

bout de papier

Vol. 31, No. 3

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

JUNE / JUIN 2021

CASA CANADA CUBA

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AS WE BUILD BACK

Andrew McLaughlin

UNE PREMIÈRE AFFECTATION À L'ÉTRANGER

Grégoire-François Legault

THE DINNER PARTY

Carol Bujeau

THE DECLINE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE WORLD

B.G. Ramcharan

A CAREER IN INTERNATIONAL PHOTOGRAPHY

Liza Linklater

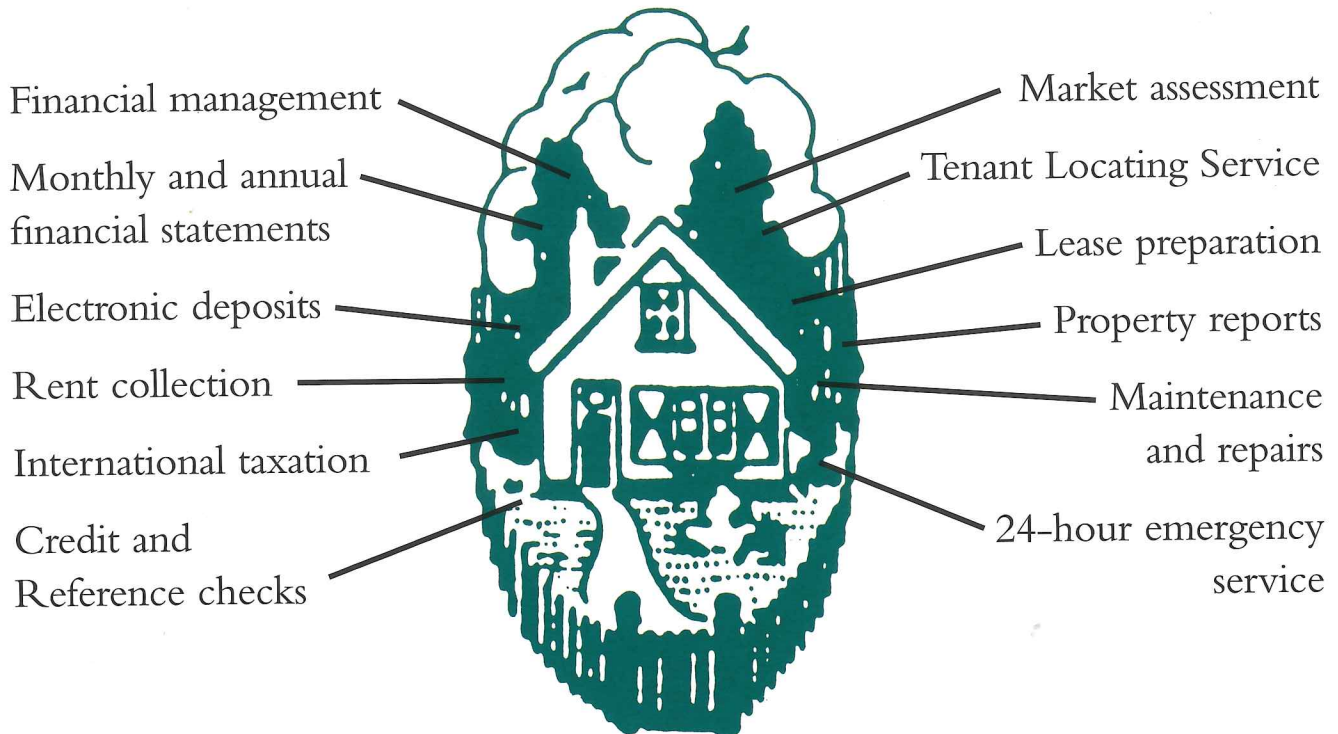


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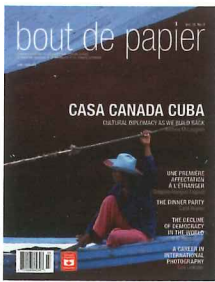


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FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK // MOT DU RÉDACTEUR

The Post-COVID Environment

Daniel Livermore

Editor-in-Chief // Rédacteur en chef



THE WORST OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC is now hopefully behind us, at least for those of us who reside in Canada. The Canadian foreign service has risen to the challenge during these trying times, demonstrating the importance of a vital, dynamic, adaptable foreign service to meet the needs of Canadians.

As we return to normality, let's look back at the extraordinary period through which we are passing, and make use of the lessons we've learned. What we now need – more than ever – is a major review of the Canadian foreign service. Other countries, for a variety of reasons, are thinking along similar lines. There may be a Senate review of the Canadian foreign service, to begin in the fall of 2021. This would be a timely and welcome initiative. If it begins, give credit to Sen. Peter Boehm, who spent his career as a Foreign Service Officer prior to joining the Senate in 2018.

Personne ne peut affirmer que le service extérieur canadien soit en bonne condition. Mesuré par rapport aux capacités dont nous disposions autrefois, ou comparé aux ressources diplomatiques déployées par des pays plus petits, nous tirons nettement de l'arrière par rapport aux autres pays du G7 en termes de représentation, de programmes et de capacités. Les alliés et les amis commencent d'ailleurs à noter notre faible contribution aux enjeux mondiaux malgré nos ambitieux objectifs. Le gouvernement canadien est responsable de cette situation; il doit maintenant y remédier.


Many huge issues require examination. Of greatest urgency are human resource issues within GAC, from recruitment, to promotions, to assignments, as well as training. The problems are too numerous to catalogue succinctly. Special attention has to be paid to recovering expertise in critical areas of foreign policy, from languages and cultural understanding, to international law and practice, to the intricacies of arms control, and numerous other areas. Emphasis then has to be placed on rewarding and retaining that talent over the long term.

Attention should also be paid to the ways in which Canadian departments and agencies other than Global Affairs and IRCC manage their international programs and activities. Could foreign service officers be more widely deployed in these areas, as part of a rotational career? There is no question that a more broadly-based Canadian Foreign Service, serving the entire Government of Canada, would be a “win-win” situation for governmental coherence and the re-building of Canadian expertise.

It's also time for a dispassionate look at all Canadian foreign service resources abroad. Are we represented in the right places, with the right number of people, in the right ways? Has the micro-mission lost its allure? And where we have representation abroad, what's the office space of tomorrow, and how do we accommodate Canadian staff? There are lots of tough issues here, about the need for stand-alone embassies, the nature of official residences, and security standards abroad. They have enormous resource implications.

It would also be timely to take a “root and branch” look at some of the Government's foreign policy programs. What are we trying to achieve abroad, and what are the programs we need to attain those objectives? Many of our traditional programs are slow and burdensome. Can we have greater dexterity to manage in the world of today? And how do we delegate authority and resources to missions abroad, without strangling them in oversight reporting? Years ago, in a pique of short-sightedness, a Foreign Affairs Minister abolished most public affairs programs and our cultural affairs program. He then cut funding to Canadian Studies abroad. It's time for a re-think about the long-term value of these areas, with modern tools of communication.

La communication avec les Canadiens s'est aussi détériorée au cours des récentes années. Il est temps de sonder les Canadiens sur leurs attentes vis-à-vis le service extérieur. Si nous voulons un service extérieur canadien « adapté à sa mission » pour l'avenir, nous devons connaître notre mission. Il est temps de renouer le dialogue avec les Canadiens et encourager le gouvernement du Canada à redresser la barre.

bout de papier can play a role in the revitalization of the Canadian foreign service. It's an appropriate place to highlight the major issues and the challenges ahead. I invite the views of our readership, even though I'm passing the torch to another editor of **bout** in the near future. I promised to “re-boot” **bout** after a couple of years of uncertainty. In March, the team at PAFSO headquarters achieved that objective in our spring “re-boot” issue. In this issue, we verify the proof of concept. As I pass the editor's job to my successor, I re-join the ranks of former foreign service officers who continue to argue the case for a capable Canadian foreign service. “Service to Canadians at home and abroad” has been our mantra. That motto should define our future. 



PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE // MOT DE LA PRÉSIDENTE

The Light at the End of the Tunnel

Pam Isfeld

President, PAFSO // Présidente de l'APASE

WE'VE BEEN DEALING WITH the COVID-19 pandemic for more than a year, and much of the world is in the middle of a third wave. At the same time, vaccine administration is finally ramping up, and even Bill Gates predicts that the world will be back to normal by the end of 2022. It sounds like there is finally a light at the end of the tunnel. So, why aren't we more excited?

COVID-19 has disrupted not only our daily routines but also our ability to plan for anything from summer vacation to the rest of our lives. Although the Foreign Service is used to a higher level of uncertainty than many other groups, many of us have been separated from loved ones for unusually long periods, and travel restrictions, staffing levels and workloads mean many don't know when they will be able to reconnect. In our last questionnaire to members, fully two-thirds of those serving abroad had not seen their extended families for over a year and had no idea when that would change. Even worse, there was a widespread sense that the Foreign Service's systems and culture, from the Foreign Service Directives to management priorities, are not designed to provide the support they need.

This chronic nature of the pandemic makes it particularly challenging. In the past year, we've all battled concerns about spreading the virus in our workplaces and communities as we've adjusted to drastic changes. When I first heard the term "next normal," I thought it was amusing; now, I hear regularly from members who have had to rebuild their systems and routines over and over again in response to fluctuations in virus levels and COVID-19 restrictions. That's not easy, even for a group chosen for its high level of flexibility and adaptability, and the slow pace of the vaccine rollout to missions abroad has added to feelings of uncertainty and lack of support.

Those who have been unlucky enough to get sick from COVID-19 have endured additional hardships ranging from extreme medical intervention to physical and emotional isolation from friends and family and guilt over possible transmission to others. Even after someone has recovered, they can still experience pain and physical limitations, as well as depression, anxiety and PTSD symptoms. Many of our members are going through this in situations far from home. Many more are witnessing first-hand the destruction that COVID-19 is wreaking on vulnerable people and societies worldwide and struggling to find ways to help.


Some groups are experiencing a collective psychological and emotional reaction to the stress of the pandemic. Here in Canada,

the Canadian Mental Health Commission has raised the alarm about rising mental health needs in Canadian communities, where people are showing symptoms of anxiety, depression, substance abuse, all connected to trauma. The situation is similar around the world and is exacerbated by pre-existing stressors and inequalities at all levels. Our current health care system for members abroad is administratively burdensome. It makes it difficult for members and their families, even at missions with sound health care systems, to get the same level of care as they would receive in Canada.

Even those who have escaped the worst kinds of physical or psychological distress might not be feeling great. Without the exposure to different cultures and contacts that make the Foreign Service so attractive, many of our members report feeling disconnected and crushed under mountains of unprioritized demands. Dr. Corey Keyes, an American sociologist, calls this "languishing." He described it to the *National Post* as "the middle ground between being mentally healthy and mentally ill," characterized by an absence of feeling and functioning well. Since it's less dramatic, it's easy not to notice that things have stopped giving pleasure or catching interest. There's a higher risk of isolation, making people less likely to seek help, and languishing now can be a harbinger of more serious mental illness even a decade or more down the line.

Psychologists have many suggestions for what we can do if we find ourselves languishing. One of the main antidotes is "flow," a state of absorption that temporarily cancels out internal and external concerns, requiring uninterrupted time and focus. Unfortunately, for many of us, workloads and other demands mean that time and focus are in very short supply these days. We need to set boundaries and prioritize our own mental health.

However, while these individual bandages are useful, even essential, they won't heal a damaged system. The pandemic has laid bare the gaps left by decades of erosion of the professional Foreign Service, which is spread very thinly at the best of times. It has also highlighted a system that is ill-prepared to care for the human needs of its people at home and abroad, and that places employee well-being below results without factoring in the human costs.

This pandemic is dragging on, and a certain amount of trouble-coping is normal and inevitable. PAFSO recognizes that some of these problems are caused by changeable circumstances, and we are seeking to address them over the medium to long term. When we do, we might not only see more light; we might even get out of the tunnel. 

ANDREW McLAUGHLIN joined the Canadian Foreign Service in 2006 and moved to the private sector in 2015 after postings in Cuba and Mexico. He is the VP Legal Affairs and ESG Lead at Major Drilling Group International Inc.

JUANITA MONTALVO is an entrepreneur and senior corporate executive based in Toronto. She is a Director and Vice Chair of the Board of Canada's National Ballet School.

FEATURE // REPORTAGE

Casa Canada Cuba

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AS WE BUILD BACK

by Andrew McLaughlin
with contributions by Juanita Montalvo

ON A HUMID HAVANA NIGHT in the not-so-distant future, the sounds of a Cuban pianist rise into the summer air, paired with the smooth vocals of a Canadian jazz singer, before an intimate crowd at Casa Canada Cuba. The walls of the Casa are lined with an exhibit of a visiting Canadian painter who offers workshops to aspiring artists in the community of old Havana. Earlier that day, a Canadian-Cuban co-production documentary was presented to local film students, while a visiting Canadian contemporary ballet company held an exchange with a Cuban dance company in the courtyard. Upstairs, a Canadian and a Cuban chef put their final touches on a collaborative *hors d'œuvre* to be paired with Canadian wine and maple syrup infused mojitos. Once a dream, we're getting closer to making Casa Canada Cuba a reality.

Andrew McLaughlin and
Juanita Montalvo, Casa
Canada Cuba co-founders,
at the Toronto International
Film Festival.

Planting the seed

It all began during my years working at the Canadian Embassy in Havana. Cubans from all walks of life would repeatedly comment that there was something truly special about the Canada-Cuba relationship; yet there was no 'centre' where this could be celebrated.

Were they on to something? Indeed, our two countries have had a long-standing special relationship in every sector. The economic ties are long. By the early 1900s, the Bank of Nova Scotia was one of the most important banks in Cuba, supporting the vast trade between the island and our Atlantic provinces. Today, our ties between people and families are also extensive. Pandemic aside, over 1.2 million Canadians visit the island every year, making Cuba our third preferred destination, next to the US and Mexico. Ask any visitors, and they will tell you unequivocally, "it's the people". Canadians of Cuban origin are also putting our country on the cultural map. British Columbia's Juno award winner Alex Cuba won a Latin Grammy nomination again last year. Cuba's official selection for the 2020 Academy Awards was the acclaimed Canadian-Cuban film *Un Traductor*, directed by Toronto's Sebastian and Rodrigo Barriuso.

Despite these historic ties and active relations, there is next to no Canadian cultural footprint on the island, and we've had no ongoing ability to deepen the mutual understanding of our cultures.

After serving in Cuba, my wife Alix and I travelled to Mexico City for our cross-posting. Despite the distance, the idea of a primary venue in Cuba for hosting and showcasing cultural events and exchanges between Canadian and Cuban artists, writers, musicians and other cultural representatives, continued to seem imperative.

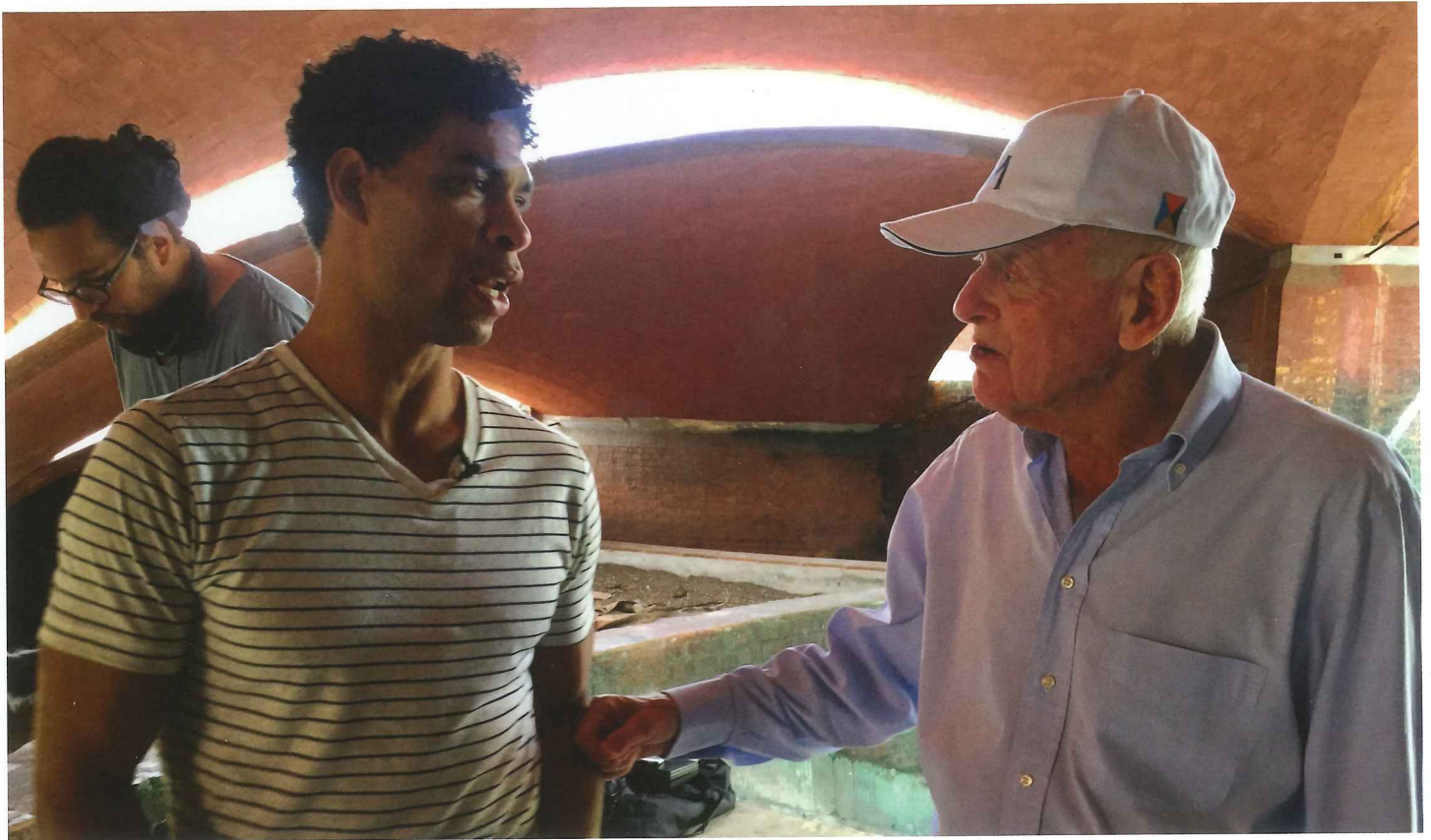
It was only on jumping to the private sector after Mexico that I was really able to pursue this seriously. Following fits and starts while trying to launch the project on my own, I soon realized I needed to partner with a heavy-hitter, with a cachet in the business and cultural worlds in both Cuba and Canada. I reached out to my former boss in Cuba, (ret'd) Ambassador Matthew Levin, to seek his recommendations. He said he had just the person – I later learned that he couldn't have been more right.



