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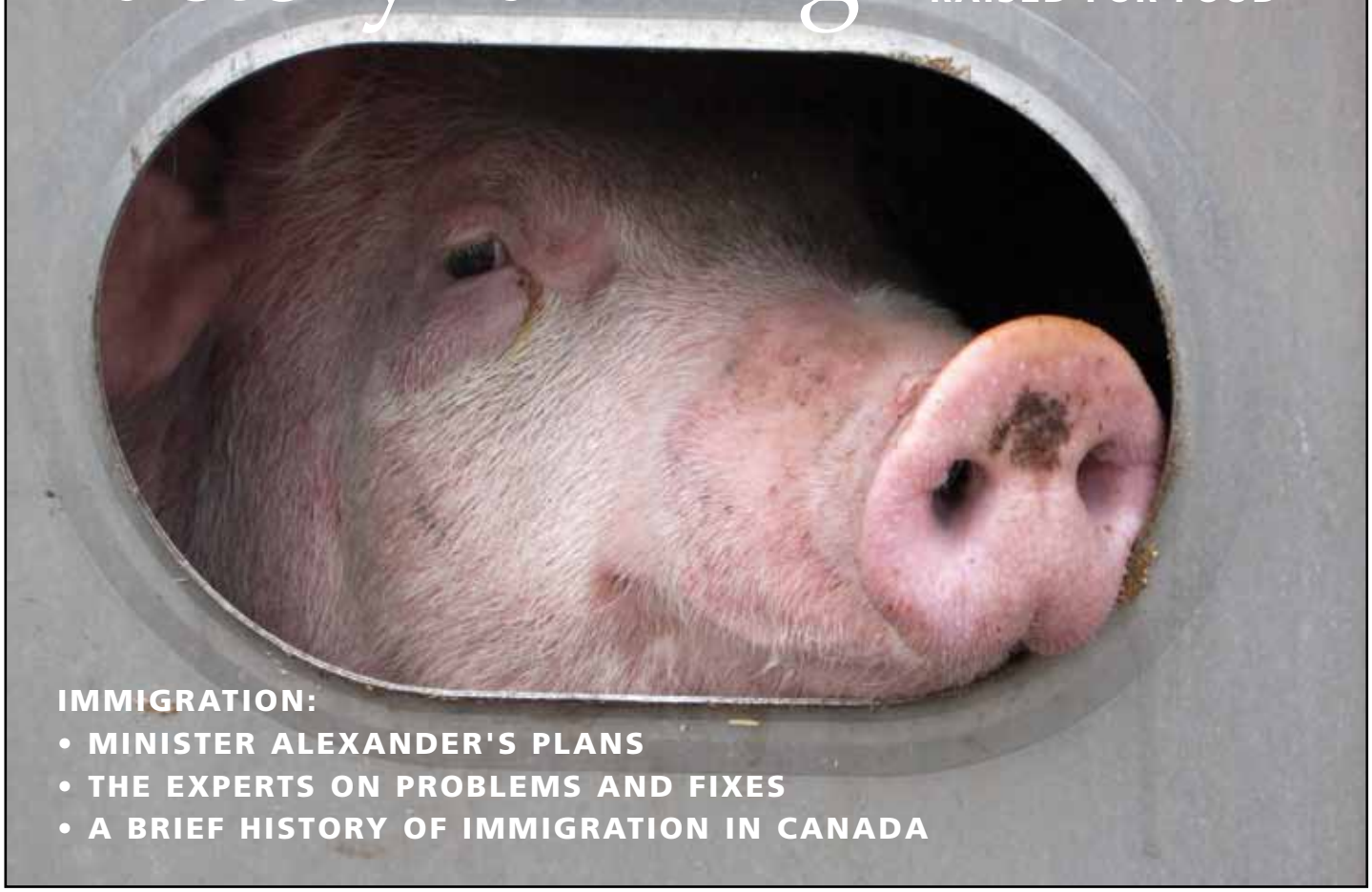

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**George Fetherling** on Abe Lincoln's diplomat-secretary of state

