

REFUGEE MOMENT

A JOINT PROJECT OF the FCJ REFUGEE CENTRE AND THE CANADIAN COUNCIL FOR REFUGEES

September 2015

Seizing the Moment

The Refugee Update team are offering this special publication “The Refugee Moment” to bring together some thoughts and ideas to support the discussion and the calls for action.

The concept of the ‘moment, draws from the work of Antonio Gramsci (1891 – 1937), an Italian Marxist who organized workers against Mussolini in the 1920s. He developed the key concepts of *hegemony* and *conjunctural analysis*, studying the use of contradictions and the relationship/alignment of forces at any given “moment” of a struggle. This is a moment in the movement for refugee asylum and protection.

The current refugee crisis has precipitated a broad spectrum of writing and conversations on what is happening and why it is happening, what countries all over the world are doing or not doing and what Canada’s response or lack of response says about us as a nation. This is an important moment for us as a country – specifically as it comes so close to federal elections. How can individuals, groups and agencies respond to this crisis? How can we call work within the current moment to effect real change? How can alliances be formed to ensure that our energies and resources are being put to the best possible use? “Key moments” of our struggle or an issue (e.g. an election or a campaign) can lead to some victory or strengthen the popular movement – in this instance for refugee asylum, protection and resettlement.

Jacinta Goveas

The night is laden with despair—
a restless city awaits its destiny,
and the enraged sea for its prey.
Will his wings carry him away?
Or bind him to war's ravages?
He has no sense of time—
past, present, tomorrow:
They all seem to be swallowing his dreams.

A blazing moment imprisons his voice
in the throat of a breathless journey
windblown on a historical path
Aylan is lost in the siege of wandering and
uncertainty
replicating a violent past
of the little naked burning girl of
the Vietnam war.

Soheila Pashang

Organizing within the moment—seizing the moment!

Phase 1 – identifying ourselves and our interests

- Who are 'we' and how do we see the world?
- How do we define our constituency? Are we of, with or for the people most affected by the issue(s) we work on?
- What do we believe about the current structure of Canada? What do we believe it could be? What do we believe about how we get there?

Phase 2 – naming the issues/struggles

- What current issue/struggle is most critical to the interests of our group?
- What are the opposing interests (contradictions) around the issue?
- What are we fighting for in working on this issue – in the short-term and long-term?
- What is the history of struggle on this issue? What have been the critical moments of the past?

