this crisis different, however, was the scale, according to Snow. She described it akin to building a plane while flying it. The rapidly changing operational environment during the pandemic made planning a chore. “The pace of change required senior tables to be in a constantly evolving policy and guidance state. We kept living on the threshold of borders opening, but then hitting another challenge.” Staff had to constantly adapt. “It wasn’t so much pivoting but pirouetting. This takes its toll. You can feel the fatigue in people.”

In spite of the upheaval, IRCC staff, including Migration Officers, adapted. “The professionalism

of colleagues was beyond expectations,” Snow recounts admiringly. “People were in Air BnBs, hotel rooms, home schooling in different time zones, but embraced serving the public and delivering for the department. At their worst time, they were their best.” She pointed out that many Migration Officers thought their evacuation would be for a finite period of time and that they would be heading back to post quickly. They spent the summer “living in two worlds” as Snow describes. Snow herself was worrying about friends and colleagues in Manila, experiencing the same shock and stress as dozens of her colleagues.

Despite the uncertainty and logistical challenges, the RROC began to find its feet. The department saw it as a way to minimize service reduction caused by the scaling down of operations abroad. Evacuees were provided with laptops and network connections and assigned to remote processing roles. The RROC focused on critical, priority Temporary and Permanent Resident lines of business. Notably, this included gradually taking over responsibility for processing requests for exemptions from Canada’s strict travel restrictions which were imposed in March and largely remain in place at the time of writing. These were often complex cases involving time-sensitive requests to visit sick and dying family members, or individuals whose entry to Canada was deemed critical to the country’s economic interests such as temporary workers destined to the agricultural and agri-food sectors or involved in health care.

I processed some of these requests myself (before the RROC took over), from my home in southwest London where I was posted until returning to Canada last summer. I worked in my bedroom or living room, on a kitchen barstool or at the patio table if it was sunny outside – wherever I could find the most peace in my busy household, now locked down like tens of millions of others around the world. These were some of the most agonizing decisions that I have made in my career. They involved, for example, balancing the obvious compassionate grounds upon which an applicant applied to visit a relative taking their last breaths in a Montreal hospice, with the serious health risks of allowing them to do so during the height of a pandemic. Denying the request meant denying the applicant the opportunity to see a parent or sibling for the last time, to say goodbye, to comfort them in their final days and hours; granting them entry could put Canadians at risk of illness or death. I felt, to be honest, ill-equipped to make these tough decisions. The admissibility and eligibility requirements of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act and Regulations* and the “Program Delivery Instructions” issued by the department to offices offered minimal guidance in those early pandemic days of March and April. I consulted with my manager, headquarters, the Canada Border Service Agency and my conscience before making a decision. Some of the email exchanges and phone


conversations with clients – occasionally with frantic travellers at the airport departure gate – I still think about now.

Meanwhile, as spring turned to summer, and the travel restrictions showed no sign of being lifted, pressure on the International Network was high to keep processing qualifying applicants. Migration Officers responded to ensure that the trickle of travellers who needed to get to Canada kept flowing across the border.

Innovation played a role and the RROC embraced digital work, already a growing reality at IRCC and now one that is accelerating as work-from-home orders continue. The years of pre-pandemic reticence to invest in change came back to hurt IRCC as it struggled in the early days

to respond to the new environment – a continued reliance on paper applications in many lines of business being an obvious drawback. However, the department, like many other organizations, is seizing the opportunity to innovate. IRCC now has multiple digitization projects on the go, many on aggressive, decidedly non business-as-usual timelines. I’m involved in one of these, and have observed a welcome openness to rapid change, and a somewhat unfamiliar appetite for taking risks. IRCC is very seriously reexamining how it operates and interacts with clients in Canada and around the world.

This could be good news for clients and employees alike. At the other end of this rather challenging period for IRCC employees, including Migration Officers who have been uniquely impacted by the pandemic, may be a happier and more rewarding place to work: a department more responsive to applicants’ needs staffed by employees with the technological tools needed to communicate with these clients clearly and effectively while processing their files quickly, efficiently and in a transparent fashion.

“We have to stop being concerned about exploring innovations,” urges Snow. “Let it wash over us and push boundaries. We learned we can telework and get results. We need to be brave. We also have to listen to clients. We’ve been nimble and adaptive and they will have the same expectations. That won’t change – they will want us to keep innovating and we will have to deliver. And it can be done.” 

Migration Officers responded to ensure that the trickle of travellers who needed to get to Canada kept flowing across the border

FEATURE // REPORTAGE

Hello From Delhi

9 MAY 2020

by Martina Stvan

MARTINA STVAN has been an IRCC Foreign Service Officer for 32 years and has served in Singapore, Hong Kong, Taipei (during SARS) and Beijing. She is currently posted to New Delhi.

... **BY MID-MARCH, THE SITUATION** in India and the global pandemic had become increasingly serious. Most of the Canada-Based Staff and their dependents were evacuated on what would be the last commercial flights to leave India. March 22 was a national curfew day in Delhi. Before the day ended, a nationwide lockdown was announced. This lockdown would last until the end of May.

In Delhi, there are some pleasant aspects to the lockdown ... there are no cars, buses, taxis or auto-rickshaws on the streets of Delhi. The metro and the train system is shut down. For those of you who have been posted here, this is an incomprehensible image, I know. Our mission drivers have never driven in empty streets – it took them some time to become comfortable with it.

There are very few people on the streets of Delhi and no more families living in the streets, parks and sheltering under the overpasses of the city. Again, an apocalyptic image of emptiness. The lockdown prompted an exodus of millions of day labourers from the large cities – with no work and no wages, and no public transport, they had no choice but to begin walking to their home villages several hundred kilometres away. It took the government a few days to react – they rounded them up and returned them to the cities to stop the potential spread of coronavirus, but many are living in camps on the edges of mega cities. Trains would eventually be organized to take them home.

The street dogs have taken over Delhi. They sleep in the middle of the roads during the day because there is no traffic. I can hear packs of dogs howling and barking at night because there is no traffic noise to muffle the sound. At the empty airport in the middle of the night, the sound of barking reverberates through the empty terminals and buildings. I even saw a cow in the median on the way to the airport the other evening. During the day it is so quiet that all you can hear is the sound of birds. For the first time in decades, the air in Delhi is clean (well, relatively clean. It is what a summer day in Toronto would be registering at, under 100 on


the Air Quality Index.) During the last two weeks of March and early April when the temperatures were still pleasant, I would actually open the windows in my apartment during the mornings for a bit of fresh air. Never imagined being able to do that while on posting here!

Why this reference to airports at night and empty terminal buildings, you might ask? All commercial flights into and out of India are suspended. But the Government of Canada has embarked on what is now the largest repatriation of its citizens since WWII, with India accounting for an exercise of unimagined magnitude, 11,000 people (and counting) over 36 flights (and counting). There are 30-some Canada-Based Officers who remained at the mission and are all part of our Emergency Response Team, working in tandem with our small group of seven immigration officers in Delhi and three evacuated colleagues in Canada who are the operations team for this consular repatriation effort. We have a small team going out to the airport for the flights departing Delhi because there may be consular issues or passengers not properly ticketed or documented with visas despite our hard work going through each name on the flight manifests. For flights departing from other cities in India, our Consuls General have been assisting at the airports, and we follow the process remotely through groups set up on WhatsApp. This has also meant, however, that the operations team has been working non-stop since the lockdown began, averaging 14–16 hour days, without much of a break.

Our mission has negotiated and organized three different phases of special flights – a charter-commercial with Air India to London Heathrow and then onwards with Air Canada using specific travel agents for bookings; a more commercial model with Qatar Airways via Doha to Montreal, where passengers have to book themselves online; and now a charter model using Qatar via Doha to either Toronto or Vancouver and booking through a travel agent. We also did a flight in collaboration with our Australian colleagues to evacuate stranded Canadians in Nepal and have been able

to put Canadians in more remote areas of India on flights operated by the British or French. These flights are all going empty in one direction, so the price is high, between \$2,500–3,000 per passenger, which means we have a team approving some 1,500 emergency transportation loans. We spent many late nights at the office doing online bookings on behalf of passengers holding transportation loans with our mission acquisition cards since there was no time to allow for funds to be transferred into bank accounts. The team here is responsible for organizing ground transportation approvals from the government for each passenger as, due to the lockdown, curfew passes are needed to travel to the airport. We have done geomatic surveys to determine where Canadians in India are physically located, so that we could better plan which airports to use for our flights. And we work with many, many spreadsheets to track all the details – those holding transportation loans, vulnerable passengers referred by MPs or the Minister’s Office – to build passenger manifests for each flight.

Who are our stranded Canadians in India? There were of course Canadian tourists in India who were stranded when commercial flights were suspended, as backpackers or visiting over March break holidays or those at yoga retreats. But the vast majority are Indo-Canadians, visiting family for several weeks. And then there is the snowbird population, mostly in the Punjab, retirees who spend six months of each year during the Canadian winter back in India. With the lockdown now at two months, most people are anxious to return home. The weather is very hot, they are running out of medications, pregnancies are progressing, families, jobs are waiting in Canada. The majority of our flights are from Amritsar (the Punjab) and average 40% senior citizens on each load. The oldest person we have carried so far was 106! The airports in India are amazing with their wheelchair brigades ready to take passengers from their vehicles, through the check-in process and all the way to the plane. The long lines of passengers in wheelchairs waiting to board are unique to this country. My favourite task has been assigning business class seating on these flights. While there is no real business class experience as such on our charter flights, I take great pleasure in putting the oldest and most infirm passengers into the more comfortable seats.

With this consular operation now going much longer than originally planned, we set up a mirror team in Ottawa at Global Affairs, who continue all our tasks during Delhi night-time hours. We wish we had thought of this much earlier in the crisis, but of course during a crisis you just try to put out fires and get things done, one day at a time. With this mirror team, we can now plan for mandated rest periods, but a solid week off won’t happen until this operation is finished with the last flight on May 21. We are managing a day off here and there, but I must admit that I sometimes fantasize about having to self-isolate for 14 days with nothing to do ... 

Postscript

These impressions were written to friends in the midst of an eight-week blur where the days blended into one another, with each morning feeling like the movie *Groundhog Day* – wash, rinse, repeat.

Being part of this consular repatriation flight operation during lockdown conditions was both a privilege and a feat of endurance, as the members of the Emergency Response Team – Operations put in incredibly long hours over a sustained period to fill 40 flights with 11,695 Canadians/PRs repatriated from India.

Under the leadership of our High Commissioner, Nadir Patel, and our Operations Chief, Christopher Kerr (who put aside his IRCC Area Director and Program Manager duties for the duration of this repatriation operation), the entire India network across all government programs worked together to pull off this amazing achievement, to support the Canadian community, and to keep information flowing to and from Ottawa.

Having a large High Commission compound in Delhi made our daily lives easier and this large-scale operation easier to run. But it also meant that we needed local staff and contractors to continue to come into work during this lockdown period to be on site to guard entrances, to ensure the physical plant was kept running, to drive us to and from our staff quarters or the airport in the wee hours of the morning or late at night, and to operate the club restaurant so that those working 16–18 hour days did not have to worry about shopping for groceries when everything was closed, never mind finding time to prepare meals. We had about a dozen locally-engaged staff reporting in, many on motorcycles which had an easier time getting through road blocks and curfews, to assist on consular cases or help with answering phones and emails (25,000 by early May alone!).

The Canadian staff who remained in Delhi, as well as in our consulates in Mumbai, Bangalore and Chandigarh, did so as members of Emergency Response Teams. Many worked during this difficult time while separated from their spouses and children, who had been evacuated to Canada. That separation would last until early September in the case of Delhi, when dependents and some of our evacuated colleagues were permitted to return. The situations in Mumbai, Bangalore and Chandigarh took longer to resolve and they remain at critical service levels only.

After this initial series of Government of Canada special flights during lockdown, repatriation from India continued until the end of July on mission-assisted flights, where the travellers could largely make their own bookings. The final tally was 27,688 repatriated individuals from India and 381 repatriated individuals from Nepal.