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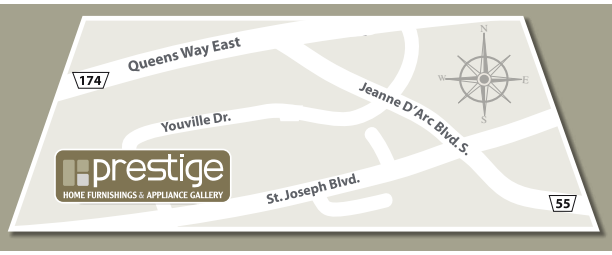


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JENNIFER CAMPBELL

## Down on the farm

In advance of 2014, which the United Nations has designated as The Year of the Family Farm, *Diplomat* takes an in-depth look at the farming industry in Canada and compares it to that of the EU, among other countries.

The way Canada treats the domestic livestock that ends up on our plates matters to potential customers all over the world. Practices such as confining sows to stalls where they can't even turn around while pregnant and while nursing their piglets, are viewed as inhumane by plenty of Canadians and consumers in other countries. Already, the EU and Russia, among others, won't allow most of Canada's beef or pork because some Canadian farmers use a growth-boosting drug called ractopamine, which can cause restlessness and anxiety, and possibly even cardiac effects in humans.

Our package examines these issues, and takes a careful look at the way animals raised for food are treated in Canada. It moves from birth through raising and then looks at how they're transported to slaughterhouses and finally, how they're slaughtered. It will be eye-opening for some of our readers.

Related to the expression "you are what you eat," is Wolfgang Depner's Top 10 list of the world's healthiest people by country. Who's on top? Small, but mighty Singapore. He also lists the world's least-healthy countries, where corruption, internal strife and a lack of infrastructure hurt their citizens' health.

In Dispatches, we also look at Canada's immigration system. Writer Laura Neilson Bonikowsky offers a history of Canada's immigrants — who they are and where they were before coming to Canada. Retired diplomat James Bissett tackles the tricky topic of immigration policy — what Canada's policy has been and why — while political science professor Monica Boyd considers what the future should hold. And, newly minted Immigration Minister Chris Alexander, a former diplomat himself, shares his priorities for his latest posting.

In Diplomatica, columnist Fen Hampson teams up with Derek Burney to offer some thoughts on democracy. They invoke such thinkers as John Stuart Mill and Alexis De Tocqueville to explain that democracy is a complex process that requires specific conditions and perhaps, most important, time.

In Delights, columnist George Fetherling looks at books on two Lincoln aides, one of whom (John Hay) held diplomatic postings before he became secretary of state. He also reviews a book by Anne Shannon, who used to work at the Canadian embassy in Tokyo and wrote a book about the Canadians who helped establish trade and diplomatic relations with Japan.

Food columnist Margaret Dickenson writes about Irish cuisine in her latest piece, while culture editor Margo Roston and photographer Dyanne Wilson dropped by the Sussex Drive condo of Croatian Ambassador Veselik Gubrisic and his wife, Marta.

In our travel section, Kazakh Ambassador Konstantin Zhigalov takes us on a narrated tour of his beautiful, varied and ancient land.

And finally, we've decided to turn our back page over to a photograph, specifically one of wildlife. Our late associate publisher, Neil Reynolds, loved nature's creatures and we dedicate this page to him. Each issue will feature wildlife, sometimes from Canada and often elsewhere and we invite you to share your submissions for the page. In this issue, we feature a red fox (*Vulpes vulpes)* that Kingston photographer David Barker found lounging on a warm March afternoon near the Kingston airport.

Jennifer Campbell is *Diplomat*'s editor.

## UP FRONT

Pork is the most widely consumed meat in the world, and this pig, photographed by Bernhard Richter (Dreamstime.com), is on his way to a slaughterhouse in Canada. Our series on factory farming practices in Canada and around the world begins on page 54.

## CONTRIBUTORS

**Stephanie Brown and Edana Brown**

Stephanie Brown is a co-founder and a director of the Canadian Coalition for Farm Animals, a non-profit based in Toronto. The CCFA is dedicated to promoting the welfare of animals raised for food in Canada through public education, legislative change and consumer choice. To learn more, visit www.humanefood.ca.