Phase 3 – Assessing the forces

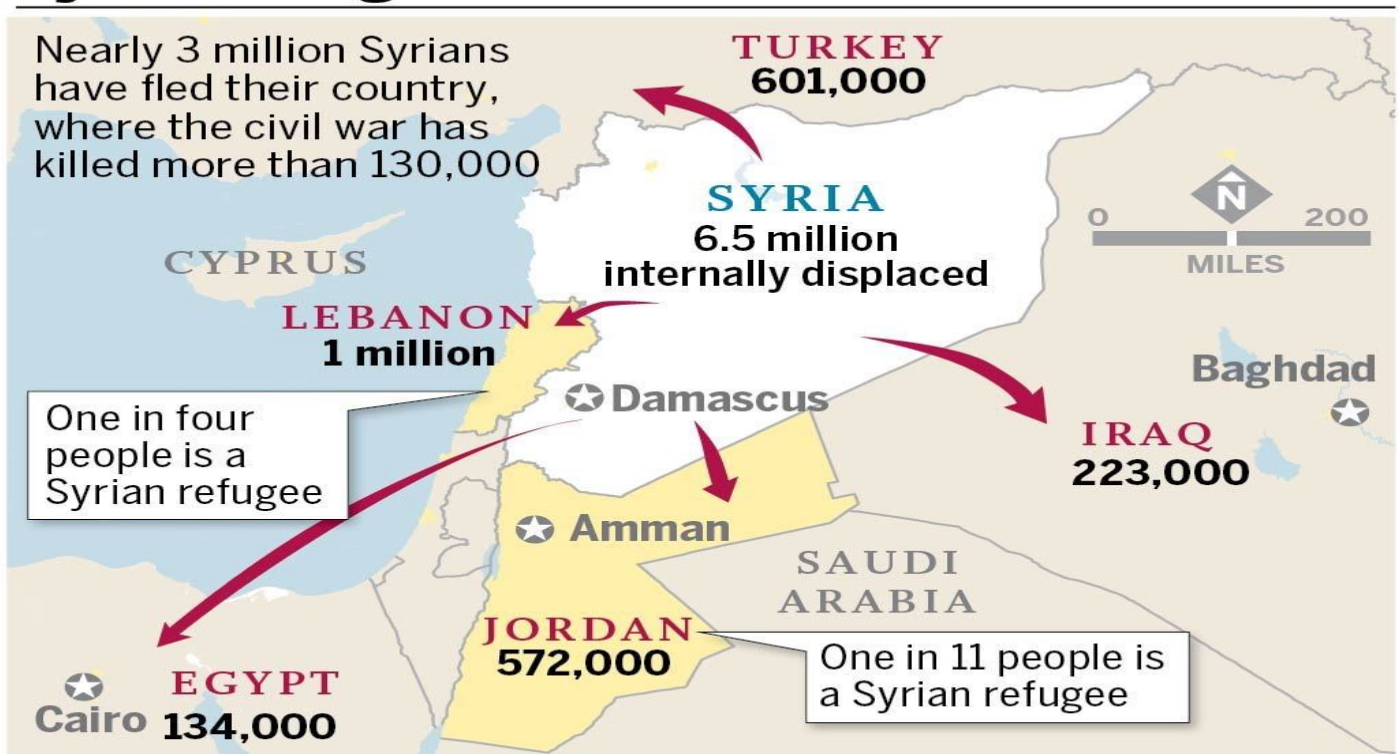
- Who's with us and against us on this issue in economic, political and ideological terms?
- What are their short-term and long-term interests?
- What are their expressed interests and their real interests?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of both sides?
- What about the uncommitted?
- What actors do we need more information about?
- What's the overall balance of forces?
- Who's winning and who's losing and why?

Phase 4 – Planning for action

- How have the forces shifted from the past to the present?
- What future shifts can we anticipate?
- What 'free space' do we have to move in?
- How do we build on our strengths and address our weaknesses?
- Whom should we be forming alliances with? In the short term and long-term?
- What actions could we take?
- What are the constraints and possibilities of each?

From: *Naming the Moment: Political Analysis for Action* (Jesuit Centre for Social Faith & Justice, Toronto, 1989)

Syrian refugees



Sources: Mercy Corps, United Nations

DAN AGUAYO/THE OREGONIAN

The Canadian legacy of little Aylan Kurdi

Avvy Go

Who would have thought a picture of a little boy lying lifeless on a beach thousands of miles away would have created such an impact on the current federal election in Canada?

By now, many Canadians would have seen the photo of three-year-old Aylan Kurdi and learned about his connection, however tenuous, to Canada. Most, if not all, Canadians are moved by the tragic circumstances surrounding Aylan's death, which has sparked a national debate about the adequacy of Canada's response to the Syrian refugee crisis.

Refugee advocates and political leaders alike have used this occasion to call on the Federal Government to urgently accept more Syrian refugees. The three opposition party leaders vying for the top job on Parliament Hill have all come out and promised that they will take on more Syrian refugees should their party be elected as the next government.

Bowing to the public pressure, Stephen Harper has indicated that a re-elected Conservative government would admit 10,000 more Syrian and Iraqi refugees over four years. This is in addition to the roughly 14,000 refugees Canada brings in per year on average from around the world.

Regardless of what one might think of the different political promises made by the various parties, the fact that this issue is now being placed squarely in the public spotlight is welcome news. After all, it is extremely rare for our country's record on refugee resettlement to receive such intense media attention, let alone made an election issue. This is so particularly in the current fiscal climate of recession - however technical it may be - when Canadians are mostly asking how its Government can look after their own interests, as opposed to the interests of the millions faceless and nameless displaced people abroad.