Enter Juanita

It was a frigid Toronto day in March. I was in the city on business and had secured a side meeting with Juanita Montalvo. She was heading up a private equity firm with her business partner Mark Entwistle, a highly-regarded former Canadian Ambassador to Cuba. We hit it off immediately. We shared a commitment to responsible natural resource development and a passion for the arts. We were even both proud graduates of Fredericton High School and shared New Brunswick roots! While working in and out of Cuba over 20 years, Juanita had played an instrumental role in numerous cultural projects, including a partnership between Cuba and Canada's National Ballet School and the Sherritt Collection of Contemporary Cuban Art at the Art Gallery of Ontario. Despite these and other cultural achievements between artists and institutions of both countries, she mostly regretted the missed opportunities.

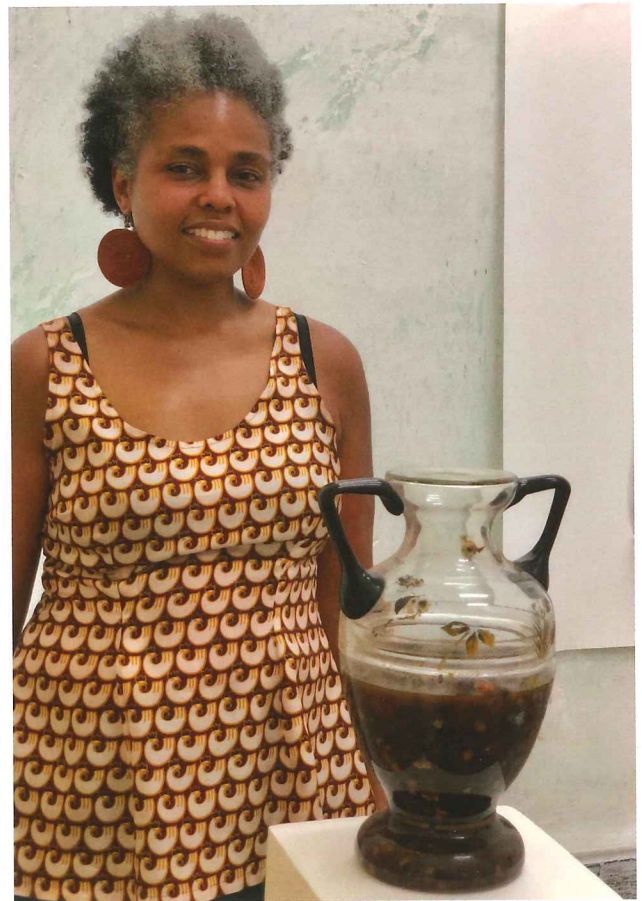
Over the years, Juanita had seen a stream of renowned Canadians come through Havana. She recalled the 1997 visit to Cuba by the late Graeme Gibson and his wife Margaret Atwood, who were there to launch the Spanish edition of their anthology of Canadian writers, *Desde el Invierno*. The couple made many trips to Cuba, primarily in support of the protection of migratory birds. There was also filmmaker Atom Egoyan, artists like Rebecca Belmore and Sandra Brewster, philanthropist tycoon and champion of Canadian values the late Peter Munk, broadcaster environmentalist David



Cuban-British ballet superstar Carlos Acosta and philanthropist Peter Munk at Havana's National Art School.

Suzuki, celebrated fashion designer Tanya Taylor, just to name a few. Juanita was certain that a cultural centre could have harnessed these visits by hosting exchanges with similar talent from Cuba and the interested local public. She lamented that these had also been opportunities to showcase Canadian values and experiences through the eyes of thought leaders from diverse cultural origins.

Together with Juanita, we established “Casa Canada Cuba” as a registered federally-regulated Canadian not-for-profit organization, founded to serve as the formal legal entity in Canada for advancing the project in Cuba. Momentum was gained when Cuba appointed star diplomat H.E. Josefina Vidal Ferreiro as Ambassador to Canada. She had led negotiations during the rapprochement of Cuba and the US in the final year of the Obama Administration, and was eager to support stronger relations with Canada. Ambassador Vidal’s dynamism has helped build the support of top-level government officials in both countries, as well as prominent members of the cultural and business communities of Canada and Cuba. Currently, we’re aiming to secure project funding and a venue in Havana to house Casa Canada Cuba. As we look ahead to the Casa’s cultural programming, we’ll tap into the network of notable artists, musicians and other cultural personalities who represent the diversity of our societies. We will create a venue for discourse to learn from each other, shedding light on today’s Canada and bringing contemporary understanding to our shared values.



Artist Sandra Brewster exhibiting her work during the 2019 Havana Biennale.


Fashion
designer Tanya
Taylor's 2017
spring collection
takes inspiration
from Cuba.



A New Chapter of Cultural Diplomacy

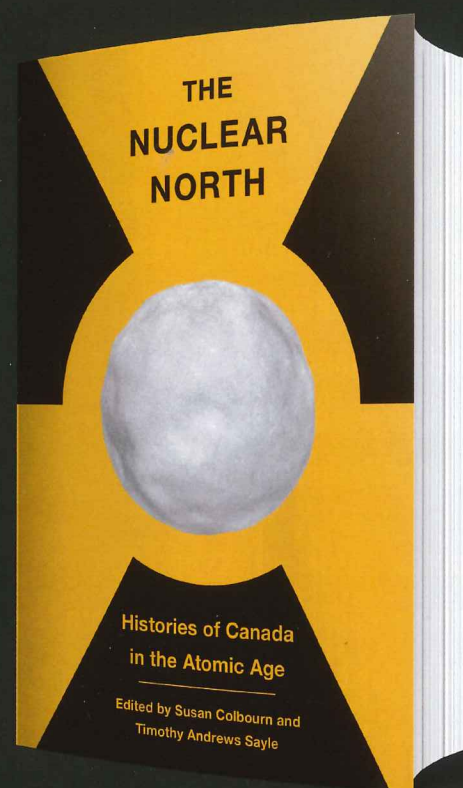
With culture as a cornerstone of Cuban society and its engagement with the world, and as we emerge from this pandemic, possibly into an art renaissance anchored by new technology, it's an ideal moment to deepen and formalize the cultural engagement between Canada and Cuba. Casa Canada Cuba is an ideal flagship project to symbolize a new chapter in our shared history and an opportunity to have a lasting impact in the lives and work of many.

We'd love to hear from you and we're always looking for support with skills, time and other donations. Please visit the Casa Canada Cuba website at casacanadacuba.com

You can also reach out to project co-founder and former foreign service officer Andrew McLaughlin at andomclaughlin@gmail.com 

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FEATURE // REPORTAGE

Discounting detours through Japan and as Ambassador to the Netherlands, **JAMIE LAMBERT** spent most of his 33-year career at DEA/DFAIT/GAC in assignments dealing with Latin America and the Caribbean. In 2015, he joined the OAS as Secretary for Hemispheric Affairs, responsible for democratic governance, the Summits of the Americas process and organizational public diplomacy.

Multilateralism to a Latin Beat

CANADA'S 30 YEARS AT THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

by Jamie Lambert, Secretary for Hemispheric Affairs,
Organization of American States

THE BEAUX-ARTS GRANDEUR OF THE CARNEGIE-BUILT EDIFICE that houses the Organization of American States (OAS) speaks to the unifying aspirations of the Pan-American movement. Situated on the Washington Mall just four blocks from the White House, it recalls the formation in 1889 of the world's oldest regional institution, initially in the form of the Pan-American Union and, since 1948, recast as the OAS.



A view of the interior of the OAS building in Washington, D.C.

A DIFFERENT AND DARKER NARRATIVE can be set out around preponderance of US power in the organization over a period that embraced the jingoism of the Spanish-American conflict of the early 20th century and the incursions, despotism and cruelty perpetrated by military regimes in the four decades following WWII.

Since the 1990s, however, the Organization has undergone a rebirth of sorts. Shedding a history intertwined with the Monroe Doctrine and the Cold War, the OAS has latterly embraced a more vigorous role in advancing democratic practice and as a champion of human rights.

While not the only factor at play, it was not accidental that this evolution coincided with Canada's entry into the Organization in 1990. Indeed, many of the principles now enshrined as OAS core doctrine such as democracy, human rights, gender mainstreaming and the importance of engaging civil society bear Canada's imprint. The 30th anniversary of Canada's accession to the OAS provides an opportunity to reflect on how influence was exercised and, more precisely, which diplomatic assets were brought to bear.

As set out below, on top of the clout that Canada would immediately wield as the second largest contributor to the organization, three qualities have made an important difference – (1) people; (2) ideas; and (3) organizational savvy. Helpful on their own, these assets were even more effective on those occasions when cabinet-level interest in the region could be engaged as an accelerant.

People

From the outset, Canada sent to the Permanent Mission professional diplomats steeped in the region and fluent in its four main languages. At the Ambassadorial level the Mission benefitted from the leadership of end-of-career experts such as Jean-Paul Hubert, Brian Dickson, Paul Durand and Allan Culham, and up-and-comers like Peter Boehm (now Senator) and Graeme Clark (now HOM in Mexico) whose enthusiasm for the region would continue to mark their career paths.

Still another cohort, often (but not always) drawn from the ranks of former diplomats, brought

their accumulated skill sets to bear within the OAS General Secretariat itself. Without belittling the contribution of others who would follow, no one has seized this role with greater effectiveness and aplomb than did John Graham.

In the early 1990s, having recently retired from his final departmental assignment as Ambassador to Venezuela, John brought to the OAS the same infectious enthusiasm that had coloured his earlier tours in Havana and as Director General responsible for the region (see John's book, *Whose Man in Havana?*, University of Calgary Press, 2015). Once through the doors of the OAS, he proceeded in close collaboration with Hugo de Zela (Peruvian diplomatic savant and then-chief of staff to Secretary General Baena Soares) to mount a *golpe organizacional* that would shape the future purpose and relevance of the OAS – the establishment of the Unit for the Promotion of Democracy (UPD).

In later years, Graham's leadership on democracy and governance issues within the OAS passed on to other Canadians such as Elizabeth Spehar and Chris Hernandez Roy who would continue to strengthen the UPD and its successor units. More recently, as organizational

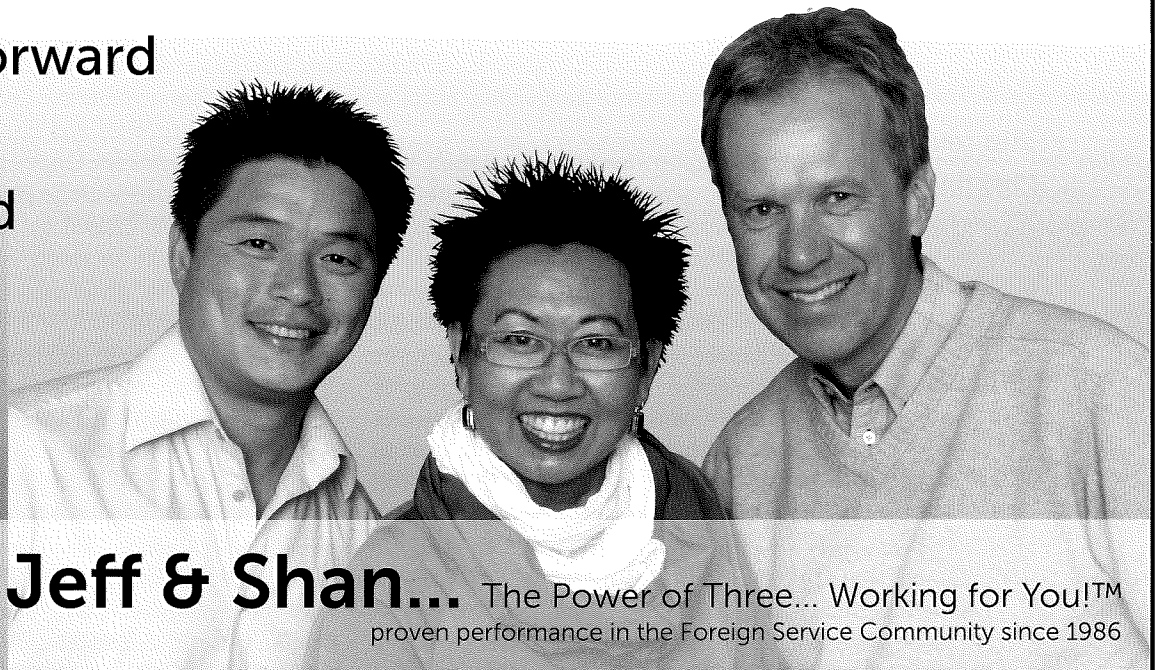
development has become a leading Canadian priority, others such as Adam Blackwell, Suzanne Laporte and I have, with the support of the Canadian government, been parachuted into the OAS with a view to help modernize administrative practices.

This revolving door had knock-on benefits for Canada, as well. For instance, the unstoppable John Graham on his return to Canada would, together with Professor Ed Dosman, play a leading role in founding, and subsequently chairing, the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL). The current CEO of the Canadian Council of the Americas, Ken Frankel, brings to that role a great depth of experience and a host of contacts garnered in his years as OAS chief legal counsel.

Mention the name of any of these actors in the OAS secretariat, including Canada's current Minister of International Development Karina Gould, who worked on migration and

These Canadian multilateralists sought to modernize and change the OAS and the region. So, it is not surprising that they encountered resistance along the way.

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development issues at the OAS from 2009 to 2011, and you will be met with warm recollections of Canadian colleagues who prioritized strengthening the technical cooperation the OAS extends to the region.

Ideas, organizational savvy and resources

These Canadian multilateralists sought to modernize and change the OAS and the region. So, it is not surprising that they encountered resistance along the way.

In particular, the Unit for the Promotion of Democracy was not immediately embraced by all member states. Uneasy about external review of electoral and democratic norms, some members maintained that the UPD overstepped traditional doctrines regarding non-interference in the internal affairs of member states. For this reason, it began its existence not as a Department of the General Secretariat (requiring member state agreement) but as an extension of the Secretary General's Executive Office.

As these reservations were chipped away over time, the UPD would be consolidated into the General Secretariat as an officially sanctioned department. On the electoral democracy side, its activities would expand dramatically to the point where, under the Department of Electoral Cooperation (DECO), over 240 Electoral observation missions have now been conducted and this type of oversight has become the norm in the Americas.

An equally important legacy of the UPD was the creation of the Organization's Department for Effective Public Management (DEPM). This grew out of a recognition that to achieve lasting impact on democratic governance, electoral support needs to be complemented by programs that reinforce the rule of law, freedom of expression, checks and balances between branches of government and countermeasures to roll back pervasive corruption.

The hesitancy of more doctrinaire member states to embrace some of these more "intrusive" innovations resulted in their placing limitations on regular budget spending on democracy promotion (some of which remain in effect). In response, Canada found a work-around as one of the first members to exploit the use of voluntary contributions over and above the regular quota, to continue to drive its priorities (the first being the \$1 million contribution that would establish the UPD).

Over the next three decades, Canada's voluntary contributions would rival its annual regular quota and have proved critical particularly in strengthening the

Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, the Inter-American Women's Commission and the Summits of the Americas Secretariat. They opened an important second window of largely discretionary support to Canadian priorities and, as such, have greatly enhanced Canada's influence and impact.

The critical accelerant – political engagement

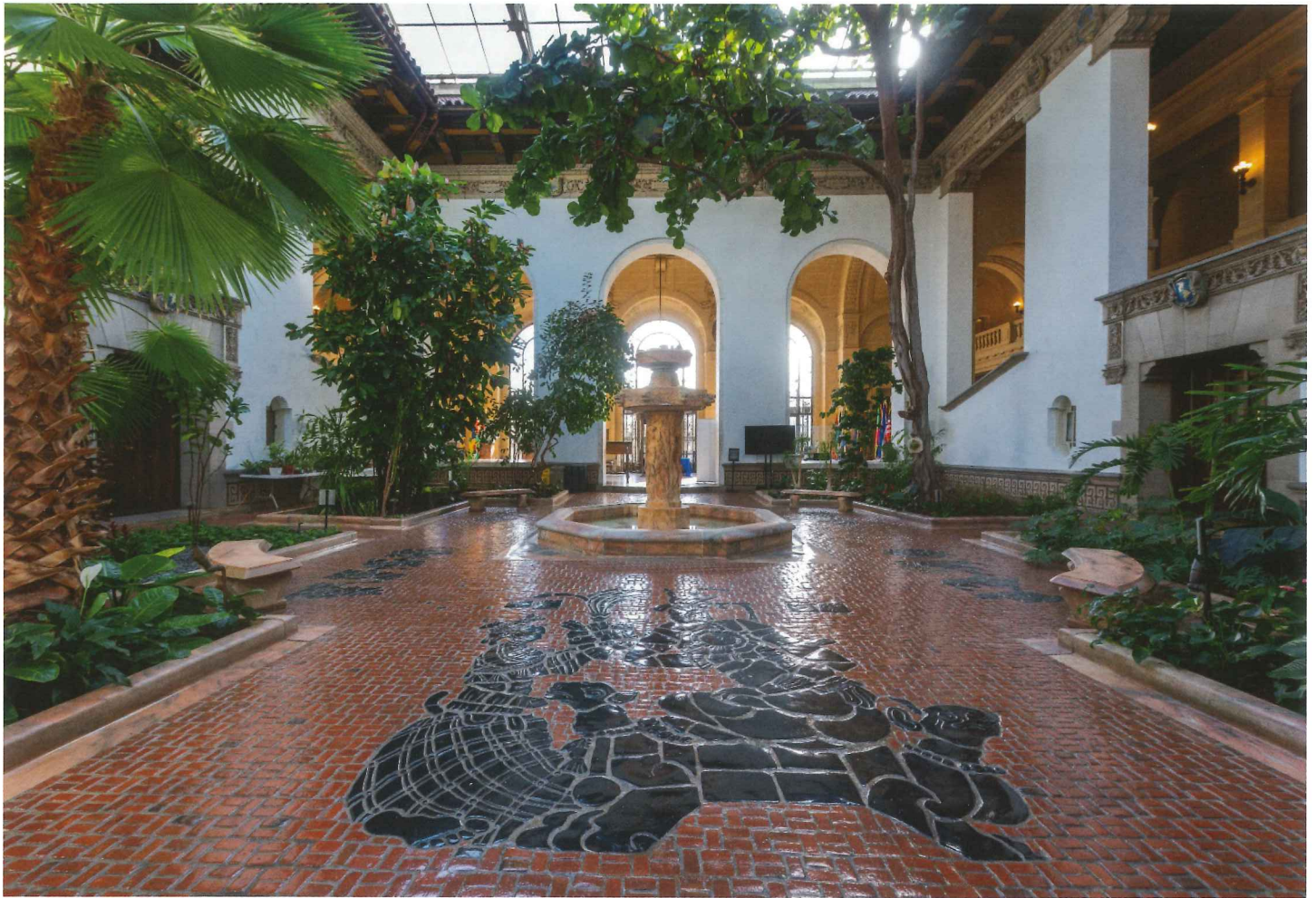
Cabinet-level interest was certainly present when Canada signed on in 1990, as entry into the OAS came in the wake of growing concern by the Mulroney government about the peace process in war-torn Central America. Mulroney's enthusiasm was still on display in 2010 at the celebration of Canada's 20 years in the OAS when both he and Joe Clark spoke evocatively of Canada's entry as an important part of their shared foreign policy legacy.