Edana Brown is a Toronto-based writer and Ryerson journalism graduate who spent several years writing for magazines such as Toronto Life before moving into production and news writing at CTV, and then marketing communications. Now a full-time copywriter, she is also a director with the Canadian Coalition for Farm Animals. (The two writers aren't related.)

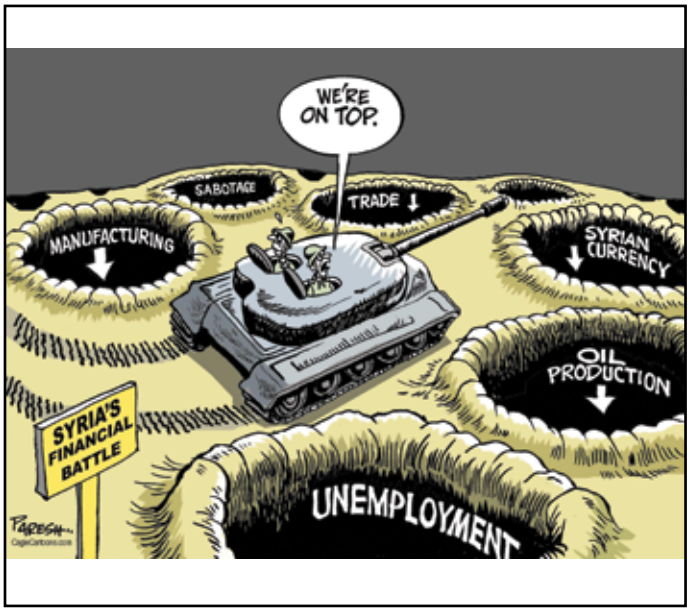
**James Bissett**

James Bissett is a retired diplomat with 36 years' experience. He was Canadian ambassador to (at the time) Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, and high commissioner to Trinidad and Tobago. From 1985 to 1990, he was executive director of the Canadian Immigration Service. During this period, he served on the prime minister's intelligence advisory committee. Upon leaving the foreign service in 1992, he worked for the International Organization of Migration as its chief of mission in Moscow, where he worked for five years helping the Russian government establish a new immigration service, and draft new immigration legislation and a new citizenship act.

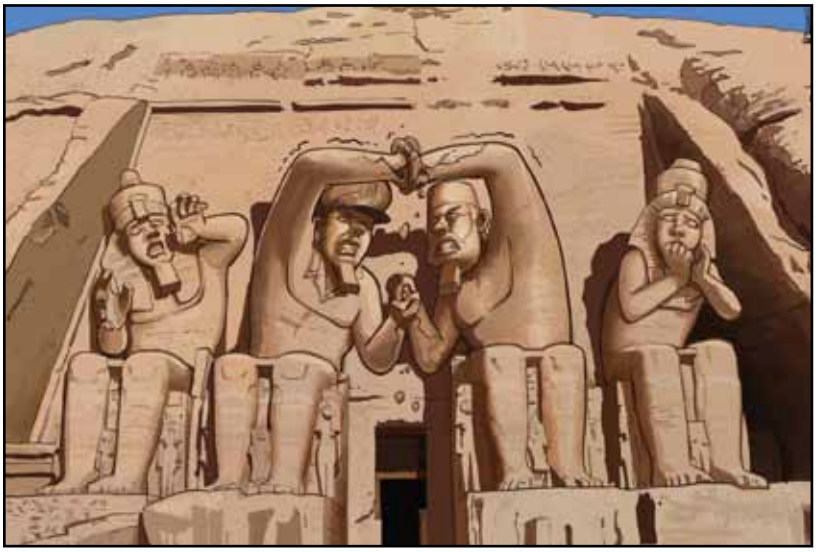
# Political commentary from around the world

"A moderate mullah in Iran" by Patrick Chappatte, *Le Temps*, Switzerland


"Fatigued" by Christopher Weyant, *The Hill*, U.S.