But as the debate rages on, the public discourse surrounding this issue has not really ventured beyond the numbers of refugees Canada should accept. Occasionally, the media may talk about the barriers that these refugees need to overcome in order to find their way to Canada, even if they are



lucky enough to be accepted. Other times, the media will cover heart-warming stories of ordinary Canadians (including many former refugees) who open their wal-

let and home to welcome Syrian families through the private sponsorship programs. All of these stories help educate the general public about the plight of refugees in general and inspire more Canadians to take action.

Yet there is so much more to Canada's refugee policy than the mere number of refugees that our Government is willing to accept directly or indirectly through the private sponsorship programs. Indeed, the current Government has done so much

damage to the integrity of Canada's refugee system that one wonders if this election-induced generosity could do much to repair it.

Starting with Bill C31, the so-called *Balance Refugee Reform Act*, the Conservative Government has created a two tier refugee system which deprives certain classes of refugees of their right to appeal and subjects them to less beneficial legal protection. As well, the Conservatives also introduced drastic changes to the Interim Federal Health program, in order to deny thousands of refugee claimant's access to life saving medical treatment.

Some of the provisions, thankfully, have been successfully challenged in court by advocacy organizations. Still, many of the problematic provisions remain, including those provisions which bar refugee claimants the right to apply for humanitarian and compassionate applications and Pre-Removal Risk Assessment processes for at least one year until after the rejection of their claims. As well, many of the discriminatory provisions targeting refugees from the so-called Designated Countries are still in effect.



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Absent also from the public debate, is the cut to settlement funding that has been instituted by the Federal Government since 2010, when they unilaterally announced a \$56 million cut to settlement programs across Canada, including \$43 million cut in the case of Ontario. This has resulted in significant reduction in settlement services to many newcomers to Canada. While the cut affects mostly immigrant settlement agencies, as many refugees will eventually become permanent residents, they too have been adversely affected by the cut.

Another issue that has not attracted much media attention during this election is the issue of family class sponsorship. Once again, fundamental changes have been introduced to this program by the current federal government which have the effect of significantly reducing the number of family class immigrants to Canada. Among the changes are the increase to the income requirement for sponsorship (from the previous Low Income Cut Off to LICO plus 30% and the doubling of sponsorship period from 10 to 20 years in the case of sponsorship of parents and grandparents). Such changes have a disproportionate impact on racialized communities as they are more likely than non-racialized group members to live in poverty. Given that refugees as a group are also highly racialized, they too are negatively impacted by these changes.

The changes to family class program are particularly relevant in the current discussion about the refugee crisis. During the previous refugee crises, when Canada opened its door to tens of thousands of refugees displaced by civil wars, our immigration policy back then was also a lot more open to family reunification. As a result, many of the resettled refugees were then able to sponsor their families to Canada, hence doubling or even tripling the total number of refugees Canada ultimately took on. Many of the Syrian refugees who come in today will not have that opportunity unless their loved ones are able to meet the ever more restrictive definition of family class member, and the sponsors themselves also have the resources to undertake the sponsorship obligations.

Another key policy issue missing from the political parties' election debate is the changes to the *Citizenship Act*, which came into effect earlier this year. Of particular importance to refugees are the

changes to the residency requirement, as well as the language and knowledge requirement. To qualify as a citizen today, one would have to have lived in Canada for four out of six years, as opposed to the previous three out of four. Further, the residency period prior to becoming a permanent resident is no longer counted. Needless to say, refugees are amongst those who are most directly affected by the changes. At the same time, the extension of the language and knowledge requirement to applicants between the ages of 14 and 64 (from the previous 18 to 54) would also serve to deny many refugees and immigrants alike the chance to acquire Canadian citizenship.

Thus, while it is great to see the light being shone on one particular aspect of our refugee policy in this election, far too many important issues affecting refugees – and immigrants – are still being left out.

Ultimately, it is up to all of us, as citizens and future citizens of this country, to demand that our political leaders of all stripes give refugee and immigration policy the attention it deserves. How we treat refugees reflects who we are as a nation, what values we believe in. Even from a purely economic point of view, we need immigrants in order to secure our country's future. Leaving these two important groups out of political discussion does Canada a disservice.

As Aylan Kurdi's father has said, he hopes his son's death will wake up the world. Let's hope that awakening begins with Canada.