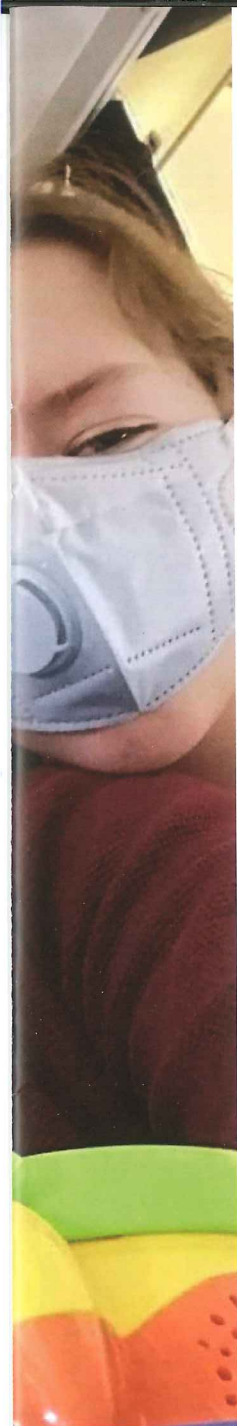


BETTI-JO RUSTON ERREJON is currently serving as the Senior Trade Commissioner, Agriculture Program, in the Canadian Embassy in Beijing. She is joined in Beijing by her husband René, daughter Olivia and son Zachary.

FEATURE // REPORTAGE

COVID-19 and the Story of Zachy

by Betti-Jo Ruston Errejon



Evacuation from Beijing.
From left to right: the
author, Zachy, René
and Olivia.

THE RELIEF WAS REAL.

After 48 hours of stress and limited sleep, the take-off from Beijing–Hong Kong–Toronto–Ottawa was a mix of emotions. In January 2020, little was known about COVID-19 other than it was serious enough to lockdown Wuhan. Being prudent, the Embassy was sending families home. We brought with us items that are similar for many families with young children – clothes, a few toys ... What we also packed were the baby bottles, diapers, formulas, food, portable blender, seizure medicines, switch-adapted toys, orthotics, hearing aids that our then five-year-old son needed due to his complex disabilities. What was left behind? His walker, feeding chair, adapted toilet seat and other equipment that the Chinese airline was unprepared to accommodate. Air Canada, which was the carrier that we knew could/would accommodate Zachy's equipment, cancelled their flights to China hours earlier. This was just the beginning of the realizations of the different impacts that COVID-19 would have on Zachy (and our family). But in January 2020 we were simply grateful to be leaving.

Zachy was born in fall 2014 during my posting in Mexico City. When he was five months old he began to have seizures. The diagnosis of Lissencephaly, a brain malformation, changed our family's life. For Zachy, the Lissencephaly has come with seizures, and physical and intellectual delays, which we now understand will mean ongoing therapy, medicines, alternative school curriculums, assisted devices, modified diets and lifelong care. He also has hearing loss, which is the result of another genetic anomaly. Zachy doesn't speak but does make sounds and can communicate with some sign language. He makes himself clearly understood in what he wants (and doesn't want)! He is a lovely, happy little boy, and we have worked hard to focus on all the things that he can do.

During our six months in Canada, we began to see that the COVID-19-related impacts for Zachy were different. After

Zachy trying out a mobility aid



the initial euphoria of being accepted into a Developmental Education program in Orleans, we quickly faced the reality that online school would not work for a non-verbal child with an intellectual disability. The stay-at-home orders and closing of public areas had real and profoundly negative impacts on Zachy, who saw his weight increase significantly with the lack of exercise. Once we got a replacement walker for him, he refused to use it, and we saw years of therapy progress disappear. While we were “fortunate” to be in a rental house in Orleans, it was very small and had too many stairs to be comfortable for a child that couldn't walk and a bathroom that was useless for him. There were only a few toys, which was made worse when the parks closed. My husband finally bought a trampoline, which helped bring the laughter back into the house.

The struggle was constant, so much so that when CHEO began offering respite care for two hours a week for families with children with complex needs, we were one of the first families that they called. Sadly, the demand for



Zachy enjoying a bit of Elmo at school during downtime.


help was so high that Zachy could only go twice, as many families needed the support. We were still grateful that they saw us and understood our reality. Thankfully we had been approved to rent a minivan, which stored his walker and stroller/wheelchair, and allowed us to go for drives to alleviate boredom.

The process to return to Beijing was surreal, with a month spent trying to explain that being disabled did not mean being more vulnerable to COVID-19. The ignorance was a reminder of the importance of the work on Diversity and Inclusion, as serious harm can come from those simply blindly making or following rules. The most important discussion I had before leaving Ottawa was not medically related – it was mail related. Distribution Services is our lifeline at post, not only for Zachy’s seizure medicines but also for the diapers and food that we rely on daily. If we are unable to receive these items reliably, we must go home. Thankfully, Distribution Services staff were prepared for COVID-19.

The return to post in August 2020 was a joy. The children didn’t even realize that they hadn’t left the apartment for almost two weeks under the mandatory quarantine. They were simply so happy to be home, in their own space, with their own belongings. We had packed enough packaged Baby Gourmet and Gerber foods to last Zachy for over two

weeks, in the event that we were detained in a hotel, without a microwave or appropriate food. In addition, we packed many, many diapers. Thankfully, we went home after one night in a hotel to complete our quarantine, so that we had access to what we needed.

Fall 2020 saw the children return to school in person. From 2018–20, Zachy had been attending a school for special-needs kids, but it closed during the spring of 2020 and never re-opened. A shining light during a dark year was the International School of Beijing’s launch of a Developmental Education program. Zachy was the only child in the program for most of fall 2020, as foreigners slowly returned to China. He is now in a class of three (and growing). ISB has been closed now for a month due to COVID-19, and once again learning has gone online. The teachers try their best, but sadly the kids don’t do well without in-person support. A positive element has been that Zachy has been able to increase his physiotherapy sessions. He is slowly losing the weight he packed on in Ottawa and is on his way to walking independently (we hope).

COVID-19 may be with us for a while, and we are preparing as best we can. We have tried to enjoy the travel FSD funds. After two tries, however, we will need to reflect on this, as the challenges, stress and safety risks outweighed the fun. The world has a long way to go to be accessible for all. My husband and I are embarking on a project to furnish a therapy room in our SQ, equipped with the tools to provide therapy in the event of future closures, and to try to alleviate the parental frustration and guilt of the harm done over months without therapy. Mandatory hotel quarantines remain an unknown – both in Canada and China – but we are hopeful that reasonable accommodations can be negotiated with governments due to Zachy’s special needs. We are scheduled to go home this summer for a surgery to help manage Zachy’s seizures. We are optimistic that air transportation will open up. We learned our lesson and will not leave his walker behind the next time. 



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FEATURE // REPORTAGE

Concours de photos de l'APASE 2020



PREMIER PRIX

Première coupe de cheveux
COVID-19, Ottawa, Canada,
par Nicolas St-Pierre

LE THÈME DU CONCOURS CETTE ANNÉE, Vision 2020, visait à donner aux membres de l'APASE une occasion de démontrer leurs compétences photographiques en captant comment les particularités de 2020 ont impacté leur expérience unique de la vie des agents du service extérieur partout dans le monde.

Le jury de cette année a octroyé le premier prix à l'œuvre de Nicolas St-Pierre, « Première coupe de cheveux COVID-19, Ottawa, Canada ».

« Lorsque le gouvernement du Québec a décidé de fermer tous les services non-essentiels, y compris le salon de coiffure que je fréquente, j'ai réalisé que je devrais faire appel à mon épouse Julie pour couper mes cheveux si je ne voulais pas sortir du confinement en ayant l'air d'un homme des cavernes, se rappelle-t-il. Dans un esprit documentaire, j'ai décidé de tourner mon objectif vers mes proches et de capter notre quotidien en ces temps peu ordinaires. Sentant qu'il s'agissait d'un 'moment historique' pour notre famille, j'ai installé mon appareil photo sur un trépied et demandé à ma fille d'appuyer sur le déclencheur pendant qu'on me coupait les cheveux. Heureusement, Julie s'est avérée une coiffeuse très douée et une catastrophe a pu être évitée. »



DEUXIÈME PRIX

Milieu de travail COVID.0, Buenos Aires,
Argentine, par Jessica Brosseau

Le deuxième prix a été décerné à Jessica Brosseau pour sa photo intitulée « Milieu de travail COVID.0, Buenos Aires, Argentine ». Et « Un trajet tranquille, Dakar, Sénégal », par Corina Pinto, a remporté le troisième prix.



TROISIÈME PRIX

Un trajet tranquille, Dakar, Sénégal,
par Corina Pinto

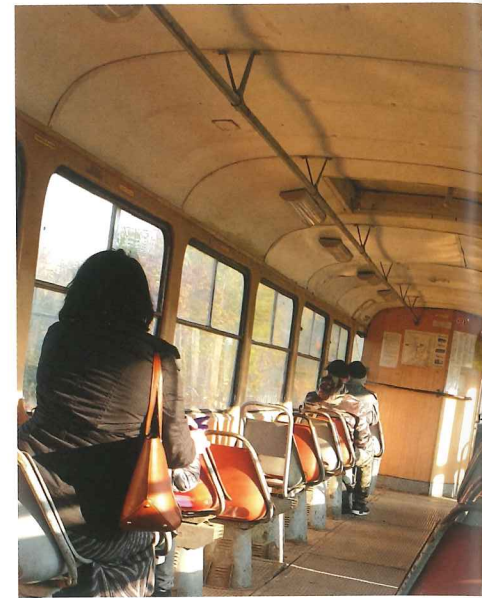
Les lauréats du concours recevront chacun et chacune un certificat-cadeau de chez Henry's, un grand détaillant canadien d'équipement photographique et électronique (150 \$ pour le premier prix, 100 \$ pour le deuxième prix et 50 \$ pour le troisième prix).

Des mentions honorables ont été décernées à Tsung-Wei Lin, Gurvir Khosa, Michael Otton, Laura Atar, Jennifer Cargill, Kristin Janson, Kapil Madan et Ala Ji.

Félicitations à tous les lauréats et aux récipiendaires des mentions honorables!

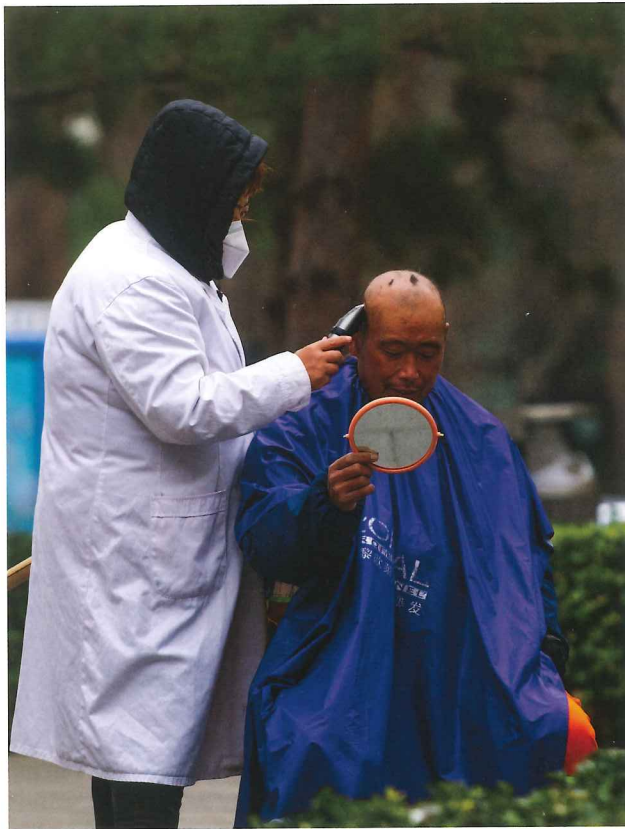
MENTION HONORABLE

Planète solitaire,
Tokyo, Japon,
par Tsung-Wei Lin



MENTION HONORABLE

S'il n'y a rien de cassé, il n'y a rien à réparer,
Odessa, Ukraine, par Gurvir Kkosa