However, the apogee of Canada's impact came a decade after accession when, with the agreement of Prime Minister Chrétien and Foreign Minister Axworthy, the full kit of political engagement tools were unpacked around the OAS.

This had begun with Minister Axworthy's participation in the OAS Commission that had been created to deal with the electoral crisis provoked by President Fujimori's *auto-golpe* in Peru. Contemporary concern about safeguarding democratic practice was seized upon by Canada, which stepped up politically and financially to host back-to-back the 30th OAS General Assembly in Windsor (in 2000) and the Third Summit of the Americas in Quebec City (in 2001). This created the glide path toward agreement at Quebec to negotiate and implement the Inter-American Democratic Charter, the Organization's definitive statement and roadmap on democratic practice. Ongoing attention to the region was facilitated by the designation of Christine Stewart in 1993 as Secretary of State (Latin America and Africa). This split geographic position was subsequently filled until the end of the Chrétien government by Ministers of State David Kilgour and Denis Paradis.

The Harper government's whole-of-government America's Strategy arguably placed greater emphasis on bilateral rather than multilateral instruments. This involved considerably ramping up ministerial visits in support of the consolidation of bilateral trade and investment accords. But, in creating a Minister of State position solely focused on the Americas, the Conservative government established (for a period) a new and useful dedicated political link. The innovation worked well, particularly in the person of Peter Kent, who brought to it a journalist's sense of the importance of key contacts and good working Spanish. Once his interest was piqued, those same qualities led to a very active interest and engagement in the OAS. As a result, intentionally or not, Canada ended up taking a leading role in engaging with then Secretary General Insulza on the expulsion and re-entry of Honduras in the wake of

The apogee of Canada's impact came a decade after accession when, with the agreement of Prime Minister Chrétien and Foreign Minister Axworthy, the full kit of political engagement tools were unpacked around the OAS.



democratic lapses, as well as the vexed discussion over conditions that would guide Cuba's pathway to eventual reincorporation into the OAS. After Kent, this portfolio once again became less focused on the Americas, with the addition of responsibility for consular affairs, but it would be continued under Ministers of State Diane Ablonczy and Lynne Yelich until the end of the Harper government in 2015.


The Harper approach was not without its critics and, thus far, the Trudeau government has not sought to emulate a similar fully-articulated whole-of-government regional strategy for the hemisphere. Over the past five years, with some justification, the first-line Americas problem requiring full attention has been the existential threat to the trilateral Canada-US-Mexico relationship. Nonetheless, Canada's presence at the OAS has remained undiminished, and diplomats at the Permanent Mission continue to use budgetary clout and their own organizational savvy to their benefit. Current Ambassador Hugh Adsett has been entrusted with the delicate task of chairing through 2021 the OAS Committee on Administration and Finance and will lead this year's budget negotiations. This continues the laudable efforts of his predecessor, Jennifer Loten,

to address the financial and administrative challenges facing the Organization.

There also remains a small contingent of Canadians within the General Secretariat who continue to bring their specialized skills to the betterment of the hemisphere through the efforts and programs they lead. Beyond its continuing responsibility to oversee the UPD legacy carried out by the Department of Effective Public Management, my own secretariat takes pride in its efforts over the last five years to revive the Summits of the Americas process, culminating in an intensified coordination within the Inter-American system around challenges posed by entrenched corruption. The onset of the COVID-19 pandemic brings additional urgency to our mission.

The bottom line is that over 30 years Canadian officials, both inside the Organization and at the mission accredited to it, have deployed Canada's multilateral skillset deftly. Bolstered by a significant financial footprint, the organizational savvy of these Canadian practitioners has made an important difference in the orientation and effectiveness of the OAS – particularly in those moments when consistent and strategic cabinet-level engagement has been present as an accelerant. bdp

The *Patio Azteca* courtyard of the Pan-American Union building.



GRÉGOIRE-FRANÇOIS LEGAULT
est deuxième secrétaire (Affaires
politiques, économiques et publiques)
à l'ambassade du Canada en
Thaïlande et va bientôt compléter
sa première affectation.

AMBASSADE
DU CANADA

FEATURE // REPORTAGE

Une première affectation à l'étranger

QUELQUES RÉFLEXIONS
ET LEÇONS TIRÉES

par Grégoire-François Legault

Les premières sont bien souvent des événements marquants. Pour un jeune diplomate enthousiaste à l'idée de partir en poste à l'étranger, la première affectation est à la fois redoutée et attendue. C'est un moment qui symbolise simultanément le fil d'arrivée et la ligne de départ, le point culminant de tant d'années de préparation sur les bancs d'école et à la centrale ainsi que le début d'une carrière hors du commun qui mènera littéralement aux quatre coins du monde. Bref, il est parfois difficile d'imaginer ce qui nous attend. Le texte qui suit rassemble quelques-unes des leçons que j'ai tirées après un an de formation linguistique et trois années passées en Thaïlande, dont près de 18 mois en temps de pandémie. Certaines viennent de mentors que j'ai côtoyés au fil des années. D'autres sont plutôt l'aboutissement de mes propres réflexions.

Premièrement : apprendre à embrasser l'imprévu sous toutes ses formes

Ceux qui aiment la routine ou encore veulent que tout se déroule sans encombre ont définitivement choisi le mauvais métier. Une bonne planification demeure la meilleure façon de pallier aux imprévus, mais il est impossible de toujours les anticiper. Ici, la capacité d'adaptation et d'improvisation sont clefs. Tout comme apprendre à gérer le stress et apprendre à rigoler suite aux changements de dernière minute. En faisant le point sur les quatre dernières années, je pense que la seule constante dans mon travail fut le changement qui se manifeste de façon imprévisible sans crier gare.

Deuxièmement : prendre les rênes de son propre parcours de carrière

Malgré la hiérarchie propre à la diplomatie, le manque relatif d'encadrement pour ce qui touche à notre développement professionnel me laisse encore bouche bée. Sur une carrière de 35 ans, un agent du service extérieur peut normalement espérer compléter cinq ou six affectations à l'étranger entrecoupées par des retours au pays de durée variable. Il y a bien sûr des exceptions; je pense

ici aux agents consulaires et à nos collègues de la filière immigration qui suivent une formation à la fois poussée et hautement structurée, et qui peuvent plus souvent faire des affectations croisées. Je crois donc qu'il est important de mettre sur papier ses objectifs à long terme. Cela inclut à mon avis le développement d'une ou deux spécialisations géographiques ou encore thématiques. Recruté pour travailler sur la Chine, j'ai toujours pensé que j'y passerais ma première affectation. Ce fut toute une surprise de recevoir mon message d'affectation avec comme entête « BNGKK », même si en fin de compte je suis content d'avoir pu élargir mes horizons en travaillant en Asie du Sud-est et d'avoir développé une perspective régionale qui me servira plus tard.

Troisièmement : ne jamais négliger l'administration, à la fois personnelle et reliée au travail

Il est facile de reporter une tâche qui peut nous sembler anodine. Avec le brouhaha associé au départ à l'étranger, je saurai à l'avenir qu'une affectation se prépare dès la réception du message des ressources humaines. En poste, que ce soit le

remboursement des demandes d'hospitalité ou encore le renouvellement des documents importants comme le permis de conduire, la paperasse s'accumule rapidement. Et une fois que cette dernière atteint une certaine hauteur sur le coin de notre bureau, il devient presque insurmontable de s'en débarrasser. J'aurai appris cela à mes dépens.

Quatrièmement : protéger une plage horaire hebdomadaire pour persister dans son apprentissage de la langue locale et dans son propre développement professionnel

Peu de corps diplomatique offre la chance de passer jusqu'à deux années en formation linguistique. Cette opportunité d'apprendre une langue étrangère se révélera bien souvent un atout dans la plupart des postes où nos contreparties n'ont pas toujours cette chance. Si jamais il est possible de tirer avantage de ce privilège incroyable, je crois néanmoins qu'il faut aussi continuer de le faire une fois arrivé en poste. Le train-train quotidien reprend rapidement le dessus, mais cela n'est pas une excuse pour mettre l'apprentissage continu de la langue locale de côté. Il en va de même pour le développement professionnel, tels que les cours en ligne, les certificats, ou encore l'obtention d'un diplôme de cycle supérieur. Parfaire ses connaissances, c'est investir dans son avenir en élargissant ses horizons et en devenant plus efficace.

Cinquièmement : investir dans ses employés locaux

Ils représentent notre mémoire institutionnelle et assurent la pérennité des opérations. Malheureusement, peu d'opportunités de développement professionnel leur sont offertes, et à moins de gagner un concours à l'interne, les promotions sont rares. Je ne regrette pas du tout le temps passé à essayer de comprendre leurs besoins et attentes, à leur trouver de nouveaux défis et à les supporter dans leurs développements professionnels respectifs. À mon avis, il faut les habiliter eux aussi dans leurs carrières pour que finalement ils décident de rester.

Sixièmement : s'imposer des limites

En Asie du moins, l'empreinte diplomatique du Canada n'a pas la profondeur des grandes puissances et de certaines autres puissances moyennes. En Thaïlande, la section politique compte trois employés canadiens, comparativement à huit pour l'Australie et une vingtaine pour les États-Unis (avec 87 employés au total, la section politique américaine est plus grande que l'Ambassade du Canada au complet). Étant donné la concentration des responsabilités au sein d'un petit nombre d'individus, le travail s'empile à un rythme effréné. Il est probablement impossible de tout finir. Bien qu'il soit impossible de toujours éviter les heures supplémentaires, il est sain de s'imposer des limites en termes de nombre

d'heures travaillées. Suivant les conseils d'un mentor, j'ai cessé une fois en poste de chercher la perfection, un luxe, et appris à simplement viser le travail bien fait. Ma santé mentale s'en porte d'ailleurs beaucoup mieux.

Septièmement : apprendre à jongler avec plusieurs « balles » sans en laisser tomber une seule

Ce point est relié au tout dernier. La petitesse relative de nos équipes fait en sorte que tout le monde doit mettre ses mains à la pâte (je me rappelle par exemple d'avoir eu à assembler 40 poutines juste avant la tenue d'une réception). Gérer les priorités ainsi que les dates butoirs sont des aspects importants de notre travail. À ce sujet, chaque personne aura un système qui fonctionne mieux; il n'y a pas de recette magique!


Huitièmement : garder contact

Cela peut vouloir dire différentes choses. Pour moi, garder contact signifie : (1) correspondre et discuter avec sa famille, ses proches et ses amis; (2) se tenir au courant de l'actualité au Canada; (3) téléphoner à ses collègues de travail à la centrale régulièrement pour faire le point au lieu de toujours s'envoyer des courriels. Cette leçon est d'autant plus vraie en période de pandémie où il devient facile de broyer du noir. S'inventer des traditions est une option. Par exemple, j'envoie des cartes postales lorsque je visite de nouvelles villes.

Neuvièmement : se souvenir de l'appel du métier et surtout ne pas oublier de s'amuser

Notre travail est aussi une vocation. Nous travaillons parfois sur des dossiers qui prendront des années à faire avancer. Nos contributions, petit à petit, s'inscrivent dans la globalité de la diplomatie canadienne. Chaque affectation vient avec des moments de frustration et d'impuissance. Toutefois, il faut savoir garder le cap et remettre les choses en perspective. Vivre à l'étranger pour une période prolongée est une chance relativement rare. Se faire de nouveaux amis, idéalement en dehors des cercles diplomatiques, et se lancer dans de nouveaux passe-temps aident à mieux s'ancrer dans notre nouveau milieu et de garder la tête froide durant les moments plus difficiles qui se pointeront un jour ou l'autre.

Cette liste n'est pas exhaustive et est limitée en termes de longueur. J'aimerais bien connaître vos propres leçons tirées lors de vos affectations précédentes, alors n'hésitez pas à y rajouter vos suggestions! 



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For **LIZA LINKLATER**, photography has been a life-long passion. Over the many years she has spent abroad, she has built up a significant body of work, both in photography and freelance journalism. You can see more of Liza's work on her website at lizalinklater.com

FEATURE // REPORTAGE

A Career in International Photography

by **Liza Linklater**

MY POSTINGS THROUGH GLOBAL AFFAIRS have been a wonderful experience. My husband, James Trottier, was a diplomat. And for me, living abroad meant being able to continue to do my freelance photography and journalism.

Four of our postings were in Asia, which I adore. As an Asia-phile, I have a deep respect and affection for Asian people and their cultures. Another posting was in New York City, the self-described centre of the universe.

Over the years, I have had photos exhibited in 13 solo and 21 group exhibitions. My work has been shown in Toronto, Ottawa, Bangkok, Manila and Seoul. I have also written for a variety of publications.

I always ask permission to take a person's photograph. I also want to know more about the people I see and meet. What I love the most about this style of documentary photography is that it allows me to enter the lives of strangers, however briefly. If we share a common language, we always have a pleasant conversation; if we don't, there's always a feeling that we have, at least, spent an intimate few moments with each other.

Photography has been important in my life ever since I was a teenager, when I photographed for my high school yearbooks. I started studying photography when I went to Sheridan College in 1970–71 and then worked for a huge

commercial photography studio in Toronto. In those days, we used enormous negative film cameras to take photos for catalogues like Eaton's, Sears, Simpson's, etc.

I had started publishing photos and articles in the 1970s. Later on, I also obtained a BA and MA at York University in Social Anthropology and Photography, and then, after our first posting in Bangkok, I took a BJ (journalism) at Carleton in 1985–86.

I had first travelled overland to Asia in 1978–79 (the last period that most people could travel across Iran and Afghanistan to get to Pakistan and India). James and I did that trip together and continued around the world. It was the second time he had taken that amazing route to India. After we returned to Toronto, I had an exhibit, and published an article in a photo magazine about our trip.

When we were on our first posting in Bangkok from 1983–85, we travelled to most countries in South and Southeast Asia and the South Pacific, and also to Europe and North and East Africa. I wrote several articles to accompany my photos. In Bangkok I photographed transgender people putting on their make-up and dresses for their musical performances. They didn't object to me, but I later heard that they refused permission to others. I published an article about them.

INDONESIA

This photo of a man dressed in an outfit the same colour as his small boat, which is the same colour as the large boat in the background, was shot in Jakarta while on our first posting in Bangkok. In 1985 it was awarded first prize in the Ottawa Citizen (Southam News) National Photo Competition. In 1986, after finishing my one-year bachelor of journalism degree at Carleton University, I took that first prize which was a trip to Singapore.



Before our next posting to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations in New York City, I worked at Ottawa Magazine, doing editing, writing and photography. I really enjoyed it. During that posting in New York City from 1990–94, I went across Canada twice on interesting assignments to interview and photograph immigrants and refugees for Citizenship and Immigration Canada publications. We also travelled to Europe every year while we lived in NYC.

Before the 1990s, photographers took negatives and slides; but, by that time, digital cameras started to be increasingly in use.

We returned to Bangkok on a second, fabulous posting from 1998–2003, when James headed the political/economic program. I love it there. And of course, we always enjoyed travelling to many of the same countries we had visited before, as well as to others which were then accessible, like Bhutan. I also had the opportunity to travel with James to Myanmar again, where he was accredited, and meet Aung San Suu Kyi.

I worked in Bangkok on articles and photos for the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and for the Southeast Asia Fund for Institutional and Legal

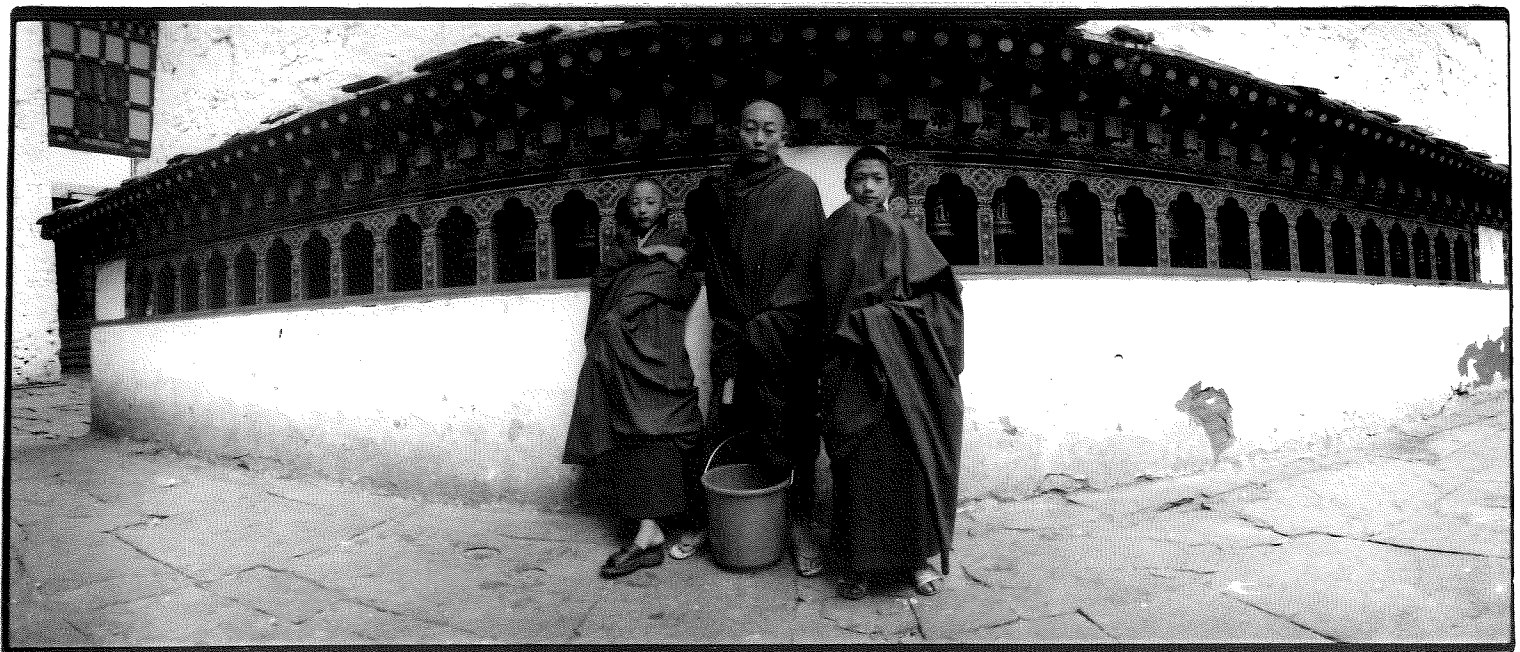
Development (SEAFILD). I also had a black and white exhibit at the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Thailand of photos from the countries we had visited. I also published in several leading Asian magazines, as well as Canadian newspapers like the Toronto Star.