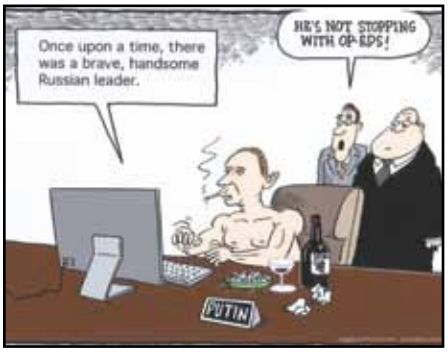



"Syria's war economy" by Paresh Nath, *The Khaleej Times*, UAE



"Confrontation in Egypt" by Luojie, *China Daily*, China

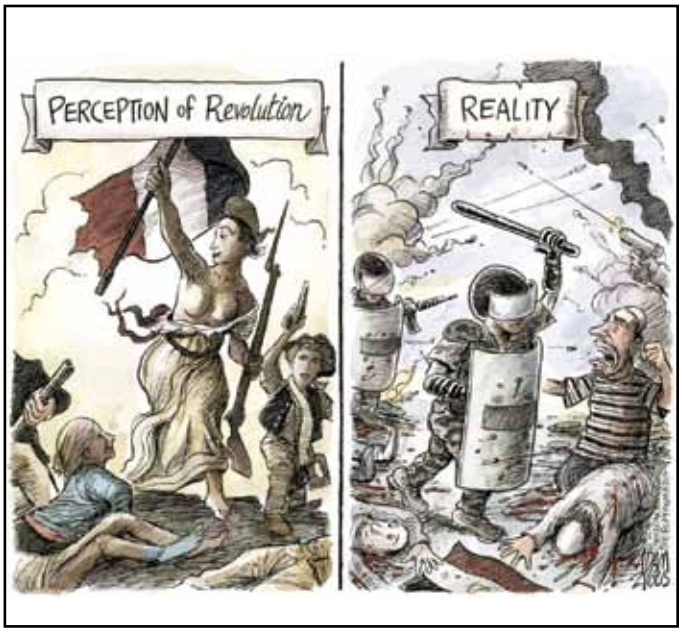
"Egypt and democracy" by Tom Janssen, Netherlands




"Putin Op-Ed" by Bob Englehart, The *Hartford Courant*, U.S.


"Help from Russia" by Tom Janssen, The Netherlands

"Obama and Aid to Egypt" by Daryl Cagle, CagleCartoons.com




"Revolution" by Adam Zyglis, *The Buffalo News*, U.S.


"Broken Spring" by Steve Sack, *The Minneapolis Star Tribune*, U.S.