MENTION HONORABLE

Coupe virus, Beijing, Chine, par Michael Otton



MENTION HONORABLE

L'auto-isolement, Dakar, Sénégal, par Jennifer Cargill

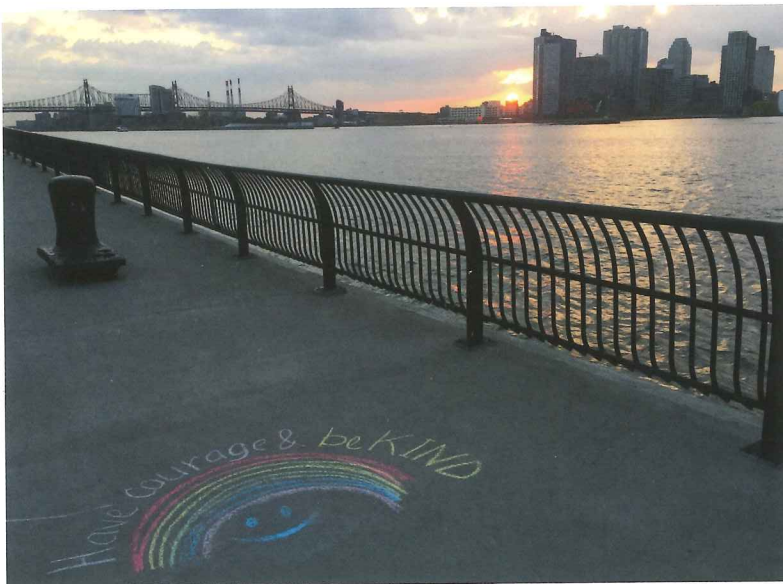
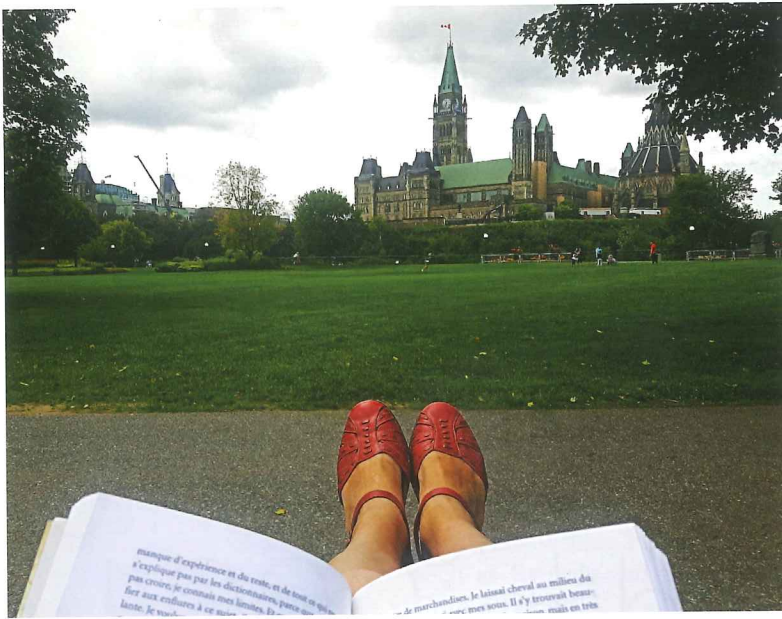


MENTION HONORABLE

Pont vers le paradis,
Amanohashidate, Kyoto, Japon,
par Ala Ji

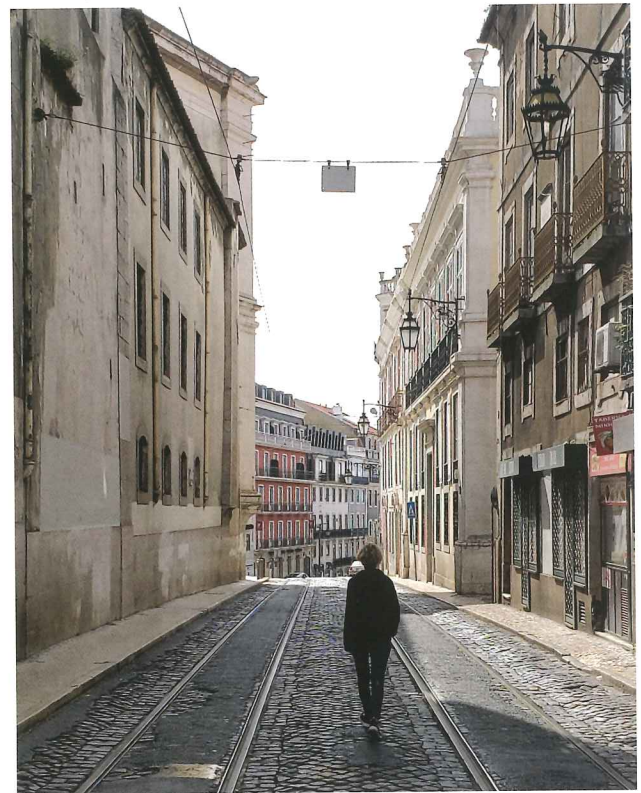
MENTION HONORABLE

Temps d'arrêt avec panorama,
Ottawa, Canada, par Laura Atar



MENTION HONORABLE

L'espoir à l'épicentre, New York, É.-U., par Kristin Janson



MENTION HONORABLE

Confinement à Lisbonne,
Lisbonne, Portugal, par Kapil Madan



MENTION HONORABLE

Temple abandonné, Tokyo, Japon,
par Tsung-Wei Lin

FEATURE // REPORTAGE

A Saner, Less Fragmented World in 2021

by Jeremy Kinsman



Only 20 years ago, Canadian diplomacy was at the front end of the post-Cold War effort to design and anchor new inclusive norms for international governance. Do we still have the stuff, the will and ability, to be a key player again?

JEREMY KINSMAN was a Foreign Service Officer for 40 years, serving abroad notably as Minister in New York (UN) and Washington, and as Ambassador or High Commissioner in Moscow, Rome, London and Brussels (EU). He is a Distinguished Fellow of the Canadian International Council.

CANADA HAS AN EXISTENTIAL STAKE in successful international cooperative outcomes we need to support with robust outreach diplomacy. We can't just fall into line behind US leadership and hope for the best.

In the last 20 years, the world has vastly changed, optimistic assumptions crushed by events whose residue still disrupts. From the jihadist attacks of 9/11 to the scorched earth landscape of the Trump presidency, the global mood trended to pessimism and identity-based nationalism. Democratic countries have impatiently anticipated the remedial succession of Joe Biden, a welcome multilateralist. President Biden has pledged to address democracy's global recession. The US will again reaffirm universal human rights as democracy's building blocks. Canada must commit as well to have the backs of human rights defenders everywhere, consistently.

But expectations of a restoration of American internationalism comes with a hedge. Although the Biden team is reassuringly experienced and outward-looking, it faces an obstinate partisan opposition and the overwhelming domestic priority to manage successfully the pandemic and economic recovery. US allies worry about how much room the new Administration will have for transformative re-building in foreign affairs. Partners are needed to maintain ambition and creative momentum to reinforce international co-operation. Will Canada be in the front rank?

Our age will be defined by the perception of an increasingly fractious rivalry between China and the US for economic primacy. The Biden disposition is to resist calls to "de-couple" western economies from China's or to promote an allied Cold War "containment" strategy, opting for "competition with cooperation," especially on vital international issues where progress needs both major powers onside.

Canada joins other Western democracies to press China for fairness, reciprocity and more transparency. But Canada needs a realistic and open-eyed approach to its own relationship with China that is only possible after resolution of our debilitating hostage dispute.

Our main bilateral priority is our critical relationship with the US. We have again a partner on whom we can count for civil discussion and negotiation based on shared evidence. But it will be no pleasure cruise. The US is inward-looking and protection-ish. We need to remain in campaign-communications mode toward all levels of the US, to lift the American view of the benefits of North American interdependence, while also working as never before to strengthen global opportunities from a diversity of partnerships around the world.

Multilateral reform remains a Canadian vocation of necessity. Twenty years ago, Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy worked with like-minded middle-rank states and international NGOs to

promote via landmark initiatives the acceptance internationally of new human security norms, ending the use of anti-personnel land mines, establishing a Responsibility to Protect to prevent tragedies such as Rwanda and Srebrenica, and creating an International Criminal Court.


Today the United Nations system is bogged down by the fragmentations of our world. We badly need similar like-minded solidarity groups to galvanize institutional reform and positive outcomes for such essential UN activities as peacekeeping, humanitarian aid, poverty, migration, and public health. As Foreign Minister, Chrystia Freeland encouraged the formation of the Multilateral Alliance group that seeks ways to re-build trust and purpose in multilateral fora.

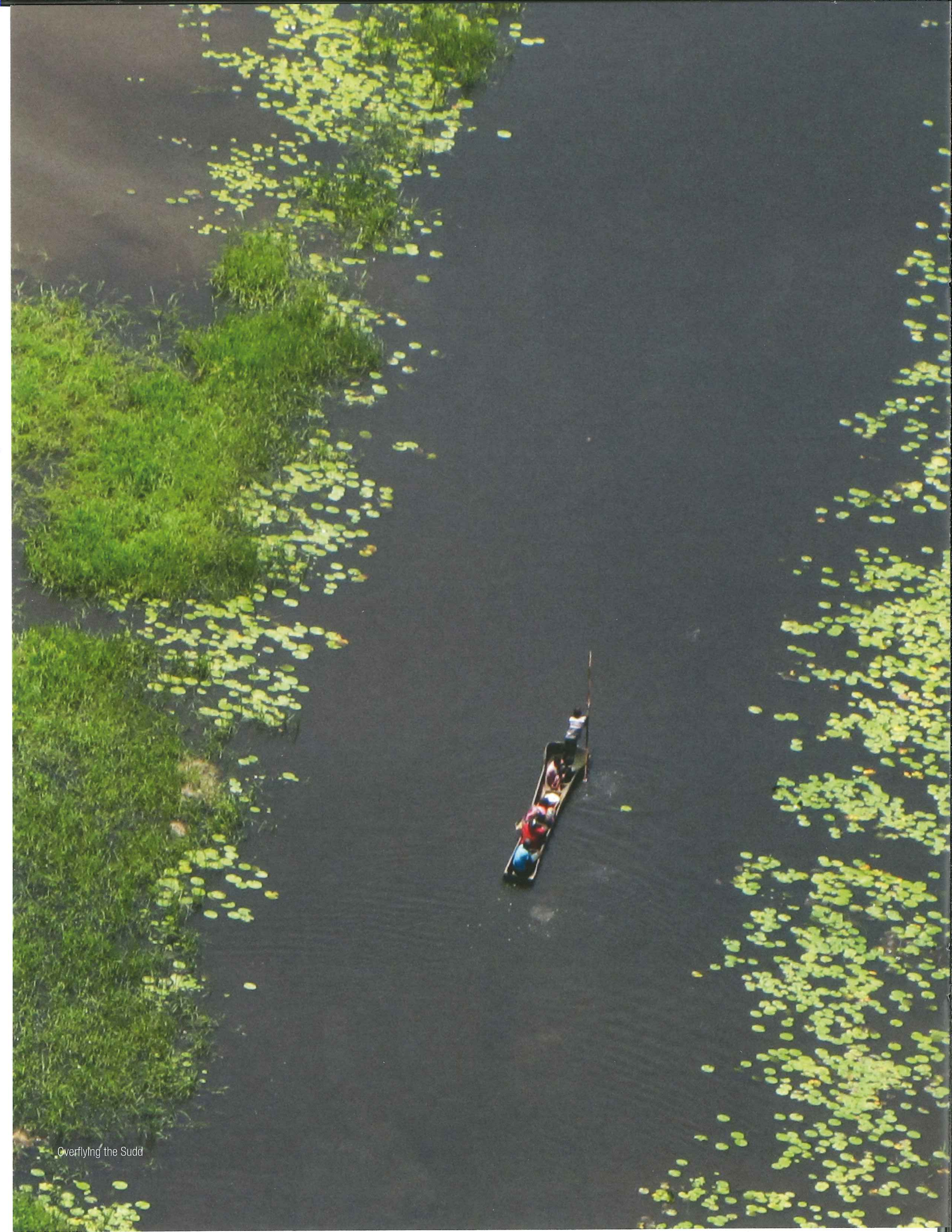
Canada should be an active protagonist in the COMAX coalition of more than 100 countries to assure equitable, affordable COVID-19 vaccine distribution. On the other over-arching transnational crisis, global warming, Prime Minister Trudeau's initiative to upgrade Canadian abatement of carbon reinforces Canada's leadership potential.