Avvy Go is the Clinic Director of the Metro Toronto Chinese & Southeast Asian Legal Clinic. She is also a steering committee member of the Colour of Poverty/ Colour of Change Network.



Canada, Turkey and the Syrian Refugees

by Howard Adelman

Why has Stephen Harper adopted such a miserly approach to the Syrian refugees? There is no question that he has. The only real question is why?

In the Globe and Mail Leadership Debate on 17 October 2015, both Justin Trudeau and Thomas Mulcair lambasted Harper for using the security issue and fear mongering as a pretext for doing nothing. But Harper has not exactly done nothing. Instead of his usual pattern of initially emphasizing his contention that his government had both a stellar and prudent record in helping refugees, he went on the attack. Harper responded with the totally false claim that the opposition leaders wanted to open the doors wide to refugees. The reality is that both the NDP and the Liberal proposals for the intake have been all too modest – 10,000 immediately by the NDP and 25,000 by the Liberals. Further, neither one of the opposition parties proposed weakening, in any way, security checks for the refugees.

I thought that Harper's response on the Syrian refugee issue was by far his most irrational riposte in the debate. Why? Previously, and even to a small extent in the debate, Harper had emphasized Canada's past generosity to refugees, that Canada had admitted 2,500 Syrian refugees, that Canada planned to take a further 10,000 Syrian refugees over three years and later an additional 10,000 Syrian and Iraqi refugees over four years. The figures are deliberately intended to obscure Canada's paltry effort to resettle the refugees. When those totals are broken down on a per annum basis, and government-sponsored refugees are disaggregated from privately-sponsored refugees, it would mean the government would be taking 2,500 Syrian refugees next year. Even if that figure were doubled under the new but still unannounced policy of acceleration, the numbers the government sponsored would

very unlikely be more than 5,000 Syrian refugees – a paltry number given the extent of the tragedy.

Harper continues to harp on the security issue. Through Jason Kenney, after Harper had silenced his Minister of Immigration and effectively threw him under the bus, emphasis was placed on Canada concentrating on resettling the most vulnerable Syrian refugees who had taken refuge in slums in cities rather than in refugee camps where they were subject to persecution. Among those vulnerable minorities were Yazdis, Chaldeans and other Christian sects especially targeted for persecution.



The security fear now made even less sense. If Canada was targeting these persecuted minorities, and their numbers were very large, why was Harper not taking many, many more and emphasizing this aspect of his humanitarianism?

In the aftermath of the picture of the 3-year-old boy in the red t-shirt lying in the sand on the beach in Turkey, that would have been a politically prudent move, totally compatible with his base of support; Christians now wait years rather than months to bring in privately-sponsored refugees.

I think the answer is found in the security issue, contrary to the suggestion of both Mulcair and Trudeau that security is just a smokescreen for inaction. However, the answer is not to be found in the security vis-à-vis individual Syrian refugees selected for resettlement in Canada. To understand why, it is necessary to probe Turkey's relations to Syria, ISIS and the Syrian refugees.

Syria, once an ally of Turkey, became an arch enemy. President Recep Tayyip Erdogan had been arming and training the rebels and even cooperating with ISIS behind the backs of his NATO allies in their attacks against the Syrian Bashar al-Assad regime. At the same time, he generously allowed 2 million refugees to seek refuge in Turkey. However, he would not give them exit permits. Without exit permits, they could not take the relatively cheap flights from Istanbul to a great many European capitals

Adelman *continued from page 5*

where they could make a refugee claim, thereby avoiding the necessity of risking their lives in the treacherous crossing by sea to Greece or the long trek overland through Macedonia, the even longer route through Croatia and, until this past week, Hungary, to reach the heart of Europe.

This summer, Erdogan reversed policy. He had been hoping to induce his NATO allies, particularly the U.S., first to attack Assad for using chemical weapons and, subsequently to at least create a no-fly zone over parts of Syria. He was unsuccessful. So he decided to let the refugees whom he had been holding hostage to move onto Europe in a mass exodus in the worst ways possible. He was playing his last card, creating a humanitarian disaster that would prove so divisive and disruptive in Europe.