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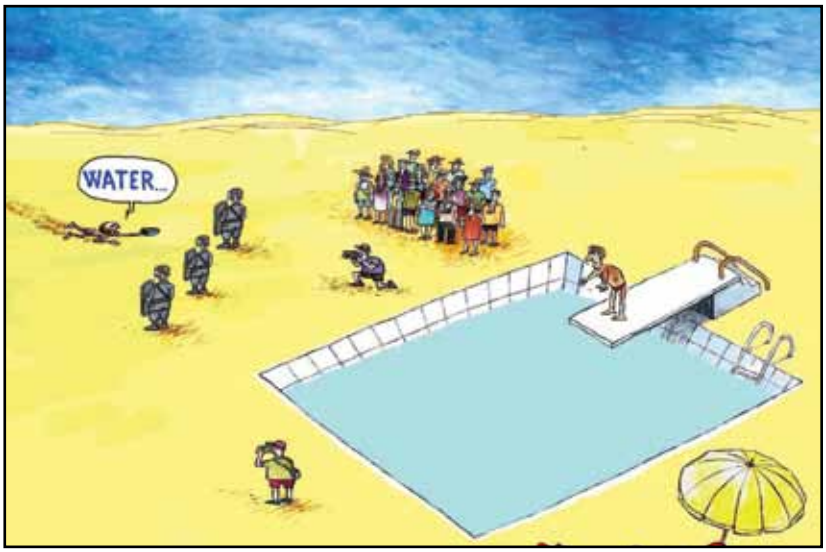
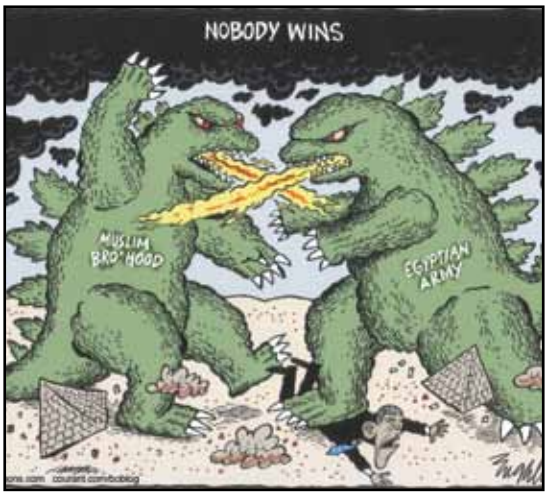
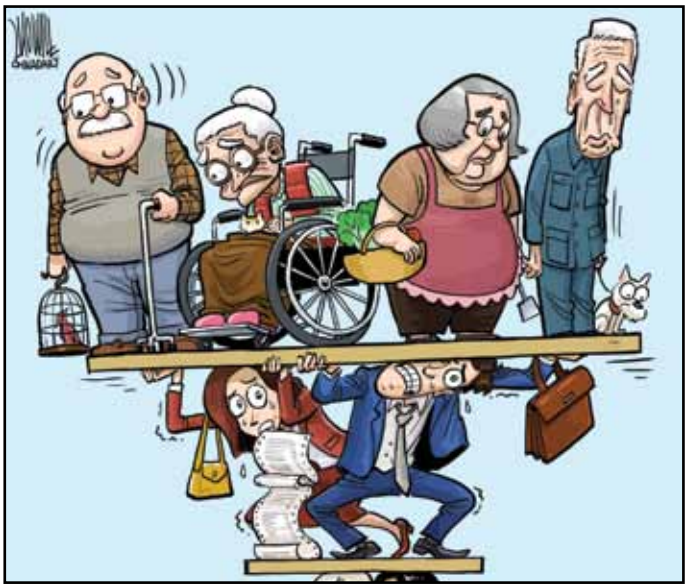



"Desertification" by Pavel Constantin, Romania



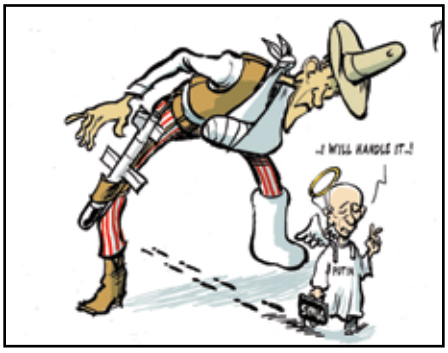

"Egypt" by Bob Englehart, *The Hartford Courant*, U.S.



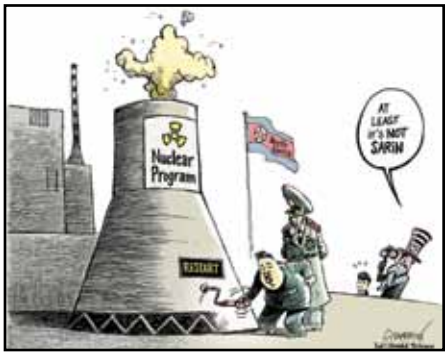
"China's One-child policy and pension issues" by Luojie, *China Daily,* China


"World's cop" by David Fitzsimmons, *The Arizona Star*, U.S.


"Obama War" by Steve Sack, T*he Minneapolis Star Tribune*, U.S.




"Putin angel" by Tom Janssen, The Netherlands




"North Korea restarts nuclear program" by Patrick Chappatte, *The International Herald Tribune*

# Restoring Democracy's Lustre

*By Fen Osler Hampson and Derek Burney*

On Aug. 14, Canadians and the rest of the world woke up to the news that hundreds of Egyptians had died when security forces stormed two encampments where supporters of ousted Egyptian president Mohamed Morsi had been holed up to protest his overthrow by Egypt's military. The scenes on television of hundreds of dead Egyptians, many of them young teenagers, were appalling. Yet the bloodshed that day was simply the beginning of an escalating pattern of violence that has engulfed the Arab world's most populous country. Marking a return to the repressive rule of Egypt's former dictator, Hosni Mubarak, the government declared a state of emergency, giving Egypt's security forces the licence to use whatever means they deemed necessary to crack down on the Muslim Brotherhood and its Islamic allies.