Also two decades ago, as Finance Minister, Paul Martin argued convincingly that the world needed a more inclusive forum to deal with trade-offs on such critical global challenges. It became the G20. But it isn't working. Canada has been trying in the Ottawa group of like-minded internationalist countries to revive and reform the World Trade Organization, which will now be supported by a US return to the multilateral arena that will encourage wider international buy-in.

One exemplary success stands out as a model of international governance – the Arctic Council, an innovative, bottom-up consensus-based organization of the eight circumpolar states and Indigenous peoples that guides the sustainable development and shared custody of the world's High North.

While in crisis response Canadian performance has been excellent, in procuring PPE or repatriating Canadians during the pandemic, saving NAFTA, and crafting the ground-breaking CETA with the EU, but we need to re-build creative policy capacity to move forward. We need to revive the creative capacities of the Canadian foreign service and enable the re-energizing of our international public diplomacy. Canada's has atrophied under recent top-down governments, centralizing PMOs and leaders absorbed by electoral politics and often content internationally to signal our virtues.

The pandemic has made clear that we are all trying to sail in the same roiling sea of challenge. We must help each other to stay afloat. Canadians are globalists. That international rescue and repair work is rightfully our international brand. 



Overflying the Sudd



NICK COGHLAN, a former editor of *bout de papier*, was Canada's first resident Ambassador to the Republic of South Sudan (2012–16). He is the author of four books, including three on life in the Canadian Foreign Service.

FEATURE // REPORTAGE

Bearing Witness

by Nick Coghlan

BY APRIL 2015, 16 MONTHS after the violent implosion of Juba, South Sudan's civil war was plumbing new depths. Much of the war thus far had ranged the largely Dinka forces of the governmental army – the SPLA – against Nuer militias allied with the opposition's Riek Machar. But in oil-rich Unity state, the conflict now took on a confusing Nuer vs Nuer dimension, and the depravity deepened. There were reports of rape camps, of infant girls being defiled, of boys being castrated and left to bleed out – so as to prevent the breeding of future enemies. Civilians were fleeing their villages to take refuge from the violence on islets in the giant swamp of the Sudd. Emergency feeding stations and medical clinics maintained by international relief organizations were not just being looted but burned down, their staff forced to evacuate to the capital. Famine loomed.

I joined a small delegation from the UN's Humanitarian Country Team, to show the pale blue flag in Unity, meet with the rebel officials who seemed (for now) to be in control, and help decide whether it was safe for the aid agencies to return.

We flew first to Rumbek on one of the UN's white Dash 7's, complete with the bilingual French/English safety announcements that are familiar to Canadian travellers: wherever rugged flying is required, you find Canadian aircraft and crews, and to maintain certification they must follow Canadian law. It had taken days to winkle the necessary flight permits out of reluctant government officials, along with parallel verbal assurances from the rebels that it would be safe to land in their territory.

At Rumbek we transferred to an Mi-8 helicopter and began our cautious progress northwards into Unity, landing first at the village of Ganyiel, then Nyal. One thousand feet below us, as far as we could see, was swampland with small, irregular shaped islands here and there. It was a sunny day with just a few white clouds: the reflections in the water made for a picturesque scene. You could tell which islands were occupied by the white plastic tarps supplied by relief agencies. Once or twice we flew over a man in a dugout, who didn't even look up.

At Nyal, as was customary whenever an aircraft came in, the helicopter was mobbed by the village

You could see muzzle flashes from the gun, but they were firing to either side, not ahead. I looked around for cover. There was none.

children. Esteban, the Argentinian UN official who was leading our small team, had to bat them away in a friendly fashion as he pulled out his Sat Phone to check that we were still cleared for our final destination: Leer. After a short conversation he gave our Ukrainian pilot the thumbs-up. We were on our way again.

We clattered down at Leer at the “terminal,” a rusty old shipping container at one end of a dirt landing-strip, on which some wag had daubed “Leer International Airport.” The main village was at the far end of the landing strip, and there were tukuls – round straw huts – all the way up both sides. The rotors wound down and the pilot came aft to open the door. But as I looked out of my porthole it seemed odd to me that no-one had come to greet us.

As the seven of us gathered at the foot of the ladder, Esteban grimaced in puzzlement, pulled out his Iridium again and dialled. He tried several numbers but there was no answer. He shrugged and in his thick Argentine accent said, “Let’s go. Vámonos, chicos.”

There was still no-one to be seen. Some tumbleweed blew across our path. It seemed like a scene from a Western, but there was no background music, just a light breeze rustling the reeds and scrub by the runway. As we walked towards the village, Anne, the country director of MEDAIR, looked worriedly ahead at the closed gate of her own agency; like Esteban, she dialled but there was no answer. Then, over the breeze and from somewhere ahead we heard a few isolated pops; then a pop-pop-pop sequence, noticeably louder.

We paused collectively and Esteban said, unnecessarily:

“I don’t like this.”

More pops. Then there was a cloud of dust approaching us from the village: a four-by-four in tan camouflage colours, with a heavy gun mounted on the back and eight or 10 men crammed in. You could see muzzle flashes from the gun, but they were firing to either side, not ahead. I looked around for cover. There was none. The door of the big white helicopter, 300 metres behind us, was now closed and it looked very vulnerable.

The pickup came to an abrupt halt and the men piled out, forming a rough circle around us, firing outwards all the time. The commander was a tall, thin, uniformed man in a black leather cowboy hat, with a whistle on a lanyard round his neck; on his shoulder he wore a patch of the SPLA’s elite Tiger Battalion. He blew his whistle, but to no evident effect; the men looked to be high and didn’t hear him.

Suddenly there was a loud bang and I instinctively ducked. Right beside me, a 16-year-old in a red Manchester United football jersey and flip-flops had loosed off a rocket-propelled grenade; now he was laughing hysterically at my nervous reaction. A khaki-coloured half-track and two more technicals pulled up. It dawned on us that the SPLA – the governmental army – had only minutes earlier re-taken Leer from the rebels.

A civilian with a side-arm pushed his way into the circle, as the men continued randomly to let off bursts of automatic fire in the direction of the silent straw huts on either side. He introduced himself with an ironic smile as the new County Commissioner, “since 10 minutes.” With an inquiring eye on the distant helicopter, he asked who we were. We all politely complied, then he curtly said:

“Come with me.”

Esteban remained very cool.

The “terminal”
at Leer





Walking down the runway to Leer village; Esteban (UNOCHA) second from the left.


“I am very sorry sir, but we have a busy schedule today; perhaps some other time?”

The Commissioner looked back speculatively at all of us in turn and for a moment I thought he was going to single me out. The soldiers had stopped shooting now, pausing to listen. Then the Commissioner pulled out a toothpick and chewed on it for a moment. He dismissed us with a wave:

“OK; maybe you should leave now.”

We turned back towards the helicopter; it seemed like a very long walk. The rotors were already turning, but the pilot waited until the last moment before opening the door to let us board again. He was looking ashen; he'd seen the RPG round go off.

As we lifted off, back to Nyal, nobody spoke. Looking down I could see women up to their waists – one up to her neck – wading away from Leer in the swamp, looking for safety. One carried her baby on her head, in a Moses-like cradle of reeds.

We had borne witness. Sometimes that was all you could do. 

The rotors were already turning, but the pilot waited until the last moment before opening the door to let us board again. He was looking ashen; he'd seen the RPG round go off.

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During **RICK KOHLER'S** 40-year diplomatic career, the only uniform he got to wear was that of a Beaver Leader (Beaver handle: Rusty).

ANNE LEAHY never wore a uniform during her 40 years as a diplomat. She now does so on rare occasions as Honorary Captain (N), Colonel Commandant of the Royal Canadian Chaplain Service.

FEATURE // REPORTAGE

Diplomatic Uniforms

by Rick Kohler and Anne Leahy

Britain's new ambassador to the Holy See, Her Excellency Sally Axworthy, presented credentials in 2016 wearing a specially designed diplomatic uniform for female ambassadors. Diplomatic uniforms are a rarity these days, but the Vatican is one of the few postings where envoys are expected to wear full diplomatic dress for formal occasions.

Anne Leahy, former Canadian ambassador to the Holy See, recalls that every January in the *Sala Regia* of the Apostolic Palace, the Pope presents his foreign policy statement to Ambassadors. British Ambassador Axworthy shines in her uniform but has competition. It is one of those rare moments where formal or national dress with full decorations is in order, and the diplomatic corps fills the scene with sashes and ribbons of all colours. The Canadian Ambassador, Anne Leahy informs, cuts a rather modest but dignified figure in such company.

DIPLOMATIC UNIFORMS HAVE A LONG HISTORY, as long as diplomacy itself. Around 1500 BCE, the Hittites exchanged what came to be known as diplomats with the Canaanites and Jebusites essentially on case-by-case bases, to negotiate interstate agreements and treaties. Indeed, the diplomatic term “protocol”, in its early incarnation, represented the introduction to a treaty from the Greek *prōtokollon* or “first sheet glued onto a manuscript”. The concept of swapping representatives evolved over the centuries until the profession became more institutionalized in northern Italy in the 13th century. The first live-in or permanent representative occurred when Spain assigned a full-time representative to the Court of England in the late 15th century. By the late 1600s, diplomats comprised a network of permanent outposts, first across Europe, then through Central Europe and to Russia. Diplomats were traditionally drawn from nobility or the aristocracy in order to confer an element of legitimacy on their negotiating enterprises. As



Her Excellency Sally Axworthy wearing the specially designed diplomatic uniform for Britain's female ambassadors.



Staff of the Canadian Legation in Tokyo, Japan (1929). From left to right: Kenneth Kirkwood, Hugh Keenleyside, The Honourable Herbert Marler, and Mr. J.A. Langley. Makita Kogabo, Ueno / Library and Archives Canada / PA-120407 rs.

such, the clothing worn by those practising this opulent lifestyle was finely tailored, of rich textiles and silks and exotic designs, drawn from the courtly fashions of life surrounding their respective monarchies.

And then a spanner in the works: the French Revolution (1789) with its *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* calling card, cast its influence on the diplomatic profession. Folks drawn from the ranks of commoners moved in on the conduct of French diplomacy and the matter of fancy clothing was no longer seen as *de rigueur*. It was around this time that diplomatic uniforms were conceived – like school uniforms, good quality but all the same, representing significant cost-savings and the sparing of stylistic imagination.

The custom of dressing diplomats in standardized livery spread through Europe around 1800 and later to non-European nations such as the Ottoman Empire and Japan. Swanky hats (bicorne with feathery adornments) and tailcoats with braiding became universal. Even consular staff had uniforms though less ornate.

Fashion conscious diplomats began to compete with each other by affixing all manner of add-ons, knee-breeches, patent-leather pumps with silver buckles, ceremonial swords and gold braiding of complex intertwinement.

Folks drawn from the ranks of commoners moved in on the conduct of French diplomacy and the matter of fancy clothing was no longer seen as *de rigueur*

Janice Cavell of GAC's historical division advises that diplomatic uniforms were worn by Canadian officials, when conditions called for it, up until the second world war. Canadian tunics were dark blue with gold embroidery, sometimes covering the entire chest area as depicted in the photographs, one showing colleague Sir Herbert Marler, then envoy to Japan. The uniforms that Canadian diplomats formerly wore were based on the British court uniform and were sometimes accompanied by knee breeches, or occasionally, with trousers that had stripes down the sides.