When we returned to Ottawa in 2003, I set up my first website with a creative high school student and his photographer father.

Our next posting was to Manila from 2007–11. The people were incredibly friendly and did not mind my taking photos of them at all. Again we travelled in the Philippines and all around Asia. I had two exhibits in Manila, published photos and created another website with a very talented Filipino man.

When we returned to Ottawa in 2011, I gave all of my darkroom equipment to the School of Photographic Arts in Ottawa. I had used it everywhere we lived to develop and print my black and white negatives, which I had taken with all of my cameras, small and large. In Manila I used digital cameras.

Our last posting was to Seoul from 2013–16, when James was also accredited to North Korea. And, as usual, I published articles, exhibited photos and travelled



BHUTAN

This black and white photo of three monks in Paro was taken with a large panoramic Noblex negative camera in 2001. It has been in several exhibits in Asia and Ottawa and the Scotiabank Contact Photography Festival in Toronto. I really loved going to Bhutan, as very few people have the opportunity to go there. I was sent there a second time by the Bhutan embassy in Bangkok to produce an article regarding their health system. It is a beautiful country, and the people are so friendly. Fluttering prayer flags and maroon-robed monks are a common sight, while white-walled monasteries and prayer wheels dominate the landscape.

CUBA

This photo was taken in a town in Cuba. When we lived in Ottawa, we went to Cuba many times in the winter. I had been there the first time in 1975 with a group of York University students. It was fascinating. Nearly every time James and I went there, we stayed at the home of a Cuban family in Havana with whom we are still in touch. We hope to get there again. Cubans are very artistic and have had great exhibits; they are also fabulous musicians.





PHILIPPINES

Our fourth posting was to Manila (2007/11) and the people in the Philippines are so friendly and loved being photographed. I really enjoyed travelling around the country to the islands and photographing people. There are also many galleries and very creative people there.



SOUTH KOREA

Our last posting in Seoul was from 2013–16. South Koreans are perhaps among the most technologically sophisticated populations in the world. Koreans love selfies, photos of each other and of everything else, mainly with smart phones. But there weren't many people a stranger like me could photograph. I found another willing subject, mainly lovely items and scenes in the vast and endlessly intriguing cities. Koreans are very creative, and the large number of incredible must-see galleries and museums reminded me of New York City.

around Asia. The one thing that was different by that time was the introduction of photography on cell phones. Although people liked taking selfies, they didn't like strangers taking photos of them. I switched to photos of scenery instead.

Some of the places I most loved photographing in were Cuba, India, Bhutan, Philippines, South Korea, etc... it never ends.

And now people all over the world take photos of themselves, their friends and their families with their smart phones. Diplomats and their families

will be taking photos all the time when they are abroad, and they should try to exhibit or publish their work. For all of us, the experience of travel and life abroad brings immense joy – visiting, photographing and learning about other countries and cultures – and it is definitely what we enjoy most in life.

For more of my photos, look at my current website: lizalinklater.com 

FEATURE // REPORTAGE

The Decline of Democracy in the World

THE CRISIS AND
ITS IMPLICATIONS

by B.G. Ramcharan

B.G. RAMCHARAN,
a native of Guyana, worked
at the United Nations for
33 years, and served as
the UN High Commissioner
for Human Rights.

FREEDOM IN THE WORLD, THE 2021 ANNUAL REPORT of Freedom House, a US institution, carried the title, Democracy Under Siege. It noted with sadness that 2021 marked the 15th consecutive year of decline in global freedom. In 2020, its evaluation was that 82 countries were free, 59 partly free and 54 not free. The countries experiencing marked deterioration in their democratic outlooks outnumbered those with improvements by the largest margin recorded since the negative trend began in 2006. Whereas 31 countries had made positive advances in 2005, 45 countries had regressed 15 years later. The proportion of countries that Freedom House judged to be “Not Free” is now the highest it has been in the past 15 years.

The world may not have required the analysis of Freedom House to sense the trends away from democratic development and towards authoritarian government. Indeed, over the past year, oppressive and often violent forces had tipped the international order in their favour time and again, exploiting both the purported advantages of non-democratic systems and the weaknesses in certain ailing democracies. In several notable cases, flickers of hope were extinguished, contributing to a new global status quo, in which acts of repression have gone unpunished and democracy’s advocates have become increasingly isolated. We now face a world in which, for the first time in at least two decades, the



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international balance has been tipped in favour of tyranny, while proponents of democratic government have been placed on the defensive, facing heavy jail sentences, torture or murder in many settings.

Long-term democratic decline has also become a geostrategic issue. The proponents of the idea that democracy is inherently an inferior system of governance have included official Chinese and Russian commentators seeking to strengthen the international influence of their respective countries while escaping accountability for abuses. Both China and Russia became cheerleaders for the breakdown of democracy, and both are waging war against groups and individuals who had set out to reverse the damage of the past twenty years. Unfortunately, it came at a time of division and weakness within Western democracies, when even the United States, in the midst of four years of a dangerous presidency, could be counted among those states in which democratic practices had regressed.

Where do we begin to curb current trends and reconstruct an international commitment to democratic norms? In the United States, the path has been cleared by the election of a new President, but serious challenges remain. As Freedom House noted, “the United States will need to work vigorously to strengthen its institutional safeguards, restore its civic norms, and uphold the promise of its core principles for all segments of society if it is to protect its venerable democracy and regain global credibility.”

For other countries that have regressed in recent years, like Hungary and Poland, the starting point is clear. Democracy promotion must begin at home, in the very countries that face the root causes of dissatisfaction with democracy but where the embers of support for the rule of law and democratic government still burn brightly. Those countries can be encouraged and assisted in moving forward, particularly those in the European Union, where the democratic idea is entrenched in laws and constitutional frameworks. Other democratic countries need to lead by example. They have to show the world the worth of fair electoral institutions, able judicial systems and strong democratic traditions.


A second point is also clear. Democratic countries need to offer support and solidarity to democracy activists, especially in countries in which activists face the most profound adversity. Their support must go beyond mere rhetoric. Supportive states need to consider a full range of positive and punitive measures, from financial support to free media of communication, to economic sanctions and the curtailment of business, aid and diplomatic ties with countries whose governments are part of the hostile cabal against democracy.

We should acknowledge that this is a long-term battle. Just as the slide towards authoritarianism began around 15 years ago, it may be another decade or more before reversing the autocratic trend can be assessed with any degree of confidence. In this struggle, there is no single roadmap to quick recovery. Nor should we underestimate

the difficulty of the task. As one commentator noted recently in the Financial Times, “...if the West could not entrench freedom as the global standard when it was ascendant, it is hardly likely to as the balance of world power tilts increasingly eastward.”

A third point also requires reinforcement. The decline of democracy in the world is linked to many other issues on which the international community works each year, like human rights, support for fair electoral systems and the empowerment of women. We can't give up the fight on these issues, in the UN General Assembly, the UN Human Rights Council and other international fora, even though victory on one issue may only be a tiny step forward in the larger struggle for democratic norms. Electoral observation has often been seen as a frail reed, offering too little in the way of tangible assistance. But in the OSCE and OAS, it is an important measure both practically and symbolically that democratic countries must continue to sustain. We should also be buoyed by US Vice-President Kamala Harris' recent assertion that “at its best, democracy protects human rights, promotes human dignity and upholds the rule of law.” She emphasized the empowerment of women in strengthening democratic traditions in the US and beyond. Her words were important reminders that, although the struggle may be long and difficult, we can sow the seeds for the recovery of democracy worldwide.

Let's consider each case of a frail democracy as a test case for democracy's survival. What can we do to support democracy's sustenance and growth? What indigenous forces can we marshal to ensure that the victory of democracy is sustainable over the long term? What can we learn from victory in one case that we can use to help in other cases?

We should not underestimate the struggle in which we are now engaged. It took centuries for the ideas of freedom of speech, freedom of religion and the integrity of the person to triumph in many countries. In those countries, the heritage of democratic government is something to be cherished and safeguarded. We should commit ourselves to the goal of ending the siege against democracy and revitalizing the global march towards free institutions and democratic government worldwide. 

Just as the slide towards authoritarianism began around 15 years ago, it may be another decade or more before reversing the autocratic trend can be assessed with any degree of confidence.

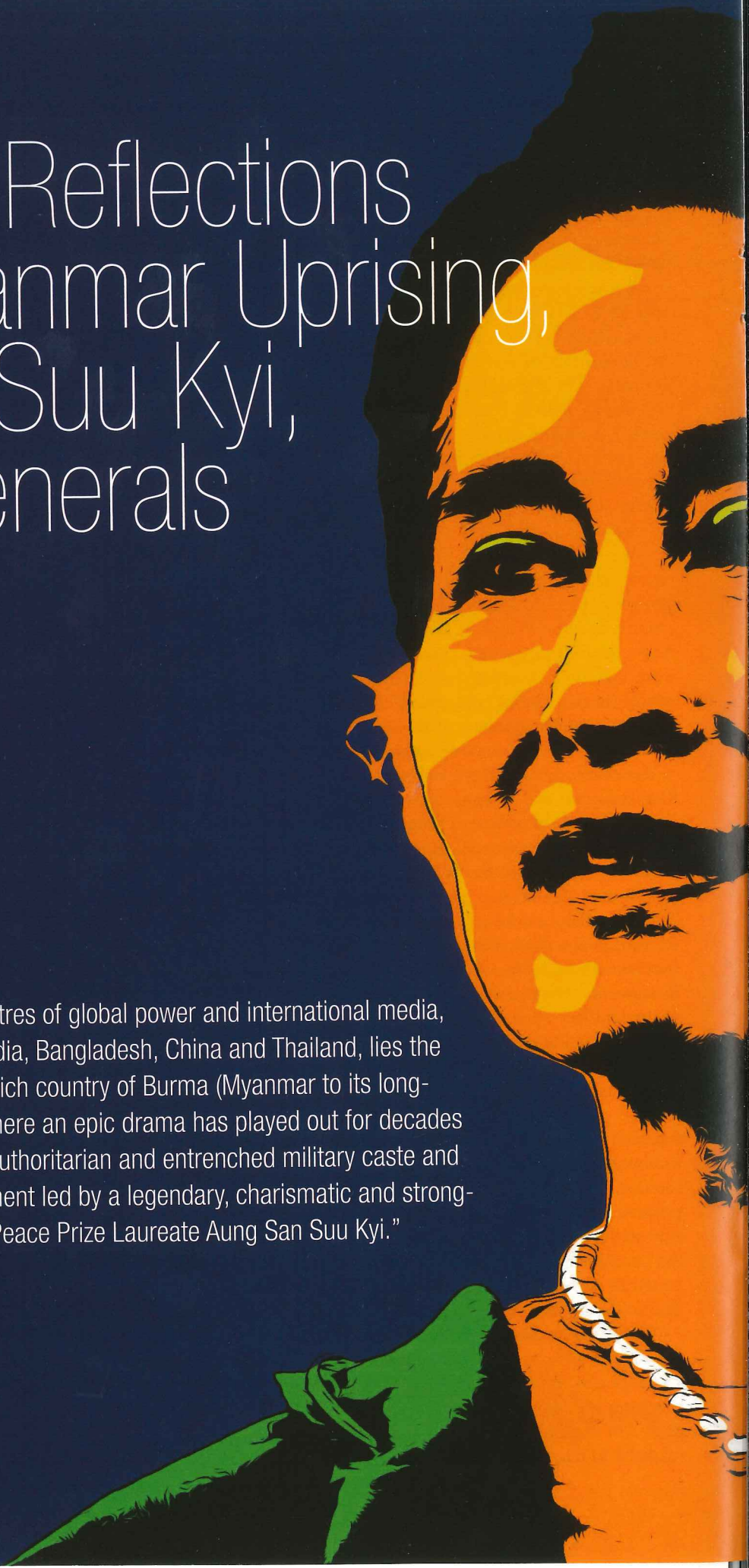
FEATURE // REPORTAGE

Diplomatic Reflections on the Myanmar Uprising, Aung San Suu Kyi, and the Generals

by James Trottier



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





JAMES TROTTIER, served as Political Counsellor to Myanmar. He headed the political/economic programs at Canadian embassies in Bangkok, Seoul and Manila and served at the Permanent Mission of Canada to the UN in New York. He is a Fellow of the Canadian Global Affairs Institute and appears regularly on expert panels and in media regarding Myanmar and North Korea.

THIS WAS THE OPENING PARAGRAPH of an article entitled “Waiting for the Lady” I wrote in *bout de papier* in 2004 on Myanmar and my meetings with Aung San Suu Kyi. Though written 17 years ago, it would not be out of place today. That itself is a sad commentary on an enduring and ongoing tragedy.

I met with Aung San Suu Kyi regularly in one-on-one meetings while serving as Political/Economic Counsellor at the Canadian Embassy in Bangkok, accredited to Myanmar as well as Thailand and Laos from 1998 to 2003. I also served as Chargé d'affaires to Myanmar, as we did not have an Embassy in Myanmar at that time.

Sometimes for extended periods, the military would not allow her to meet with anyone. When such meetings were allowed, I met Ms. Suu Kyi at her residence when she was under house arrest. After her release from house arrest on May 6, 2002, we would meet either at her residence or at National League for Democracy (NLD) party headquarters. The meetings were arranged beforehand through one of her trusted aides. As a matter of policy, I, like other diplomats, did not inform the Government in advance of my meetings with her, although they were well aware of any such meeting.

When she was under house arrest, I would drive in a hotel car to the roadblock blocking access to her lakeside house at 54 University Avenue, Yangon. The barrier was manned by military and plainclothes security personnel. I would identify myself as a Canadian diplomat going to see Aung San Suu Kyi. There would then ensue urgent conversations into walkie-talkies, checks and rechecks of my diplomatic passport, and photos taken of myself and my car. Following a delay of up to 40 minutes, I would be allowed to proceed to the next checkpoint and then, 40 metres further, to the gated compound where she lived. The gate would be opened, and I would drive down a short driveway to her house on the shore of Inya Lake.

An attendant would then show me into a sparsely furnished sitting room with a window seat, a small table and an Andy Warhol-like painting of her father. On other occasions, I would meet her in another room, furnished with a wooden table, a wooden bench, a few chairs, a desk, a TV, a VCR and some photos of her late husband, her deceased parents and her children. After a short delay, Ms. Suu Kyi would come in alone, always looking composed and dressed in a Burmese sarong, black hair tied back with jasmine flowers.

Mark Twain said that while history doesn't repeat itself, it often rhymes. This is certainly the case in Myanmar.

My last meeting with her was on May 5, 2003 at her party headquarters. She got up periodically during the meeting in the rather hot room and banged on an ineffective air conditioning unit with her hand. This was more for my own comfort than her own, as she always looked cool. The room was also furnished with a telephone on which she would receive calls from world leaders; the telephone could only be used for incoming calls. Her own house did not have a working phone at that time, although, curiously, she continued to be listed in the Yangon phone book during her many years of detention.

I did not know at the time that our May 5, 2003 meeting would be our last, nor that I would be the last diplomat to meet her for well over a year. Immediately after our meeting, she set out with a caravan of supporters on a tour of the countryside, where she was met by rapturous crowds. This proved too much for the junta, which organized a vicious attack on her convoy by released convicts on May 30, 2003. Many of her supporters were killed or injured. She was arrested and put into detention again with no access to visitors.

Mark Twain said that while history doesn't repeat itself, it often rhymes. This is certainly the case in Myanmar. There is a continuum in Myanmar, stretching back to the first coup against a civilian government in 1958 through the enduring coup of 1962 and forward to the military junta in power today. Until 1988, the Myanmar military pursued their self-proclaimed "Burmese Road to Socialism," which, to paraphrase the saying about the Holy Roman Empire, was neither a road nor socialism nor particularly Burmese. In 1988, in the face of a popular uprising and the rise of Aung San Suu Kyi, came a changing of the military guard. Gone was the "Road to Socialism." But remaining with a different but familiar face was military autocracy with a penchant for numerology, which would result in a decision to change the currency to make money divisible by 9 rather than 10, thereby wiping out the savings of millions of citizens in the process. Numerology would also factor into determining the exact minute and hour of the transfer of thousands of civil servants to the new capital of Naypyidaw in 2005.

Another definite sign of the continuum is the repression of any opposition, which stretches from the earliest days of military rule through to the present. The military violently suppressed protesters with lethal force in 1962, 1974, 1975 and 1976, in the mass uprising of 1988, in the Saffron Revolution of 2007 and in the 2021 mass protests against military rule. Tragically, the Myanmar military have never shown any hesitation in gunning down protestors. In the past, there were also thousands of political prisoners, as is the case today.

Another aspect of continuity is the vicious military campaign against ethnic rebel forces that the military have waged for decades, using torture, rape and murder

as instruments of their campaign. Among ethnic groups, the Rohingya, persecuted for their religion and their ethnic background, have suffered some of the worst atrocities.

The main difference from 1988 onwards was the arrival on the scene and the enduring presence of Aung San Suu Kyi. There is a continuum between the Aung San Suu Kyi of 1988 and the political leader of today, as well as between the military's unrelenting effort to shut her down and diminish her enduring popularity with the masses then and their efforts today.

In 1988, Aung San Suu Kyi returned to Myanmar from the UK, where she had been living the quiet life of the wife of an Oxford don; she came back to Myanmar to nurse her aged and ill mother. Her return coincided with the uprising of 1988, and she was caught up in the hopes and excitement of the protest movement against the military. Ms. Suu Kyi first rose to prominence almost haphazardly; because she was her father's daughter, she was asked to speak at political rallies. Her father, Aung San, was and remains a revered figure in Myanmar, having been both the independence leader and founder of the Myanmar army. People who had known her father were struck in 1988 by the resemblance between her speaking manner and the tone of her voice and his. It did not take long for her to be recognized as a force to be reckoned with in her own right. She was nobody's proxy. She was definitely her own woman, and in the words of Margaret Thatcher: "The Lady's not for turning."