Like almost all of his past gambles, this one is doomed to fail, especially since the Germans have agreed to admit 800,000 refugees and resettle a half million rather than join a military war against ISIS in Iraq and Syria. Canada has opted for the opposite policy. It has joined in the air attacks against ISIS and refuses to participate in any significant way in relieving the pressure on Europe or on the other countries of first refuge in the Middle East – Jordan and Lebanon.

In a moment of contradiction,
glory, and angst,
I became a stranger to my past.
Death,
a touch on its velvety surface,
revitalized unconscious memories—
as I found home on the shore of exile in a
Red T-Shirt.

Soheila Pashang

It is a cynical and hard-hearted strategy that also explains Obama's surprising unwillingness to take significant numbers of Syrian refugees. Both Canada and the U.S. have joined the war against ISIS from the air – no boots on the ground – in a military effort unlikely to restrain ISIS significantly. Further, the air attacks will help Assad hold onto power, especially now that Russia has embarked on supplying Assad with much larger quantities of advanced military equipment.

Whether ISIS wins or Assad hangs onto power, the West, particularly Canada and the U.S. will be losers. But none more so than the Syrian refugees.

Howard Adelman is a Professor Emeritus at York University. Adelman was one of the founders of [Rochdale College](#), as well as the founder and director of York's Centre for Refugee Studies at York. He was editor of [Refuge](#) for ten years, and since his retirement he has received several honorary university and governmental appointments in Canada and abroad. Adelman was the recipient of numerous awards and grants, and presented the inaugural lecture in a series named in his honor at York University in 2008.



Canada falls flat on the world stage

Canada's hard-won standing as a generous, open, engaged and compassionate international actor has been squandered.

Daryl Copeland

Toronto Star on Fri Sep 25 2015

Saturation coverage and shocking images of the ongoing humanitarian crisis in the Middle East and Europe have focused attention on Canadian foreign policy and on this country's decade-long record of diplomatic and multilateral underperformance.

While unusual for an electoral campaign, such scrutiny is long overdue.

The inventor of peacekeeping, long-standing proponent of North-South relations, and determined promoter of sustainable development — once universally welcomed as an honest broker, helpful fixer and provider of good offices and innovative ideas — is today regarded as an obstruction to progress, a country with little to bring to the table.

Canada's vaunted foreign-service has languished, marginalized and under-employed by a government uninterested in professional diplomatic advice or enlightened international initiative.

Unrecognizable to its former partners and friends, Canada has become something of an international pariah — a serial unachiever, the fossil of the year, the country that others don't want in the room. The one-time boy scout has become a distant outlier in the international system, sometimes ostracized but more often simply ignored

In a world in which nothing can be achieved by acting alone, Canadian influence has become spectral, and the orchestration of action in concert, through the United Nations and most other

international organizations, next to impossible.

The Conservative government has shot Canada in the foot when we are in a race.

From the end of the Second World War through the mid 1990s, Canada put its shoulder to the wheel and tried to advance global order issues — eliminating poverty, feeding the hungry, preventing war, reforming international organizations. Progressive Conservative governments led the world in resettling Indochinese refugees, combating apartheid in Southern Africa, and addressing environmental challenges ranging from acid rain and ozone layer depletion to the organization of the Earth Summit.

Later, after it became clear that Canada could no longer engage in the really heavy international lifting, Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy excavated a useful diplomatic niche with his Human Security Agenda. In under five years this country brought in a treaty banning landmines, helped establish the International Criminal Court, launched the Responsibility to Protect doctrine, and moved forward initiatives on small arms, blood diamonds, and child soldiers and children in conflict.

That was activism.

And today?

All fight, no talk. Dialogue, negotiation, compromise and knowledge-based problem-solving have given way to hectoring rhetoric and debilitating retrogression. Diplomacy and multilateralism have been written off.

Over the past decade the warrior nation wannabes in Ottawa preferred to preside over disastrous years of war in Afghanistan, to help open a Pandora's Box of multiple misfortunes by participating in an illegal regime change exercise in

Libya, and unthinkingly to join in the anti-ISIL bombing of Iraq and Syria, thus worsening the refugee crisis and exposing Canadians to a heightened risk of retaliation at home and abroad.