American diplomats in contrast tended to stick to evening dress (white tie and tails), which was considered "Non-U" by many if sported in daylight hours.

Former Chief of Protocol of Canada, Rick Kohler, informs that dress code for new ambassadors to Canada, when presenting credentials to the Governor General, consisted in the 1990s of formal tail-coat/striped pants attire. Today, it is less formal – business attire or national dress is all that is required.

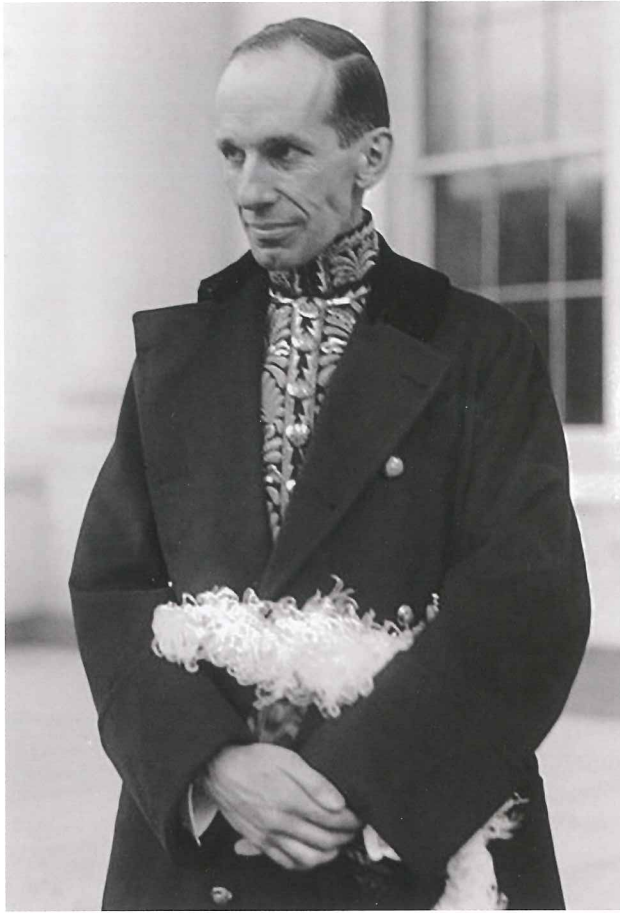
Russia's Peter the Great introduced civil and military uniforms in the 18th century as part of his transformation of Russia. Uniforms are still important today. In Foreign Affairs Minister Lavrov's words, they reflect recognition of service and pride of those who wear them. Ministry of



Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, wearing the modern Russian diplomatic uniform, congratulates diplomatic service officials on the occasion of their professional holiday in 2006.

Foreign Affairs (MID) diplomats have worn the uniform since the 19th century. There are three versions: dress, work and travel. The Soviet diplomatic uniform was fixed during WWII, and the current modern one by decree of President Putin in 2001 – no small matter! Anne Leahy, a former ambassador to Russia, shares a special recollection dating back to 1992, of a Soviet/Russian Ambassador in uniform at the levée of the President of Cameroon. It took place about two weeks after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The Russian Ambassador's rather drab blue military-like suit paled in comparison with the flamboyant livery of the British Ambassador.

Like the specially tailored diplomatic uniform fashioned for British Ambassador, Her Excellency Sally Axworthy, in 2016, some foreign service organizations maintain the practice for special, ceremonial occasions. And remnants continue to prosper in other domains, an example being the Académie Française that goes back to the mid-17th century. These 40 "Immortals" who protect the integrity of the French language to this day wear what is called



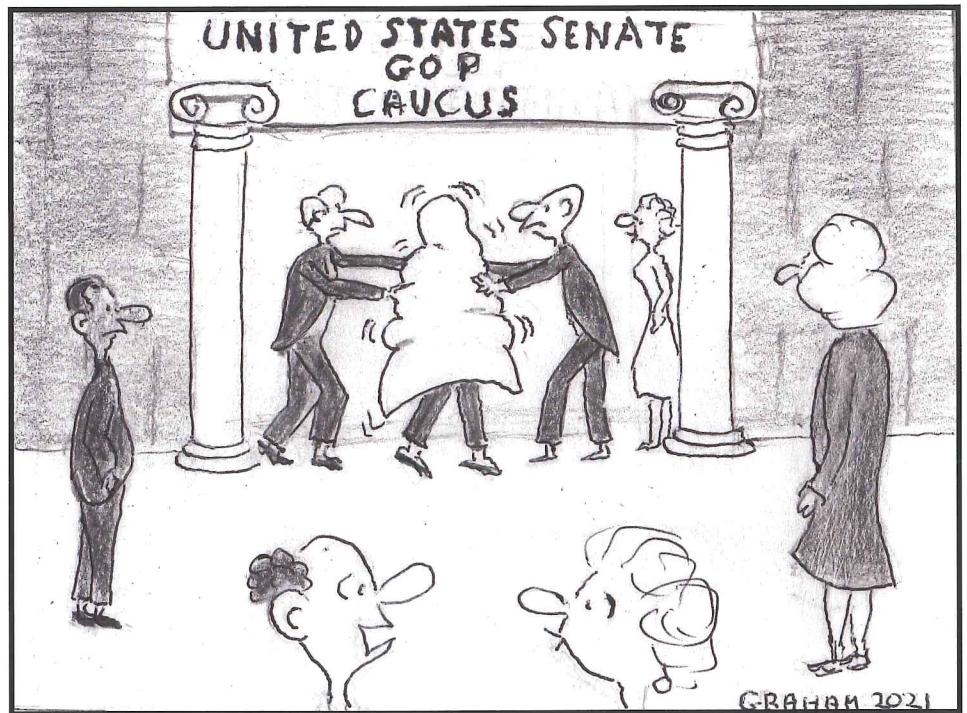
Vincent Massey in diplomatic uniform, 1927

l'Habit Vert consisting of a long black coat, a bicorne hat with black feathers, and covered all over with lush green embroidery in the shape of leaves.

Probably one of the best known Canadian diplomatic uniforms was that allegedly worn by His Excellency Vincent Massey. "Allegedly" because there is no proof that the uniform discovered in a cedar chest in the attic at the Canadian residence by Glen Bullard – a Canadian, locally engaged, who worked at the embassy in Washington, DC for 48 years (1966 to 2014) – was actually Mr. Massey's. Glen made the find in the late 1960s while Ed Ritchie was ambassador, but the uniform stayed there until Glen was showing newly-arrived ambassador Derek Burney around the residence's holdings. When he saw the uniform, he determined it should take pride of place, mounted in the lobby of the Ambassador's sixth-floor reception area. When Ambassador Burney left, it was relocated to the embassy's theatre lobby, until wear and tear regrettably relegated it to a return journey to storage in the Chancery basement.

Anyone wishing to look into more detail surrounding diplomatic uniforms – there is plenty of reference material on library and Amazon bookshelves – a special gem is *Uniforms of the World*, published in 1929 by Fred Gilbert Blakeslee. [bcp](#)

John Graham's Cartoon



"His conscience is upsetting his colleagues."

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The Hungry Diplomat

by Lisa Bitto

FRIES. Hi everyone. It's been a while. I've been posted to Brussels since we last spoke, so I'm looking forward to telling you all about the fabulous foodie treasure I've been finding over here. And there is a lot.

LISA BITTO is a political Foreign Service Officer and believes food is one of life's greatest simple pleasures. She enjoys using culinary diplomacy to bring people together and has been known to create cookie distribution lists at work.

SO LET'S BEGIN WITH ONE of the foods that best reflects Belgium: fries. Part of the gloriously holy triad of Belgian specialties (the others are chocolate and beer). Did you notice I didn't call the article "French" fries? I've banished that term from my vocabulary to avoid the political ramifications they can cause here. ;-)

Whether fries are French or Belgian is a matter of some debate. Namur, Belgium, may have been the birthplace, when a particularly cold winter in either the 17th or 18th century may have forced the locals to fry potatoes instead of their usual river fish. France lays claim to the frite as a snack that was sold on Pont Neuf, Paris' oldest bridge. Either way, both countries produce a magnificent fry. It is so part of Belgian culture that there are fry oil recycling spots all over the streets of Brussels. The term "French fry" is commonly accepted to have come from American soldiers who served in French-speaking regions during WWI. Of course, in French, it's just "frites" or, if you want to be fancy, "pommes frites".

Let's talk about the fry itself. Belgian fries are always made with Bintje potatoes, usually single-fried (to my great disappointment) and often cut fresh on the premises. In contrast, North American fries are often made with russet potatoes, fried and

then frozen, resulting in a softer, fluffier centre. Believe it or not, freezing them actually improves the texture (at least, in my opinion). I've spent a fair amount of time testing out techniques in my own kitchen, so take it from me, you can produce a really great fry at home if you're so inclined. I also make oven fries regularly here now that my fryer is in storage. Vegetable oil is good, peanut oil is better, but animal fats like chicken, duck or beef really kick it up a notch. Now when I make chicken stock, I keep the fat that rises to the top as it cools rather than tossing it. Trust me. It's amazing.

I was absolutely gobsmacked to see bags of frozen McCain fries available in Brussels grocery stores. It seems that Florenceville, New Brunswick's little family enterprise from 1957 has become a global frozen potato powerhouse. According to Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, potatoes are the largest vegetable crop grown in Canada. \$1.3b in 2019. 1000 growers. Grown in every province; PEI largest producer, Alberta, Manitoba and NB also major producers. Two-thirds of potatoes are processed for the frozen fry market for the likes of McCain and Cavendish Farms. Potatoes and fries are a huge export for us; we send 90% to the US and small quantities to Mexico and Japan. Top 10 global exporter for both fresh potatoes and frozen potato products.

RECIPe // RECETTE

Oven fries

Oven fries are one of the easiest things to make in your oven.


- 1** large potato per person. Russets and Yukon Gold are particularly good
- 1-2** tablespoons vegetable or peanut oil, or chicken or duck fat
- Salt or seasoned salt (I like Lawry's and A&W)

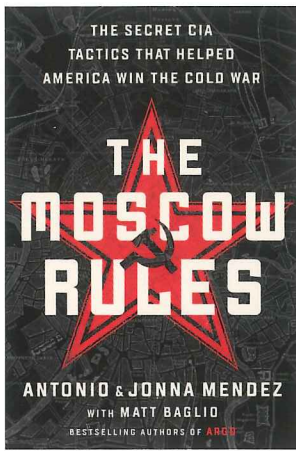


1. Heat oven to 400°F, using the convection (fan) setting if you have it.
2. Put the fat in a cast iron pan or rimmed cookie sheet and place in the oven to heat.
3. Cut a small slice off one side of the potato, to make a level surface that you will then stand the potato on. Slice each potato (as thick or thin as you like) length-wise, keeping the slices as consistent in thickness as possible. Rotate the whole thing on its side and repeat the slicing.
4. For a better fry (optional), place on a tea towel or paper towel and dry off moisture. Then place the potatoes in the pre-heated pan and rotate them so all fries are covered in oil.
5. Bake for 40 minutes, turning them every 10 minutes. If you cut your fries thick, they may need an extra 10 minutes.
6. Salt as soon as you take them out of the oven and enjoy as soon as possible.

You can eat fries plain, but really, why would you do that? At home, ketchup has always been my favourite, but my eyes have now been opened to the magic of the fry sauce.

Mayonnaise is the standard in Belgium, but there is an entire fry sauce industry that has grown here. Fry stands will list all of their options, but with absolutely no information about them. That is research you just have to do yourself. They are all mayo-based, but vary in sweetness, spiciness, main flavour and add-ins.

I've recently discovered a regional US fry sauce available in Utah, Oregon and Idaho that is going to become a part of my fry consumption, featuring mayonnaise, ketchup, spices and pickle juice (check out <https://therecipecritic.com/fry-sauce> for the recipe I used; you can also add some minced onion or garlic to it). It takes approximately 30 seconds to make and I highly recommend you give it a try. 