She herself has no memories of her father, as he was gunned down by rebels six months before independence, while leading a meeting of the Governor's Executive Council in July 1947, when she was an infant.

In my first meeting with her, in some preliminary small talk, I mentioned reading the memoirs of a UN official who had served in Myanmar as a British official during her father's era. That official had met the young Aung San Suu Kyi when the latter was working as a junior staffer at the UN in New York in 1969. The young woman had asked the official what her father had been like; he replied that Aung San resembled, in looks and mannerism, the actor Yul Brynner in the King and I; Ms. Suu Kyi had replied that that was what her mother had said as well. She laughed when I told her the story and recalled the conversation with the UN official some 30 years before. She also asked, "Should I be mother?" as she poured us tea.

Such moments of levity were unusual in my encounters with her. She was invariably very disciplined and always focussed on business. She was always well-informed (she regularly listened to shortwave broadcasts of BBC and Radio India) and expected her interlocutors to know their files, her policy pronouncements and the history of her country. Woe to the person who came to a meeting unprepared, as reportedly happened to at least one of my diplomatic colleagues. She did not suffer fools gladly. She had long ago set her course, sacrificed enormously in her personal life on behalf of her people and would not be diverted from her path. She was and is the very

personification of resilience. Setbacks just make her more determined.

Our meetings provided the opportunity to express Canada's support for the democracy movement and get her views on how Canada and like-minded countries could best assist. She also provided her ever astute analysis of developments in Myanmar.

She was opaque regarding her own on-again, off-again discussions with military junta representatives. She entered into talks with the military when they were willing to do so, as she knew that the only realistic route forward was to reach some sort of accommodation with the military. But she was not naive regarding the military's intentions or objectives.

She had a clear and enduring vision for a democratic Myanmar but was vague on how ethnic minorities would be accommodated. While she was willing to discuss her vision with third parties, interlocutors needed to be well-informed and knowledgeable. She did not appreciate commentary from people who did not share her vision. Nor did she welcome what she considered ill-informed comments from those outside Myanmar whom she believed did not understand the reality of Myanmar and the enormity of the challenges she faced.

Who else but a person of such iron will, determination and vision could have faced off against the might of the Myanmar army for more than 30 years, endured long periods of house arrest and personal attacks, and retained the support of the population?

However, the very strengths and qualities that had allowed her to endure may have also sown the seeds of the

greatest and most damaging controversy of her career, namely her role in the Rohingya situation, where she was caught in an iron triangle made up of the military persecution of the Rohingya, the immense animosity towards the Rohingya among the Burmese population and her own personality. Using its monopoly over the state's security apparatus to attack the Rohingya, the military left Ms. Suu Kyi with a stark choice between supporting the Rohingya, staying silent or, even worse, denying the accusations against the military.

She believed that to support the Rohingya would lose her the support of the Burmese population and lead directly to a military victory in the next Presidential election. To stay silent would suggest that she was not in control of the government she nominally headed. Although this was actually the case, this was not a course her pride would allow her to accept.

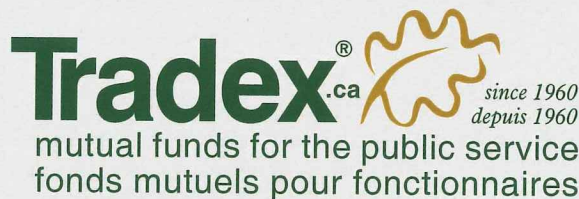
Instead, to the dismay of the international community, she chose to deny the well-documented accusations against the military and lead the defence at the International Court of Justice. As I noted in a *Globe and Mail* op-ed on February 1, 2021, the vilification she received internationally for her choice was in proportion to the international adulation she had previously enjoyed but had not sought. She was truly "a fallen angel."

I imagine that she dismissed the international criticism. She did not believe the outside world appreciated how

She had a clear and enduring vision for a democratic Myanmar but was vague on how ethnic minorities would be accommodated.

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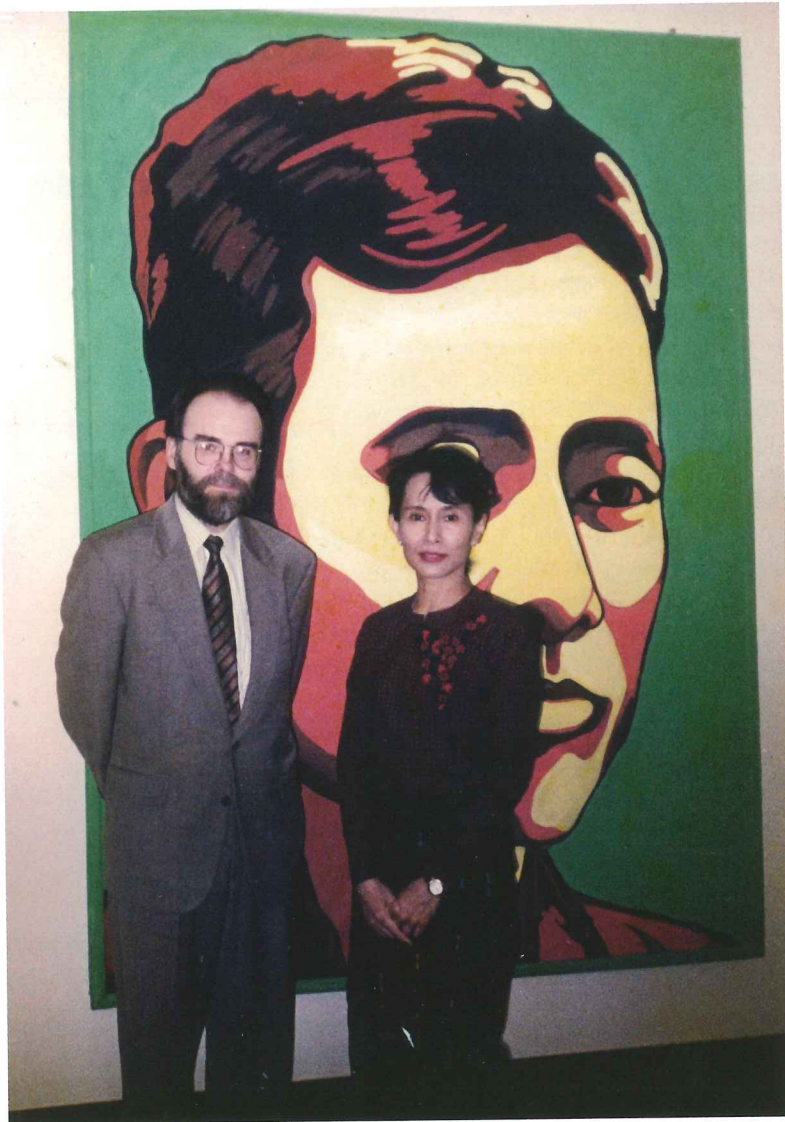
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The author and Aung San Suu Kyi standing in front of a portrait of her father during her house arrest in Yangon.

precarious her situation was and what the military were capable of doing to her, to her party and to the democratic aspirations of the Burmese people. In her mind, international critics did not understand Myanmar as she did.

One can only imagine the gleefulness with which the military greeted the international opprobrium which rained down on her head as a result of her decision. For decades they had sought to discredit her, diminish her and destroy her politically. They had never intended to share real power with her. Her entry into government was simply a ruse to

fend off international pressure. They were always waiting for the moment to permanently sideline her. Now they believed they had set the perfect trap for her.

In any case, the Faustian bargain she had made did not save her from the wrath of the military. With her international reputation in tatters, the military launched their coup of February 1, 2021. The immediate triggers were the results of the November 2020 election, in which her party had won 83 per cent of votes cast, and the military's concern that she would use her strengthened electoral mandate to move against the military's constitutionally protected role in the parliament and the state. However, their long-term goal had always been to remove her from the political scene permanently.

Ironically, in removing her from office, the generals revealed to the world the reality and ferocity of military power and intentions, while validating her assessment of the balance of power between her and the military. In doing so, the military probably provided her with the only means to redeem at least some of her international reputation. Without supporting the position she took regarding the Rohingya, there is now a greater understanding internationally as to why she made the decisions she made. Now, once again, she is recognized as the leader of a democracy movement, facing off with amazing courage against a ruthless and armed military employing deadly force.

For its part, the military did not anticipate that their coup would partially rehabilitate the international reputation of their greatest foe. Nor did they expect the widespread protests, strikes and resistance to their coup – the longest and most formidable popular uprising that they have ever faced.

At the time of writing, the outcome in Myanmar remains unclear. I am confident, however, that Aung San Suu Kyi will remain resolute, determined and resilient whatever the pressure put on her by the ruthless regime in power. I also believe that the people of Myanmar will continue to support her and the democracy movement. What is less clear is whether Canada and like-minded states will take effective action against the Junta, or whether they will stand by, if not indifferent then ineffective, and let Myanmar burn while its citizens die in the street for freedom and democracy. bcdp



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

– Aung San Suu Kyi, 2000

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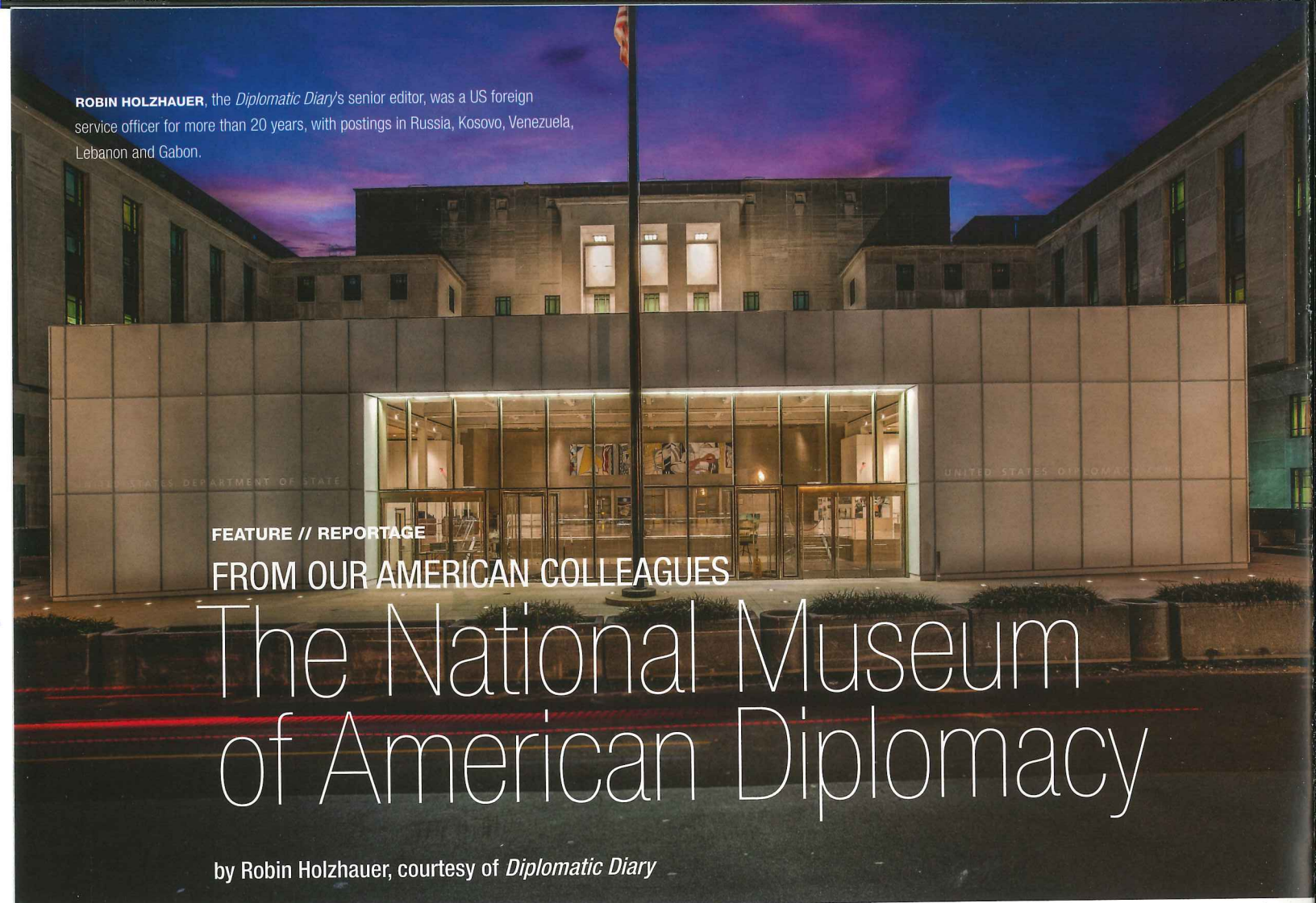
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ROBIN HOLZHAUER, the *Diplomatic Diary's* senior editor, was a US foreign service officer for more than 20 years, with postings in Russia, Kosovo, Venezuela, Lebanon and Gabon.

FEATURE // REPORTAGE

FROM OUR AMERICAN COLLEAGUES

The National Museum of American Diplomacy

by Robin Holzhauser, courtesy of *Diplomatic Diary*

PRUDENCE BUSHNELL WAS THE US AMBASSADOR to Kenya when al Qaeda terrorists bombed her embassy in 1998, killing more than 200 people. Blown to the floor by the blast during a meeting in a nearby building, Bushnell, a career Foreign Service Officer, was one of thousands wounded in the attack. Blood stains from the head injury she sustained still rest on the green suit she was wearing that day. The suit is among 9,000 artifacts in the National Museum of American Diplomacy.

"I have known about [the museum] since its inception, so it was logical to donate an artifact that speaks to the dangers to people who, without guns, safeguard our nation and citizens," Bushnell said.

A collection of cards and letters she received in the aftermath of the bombing can also be found in the museum. Other artifacts she donated include items she had from her father, Gerry Bushnell, also a Foreign Service Officer: a cookbook, *Operation Vittles*, published in 1949 by US military and Foreign Service wives in Germany during the Berlin blockade, as well as "Welcome to Iran" and "Welcome to Pakistan" US embassy brochures given to newly arrived American diplomats in those countries in the 1960s. The artifacts also show the role of Foreign Service family members. "If Americans know little of diplomacy and diplomats, they know even less about us as family members who also represent our country," Bushnell said.

Officially scheduled to open in 2022, the diplomacy museum first welcomed visitors in 2017, in a 21,000-foot pavilion marking its first phase. The museum aims to tell the story of American diplomacy by showcasing parts of diplomats' lives and work in service of the United States around the world. "There is a 'cookie-pusher' myth about us," said Jane Carpenter-Rock, a Foreign Service Officer and the museum's acting director. Part of the myth is the idea that diplomats "go to parties and hobnob and lead these glamorous lives," she added. "Diplomacy can be very tough, and it's not always done in glamorous environments. It's done in very austere, difficult environments – and it's not all receptions. It's very important, difficult work."

Before the COVID-19 shutdown, the museum held a series of public events and educational programs for students in its pavilion, which was built as an addition to the State Department in Washington. Online exhibits are available during the pandemic, including profiles of women in the Foreign Service, the 1995 Dayton Accords that ended the war in Bosnia, efforts to bring home Americans abroad when the novel coronavirus hit last year, and the history of discrimination against LGBTQ diplomats.

Remember the daring escape of six Americans after the embassy in Iran was attacked in 1979, which was dramatized in the 2012 film "Argo"? Those embassy employees, who found refuge in the Canadian ambassador's

residence, used fake documents and disguises, pretending to be a Hollywood film crew. The glasses one of them, Kathleen Stafford, wore as part of her disguise are now in the diplomacy museum's collection.

"We always felt very fortunate we got out, compared to our friends who were there 444 days," Stafford, now an artist, said of the embassy staff who were much less lucky than she was. She donated the glasses as a tangible memory from the hostage crisis. Another reason "was to recognize the Canadians' generosity and courage," she added. "The Canadians are always there, helping us out. That's how diplomacy works. Governments work together and talk and find solutions to problems, without having to use weapons."

Talk of a diplomacy museum swirled for years before then-Secretary of State Madeleine Albright approved a plan to locate the space in the department in 1999. A private Diplomacy Center Foundation was formed, and it took nearly 18 years to raise funds and complete the first phase of construction and artifact collection. The next phase will require an additional \$35 million for a 20,000-square-foot exhibition space. Curators continue to accept and catalog items for future exhibits. Some items, such as a 13-foot section of the Berlin Wall, tell their own story; others give context to major events, said Alison Mann, the museum's historian.

The stories behind the objects show the art, skill and craft of diplomacy, Mann said. A set of diplomat-made Mandarin flash cards from the 1930s demonstrate how – before the State Department offered language training – one Foreign Service officer managed to communicate with locals in China. A diplomatic courier's bag with travel tags tells the story of how official documents made it to overseas posts before the internet age. A well-used passport chronicles a diplomat's career, and how changing country names and visa requirements signified geo-political shifts.

"We realized people are quite interested in the bling," Carpenter-Rock said in reference to gifts to various secretaries of state or other department officials from foreign governments. Department rules prohibit accepting such gifts worth more than \$350, but if refusing them would cause offence or diplomatic damage, they must be turned in to the Office of the Chief of Protocol. So, there is a significant supply to showcase, from jewelry to artwork to tea sets. Once expanded, the museum will have a "protocol gift vault" that explores the items' political and cultural importance, Carpenter-Rock said.

Museum employees work for the State Department, which potentially leaves the door open to political influence over how stories are told. However, Mann said she hasn't felt pressure to frame an exhibit in a particular way. Many civil servants are scholars or museum professionals who research primary sources and stick to facts, she said. "If we felt there was even a tinge of politicization of a certain issue, we would try to stay away from it," Carpenter-Rock said. "We pretty much develop our own agenda of the types of programs we want to have, the stories we want to tell. We are not dictated to by the building."


Mann said some exhibits and programs take a familiar story and highlight the diplomatic aspects or ensure the



Blood stains still remain on the suit worn by Ambassador Prudence Bushnell when she sustained a head injury during the 1998 bombing of the US Embassy in Kenya. Photo courtesy of the National Museum of American Diplomacy.

public hears from diplomacy's diverse voices. Going back to the birth of the nation, the museum showcases Benjamin Franklin's diplomatic skill and work on a commission in France charged with securing Paris' support for American independence. That work from 1776 to 1778 is the reason Franklin is considered the first US diplomat. "Diplomacy was right there at the founding of our nation. If it weren't for diplomacy, we wouldn't have a nation," Carpenter-Rock said.