Other hallmarks of the past decade?

- Spurning progressive diplomatic or developmental initiatives of any description
 - Sidelining the public service and imposing drastic reductions to international capacity through cuts to DFATD, CIC, science-based departments and agencies, and international NGOs
 - Centralizing, controlling and censoring all international communications, while concentrating decision-making in the PMO
 - Failing to win election to the UN Security Council, while opting for a photo-op at Tim Horton's over attending the UN General Assembly
 - Refusing to attend multilateral meetings, and rejecting or withdrawing from a variety of international agreements
 - Bungling Canada's relationship with the Asia-Pacific region, the rising centre of the world political economy
 - Adopting a highly skewed set of policy positions on issues involving, variously, Iran, Israel, the Palestinians, and issues of Middle East peace
 - Shuttering the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, the Canadian Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, and North-South Institute
 - Withdrawing Canada from the Kyoto Protocol, while promoting the tarsands, pipelines, resource and extractive industries
 - Pursuing free trade and promoting commercial and corporate interests at public expense
- The Harper government's record of contempt for Parliament, due process (Afghan detainee hearings) and civil liberties (Bill C-51) is exceeded only by its contempt for diplomacy and multilateralism.

Canada's refugee acceptance falls far short of Stephen Harper's claims

Canada in 41st, not 1st place, as 'per capita refugee receiver in the world'

Excerpt from CBC News By Daniel Schwartz, [CBC News](#) Posted: Sep 10, 2015

The Harper government has long portrayed Canada as the country most open to refugees, relative to the size of the country's population. As the election campaign focus turned to the Syrian refugee crisis, this has become a Conservative Party talking point since last week. ... Answering another question about Syrian refugees, (Harper) said, "Let's put this in context," and then continued, "Canada is the largest resettler of refugees per capita in the world by far."

Let's see how Canada's numbers stack up internationally.

The UN refugee agency, UNHCR, says Lebanon, not Canada, has the most refugees per capita, about one refugee for every four inhabitants.

At the end of 2014, Lebanon hosted 1.15 million refugees, mostly Syrians and Palestinians. The UN agency says 403,600 Syrian refugees newly registered in Lebanon in 2014, "stretching the country's socio-economic absorption capacity to its limit." Jordan was a distant second to Lebanon for hosting refugees, with the south Pacific island nation of Nauru ranking third at the end of 2014. In mid-2014, Nauru, which has an Australian-run detention centre for refugees hoping to reach Australia, didn't even rank in the top 15 countries. Chad ranks fourth.

So it would be quite surprising if Canada did lead the world in accepting refugees. Yet in northern Europe, Sweden ranks ninth in the UNHCR's per capita numbers. Sweden hosts 1,477 refugees per 100,000 inhabitants, compared with Canada's 420. Five other European countries also rank ahead of Canada.

The UNHCR ranks Canada not first, but tied for 41st place in refugees per capita.

Writing about the refugee situations—Links to online articles

Over the past few months, we have seen many articles, opinion pieces, letters and comments on the current crisis in Europe brought on by the crisis in Syria, the responses of various Governments and the situations of refugees already living in protracted situations in different parts of the world. We have attempted to put together some of these writings to help us locate them more easily.

In response to the refugee crisis in Europe, Oxford University Press has made more than 30 book chapters, journal articles, and pieces of content from online resources freely accessible to assist those working with refugees on the ground, as well as anyone who would like to know more about the framework of rights and obligations concerning refugees. The materials are structured around four key questions: who is a refugee, what rights do they have, what are transit states' obligations, and what are the duties of the state where a refugee applies for asylum. <http://opil.ouplaw.com/page/refugee-law>

Lebanon to enroll 100,000 new Syrian students-refugees
<http://english.alarabiya.net/en/life-style/2015/09/21/Lebanon-to-enroll-100-000-new-Syrian-students-refugees.html>

Syrian civil war causes the first ever withdrawal from the 'doomsday bank'
<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/syrian-civil-war-causes-the-first-ever-withdrawal-from-the-doomsday-bank-10512015.html>