BOOK REVIEW // CRITIQUE DE LIVRE

The Moscow Rules

The Secret CIA Tactics that Helped America Win the Cold War

reviewed by Kurt F. Jensen

BY ANTONIO J. MENDEZ
AND JONNA MENDEZ

NEW YORK, PUBLICAFFAIRS,
2019, 238 PP. (HARDBACK)

ISBN 978-1-5417-6219-0, 248 pp

KURT F. JENSEN has written extensively on intelligence issues. He taught at Carleton University for several years after his retirement from the Foreign Service.

CANADIANS WILL REMEMBER TONY MENDEZ as the CIA operative who assisted in the exfiltration of the “American guests” in Teheran in 1980. This book is about his background as the CIA’s master of disguise, inventing ways to meet Russians in Moscow at the height of Cold War spying. Because these “meets” were risky, dangerous, frustrating or often impossible, the book relates how operatives confronting the impossible made them happen through magic and technology.

The answers were the “Moscow Rules,” the special operational protocols for collecting HUMINT in Moscow. Because foreigners in Russia stood out among the general population, the key for Americans operating in this environment was to disappear, “going black.” These rules were created by an imaginative group who exploited the operational methods of the opposition by deceiving the KGB with sophisticated, imperceptible slights of hand.

In the early days, a CIA officer would masquerade as another embassy staffer who did not draw KGB attention. From this tactic grew the practice that CIA officers posted to Moscow were measured precisely, hair samples taken, skin tones recorded, and clothing and shoe sizes noted. Facial impressions were made, wardrobes prepared, and wigs and prosthetics made. Disguises could be provided as necessary.

Speed and specially-constructed disguises were the key to changing appearances. In the space of 45 seconds, using “disguise-on-the-run,” Tony Mendez was able to transform himself from a conventional businessman in a black raincoat with an

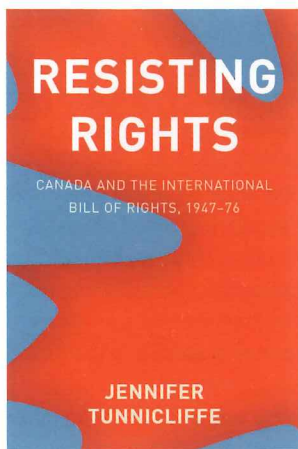
attaché case to a little old grey-haired woman in a dirty pink raincoat and a kerchief over her grey hair, pushing a shopping cart, in which the former attaché case was now a paper bag visibly filled with bread and other goods.

With the assistance of Hollywood magicians, Mendez constructed a Jack-in-the-Box. The idea was to “replace” a CIA officer in a vehicle by a “twin” after the officer, in a moment when KGB followers could not see the vehicle (turning a corner), jumped out of the slowing car, with the “twin” popping up to ensure that the right number of heads remained visible. The idea was born over a couple of beers (perhaps more than that) between Mendez and a colleague in a Southeast Asian city known as a regional sex capital. Anatomically correct plastic sex dolls were bought, to be refurbished as more conventional “twins” of CIA officers.

This is a fast-paced book, an excellent read. The examination of the Technical Services support activities for spying in Moscow during the 1980s adds a fascinating dimension to what we know of spy cases already in the public domain.

Tony Mendez died in 2019, shortly before the book was published. It is a testament to CIA officers who were the heroes of American espionage in the Soviet Union. It’s also an important contribution to a little understood technical niche in the world of intelligence gathering in “denied areas.”

Anatomically correct plastic sex dolls were bought, to be refurbished as more conventional “twins” of CIA officers.



BOOK REVIEW // CRITIQUE DE LIVRE

Resisting Rights

Canada and the International Bill of Rights, 1947–76

reviewed by John Holmes

BY JENNIFER TUNNICLIFFE

VANCOUVER, UBC PRESS, 2019,
PAPERBACK/HARDCOVER

ISBN 978-0-7748-3818-4, 336 pp

JOHN HOLMES' long service with Global Affairs included assignments as Ambassador, and as an international lawyer playing key roles in drafting the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the International Criminal Court.

THAT CANADA IS A GLOBAL LEADER in the promotion and defence of human rights is widely acknowledged, perhaps more so outside of Canada than within. That Canada's reputation in this field was once not just unhelpful, but downright obstructionist, is less well known. Thanks to a new publication by Professor Jennifer Tunnicliffe of McMaster University, *Resisting Rights*, readers can learn much more about the regrettable tale of Canada's policy towards the drafting of the initial United Nations human rights instruments.

Tunnicliffe's focus is on the drafting of the international bill of rights, comprising the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), approved by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948, and the two International Covenants on political and civil rights, and economic, social and cultural rights, adopted in 1966. In a detailed examination, *Resisting Rights* highlights the scepticism and uncertainty of various Canadian governments towards the UN's efforts to draft and approve these fundamental human rights texts. Fears that these instruments would undermine the sovereignty of Parliament, exacerbate federal-provincial tensions, embarrass Canada for its treatment of minorities, especially its Indigenous Peoples, and entrench "communistic" economic and social rights in Canadian law combined to produce an exuberantly cautious policy on the international bill of rights.

The "headline" conclusions in *Resisting Rights* are not new revelations. As Tunnicliffe herself notes, the story of Canada's abstention on the UDHR in a UN committee has been told before, notably by fellow Canadian William Schabas, a renowned international human rights expert. Moreover, Canada's hesitant policy in the early years of the UN's defining of human rights will not come as a surprise to anyone familiar with Canadian history. The slow evolution from British colony to true independence, as well as the existential struggle to maintain national unity in the face of constant and turbulent federal-provincial waters, were critical factors influencing Canadian foreign policy, including in the area of international

human rights. Then, there were the preoccupations of the Cold War which dominated Canadian foreign policy considerations in the aftermath of the Second World War, pushing other issues, such as setting new human rights standards, to the margins.

Professor Tunnicliffe is, nonetheless, to be applauded for her exhaustive research on this subject and for the very readable style of her prose. *Resisting Rights* is both a useful academic study on a topic that merits further examination and a welcome contribution to the debate on Canada's reputation internationally. On that debate, the divisions resemble the "glass half empty versus half full" argument. Some observers, Professor Tunnicliffe included, believe that Canada's international reputation on human rights is exaggerated at best, and unwarranted at worst. Others argue that, while Canada could and should do more on human rights, both domestically and internationally, this fact should not detract from the leadership role Canada has played and continues to play in the promotion and protection of human rights.

Ironically, *Resisting Rights* gives credence to both viewpoints. There is, undoubtedly, solid evidence to support Tunnicliffe's main conclusion – that Canada was initially leery of the development of international human rights standards, and that, even by the 1970s, its policies were hardly exemplary. However, *Resisting Rights* also documents how Canadian human rights policy came to evolve. It is here that the genesis of a more positive, activist government stance emerged. Influenced by changing domestic attitudes, by an emerging civil society movement, and international pressure from allies, Canada's position on the UDHR initially, and the two Covenants subsequently, gradually moved from one of scepticism and concern to one of full support.

An excellent example relates to the change in the government's attitude with respect to federal-provincial concerns. One of the main reasons for Canada's lacklustre support for the international bill of rights was its view that many of these rights fell within provincial jurisdiction. Tunnicliffe notes the significance of the Privy Council's decisions

in the 1930s regarding the ILO Labour Convention cases which had, in the view of the King and St. Laurent Liberal governments, constrained its ability to implement international rights falling within provincial jurisdiction. Faced with a reactionary government in Duplessis' Quebec and staunch defenders of the British parliamentary tradition in Ontario, Alberta and elsewhere, it is no surprise that the Canadian governments of the era were hesitant to show leadership in this field.

One of the main reasons for Canada's lacklustre support for the international bill of rights was its view that many of these rights fell within provincial jurisdiction.

As *Resisting Rights* insightfully illustrates, however, that hurdle was eventually overcome. When the (first) Trudeau government was considering ratification of the International Covenants, it developed a modus operandi of federal-provincial cooperation which, while hardly perfect, was effective enough to see Canada become party to the instruments. The consultative model was continued and eventually expanded to include the three territories. From the 1980s onwards, the effectiveness of the consultative process grew. It became a significant reason that Canada moved from a reactive and cautious participant in the negotiation of international human rights issues to a leadership role. Nowhere was that more evident than in the elaboration of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Not only was there an ad hoc federal-provincial-territorial working group established to guide the work of the Canadian delegation; provincial representatives from Ontario and Quebec joined the delegation and made positive contributions to the text of the Convention.

The story told in *Resisting Rights*, therefore should be seen from a positive angle. Rather than a reason for embarrassment, that story is quintessentially Canadian. How many times has this country, from pre-Confederation times to the present, adopted and pursued morally questionable policies, only to eventually come to our senses and do the right thing? The examples of our mistakes are unfortunately many, from our treatment of First Nations to racist immigration policies. And yet, we have managed to muddle through. How? The same way that *Resisting Rights* discusses the change to Canadian policy on the international human bill of rights. By talking, listening, consulting, reviewing and educating.

The impact of that very Canadian process was significant and far-reaching. During the late 1990s, arguably the real heyday of Canadian foreign policy, Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy worked closely with civil society and like-minded states to advance the *Human Security* agenda. The Ottawa Landmines Convention, the International Criminal Court, the Responsibility to Protect and UN Security Council resolutions on the protections of women and children in armed conflict were but the most noteworthy results of an ambitious agenda primarily aimed at protecting individuals from the excesses of states. And none of these achievements would have happened without Canadian leadership.

Even when we get things wrong, we eventually come to our senses. The UN's Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is a good example of how Canada, both as a society and a government evolve. While supporting the elaboration of the Declaration, Canada initially opposed the use of the term "peoples", preferring the neo-colonialist word "populations", because of concerns over the right of self-determination. Those, and preoccupations over the level of consultation required before approving major economic projects, led the Harper government eventually to vote against the Declaration when it was adopted by the UN. Yet today, the Trudeau government has not only accepted the Declaration but has introduced legislation to implement many of its provisions, even though the Declaration does not bind states to do so. That step puts Canada at the forefront internationally in realizing these fundamental rights. Not even the Nordic countries or New Zealand have gone this far.

That is not to say that Canada should rest on its laurels. *Resisting Rights* is most useful as a study in how modern preconceptions, in this case, Canada's international human rights record, do not withstand the cruel microscope of historical analysis. We can and should do better. Just as Canadian politicians and public servants learned from the mistakes made with respect to the international bill of rights, we should constantly review our policies and positions on defending human rights internationally. Through reviews, parliamentary study and consultations with civil society, we will do what we Canadians usually manage to do – the right thing.



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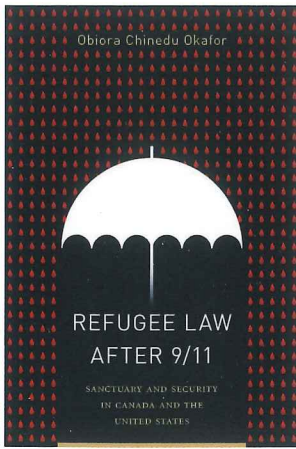
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BOOK REVIEW // CRITIQUE DE LIVRE

Refugee Law After 9/11 Sanctuary and Security in Canada and the United States

reviewed by Peter Duschinsky

BY OBIORA CHINEDU OKAFOR

VANCOUVER, UBC PRESS, 2020

ASIN B084P5QQ9T, 349 pp

PETER DUSCHINSKY dealt with several refugee movements to Canada in the course of his career as a foreign service officer. His expertise in international refugee law was acquired while he was Immigration Canada's Director of International Liaison (1998–2001), when he was in regular touch with the UNHCR and IOM in Ottawa and Geneva.

OBIORA CHINEDU OKAFOR, YORK UNIVERSITY'S Inaugural Research Chair in International and Transnational Legal Studies, states that refugee laws and regimes in Canada and the USA “for the most part ... reacted in strikingly similar ways to the heightened security vigil triggered by the 9/11 attacks”. His study treats refugee, security and criminality legislation and the security officialdom as part of a single continuum. It states that “*in both countries, things were already so bad with refugee law before 9/11 that there was significantly less room than many have supposed for them to get all that much worse.*” (Italics in original). The 9/11 terrorist attack was precedent setting. The US reacted by tightening immigration controls. Canada, sharing a long undefended land border with the US, tightened its own counter-terrorist measures.