Diplomacy simulations in the museum have inspired a desire among many students to work in diplomacy, Mann said. Discussions they find most intriguing include those about early diplomacy between the US government and Native American tribes, and how slavery factored into foreign policy decisions and international law, she said. These "a-ha moments" that help visitors understand diplomacy better and appreciate diplomats' work are some of the best rewards of her job, she added. She hopes that audiences "recognize what's being done around the world by diplomats, how diplomacy affects them, and how it affects our lives here in America."

Carpenter-Rock agreed. "This country owes a lot to diplomacy" and "its diplomats," she said. Because diplomacy is done abroad, it's "out of sight, out of mind" for most Americans. "We want to bring those stories much more into public view, so they can be known and appreciated." 



FEATURE // REPORTAGE

The Dinner Party

by Carol Bujeau

CAROL BUJEAU is a storyteller, furniture designer, Cordon Bleu graduate, diamond grader and student of ikebana and calligraphy, and she spent her professional career as a communications strategist with Global Affairs and as an event planner.

Carol travelled the globe with her husband, John Holmes, to postings in Barbados, Ghana and New York, and to the Philippines, Turkey, Indonesia and Jordan, where John was Head of Mission. They live in Ottawa, as do their children, Jordan and Kayla. Her first book, *Triple Sex & Other Tales from an Ambassador's Wife*, will be published by Burnstown Publishing House in 2021.

JOHN AND I WERE EXCITED about our posting to the Canadian High Commission in Ghana, where John would serve as the deputy. I was determined to help him shine at our official functions.

“Our first dinner party has to be perfect,” I insisted. Poring over issues of *Gourmet* magazine and touring local markets, I settled on a menu of squash soup with maple syrup and *beurre noisette*, wild rice risotto with sautéed gambas, and a Ghanaian chocolate and Saskatoon berry torte. I went over the wine list with our houseman, Stephen, explaining that the red wine was to be served in a pewter bottle holder.

The next challenge was finalizing the guest list. In those days, I viewed a dinner party as a kind of live tableau, with everything planned to the last minutiae. Sitting down with charts and bios, I would agonize over who sat next to whom,

keeping in mind language skills, conversation topics and the evening’s strategic goals. There were to be three couples from different embassies: one American, one French and one Dutch. A Ghanaian lawyer named Miguel and a bachelor officer from the British High Commission would round out the numbers.

The day of the dinner finally dawned. Stephen and I carefully laid the table: a heavily starched white linen tablecloth with oversized napkins, silverware polished to a high gleam, hand-calligraphy name cards and an elaborate arrangement of pink torch ginger lilies.

The guests arrived all at once. The Dutch couple – fresh-faced, and friendly – made a great first impression. We also took an immediate shine to the Americans, an affable pair who both worked at their mission. I had met the Ghanaian lawyer

before, playing bridge, and thought him great fun, well read and with a sardonic wit. The French couple were much older, and had a "been there, done that" air to them. However, his bulbous nose and round belly suggested a bon vivant, and his involvement in arts and culture bode well. His wife looked more challenging, her eyes flitting around the room as if she were casing the joint. The British diplomat listened more than he spoke, which was a good thing with that particular crowd.

Upon a signal from Stephen, we made our way to the dining room. As we sat, I secretly congratulated myself on the clever seating plan, watching contentedly as everyone launched into an animated discussion with their neighbour. The soup was served and enjoyed. A lively buzz hummed around the table, and I glowed with pleasure at the compliments sent my way. *This evening is going to be a resounding success*, I thought to myself.

It was just before the main course that everything fell apart.

The conversation had progressed to a discussion on Ghana's history and the impact of British colonialism. During a rare lull, the mischievous Miguel, looking to spice up the debate, pronounced solemnly, "You know, when the French left colonial Guinea, they took everything, even the bidets from the airport."

A momentary hush followed this pronouncement, and then a deep harrumph of disgust from the French diplomat's wife reverberated around the room.

"I have nevah been so hinsulted hin my holle life," she spat. "Ze French may have taken many tings, but they would NEVAH, NEVAH, take ze bidets!"

At this, Miguel looked thoughtful, then continued. "Actually, not only did they take the bidets, they even took the light switches. Unscrewed them right off the walls," he nodded knowingly.

Just as the peeved Parisian was taking a lungful of air to fire a response, her husband, who had been looking down at his plate with a pained expression, decided to intervene. "*Ma chérie, mais ma chérie, calme-toi,*" he murmured softly.

This proved too much. Throwing down her napkin in disgust, his wife seethed, "And you, you hate ze Germans." Before any of us could make sense of this, her spouse, with great sadness, responded, "But ze Germans, zey killed my brudder during ze war." It didn't escape me that Miguel's absent wife was German.

John and I looked at each other across the table, unable to believe the debacle unfolding before us. The Dutch couple, with unsuppressed grins on their faces, kept looking back and forth between Miguel and the French wife-of, as if they were watching a particularly engrossing tennis match. The Americans ate their bread rolls with intense concentration. The Brit remained quiet.

At that moment, Stephen entered the dining room carrying the pewter bottle holder, walking slowly and cautiously. The pinot noir slopped over the sides in gleeful abandon, having

been poured directly into the holder. Stephen was equal to the task, keeping his expression impassive as he shuffled to the table. With a valiant effort, he tried to pour the wine into each wineglass, but most of it spilled onto the tablecloth, staining it with large crimson blotches.

We then heard Esther, the cook, boom from the kitchen. "Steeephen! De chop be getting cold!" Seizing the moment to escape, I rushed to the kitchen, where Esther gestured proudly at the 10 dinner plates at the ready. They looked fine until I noticed that the risotto didn't appear to have any shrimp. I had paid a hefty price for those large crustaceans and considered them the *pièce de résistance* of our meal. "Where are the gambas?", I asked.

"Madame, you told me to chop dem."

"Yes, that's right, but it looks like you minced them since I can't see them anywhere."

Esther looked puzzled. "But Madame, Stephen and I chopped them."

Confused, I forged on. "And why are you yelling at Stephen that the chop is getting cold? We're eating chops."

It was then that I learned that "chop" meant "eat" or "food" in Ghana. It turned out that the staff had assumed I was offering them the shrimps as a treat and had happily "chopped" them up. To her credit, Esther had decided to save a few tiny morsels, which she had added to the risotto.

Dragging myself back to the dining room, and to a desultory conversation, I took a modicum of pleasure in noting that the risotto was tasty, although almost devoid of any shrimpy essence. Thoughts of an early escape from this infernal dinner flitted through my mind, until my attention was drawn to the Brit seated beside me, who was quiet no more. Rather, a storm of coughing and retching emanated from his shuddering body, and in quick time, he pushed his chair violently from the table, got up, and stumbled out of the house. I wondered briefly if, he too, was trying to escape, although his approach seemed a bit heavy-handed. Following him outside, I found our dignified Brit bent over double, victim to an acute case of projectile vomiting. Looking up, he asked weakly, "Was there any seafood in that meal? I'm violently allergic, but I didn't see any on the plate, so I thought it was okay." Before I could reply, he staggered to his car and sped away.

A half hour later, right after dessert, the remaining guests started to leave. The Dutch couple came up to John and me, and smiling happily, said, "Thank you SO much. That was one of the most interesting evenings we've ever spent!"

EPILOGUE

I WAS DEEPLY SADDENED TO LEARN that Hedwig Waltmans-Molier, the Dutch spouse, died last August in the Beirut explosion. I take comfort in many wonderful memories of our time together in Ghana. ☐

Ze French
may have
taken many
tings, but they
would NEVAH,
NEVAH, take
ze bidets!

The Hungry Diplomat

by Lisa Bitto



PASTA. One of my favourite unexpected discoveries here in Brussels is that it's full of ... Italians.

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.

I LEARNED FROM A CHANCE CONVERSATION with an Italian chef that there was a large post-WWII migration for coal mining, though cultural ties go back much further. I mentally divide Italian restaurants here into two groups: one where the staff converses among themselves in Italian (which are always good) and those where they don't (which often aren't).

Not only are there endless great Italian restaurants here, but there are also lots of tremendous grocery stores carrying products from the home country. In every single one, there is an inevitable wall of dried pasta. And it is good stuff. Since starting research for this article, I've brought home a huge number of Italian pastas to try and the differences between brands have been really surprising.

The history of pasta is unclear and contested. It was likely developed either in China or the Middle East nearly 2,000 years ago and migrated over time to the south of Italy. There, what started as a handmade food only for the rich became a poor man's food when mechanized production was developed in the 17th century. Naples and Sicily become "pasta powerhouses."

That quick meal you pull out of the pantry on days when you are lacking time or inspiration is big business. Pasta is a US\$12 billion business, globally. Twelve. Billion. Dollars. And the top sellers (at least the Italian brands) are surprisingly diverse in terms of quality. Among the top is (I'm sorry to say) Barilla. You are sure to have seen the ubiquitous blue box at the grocery store, but I recommend you give it a pass, as it

makes a mushy, uninspiring meal. De Cecco and Rummo are also high on the sales list. Now there, you will find happiness. De Cecco gives you a much more robust bite and Rummo is, at this point in my pasta testing, the best commercial pasta I have come across.

One of the big differences between the great and the passable products are how they are extruded; when the pasta dough is forced through a die (a disc with holes) into its finished shape. A lot of commercial producers use a Teflon die, which leaves a smooth surface. But for those who use a bronze die, the consumer is rewarded with a roughened surface, a bit like that of a cat's tongue. This makes for a much more interesting mouthfeel and also makes it easier for sauce to cling to. Most artisanal pasta, as well as the better commercial ones, are extruded through bronze dies. Artisanal long pastas – like spaghetti – often also are folded in half, leaving a loop at one end; this is how it hangs during the drying process. Commercial producers cut this part off, but small producers leave it on. It makes for a nice, long Lady and the Tramp-style spaghetti eating experience. It is also an indicator your pasta is a bit fancy and worth bragging about.

So what do you need to know to make your own (you know I was going to go there, right)? Many think that making homemade pasta is only possible by Italian nonnas or professional chefs, but I tell you from experience, it's both easy and quite zen to make your own. Find a time when

you would like to do a food project, either alone, with a partner or kids, and have a go at making your own. It's really special to sit down to a plate of pasta you've made yourself. The first few times will take a bit longer, but once you get the process down, it's a fairly efficient process.

First, decide what you will make with your dough. Consider a water dough if you want to dry it for storage or are making flat noodles to eat fresh like lasagne or tagliatelle. This is also better for an extruded pasta, like spaghetti, if you have a pasta attachment for a stand mixer. Water dough is just semolina flour, salt and water. Nothing could be easier. If you want a more tender pasta, perhaps for making a stuffed pasta, then an egg dough can be used: in this case, use either Canadian all-purpose (AP) flour or imported 00 flour for pasta. As an aside, "00"

is an Italian term for how finely flour is ground, rather than the protein content. If you have a choice, get a bag of 00 that specifies it is good for making pasta; its relatively higher protein content will give it a nice chew. Many Italian pasta flours are made with grain from Manitoba, which is clearly indicated on the package as a sign it is higher in protein than regular Italian flours.

For recipes, you can easily go online and find a thousand websites that will give you a recipe and demo. Most of the recipes are nearly identical, but each will give slightly different instructions. I recommend you check out a few, as you'll pick up lots of little bits of helpful info. Two sources I love: the Pasta Grannies YouTube channel and cookbook of the same name by Vicky Bennison and *My Kitchen in Rome* by Rachel Roddy.



INGREDIENTS

Egg Pasta

This is truly the easiest recipe in the world to remember: for every room-temperature large egg, use 100 grams of AP or 00 flour, which serves one person. If you want to score pasta knowledge points at your next cocktail party (whenever that may be – sigh) 100 grams of flour is also called an *eta*.

So for every egg, an *eta* of flour.

Water Pasta

Water pasta replaces the egg with water in roughly the same quantity. Use 45 grams of room-temperature water and a pinch of salt for every 100 grams of semolina flour. You can add an extra teaspoon of water if needed.


METHOD

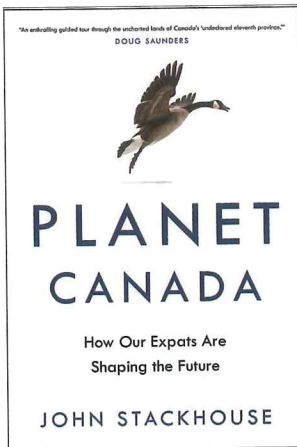
Place flour (and salt, if applicable) in a bowl if you want a quick option or on a large board to form a well, if you want to go old school. Add the egg(s), breaking the yolks with your finger and gradually bringing the flour into the egg. Eventually it will turn into a dough that you knead on the large board by folding an edge of the dough towards the centre, pushing it down with the heel of your hand, then rotating the dough and repeating over and over. Essentially, you want to create a homogenous, smooth and silky ball, which will take about 10 minutes. Either type of dough benefits from a rest after kneading (just invert the bowl over the dough), though you can use water dough right away if time is tight.

Roll the dough out with a rolling pin and cut with a knife (it is a lot of work to roll out) or use a pasta roller, which both rolls the dough very efficiently and usually comes with cutters for angel hair and linguine (I bought my first for \$30 at Stokes).

If you plan to make pasta more than once or twice, a roller is a fantastic investment. At the same time, purchase a pasta drying rack too, which is also reasonably priced. You really only have to buy these once.

To organize and dry the finished pasta, you need a surface to hang long pasta on (traditionally, either a pasta drying rack or a broom handle; a friend uses a clothes drying rack) or a tray lined with floured parchment for anything hand-shaped, like macaroni. You can use either pasta fresh right away. To keep for later, water pasta can be dried all the way through and stored, while egg pasta can be refrigerated for up to a couple of days.

To cook, just toss in salted boiling water, giving it a quick stir to keep it from sticking. Homemade pasta only takes a couple of minutes to cook. Sauce it up and enjoy! 



BOOK REVIEW // CRITIQUE DE LIVRE

Planet Canada

How Our Expats Are Shaping the Future

reviewed by Daniel Livermore

BY JOHN STACKHOUSE
RANDOM HOUSE
OF CANADA, 2020

ISBN 978-0345815804, 360 pp

While working in the Canadian Foreign Service between 1975 and 2007, **DAN LIVERMORE** had constructive experiences with the Canadian diaspora in New York, Chile, Washington and Guatemala.

ANYONE WHO HAS SERVED ABROAD knows about the Canadian expatriate community. Canadians are everywhere in the world, from the halls of academe in Europe to California's Silicon Valley, to the displaced persons camps in the Congo to the remote mining operations of Mongolia and Bolivia. In this ambitious book, John Stackhouse, former editor-in-chief of *The Globe and Mail*, now of the Munk Centre at the University of Toronto, pulls together a lot of ideas about this disparate group and draws some policy conclusions about the Canadian diaspora and its significance.

Stackhouse's research is impressive, and he weaves an intriguing tale. Canadians end up in other countries for many reasons. Some relate to lack of opportunities in Canada, or simply better opportunities elsewhere. Some include wanderlust, an itch to get away and try something else. Canadians sometimes move to another country, intending to return to Canada at a later date. Some do; some don't. This book is about the Canadians who have left Canada, but who also remember their Canadian roots and give some credit for their success to their Canadian background. No two stories are identical, and it's a strength of this well-crafted book that Stackhouse can carry the reader along, from one Canadian to another, pulling out the complexities of the expat experience and the meaning of being Canadian in another country, where sometimes it's an advantage, at other times a burden.

Stackhouse's focus, albeit not exclusively, is on successful Canadians abroad, from Hollywood to world-class academic and research centres, to international organizations. While he doesn't discuss numbers (and Canadians are notoriously difficult to track in any event), it's impossible to avoid his conclusion that Canadians are everywhere in the international community, probably in numbers greater than any other nationality, excepting perhaps Americans and Chinese.

After an 11-chapter review of Canadians in every corner of the world, Stackhouse gets to the nub of the issues he wants to discuss. How can Canada benefit by this huge and powerful diaspora? And how can

we continue to foster the spirit of internationalism that underpins the expatriate experience at a time when Canadians seem increasingly averse to studying and working abroad? Some countries are good at working with their diasporas (don't even hint that a diaspora could be "managed"). He cites the Netherlands and the US as examples. According to Stackhouse, "diaspora strategies are now a key part of foreign policy, perhaps the key part" for certain fast-growing countries and economies. Some countries have adopted intriguing initiatives to bind some of their expats to their homeland's prime foreign policy objectives. Canada is unique, he argues, in having no diaspora strategy at all.

In the final four chapters, as well as his conclusion, Stackhouse offers a series of views on how Canada could work with Canadian expatriates to Canada's advantage, as well as to foster a spirit of internationalism that will continue to encourage Canadians to think about living abroad. He argues compellingly that there are advantages to close and continuing relationships with the Canadian diaspora. They may be force-multipliers for Canadian influence abroad; they may be invaluable allies in trade relationships and economic initiatives; at a minimum, they are vital sources of information on what's happening beyond Canadian borders.

Yet all of this is easier said than done. As a starting point, Stackhouse recognizes that many Canadian expats simply don't want to be "organized" by their local embassies. Where there are local Canada Clubs, as there was in Guatemala when I arrived in 1996, they generally want to do their own thing, sometimes with embassy help, sometimes without. Moreover, there is a broad spectrum of interests engaged in diaspora issues, triggering lots of issues, some of which, like dual nationality and voting rights, are tricky. The Canadian government wants no part of other issues, like the consular rights of Canadians suspected of involvement in terrorism abroad.

Some of Stackhouse's ideas, drawn from the experience of other countries, merit exploration, such as "an advisory council of global Canadians,"

although the precise purpose and role of this initiative remain somewhat opaque. Stackhouse is also correct when he emphasizes that there is a small mountain of research studies on the expatriate phenomenon, enough to form the backbone of initial work on a strategy paper. There are many individuals hard at work on the issue, albeit out of the government orbit. Chrystia Freeland once expressed interest in a diaspora strategy following a presentation she heard at Davos. Did anything happen afterwards?

Stackhouse eloquently addresses an issue related to the Canadian diaspora, namely, Canadians studying abroad. And he finds the trend-lines of the past decade disturbing. While other countries, including our closest allies, are developing incentives to encourage foreign study and embrace the international idea, Canadian students are staying home in growing numbers, shunning opportunities for life and work abroad. An important recent study on international education led by Margaret Biggs and Roland Paris has been ignored by the Canadian government, at the very time when its rapid embrace could have a positive impact on Canadian attitudes towards international education, mobility and creativity.

Stackhouse's concluding chapter is a plea to mobilize the Canadian diaspora in Canadian interests. It's a powerful chapter, urging Canadians to be "more outward-looking as a people at home and more ambitious with Canadians abroad, knowing that if we support them, those expats can help shape and secure our collective identity in a world that is rapidly changing." He argues that the Canadian diaspora can be a "megaphone for our small voice, a connector for our small numbers and a lever for our big ambitions."