Hein de Haas Blog: Europe's Disgrace
http://heindehaas.blogspot.ca/2015/09/europes-disgrace.html?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed:+HeinDeHaas+%28Hein+de+Haas%29

The difficult transition: Refugees and migrants face increasing arrests in Egypt for attempting to cross the Mediterranean
<http://www.madamasr.com/sections/politics/difficult-transition>

Europe's refugee crisis: the last time round it was much, much worse
<https://theconversation.com/europes-refugee-crisis-the-last-time-round-it-was-much-much-worse-47621>

Reality Check: Are refugees an economic burden?
<http://tinyurl.com/pg6oq7y>

Refugee crisis: the tug of war between hospitality and prejudice
http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/21/refugee-crisis-the-tug-of-war-between-hospitality-and-prejudice?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other

The Syrian Refugee Crisis Explained Perfectly With a Simple Animation & Video
<http://www.vagabomb.com/The-Syrian-Refugee-Crisis-Explained-Perfectly-With-a-Simple-Animation-Video/>

Tipping Points on the Road to Europe's Refugee Crisis
<http://www.voanews.com/content/tipping-points-on-the-road-to-europes-refugee-crisis/2969873.html>

U.N. Funding Shortfalls and Cuts in Refugee Aid Fuel Exodus to Europe
<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/20/world/un-funding-shortfalls-and-cuts-in-refugee-aid-fuel-exodus-to-europe.html>

Why Border Walls Fail
<https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/why-border-walls-fail-by-reece-jones-2015-09#4wF184Yg4UYEz92W.01>

They just keep on walking: Syrian refugees in Greece
<http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/order-from-chaos/posts/2015/09/17-syrian-refugees-greece-interviews-ferris>

These refugees made a zombie movie to confront their trauma
<http://www.theverge.com/2015/9/15/9322161/ideas-box-congo-refugee-camp-zombie-movie>

Revealed: the extraordinary response to the Syrian refugee crisis – and how it shames David Cameron
<http://tinyurl.com/optrge2>

\$350 million for refugees and immigration returned to government, unspent: <http://tinyurl.com/putrmpj>

Harper's backflip on refugees betrays a failed policy: Editorial
<http://www.thestar.com/opinion/editorials/2015/09/21/harpers-backflip-on-refugees-betrays-a-failed-policy-editorial.html>

World's largest refugee camp in Kenya could be 'the future'
<http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2015/09/21/worlds-largest-refugee-camp-in-kenya-could-be-the-future.html>

Toronto looks at resettlement team for Syrian refugees
http://www.thestar.com/news/city_hall/2015/09/18/toronto-looks-at-resettlement-team-for-syrian-refugees.html

Delivery of the government's ideologically driven, evidence-dismissing agenda has cost Canada's reputation and influence dearly. Through its adulation of the military and attacks on science, democracy, and internationalism, the Conservatives have eroded Canadian values and interests, diminished Canada's prosperity and security, run down our formerly admirable soft power, and spoiled the Canadian brand.

Canada's hard-won standing as a generous, open, engaged and compassionate actor has been squandered.

Declarations to the contrary notwithstanding, religious extremism, political violence and terrorism are not among the foremost threats faced by Canadians, which consist instead of a complex and sprawling range of issues rooted in science and driven by technology — climate change, reduced biodiversity, ecological collapse and destruction of the global commons.

In face of the greatest problems now imperiling the planet, Canadians have been left vulnerable and exposed. Unprepared, ill-equipped and stumbling blind, our defences have been degraded, our capacity diminished and our resilience undermined.

Canadians deserve better!

*Former diplomat **Daryl Copeland** is an educator, analyst and consultant; the author of *Guerrilla Diplomacy*; a research fellow at the Canadian Global Affairs Institute and a policy fellow at the University of Montreal's CERIU. Follow him on Twitter @GuerrillaDiplo.*

Among the hallmarks of Stephen Harper's foreign policy has been his refusal to attend multilateral meetings, and his rejection or withdrawal from a variety of international agreements, writes Daryl Copeland.

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