The focus of the book is, in fact, not refugee law as such, but the lax application of international protection standards contained in the UN human rights instruments to the admissibility of asylum claimants as well as other non-citizens. Both Canada and the USA include these standards in their respective refugee laws. However, following 9/11 the US and Canada (but especially the US) have added new legal instruments like the US Patriot Act to enforce counter-terrorism measures against non-citizens considered to be terrorist threats.

The book examines the provisions of US and Canadian law on the legality of refoulement to torture and finds that the two law systems are similar. Both systems contain practical legal safeguards against removals to torture. However, in the US, deportations have been made to places of torture. In Canada, there are very few such cases and legal challenges have routinely ensured referral to the Supreme Court.

In comparing US and Canadian detention systems, the legal framework is relatively similar. But again, detention practices in the US are more severe than in Canada. In the US, detention of asylum seekers is routine, while in Canada rare. The US terrorist detention centre at the Guantanamo Bay military base became an example of dealing with terrorist suspects in an extra-legal manner. Nothing in Canada resembles Guantanamo Bay. As with other aspects of the US immigration and refugee regime, the tightening of controls was not only after 9/11, but more so during the Trump administration. “In February 2017, the Trump administration issued three executive orders on immigration/refugees. Together they contained a dramatic push toward a new regime of large scale detention of refugees and other non-citizens.”

A significant chapter deals with the US–Canada Safe Third Country Agreement. For both countries, the measure is a border protection and asylum claimant control instrument and as such contravenes the two countries’ responsibilities under international law to protect refugees. Okafor demonstrates how Canada has used immigration controls to keep asylum claimants from accessing Canada’s refugee determination system. A second control measure is Canada’s off-shore interdiction system, specifically implemented to slow the influx of refugee claimants to Canada. It is mentioned in the book only in passing.

Tens of thousands of asylum seekers irregularly crossed the land border from the US to Canada in 2017 and 2018, to “avoid President Trump’s harsh refugee/immigration policies”. The long-term battle

As with other aspects of the US immigration and refugee regime, the tightening of controls was not only after 9/11, but more so during the Trump administration.



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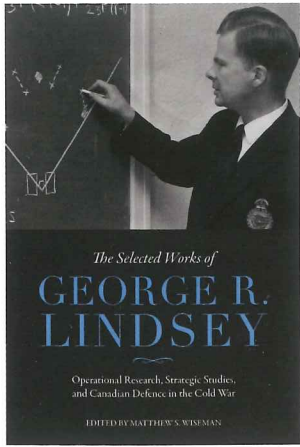
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waged by Canadian refugee advocates against the Safe Third Country Agreement is dealt with by Okafor. The main argument of the Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR) in Canadian courts was that the US is not a safe country for refugees and that refugee claimants returned from Canada to the US would face harsh treatment in the US, including immediate detention. This argument was supported by the UNHCR in testimony before a House of Commons Committee, which the book examines in detail. Okafor does not clearly state that, during the Trump years, the movement of asylum seekers was one way, from the US to Canada, demonstrating that non-citizens in the US were fearful of the US immigration control system.

Okafor's view of "bad refugee law" in both countries since before 9/11 is not factually demonstrated. Refugee laws in the US and Canada have been drafted in conformity with the UN Refugee Convention and Protocol. Measures that may be objected to in the two refugee regimes and may contradict refugee protection principles based on international refugee and human rights law, are, in fact, often based on legislation other than refugee law (e.g., the Patriot Act in the US), or administrative fiat, and usually apply to non-citizens in general.

In conclusion, this book provides a comparative examination of international refugee protection standards as they are applied by the legal regimes of the US and Canada to non-citizen admissibility, with special emphasis on refoulement to torture, detention, terrorists and the Third Safe Country Agreement. While demonstrating Okafor's claim that the strictly legal elements of refugee law are similar in the two countries, it also tends to show the opposite as far as the practical implementation of the laws is concerned. The US is considerably harsher toward asylum seekers and other non-citizens than Canada, and the US system has been more negatively influenced by changes put into effect during the Trump presidency than by reactions to 9/11.



BOOK REVIEW // CRITIQUE DE LIVRE

The Selected Works of George R. Lindsey

Operational Research, Strategic Studies, and Canadian Defence in the Cold War

reviewed by Gordon K. Vachon

MATTHEW S. WISEMAN, ED.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
PRESS, 2019.

ISBN 978-1-4875-0353-6, 275 pp

GORDON K. VACHON first crossed paths with Dr Lindsey when at ORAE's Directorate of Strategic Operational Research 1969–72, inter-acting more closely when serving in and then heading the Verification Research Unit at DFAIT (1984–1998).

WHO IS DR GEORGE LINDSEY? Why is he of interest?

Postdoctoral scholar Matthew S. Wiseman presents Dr George Lindsey, defence scientist and senior DND advisor, using his subject's own words to take us on roughly a 40-year "journey" through a representative group of (15+2) papers to suggest answers to those questions, while also providing his own perceptive introduction and afterword. Wiseman has narrowed the focus to the Cold War. However, some, including this reviewer, might stretch the timeline and go even further in suggesting that Dr Lindsey's thoughts on defence matters and, more importantly, his analytical process regarding strategic issues continue to have relevance in today's world.

After a warm personal *tour d'horizon* of Dr Lindsey's life of achievement, Wiseman's introduction divides his selected papers into three sections. First come the "nuts and bolts" of defence via Operational Research, in which Lindsey outlines the role OR and systems analysis have played and can continue to play in the selection of military equipment and in determining how such equipment can most effectively be employed. Section Two takes us to the other end of the spectrum, focusing on Strategic Studies, principally considerations of how technological change can affect offence/defence relationships with implications for strategic nuclear deterrence stability. Section Three, entitled Canadian Defence, brings a mix of the two, discussing what Canada has brought to the table. It offers a Canadian perspective on national defence from the 1960s through to the late-1980s, turbulent years for DND and for defence research in support of DND. Canadian geography and the Arctic feature in this section, as does the rationale for supporting and contributing to strategic deterrence.

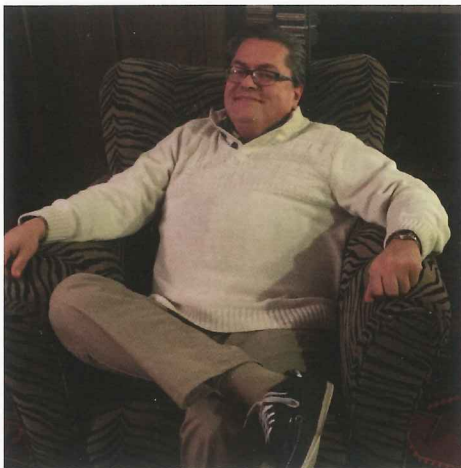
Wiseman's bibliography of Lindsey's papers points to further material that, but for space, could also have enriched this voyage of discovery.

In his afterword, Wiseman briefly explains why "Lindsey was against the complete elimination of nuclear armaments", also clearly announced in his 1999 paper entitled "Strategic Nuclear Weapons: Fewer Would Be Better but Zero Would Be Imprudent". This discussion alone would warrant careful attention to this book in light of views under wide debate today.

Wiseman also includes Lindsey's views on the contributions that arms control could make to security, in section Two, as well as in the bibliography of works at the end of the book. Lindsey was well aware that weapons agreements considered in the 1970s and 1980s (and later in the 1990s) would not solve all strategic imbalances or issues. But early on he concluded that an interim or incomplete agreement could "preserve the opportunity to negotiate agreements in the future that could reduce the probability that either side will simply try to solve its problems by extensive uncontrolled armament" (p. 81).

Of particular interest to Global Affairs personnel is that, after his retirement from DND in 1987, Dr Lindsey co-authored a number of studies under the auspices of the now-defunct Verification Research Program embedded in the (Non-Proliferation,) Arms Control and Disarmament Division. These are noted in the bibliography of works (pp. 247–8).

In his astute selection of Dr Lindsey's papers and in his opening and closing remarks, Wiseman has given us the opportunity to partake in an informative multi-decade journey with Dr Lindsey via papers covering a broad range of defence issues. In Michelin 3-star terminology: "Vaut le voyage."



IN MEMORIAM // EN MÉMOIRE DE

Farewell to a Raconteur

ANDREW SHORE

1966–2020

by Pam Isfeld

FOREIGN SERVICE FRIENDS OF ANDREW SHORE were shocked to learn of his sudden passing on 14 December 2020 in Ottawa.

Andrew joined the Foreign Service (Political Stream) in 1991, after growing up in Montreal and graduating from Concordia University (1991) and Pierrefonds Community High School (1984).

During his Foreign Service career, Andrew served abroad in the Canadian Embassy in Zagreb, at the Office of the High Representative in Sarajevo, and at the Canadian High Commission in London. At headquarters, he held many assignments including as a member of the Kosovo Task Force, director of the Global Partnership Program, director of the Humanitarian Affairs Division, director for Central America and the Caribbean, and special advisor at the Canadian Foreign Service Institute. One of his proudest achievements was his work on the Ottawa Treaty banning anti-personnel landmines.

Andrew's life and perspectives were affected strongly by his experience of war and instability in the former Yugoslavia and his work on the Ebola Crisis. In addition to entrenching a deep commitment to human rights and protection of vulnerable populations, his work provided fodder for his dark wit and material for many of his most moving tales of conflict-zone and crisis diplomacy. Over the years, many of these stories were shared over Friday after-work drinks at one of his favourite watering-holes in the Market or New Edinburgh.

Andrew did not have much time or patience for ceremony and had often commented that big funerals were a waste. Instead, he joked, his friends should gather to have a drink and tell stories. Since the COVID-19 pandemic made meeting in person impossible, friends and colleagues did the next best thing and united over

Zoom on 22 December to raise a glass and share their favourite memories. He would have been pleased to see that more than a hundred people from his many postings and assignments, volunteer activities and school days gathered from across at least six different time zones to celebrate his life.

At the memorial and on Facebook, they told stories of a bon vivant, a raconteur with a booming laugh and an irreverent sense of humour, and a generous mentor who reminded everyone of the need to care for others and take the human factor into account.

A friend from his university days remembered ultra-competitive Trivial Pursuit games as well as how "his calming demeanor and storytelling skills transformed a gruelling road trip across Ontario to see a disastrous wedding into the adventure of a lifetime."

In a sentiment that was echoed by many, one colleague described him as someone who "took the issues seriously, but himself and everything else very lightly." Another remembered "a man of principle, funny and smart," who could always be counted on for straight and honest advice. A third noted that "Andrew was very smart, knew what he didn't know," but "knew how to find out and never let himself be distracted." Many of us reflected on his diplomatic ingenuity and practicality, as exemplified by his story of negotiating agreement on new national licence plates for Bosnia and Hercegovina by using only characters that were common to both the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets, thus nullifying the main objections of all three parties.

Although he took his work and career seriously, Andrew had a well-developed sense of fun. Beth Richardson remembered serving with him at the Canadian High Commission in London, where they were

invited to a garden party at Buckingham Palace. After finding the actual event less than exciting, and being disappointed in the refreshments, Andrew insisted that they salvage the excursion by roaming the Palace and sitting on every available piece of furniture "to get their money's worth." Another colleague remembered that he kept a nerf gun in his desk drawer and would shoot people in the head with foam discs if he thought they were working too late. I personally enjoyed listening to him experiment with Latin translation for "Kiss up and kick down" (*osculans calcitrare sursum usque deorsum* seemed to have emerged as the best version) for use on an imaginary proposal for a GAC coat of arms featuring a horse's rear end.

Closer to home, Andrew was a dedicated volunteer who believed in giving back to his community, including his neighbours at 40 Landry, where he was famous for his volunteer work and the movie nights he hosted. He supported many charitable organizations, including the Ottawa Hospital, the Shepherds of Good Hope, the National Gallery of Canada and the Ottawa Humane Society. Friends and colleagues who wish to remember him are encouraged to make a donation to the cause of their choice.