Plenty of bureaucrats in Ottawa and provincial capitals will be disposed to believe that Stackhouse has exaggerated the possibilities of future benefit in the diaspora issue. Yet he's right in arguing that this is a low-cost, high-return option for Canada. There's no downside in putting some intellectual muscle behind his observations. The upside is that even a modest return on the investment he recommends might be dramatically favourable. At a time when the Canadian government seems weary and bereft of ideas, this is an issue that is easily embraced. This book is the place to start.



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JACQUES ROY

Péripéties de diplomatie



de la Gaspésie à Paris

COLLECTION VISAGES

BOOK REVIEW // CRITIQUE DE LIVRE

Péripéties de diplomatie de la Gaspésie à Paris

par Jean Riopel

PAR JACQUES ROY

OTTAWA, ÉDITION DU
VERMILLON, 2020

327 pp

JEAN RIOPEL a surtout fait carrière dans le secteur des relations canado-américaines. Il a été en poste à Bruxelles de 2004 à 2008 et a pris sa retraite en 2011.

JACQUES ROY L'A ÉCHAPPÉ BELLE! Il aurait pu se prénommer Flandin, en l'honneur du ministre Pierre-Étienne Flandin, venu à Gaspé en août 1934 pour représenter la France lors du 400^e anniversaire de l'arrivée de Jacques Cartier au Canada. Impressionné par le discours que Flandin livra lors des cérémonies commémoratives, le père de Jacques tenta de convaincre sa femme alors enceinte d'affubler l'enfant à naître, si c'était un garçon, du prénom de Flandin. On peut imaginer l'embarras de Jacques Roy, ambassadeur en France (1996–2000), s'il avait dû expliquer à ses interlocuteurs étonnés de la 5^e République pourquoi on l'avait prénommé Flandin, homme politique compromis avec le régime de Vichy. Solution heureuse pour lui, il obtient le prénom du navigateur malouin que Flandin était venu honorer au nom de la France!

Roy consacre les cent premières pages de son autobiographie à son enfance à Ste-Anne-des-Monts en Gaspésie et à ses années formatrices. Un chapitre est dédié à la généalogie des Roy au Québec. On suit le parcours typique d'un jeune canadien-français issu d'un milieu petit-bourgeois qui fait son cours classique à Rimouski et qui, après sa graduation, entreprend son droit à l'Université Laval. Pendant son cours classique, il passe ses vacances d'été à la construction de la route transgaspésienne. On cherche en vain dans ces pages un quelconque intérêt chez le jeune Jacques pour la diplomatie, même s'il affirme à sa graduation qu'il s'y destine, ce qui intrigue ses confrères, car aucun diplomate n'était venu visiter le collège de Rimouski pour promouvoir cette profession.

À l'Université Laval, il adhère à la « University Naval Training Division » qui l'amène à Halifax où pour la première fois de sa vie, il se trouve en milieu anglophone et rencontre des étudiants des autres provinces qui ont une connaissance quasi nulle du Québec. Ce programme lui permet d'élargir ses horizons, entre autres lors d'une croisière en Europe sur une frégate de la marine canadienne. Roy participe aussi à un concours de l'Entraide universitaire mondiale qui le conduit

en Yougoslavie. C'est suite à une rencontre avec George Ignatieff, alors ambassadeur du Canada à Belgrade, qu'il pense sérieusement entreprendre une carrière au ministère des Affaires extérieures. Pour accroître ses chances d'être admis, il va parfaire son éducation à la London School of Economics. En septembre 1960, il entre au ministère des Affaires extérieures qui, comme il l'affirme, jouissait à l'époque d'une grande autorité à Ottawa.

Dans les chapitres intermédiaires, l'intérêt de Roy n'est pas tant de donner son point de vue sur les enjeux de la politique étrangère canadienne de l'époque que de faire la chronique de son apprentissage comme agent du service extérieur et de relater des anecdotes qui l'ont ponctuée. Les vieux routiers aujourd'hui à la retraite n'apprendront pas grand-chose, car ce cheminement est somme toute assez semblable à celui que plusieurs ont vécu. Le mérite de Roy est de dire les choses franchement: la vie d'un jeune diplomate n'est pas un chemin parsemé de roses.

De fait, les deux premières affectations de Roy se déroulent dans des pays communistes, la Tchécoslovaquie et Cuba. À La Havane, la maison assignée aux Roy est en piètre état. L'ambassade n'a pu obtenir d'Ottawa les fonds nécessaires pour la réparer sous prétexte que le gouvernement cubain en est le propriétaire et qu'il est responsable de faire les réparations. Qu'à cela ne tienne! Roy plonge avec enthousiasme dans son travail où il doit régulièrement se taper les discours-fleuve de Fidel Castro sur la place de la révolution afin d'en faire rapport à Ottawa. Il prend les choses du bon côté, affirmant que les discours du Lider Maximo l'aident à améliorer son espagnol. C'est à Cuba qu'il s'initie à ses futures responsabilités d'ambassadeur, puisqu'on lui demande de rester une année supplémentaire pour remplacer l'ambassadeur qui doit être opéré. En tant que chargé, il rencontre Castro à quelques reprises, parfois dans des moments les plus inattendus qui se prolongent jusqu'aux petites heures de la nuit.

En quelques années, Roy monte rapidement en grade. On lui assigne des postes de responsabilités centrales comme celui de coordonnateur ministériel dans le bureau du ministre des Affaires extérieures et, par la suite, celui de secrétaire adjoint du Conseil privé pour les relations internationales. À ce titre, il joue un rôle de conseiller auprès du Premier ministre Pierre Trudeau et l'accompagne régulièrement dans ses déplacements à l'étranger et dans les rencontres de chefs d'État comme le G7. Lors d'un épisode où Roy tente de convaincre Trudeau qu'il n'est pas nécessaire qu'il l'accompagne à Rome pour l'intronisation de Jean-Paul 1^{er}, prétextant qu'il doit participer à une fête familiale pour l'anniversaire de sa mère, Trudeau le regarde droit dans les yeux et lui dit tout de go que sa mère serait fière d'apprendre que son fils ira à Rome avec le premier ministre pour l'installation du nouveau pape.

Se succèdent ensuite à partir de 1981 des affectations de haut rang à l'étranger : ambassadeur en Arabie Saoudite; chef adjoint à Washington; ambassadeur en Suisse; ambassadeur auprès de l'Union européenne à Bruxelles; et finalement ambassadeur en France. Il dit éprouver beaucoup de satisfaction dans chacun de ces postes. De son passage à Washington, il note que son travail est très différent de ce qu'il a connu auparavant. Il passe presque tout son temps à faire du lobbying pour promouvoir les intérêts commerciaux et économiques canadiens auprès des autorités et de milieux d'affaires américains. Le dossier du bois d'œuvre, enjeu sempiternel des relations canado-américaines, l'occupe beaucoup. Plus ça change, plus c'est pareil ...

Le test le plus difficile que Roy a vécu comme ambassadeur est sans doute la crise du turbot entre le Canada et l'Union européenne en 1994, qui mena presque à un échange de coups de feu entre les marines canadienne et espagnole. Les détails que Roy apporte à son récit visent sans doute à rectifier certains faits que les spécialistes de cette crise sauront décoder. Si les Espagnols étaient les plus intransigeants du côté européen, du côté canadien ce rôle appartenait clairement selon Roy au ministre des pêches Brian Tobin, inflexible et belliqueux. Tobin était loin de lui donner l'appui et la confiance nécessaires. Roy recevait donc ses instructions directement du premier ministre Jean Chrétien, surtout dans les moments ultimes des négociations avec les autorités européennes à Bruxelles. Le premier ministre, satisfait de ses talents de négociateur, le nomma à Paris.

De l'épisode parisien, Roy s'attardera surtout sur les tracasseries causées par le gouvernement péquiste de Lucien Bouchard alors au pouvoir à Québec. L'affaire du timbre-poste que le président Chirac souhaitait émettre pour célébrer le 30^e anniversaire de la visite du général de Gaulle au Canada en 1967 illustre bien le côté rocambolesque des relations Canada-France-Québec. Suite aux pressions canadiennes, ce timbre ne sera pas émis, au grand dam du gouvernement du Québec et particulièrement de Bernard Landry, une des bêtes noires de Roy, qui déclara que « la cause souverainiste ne tient pas

à la grandeur d'un timbre-poste ». Landry s'en prit publiquement aux Québécois qui, comme Roy, avaient des postes de hautes responsabilités dans la diplomatie canadienne, les considérant à mots couverts comme des traites à la nation. Lors d'un voyage de Lucien Bouchard à Paris, la délégation générale du Québec n'invite pas Roy à une réception qu'elle donne pour les Québécois vivant à Paris. Roy fera plus tard état de ce camouflet auprès de Bouchard, faisant valoir qu'il n'y a pas plus Québécois qu'un Gaspésien comme lui. Bouchard lui répondra qu'il « est malheureux que la situation politique actuelle mène à de tels résultats ». Ce genre de mesquineries se répètera à quelques reprises lors de son affectation à Paris.

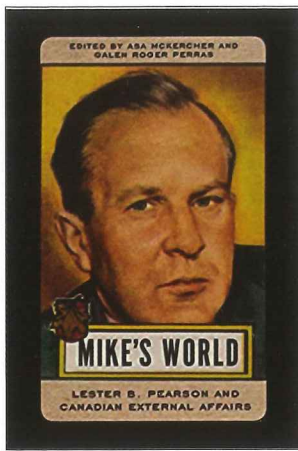
Malgré une approche chronologique parfois fastidieuse, mais inévitable dans une autobiographie, ce livre mérite notre attention. Il expose sans fard un riche parcours qui a mené Roy à l'un des joyaux de la carrière auquel peut rêver d'accéder tout jeune diplomate : le poste d'ambassadeur en France où il termine une brillante carrière de 40 ans au service de la diplomatie canadienne. À aucun moment Roy ne tombe dans l'autoglorification. Il reste aussi d'une grande discrétion : il n'y a pas d'histoires croustillantes dans ce livre, ni de règlements de compte avec d'ex-collègues.

Roy s'avère être un exécutant compétent et fidèle de décisions prises au niveau politique. On aurait aimé qu'il parle aussi des idées qui le motivaient et de ce qu'il pensait des grands enjeux de son époque, mais le lecteur reste sur son appétit. Même ambassadeur, il ne semble pas s'interroger sur le bien-fondé des positions qu'il a à défendre. S'est-il demandé par exemple s'il en valait vraiment la peine de monter au créneau pour une histoire de timbre-poste? Il est vrai qu'après le référendum de 1995, le climat entre Ottawa et Québec n'était pas à la conciliation.

Rares sont les diplomates canadiens qui ont écrit leur biographie, encore moins chez les francophones. Alors qu'on déplore aujourd'hui l'absence quasi totale de francophones dans la haute direction des Affaires mondiales et dans des postes d'ambassadeur, ce livre reste un témoignage significatif sur une époque pas si lointaine où les Jacques Roy, Raymond Chrétien, Gaëtan Lavertu, Louise Fréchette, Marc Lortie, Claude Laverdure, Marie-Lucie Morin et bien d'autres rayonnaient au sommet de la diplomatie canadienne.

Jacques Roy's book has now been translated into English by Timothy Williams. Diplomatic Odyssey from Gaspésie to Paris is available through Lulu Press at Lulu.com.

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BOOK REVIEW // CRITIQUE DE LIVRE

Mike's World

Lester B. Pearson and Canadian External Affairs

reviewed by John Graham

EDITED BY ASA MCKERCHER
AND GALEN ROGER PERRAS

VANCOUVER, UBC PRESS, 2017

ISBN 978-0774835282, 380 pp

JOHN GRAHAM was posted in Ciudad Trujillo (Santo Domingo), Havana and London, and was Head of Mission in Guyana and Venezuela, first head of the Unit for the Promotion of Democracy at the OAS in Washington, and international mediator in the Dominican Republic. He led in five and participated in 30-plus electoral observation missions, chaired the Canadian Foundation for the Americas, and was a member of President Carter's "Friends of the Inter-American Democratic Charter." He is the author of three books (*El Crisis Electoral de 1994; Whose Man in Havana? Adventures from the Far Side of Diplomacy and Potholes and Politics: a Cartoon Portrait of Ottawa*), and is cartoonist and writer for a community newspaper in Ottawa.

IN A RECENT *GLOBE AND MAIL* COLUMN, John Ibbitson complained that, with the switch of Champagne for Garneau, Canada has had 14 foreign ministers in just over 20 years. 14! And many of them non-memorable. We grump about Canada's loss of credibility and standing abroad. This has to be one of the reasons.

The contrasting model of consistency for lengthy periods is cogently presented in *Mike's World*, a collection of essays edited by Asa McKercher and Galen Roger Perras that assesses the Pearson legacy. The authors make clear that continuity in messaging and the successful cultivation of key players were not problems for Canada in the early years after WWII. As head of post in Washington (44–46), Under-Secretary (deputy minister) of External Affairs (46–48), Secretary of State for External Affairs (48–57) and finally as Prime Minister (63–68), Pearson remained a principal strategist of Canadian foreign policy and a major contributor to post-war architecture for 18 years.

It is unlikely that his most celebrated achievement, the resolution of the Suez crisis, for which he received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957, would have been remotely possible if he had not been recognized as an astute, highly regarded, and, above all, well-known and experienced player by western powers and by many non-aligned countries. Closer to home, the view may have been different. According to an allegedly authentic account, a reporter, looking for the 'distaff' angle, approached Mrs. Pearson. "How does it feel to be the wife of a celebrated Nobel laureate?" "Surprised," responded Mrs. P.

McKercher and Perras have assembled a galaxy of gifted veteran and younger historians to guide us through the hugely eventful Pearson years. The legacy is parceled out by sector, beginning with "the Pearsonian World", embracing peacekeeping, the peace commission in Vietnam, the United Nations and the fascinating relationship between Pearson and his (often) indispensable ally, and (at times) disruptive, (occasionally) unscrupulous and

(most of the time) arch competitor, Paul Martin Sr. The chapters run the gamut from "Pearson the Pragmatist", a focus on human rights, Arctic sovereignty, perceptions of the Arab world, Latin America and the Caribbean, the distancing with Britain; and "Pearson, the idealist", which grapples with the Cold War, Commonwealth challenges, NATO and nuclear dilemmas, the environment, and, of course, Quebec and France.

For most of us who toil (or toiled) in the Pearson building where memorabilia and excerpts from his Nobel acceptance speech decorate the lobby walls, we thought we knew the basics of the Pearson career – at least I did as I joined the Department just before he left office as minister in 1957. *Mike's World* revealed that I had a lot to learn.

As young officers at that time, we could take no credit for any part of the Pearson achievements. But as professionals, we bathed in the reflection of that golden glow. President Kennedy referred to Pearson as "the chief architect of the Canadian Foreign Service, probably the best in the world." Julius Nyerere was more subdued but echoed the compliment. In his memoir, Humphrey Trevelyan, a senior British Ambassador, scored the Canadians as one of the best foreign services, ranked just after the Yugoslavs. He noted that "Canadians will give you a balanced judgement from their mid-Atlantic perspective."

All the more reason for surprise when the brickbats began to fly before Pearson left office, not just about the flag, but targeting foreign policy. With apologies to readers who may have previously seen this vignette about External Affairs in Pearson's time, but it sets the tone ... Writing in the *Toronto Star*, James Eayrs, an eminent University of Toronto political scientist, described the induction ritual for newly minted Foreign Service Officers with his usual barbed flourish. Probationary officers, he wrote, were led to a basement chamber in the East Block (where most of us worked at that time). Their consciences were removed and placed in a safety

deposit box. A deposit slip was provided for those keen to retrieve their consciences upon retirement. But, Eayrs concluded, following 30 or so years in the amoral, Pearson-contaminated precincts of External Affairs, no one would.

As the authors make clear, Eayrs was joined by many others. But why so much scorn? Much of it was unrelated to foreign policy. The new Canadian flag, a Pearson triumph, enraged the Tories and Diefenbaker most of all. It was a major aggravation, as were other policies which diluted the old imperial connection. Another factor was Pearson's performance in the House of Commons. He was no match for the scorching bellicosity of John Diefenbaker, nor nearly as skilled in parliamentary cut and thrust as his rival Paul Martin. Pearson was an easy target, and much of that disparagement was superficial. He didn't look or sound prime-ministerial. He had soft features, a lisp and according to the journalist Charles Lynch, he "walked funny".

Jennifer Tunnicliffe notes that Pearson was less than enthusiastic about the formulation of some of the international instruments codifying human rights. Pearson preferred the "British Way", which was to rely on national legislatures to enact "sensible and progressive law" on human rights. There is a related ongoing debate (by Jill Lepore in *The New Yorker*) about the pros and cons of a written constitution.

Worse was to come. Pierre Trudeau's denigration of the "Defrocked Prince of Peace" was the jab that cut most cruelly, not least because it was said publically and directed at the man most responsible for Trudeau's elevation to Prime Minister.

The harshest critic in these pages is Maurice Jr. Labelle, whose chapter is headed "Not So Nobel: Arab Perceptions of Lester Pearson and Canada". On the Suez crisis, Labelle

concludes that the "Arabs grew increasingly disenchanted as Canadian diplomacy in the Middle East betrayed the very idea of Canada" and that Canada's neutrality in the Arab/Israeli dispute was "a homemade mirage." Labelle offers some documentation for his conclusions, but does so without reflection on the extent to which Pearson and other Western leaders were mindful of the Holocaust, which, scarcely more than a decade before, had decimated the Jewish population of Europe.

While not flinching at criticism, *Mike's World* leaves us in no doubt about the legacy and difficult world in which it was forged – a world described by Robert Bothwell

as rendered "in fifty shades of grey". In the preface, John English reminds us that foreign policy was not among the most consuming or important challenges that confronted Pearson over the five years when he was Prime Minister. These were domestic issues, and the accomplishments were momentous: national medicare, the maple leaf flag, official bilingualism, the Canada Pension Plan, and racially unrestricted immigration. He concludes that "... for better and for worse, Mike Pearson remade Canada." Taken together, the verdict of these essays is "for better".

McKercher and Perras have assembled a galaxy of gifted veteran and younger historians to guide us through the hugely eventful Pearson years.