Andrew is survived by brothers Mark (Christiana Cavazzoni) and Brian (Becky Garceau), nieces Samantha, Margot and Isabel and numerous aunts, uncles and cousins. He was predeceased by parents Philip Shore (2005) and Heather Campbell-Shore (2010).

The Oumuamua Baton

AN OUT OF THIS WORLD PUZZLE

by A Aalto

The Zoom screen showed three faces and a metallic gray cylinder with a gold band near one end. Hamish MacBannock, head of the Centre, was speaking. Behind him on the screen could be seen a door opening on a room stacked high with toilet paper. It reminded Hamish's number two and ace logician, Ludwig Liebnitz, that he had to send in an entry to the long-term pool – his guess was that the last roll would be unwrapped in March 2029. The third participant in the meeting, former Centre librarian and current Sultan of SuWaNi Dryan Tweedie, looked up to answer Hamish's question about his wife.

A AALTO is in lockdown in Tannu Tuva. The koumiss helps. The Oumuamua asteroid is a real discovery, Alpha Centauri is our closest neighbour and the Golden Record is found on both Voyager satellites launched in 1977 and still alive and outward bound. This puzzle is for Douglas Adams (you'll find out why), for Robert Weryk and Avi Loeb (who respectively found Oumuamua and popularized the idea that it is an alien spacecraft), and for a Sudbury-born puzzle master to be named later.

"MABEL? SHE'S FINE. She's working on a COVID project. You remember Edible Granite? The heavy metal group she fronts? Well, it turns out that some of its louder hits actually drive away the virus." ("COVID has good taste?" thought Liebnitz. "Who knew?") Dryan went on, "Something to do with harmonics and the resonant frequency of the lipid membrane. They tested it out in a mock-up of a senior care home and it disinfected the place completely. Unfortunately, it also blew it sky-high. Literally. They found a chamber pot in Zimbabwe. It looks like 15 seconds is all most structures can take, so she's in talks with TikTok to make videos."

Hamish looked perplexed. "Well, give her my best. To business, however. Gentlemen, you will recall the last time I went on this platform." "Hard to forget," replied Liebnitz. Even for someone as catastrophically inept on electronic media as Hamish, Zoom-bombing a Cabinet session had been egregious, especially since he hadn't realized he was in the wrong meeting and proceeded to deliver a 15-minute presentation on future banana cultivation in the francophone Maritimes, despite all attempts to shut him up. Furthermore, he had not turned off his grandson's webcam filter and so appeared on

the screen as a woeful-looking anime beagle. And his Siri had misunderstood his request for auto-interpretation and so instead of Acadian French (which seemed like a nice touch at the time), his talk was delivered in Old Akkadian (which no-one has spoken for almost three millennia).

As if that wasn't bad enough, hackers took advantage of his penetration to create a back door into the PMO's IT systems and issue three press releases. One congratulated Xi Jinping and Jason Kenney on their (non-existent) same sex marriage. One declared war on Aruba for persistent border violations. And one announced the appointment of a new Governor General – Nigel Farage. Before it all got straightened out, the PM had received a severe denunciation from Beijing, a frosty silence from Edmonton, a puzzled "What border?" from Aruba and a warm thank-you note from Boris Johnson. Reactions on the Hill were volcanic.

"Fortunately," Hamish continued, "what with the animal filter and all, no-one recognized me and I was able to log off cleanly. But I'm sure they'll have someone bright tracking me down. So we need to do something fast to get back on their good side." "Like what?" asked Liebnitz. "Volunteering as

carbon sequestration by burying ourselves in a salt mine?” “Creative idea, Ludwig, but I may have something less terminal. While waiting to join that meeting, I noticed a Zoom window with a PowerPoint cover page entitled “The Oumuamua Baton – Threat or Menace?”. No idea what that was about, but clearly a problem at Cabinet level. I thought maybe if we could sort the crisis out for them, it would get us off the hook. I put out feelers for more information, didn’t get much at first. But then Dryan came up trumps.”

The sultan adjusted his Centennial plaid turban. “The reference to Oumuamua itself was not tough to clear up. In October of 2017, astronomers in Hawaii noticed what they first took to be a comet and later concluded was an asteroid. Calculation of its orbit revealed that its origin was outside our solar system, the first such object to be recorded. Slim and cylindrical, it was between 100 and 1000 metres long. It was leaving the system when it was spotted, so details are cloudy. Scientists celebrated its discovery as a milestone event. A few suggested it might not be natural but rather the artificial construct of an alien civilization, maybe a spaceship. So things rested until last week. Then, during a transborder bowling championship in Flin Flon, a cylindrical object half a metre long crashed through the ceiling, disrupting the finals. Scored a perfect strike, though.”

“I remember that tournament,” interjected Hamish. “It had to be delayed while they confirmed that the two-metre distancing requirement didn’t apply to the pins. You would have needed really big balls.” “Ah – right,” said Dryan and continued. “The so-called baton, which is shown in the fourth panel of the screen we share, is made of lead over an iron core, with a band of gold at one end. On the band is inscribed the number sequence **4-5 11-23-10-3-10-6-14-1-5 21-10-7 8-15-5 14-12-18-10-12-16-5-12-14-5-12-18-5**. Since it landed in Canada, our government has held it. We are however under pressure to release it to international authority, by which is understood to mean one of the big powers. But we are reluctant to do so until we have a better idea where it came from and what it means. The astrophysical boffins have calculated that it was almost certainly ejected from Oumuamua while it was passing through the solar system. But no-one has any idea on the second point.”

“No-one?” asked Liebnitz, noting the twinkle in the sultan’s eye. “Well, I did consult GEODE, who has an idea or two.” GEODE was the emergent AI associated with a natural computer that developed on its own in a cavern full of silicon crystals deep in the Borneo sultanate, and which chose to talk only with Dryan and Mabel. “He – although Mabel insists it’s a she – says that it’s all humanity’s fault. Apparently Oumuamua is indeed a starship built by aliens living not far away in our sector of the galaxy. A cautious but curious bunch, they maintain listening posts for other civilizations all over the region. The nearest such post to us is in the Alpha Centauri system, about four light years away. Which means that they get all our radio and TV broadcasts with a four-year

delay. They have developed their picture of our civilization from that source.” Interjected Liebnitz, “So everything from the James Bond series and *The Godfather* through *Breaking Bad* and most of *Game of Thrones*, plus punk and rap. Great intro course – Earth 101.” “Indeed,” said Dryan. “Fortunately, they also managed to intercept the Voyager 1 satellite briefly and read the Golden Record, which offers a more balanced and even positive view of our world.”

“So what does the baton say?” asked Hamish. Dryan replied, “I don’t know. From what GEODE reports, it is something the aliens wanted to tell us.” “But how are we supposed to decipher it?” asked Liebnitz. “It is far too short for any straightforward analytics.” Dryan replied, “GEODE contacted them – in real time, don’t ask me how – and they sent him this to help us.” He sent around on the chat function two pages of text. The first was a blank puzzle chart with lines of boxes each containing a number and in some cases a punctuation mark. The second was a set of 10 clues with a string of numbers after each one.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| 1. Oumuamua in English | 13-18-10-2-8 |
| 2. First woman in space | 8-5-7-5-13-15-24-10-16-11 |
| 3. First Canadian in space | 6-11-7-12-5-11-2 |
| 4. Starship captain of the USS Voyager | 26-11-12-5-4-11-9 |
| 5. Scully and Mulder show | 25 21-14-3-5-13 |
| 6. Obi-Wan's surname | 24-5-12-10-19-14 |
| 7. Beeblebrox's first name | 1-11-23-15-10-20 |
| 8. Moon of Mars | 20-5-14-22-10-13 |
| 9. Zodiac sign and Broadway musical | 11-17-2-11-7-14-2-13 |
| 10. Star in Orion and Tim Burton movie | 19-5-8-5-3-6-5-2-13-5 |

Liebnitz looked them over. “The puzzle itself is not all that tough. The numbers only go up to 26, so it is obviously a straight number-for-letter substitution. If you work out the clues, you can substitute the letters for numbers in the chart. You can also work things in the other direction. Once you have established the full number-letter correspondence, you can use it to decipher the message on the baton. Liebnitz applied himself to the puzzle and soon had it solved. After reading out the message from the golden band, he said, “Well, I guess that’s all right then.”

“But there are two things I still want to know. First, why did they send us a puzzle instead of just spelling out their message?” Replied the sultan, “Apparently someone has been beaming them copies of **bout de papier** electronically, and they are big fans. I blame A Aalto.”

Liebnitz continued: “And the second thing is this: if these aliens have been reading our broadcasts for decades, and clearly have the technology for interstellar, why don’t they

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6	7	5	11	8		10	12	5	13.		4	5		4	14	13	15
9	10	2		3	10	12	6	5	16	14	8	9.					
17	2	5	18	15	2	11:		15	5	3	3	10		8	10		
5	16	5	7	9	19	10	20	9		21	7	10	22				
8	15	14	13		5	11	7	8	15.								
23	5	7	13	14	11	12:		15	5	3	3	10		8	10		
8	15	5		7	5	13	14	20	5	12	78	13		10	21		
21	11	7		13	24	14	5	13.									
11	7	22	5	12	14	11	12:		8	10		11	3	3			
4	15	10		5	25	14	13	8		14	12		8	15	5		
2	12	14	16	5	7	13	5,		6	7	5	5	8	14	12	6	13.
26	11	23	11	12	5	13	5:		15	5	3	3	10,		15	10	4
11	7	5		9	10	2?											

just show up in person?” “Ah yes,” said Dryan, “the Fermi paradox. If there is advanced alien intelligence out there, why hasn’t it dropped in?” He smiled crookedly. “Well, GEODE asked them that. Seems it is because they are afraid they will be attacked by zombies, or vampires, or Skynet. Or possibly Cersei Lannister. So they sent the baton to let us know they existed, but did it from far enough away that we couldn’t trace them.”

There was a thoughtful pause. Then a new pane opened on the screen and Hamish’s EA said, “The PM is on line 3 for you, Chief. Something about banana futures.” Taking a deep breath, Hamish said, “Put him on, please. We have things to tell him.”

Can you duplicate Leibnitz’s feat by deciphering the message on the golden band? **bout de papier** will award a book prize signed by A Aalto to the submitter of the first correct answer drawn from a hat on May 1, 2021. Not necessary for winning, but can you also provide the question to **11-12 11-12-11-6-7-11-22 21-10-7 11-25-5-3 5-24-19-5-7-8?** (You may have to put yourself in jeopardy.) And do you know the source of the chart text and the script on the baton? **bcp**

CARAVANSERAI OF MIST AND MOONLIGHT

Answers

The chart is made up of 13 phrases, each beginning with the letters OLD. In full:

							*												
1		O	L	D	C	U	R	I	O	S	I	T	Y	S	H	O	P		
2				O	L	D	B	A	I	L	E	Y							
3	O	L	D	M	A	N	A	N	D	T	H	E	S	E	A				
4				O	L	D	F	A	S	H	I	O	N	E	D				
5						O	L	D	C	R	O	W							
6	O	L	D	C	H	U	R	C	H	S	L	A	V	O	N	I	C		
7				O	L	D	S	T	O	N	E	A	G	E					
8				O	L	D	S	M	O	B	I	L	E						
9				O	L	D	B	L	U	E	E	Y	E	S					
10			O	L	D	T	E	S	T	A	M	E	N	T					
11	O	L	D	G	R	O	W	T	H	F	O	R	E	S	T				
12				O	L	D	U	V	A	I	G	O	R	G	E				
13				O	L	D	K	I	N	G	C	O	L	E					
							*												

The hidden phrase, which reads vertically between the two stars, is OLD SCHOOL THAI.

The target wizard is the one dressed like a "TRADITIONAL SIAMESE".

The phrase "*Pater dimitte mihi quoniam peccavi*" means, "Forgive me father for I have sinned", Guido's prayer for forgiveness after having broken the seal. It is also traditionally how a penitent starts a confession, although more often in the vernacular than in Latin.

Winner

Congratulations to **Julia Drew-Watt**

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