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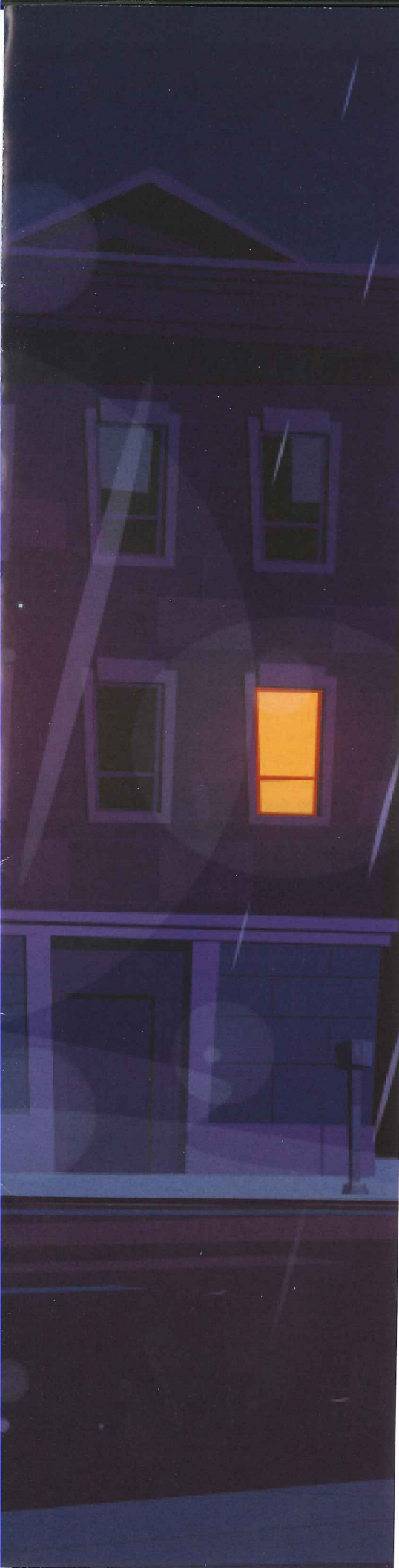
Who Skewered Turk McGurk?

A CLUBLAND MYSTERY

from A Aalto

FROM THE CASEBOOK OF SHAMUS DIKK, PI (DECEMBER 2019)

It was a Wednesday night, cloudy and cold. The few working streetlamps weren't trying very hard to push back the shadows. The sax player who follows me around was moaning a blue note, about a Pantone 3591C. A tall thin man in a shabby black raincoat and fedora staggered out of an alleyway, came up to me and mumbled, "Stay away from Trans Fats". I told him I hadn't been near a pool hall in months. It was my doctor. He'd heard the line before.



A AALTO is working on a transparency strategy for the Department in the form of sequel to *Cool Hand Luke* called "Failure to Communicate". Speaking of enigmatic communications, recent spring cleaning in the archives suggests that this is Aalto's 117th puzzle for **bout**, a number of no consequence whatsoever. This one is for Raymond Chandler, Ross Macdonald and the warriors of Reddit. And to Mrs. Aalto for her careful reading and sage advice.

WE SPLIT UP. He walked into a streetlamp, which went out. I went right around the corner into Dystopia Road and entered the first doorway, into the joint owned by my old friend Oscar Meniscus. A door-to-door glockenspiel salesman as a boy, he continued his interest in music by forming a joint tribute band for Warren Zevon and Jimmy Buffett, which he called Warren Buffett. Informed that the name was already in use, he opened an all-you-can-eat bar and grill called The Buffet(t) and installed his group as the house band. It was a big hit with big eaters and the chronically deaf. It was also popular with the police for its role in suppressing neighbourhood youth gangs. No one under 30 was willing to loiter within range of such perennial B-siders as "Wasting Away in Dry Martiniville" (the band's first and last entry in Wall Street Rock) or "Werewolves of Humdrum".

Oscar had called me that afternoon, worried about a booking from one of the city's fat cats, Tiptilt "Turk" McGurk, who'd wanted to rent the club for a private event. The money was good, so Oscar agreed, although the man was the kind of major-league financial hustler who gave wolverines a bad name. McGurk brought in his own band, a quartet called Tuba Zumba. I googled them and found a YouTube clip of four porky men in brightly coloured Lycra and lederhosen, murdering "The Ride of the Valkyries" on tubas while gyrating with surprisingly good synchronization. After washing out my eyes and ears, I sent my partner Effie on ahead to get the lay of the land while I did some research, saying I would join her later. Effie was a mustached six-foot cross-dresser in a Balenciaga gown and John Fluevog shoes. She'd fit in well at Oscar's, which was famously progressive.

Oscar called me because he'd heard from his contacts in the underworld that something heavy was going to go down at the club that night. No details, except that it was all about payback for lives McGurk had ruined. Oscar passed this on to his client, who just laughed and said he wasn't worried. The threats were nothing new, he travelled with bodyguards, there hadn't been any attacks in years and weapons had to be checked at the door (he was bringing in a metal detector to be sure). Besides, the party was by invitation only and he trusted his staff to do a careful job on the list. So the event was going ahead, but Oscar wanted us on site in case things went south.

Effie met me just inside the club. I hadn't seen her this excited since RuPaul premiered *Canada's Drag Race*. She was standing with Oscar, the two of them propped against the wall. I said "Hi!" She said, "We sure are. Oscar has these great brownies he's been passing around. Oh, and there's a corpse on the stage." Oscar grinned. Wonderful. I had just arrived, somebody was already dead on our watch, and my eyes on the ground were up with the kites and rising.

We headed across the lobby and into the main club area. It was a big room, windows along one side, a long bar along the other and a stage littered with tubas at the far end. Tables and chairs covered the floor, with evidence of heavy play in food and drink, but the place was empty except for a collection of guys in dark suits looking exactly like bodyguards who wished they were anywhere else. I recognized Tiny Timmins, McGurk's head of security, on the stage and went over to him.

The corpse was indeed McGurk. He was flat on his back on the platform, his tuxedo jacket unbuttoned, a half-smoked cigar to one side of the body and an overturned champagne glass on the other. His bowtie was pinned to his throat by a small crossbow bolt. He died as he had lived – with a sneer on his face.

"Hell of a note, Tiny," I said. "Not going to look good on our résumés." I glanced back at Effie and Oscar, then asked, "You straight?" He replied, "Gay actually, but if you mean have I tried Oscar's munchies, then the answer is no." "Thank God for that. You can give me the lowdown on what happened here without giving me a headache." Tiny reached into a coat pocket, pulled out a pack of cigarettes and lit one up. Old school.

"It all happened so fast. Me and the guys working the door had just discovered there were three uninvited guests, people who appeared on the laptop version of the list we were using to screen entries, but not on the paper version we had printed as backup this morning. Someone had pulled a last-minute hack. I was coming into the room to tell the boss. He was up here on the stage dancing in front of the band. Suddenly there was a funny sound, kind of a faint twang. He clutched his throat and dropped like a stone. Then the lights went out. When we got them working again, we found a small crossbow someone had thrown out the north window into the alley. Oscar keeps them open when there's a full house like tonight. No one saw anyone fire the bolt or toss the bow. With the boss twirling around like that, it wasn't even clear which direction the bolt had been fired from."

I asked, "Isn't a crossbow kind of a strange weapon for a hit like this?" "Actually no," he replied. "This type is small enough to hide under a coat. It's made entirely of fibreglass and carbon nanotubes, so it won't set off our metal detectors. It's quieter than a handgun. And there's no gunpowder blowback onto your hand and sleeves." Tiny Timmins was about four foot six. Across the shoulders. Height in proportion and built like a truck. It is not true that he's the same size as the city of Timmins. The city is a bit smaller. Looks like a mook, giant economy size. But has a PhD and speaks four languages. Book : cover, right?

He went on. "There was no way we could hold onto the crowd once they worked out what had gone down. But we managed to detain two of the three uninvited guests. They didn't want to stick around either, but a little looming and two brownies each persuaded them. They're upstairs in Oscar's apartment with one of the boys

minding them. And they're all victims of McGurk's latest big swindle. So is Oscar, by the way, and so is one of the tuba players."

I had read about the swindle. McGurk had been head of a syndicate that aggressively shorted the stock of a large Nova Scotia clothing manufacturer. He persuaded a lot of inexperienced investors to join him in this attack, but they wound up faced off against a bunch of well-organized small-scale punters, who bought up the firm's stock and pushed the price sky-high. Things hung in the balance until one of the big financial papers published a puff piece on the company. An autocorrect error added an "S" at the end of the headline, which ended up as "You Can't Sell Stanfields Shorts!". This confused the company, whose sales were doing fine, but also panicked McGurk's investors, who lost their shirts as they rushed to close out their positions. The company offered to replace their shirts but not their money. McGurk had of course ensured that he was not exposed to any financial risk, and had benefitted heavily from the percentage he took off the top. But a lot of lives were ruined.

Tiny joined Oscar, Effie and me in the private elevator to the top floor. With him in the car, it was so crowded we had to take turns breathing. We found everyone in Oscar's comfortable living room. Among the suspects, we had a fat man, a tattooed woman, a bald man and a red-haired woman. I turned to Tiny. "I thought you said there were three uninvited guests, Tiny. With Oscar and the musician, that should make five."

"Your math is fine, Shamus, but one of them left before we could round him up." "Probably our killer then." "That would make sense, except that the woman I have at the door, one of my best ops, is certain that guest left the club before the shot was fired, and didn't come back. All the other doors are locked and alarmed." Oscar piped up, "Right, I saw him go. I noticed because I thought I recognized him. I think he went to med school with my brother."

We went over to where Effie was talking with the four other suspects. The tuba player was sweating profusely and couldn't stop talking about how much McGurk had needed to die. He babbled about the good old days, when he was famous for his invention of the liquorice euphonium and headlined with his own band, the Tuba Four (named from the way they lumbered onto stage). Psychedelics are not always our friends.

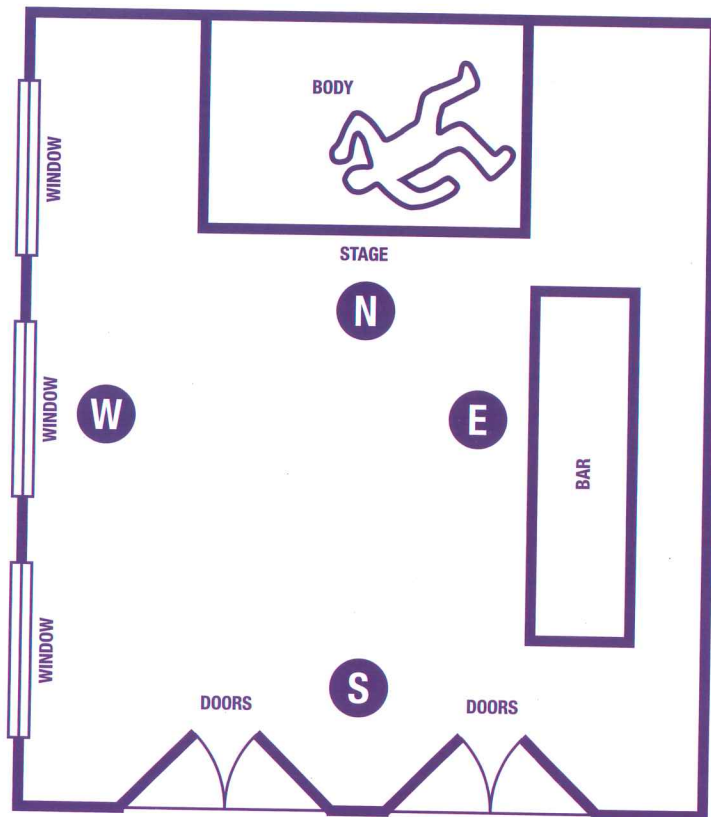
The tattooed lady was texting frantically, until one of Tiny's men took the phone away from her and dropped it in a potted cactus. She started talking to her tattoos instead. They looked sulky. Eventually she started arguing with them. I didn't wait around to see if she lost the argument, which is always a bad result.

The lawyer was complaining loudly that she had to get home to prepare for a hearing the next day. She was representing the subway workers' union in a case before the labour relations board. The workers were claiming that the medical insurance clause in their contract covered orthodontics. City Hall said buckteeth were the new black. The case seemed likely to go to dispute resolution. "Ow wow," said Effie. "Transit dental mediation! The Maharishi would be so proud." I gave her *The Glare*, but it just bounced off.

I banged on a coffee table and got everyone's attention. Well, as much attention as was neuro-chemically available. Hercule Poirot never had these problems. "Look people, the cops will be here in a few minutes and then things get serious. You are all

prime suspects. If you want to avoid a night in the lock-up, we'd do well to have a killer to hand them." With a certain amount of difficulty, I got the following random information:

- The three who received the phony invitations were Renarde, the tattooed woman (who was legally blind) and the salesman. Tiny and I agreed that the killer had probably invited McGurk's other victims as cover.
- The red-haired woman, whose seat was at position **N** on Tiny's sketch-map, had serious Parkinson's; she and the broadcaster were sisters.
- Schwermotif, the musician, was playing on stage when the crossbow was fired.
- Moran was the only suspect wearing glasses; he was seated at position **W** but was the one who left before the shot.
- Of the suspects in the room when the lights went out, only the bald man had no line of fire to the victim.
- When the bolt was fired, Oscar was at position **S** at the south end of the room. "I got as far away from that music as I could." Effie backed him up but was not a reliable witness in her condition. Oscar was the brother of Zywycki, whose seat was at position **E**.
- The lawyer was in the front row, not far from the fat man.



**OSCAR'S CLUB
GROUND FLOOR ROOM**

I could hear the police sirens, getting close. I sketched out a matrix and was able to put things together. But the results led nowhere. Then I looked at the names again and there was only one answer. "OK, Tiny, I have it. Our killer used a false name and claimed a false occupation, but was arrogant enough to assume no one else followed Sherlock Holmes." Tiny raised an eyebrow. I responded, "What? You never read *The Adventure of the Empty House?* Barbarian. That's what the Net is for."

At that point, Detective Lieutenant Lou Tennant burst out of the elevator and confronted me. "Should have known I'd find you here, peeper. Lousing up another crime scene." Lou and I have a love-hate relationship. He loves to hate me. I said, "Actually, Lou, the crime scene is downstairs and Tiny's men were guarding it until you arrived. And we've rounded up the main suspects – well, most of them. Oh, and I can tell you who the killer is." Lou hustled me into Oscar's kitchen and said, "Spill." I gave him the rundown. He scoffed as usual but took careful notes. I knew he would do a good job of wrapping things up. And take all the credit, but that's my part of our deal. I take my cut in favours to be named later. As he turned to go back to the suspects, I offered him one of the brownies from the pan on the stove.

A couple of hours later, I left Oscar's, went down Dystopia to the corner of Mean and hung a left. As I trudged home along the riverbank, it began to snow. And me in a light jacket. It had been that kind of year, and I was glad it was nearly over. Maybe 2020 would be better.

SEATED	N	S	E	W	OTHER
NAME					
OCCUPATION					
TRAIT					
FALSE INVITATION					
LINE OF FIRE					
ALIBI					

Can you duplicate Shamus' feat and provide the name the killer was using? **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 September 30. Not necessary for winning, but can you explain how the killer accomplished the deed and the nature of the "arrogance" Shamus mentioned? [bdp](#)

OUMUAMUA

Answers

The message on Object X is "We apologize for the inconvenience." (Readers will recognize the line as God's final message to his creation, from Douglas Adams' *So Long, and Thanks for All the Fish*.)

¹ Z	² U	³ L	² U:		⁴ W	⁵ E		⁶ G	⁷ R	⁵ E	⁵ E	⁸ T		⁹ Y	¹⁰ O	² U	
⁶ G	⁷ R	⁵ E	¹¹ A	⁸ T		¹⁰ O	¹² N	⁵ E	¹³ S.		⁴ W	⁵ E		⁴ W	¹⁴ I	¹³ S	¹⁵ H
⁹ Y	¹⁰ O	² U		³ L	¹⁰ O	¹² N	⁶ G	⁵ E	¹⁶ V	¹⁴ I	⁸ T	⁹ Y.					
¹⁷ Q	² U	⁵ E	¹⁸ C	¹⁵ H	² U	¹¹ A:		¹⁵ H	⁵ E	³ L	³ L	¹⁰ O		⁸ T	¹⁰ O		
⁵ E	¹⁶ V	⁵ E	⁷ R	⁹ Y	¹⁹ B	¹⁰ O	²⁰ D	⁹ Y		²¹ F	⁷ R	¹⁰ O	²² M				
⁸ T	¹⁵ H	¹⁴ I	¹³ S		⁵ E	¹¹ A	⁷ R	⁸ T	¹⁵ H.								
²³ P	⁵ E	⁷ R	¹³ S	¹⁴ I	¹¹ A	¹² N:		¹⁵ H	⁵ E	³ L	³ L	¹⁰ O		⁸ T	¹⁰ O		
⁸ T	¹⁵ H	⁵ E		⁷ R	⁵ E	¹³ S	¹⁴ I	²⁰ D	⁵ E	¹² N	⁷ T	¹³ S		¹⁰ O	²¹ F		
²¹ F	¹¹ A	⁷ R		¹³ S	²⁴ K	¹⁴ I	⁵ E	¹³ S.									
¹¹ A	⁷ R	²² M	⁵ E	¹² N	¹⁴ I	¹¹ A	¹² N:		⁸ T	¹⁰ O		¹¹ A	³ L	³ L			
⁴ W	¹⁵ H	¹⁰ O		⁵ E	²⁵ X	¹⁴ I	¹³ S	⁸ T		¹⁴ I	¹² N		⁸ T	¹⁵ H	⁵ E		
² U	¹² N	¹⁴ I	¹⁶ V	⁵ E	⁷ R	¹³ S	⁵ E,		⁶ G	⁷ R	⁵ E	⁵ E	⁸ T	¹⁴ I	¹² N	⁶ G	¹³ S.
²⁶ J	¹¹ A	²³ P	¹¹ A	¹² N	⁵ E	¹³ S	⁵ E:		¹⁵ H	⁵ E	³ L	³ L	¹⁰ O,		¹⁵ H	¹⁰ O	⁴ W
¹¹ A	⁷ R	⁵ E		⁹ Y	¹⁰ O	²⁷ U?											

The completed chart gives five of the 55 vocal greetings to alien life found on the Voyager Golden Record, plus the languages used. See them all at voyager.jpl.nasa.gov/golden-record/whats-on-the-record/. The Golden Record, found on both Voyager satellites, also attempts to communicate graphically about Earth and humankind.

The answers to the clue questions are: SCOUT, TERESHKOVA, GARNEAU, JANEWAY, X FILES, KENOBI, ZAPHOD, DEIMOS, AQUARIUS and BETELGEUSE.

The other message reads, "An anagram for AXEL EKBERT", which is (the late great) ALEX TREBEK. Given the mention of *Jeopardy*, the question is therefore "Who is Alex Trebek?".

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