Egypt's military coup, which no one wanted to call a coup, but was a coup just the same in everything but name, marks the end of the Arab Spring. We are now witnessing the whirlwind.

When the movement first began, many in the West saw it through the prism of the American Revolution and as being motivated by liberal values and a desire to establish a new political order based on human dignity, justice, equality, representative democracy and the rule of law. But, as we have now seen, there were other motivations clearly at play. The pent-up desire to get rid of bad leaders and quasi-military authoritarianism that had lost legitimacy transformed power abruptly, but precariously, to the next best organized force in Egypt — militant Islam in the form of the Muslim Brotherhood. The counter-clash in the name of secularism gave the veneer of pluralism bolstered by the iron fist of military might.

Egypt, like the rest of the Arab world, may turn in one of several directions. It may return to military rule if the generals maintain their grip on power. There could be reconciliation if the Muslim Brotherhood abandons its call for civil disobedience and protest and Egypt's military, in return, allows for a return to politics and free elections. In the worst-case scenario, there could be civil war if the military crackdown fails and the Brotherhood and other Islamic groups acquire the means and wider political support to challenge military rule.

Whatever the outcome, there is another narrative at play that has broader implications for the West and its support for democracy and nation-building, not just in the Arab world, but throughout the developing world.

The first implication is that democracy is not the automatic outcome of the "great awakening" of the newly politically mobilized populations of the developing world who are throwing off the yoke of years of tyranny and repression. There are other political values and models out there in the world that rival democracy for their affections, in part because western democracies have sullied their copybook through clumsy, inconclusive military interventions in the developing world and through the mismanagement of their own economic affairs as evidenced by the United States and Europe in the run-up to the financial crisis and recession of 2008-09 and its aftermath.

Secondly, if western countries, including Canada, are serious about promoting pluralism and democracy in the world, they will need a new strategy that relies on concerted diplomacy and much greater levels of co-operation among themselves to promote stability and to advance democratic values of pluralism, above all, in the world's trouble spots.

As John Stuart Mill argued, democracy is not for everyone. Although he believed that democracy is the best form of government because it allows individuals to pursue their self-interests and maximize their own happiness or welfare, he worried openly about the tyranny of majoritarian rule and "the tendency of society to impose, by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices and rule of conduct on those who dissent from them." According to Mill, the unleashing of majoritarian rule in societies where there is no tradition of democracy — as in the case of France under the rule of Maximilien Robespierre and the Jacobins and their brief "reign of terror" in the late 18th Century or, for that matter, Egypt today — poses just as much a threat to personal liberty as authoritarian rule. Mill was not alone in expressing this concern. Alexis de Tocqueville expressed similar reservations about majoritarian rule, as did James Madison and Alexander Hamilton in *The Federalist Papers*.

Today, we must heed Mill's warning that efforts to transplant democracy to societies and cultures that have no real history or experience with this form of government make for a problematic enterprise. There is every risk that the outcome will be tyranny or mob rule (or some alternating combination of the two) — what CNN's Fareed Zakaria has referred to as "illiberal democracy."

Democratization is a process of cultural, social and political development that does not simply revolve around the exercise of the franchise and the holding of free elections. It also involves the establishment of a civic culture in which citizens learn to become active and intelligent participants in society and the political life of their country. And it involves development of "habits of negotiation" whereby, as in the case of apartheid South Africa, key social and economic groups such as businesses, labour unions and even elements of the government learn to deal with one another before there is political change and free and open elections.

Critically, democracy can likewise only develop in societies with a strong, well-functioning administrative state apparatus that is generally responsive to the needs and welfare of the public.

In recent years, many of Canada's development assistance policies have focused on public-sector outputs and the requirements of good governance, such as improving systems of public finance in developing countries, providing bud-

getary support, strengthening systems of accountability, ending corruption and promoting democracy, human rights (especially gender equality) and the rule of law.

This emphasis is well placed and we have generally delivered well on these policies. But what many countries, especially those of the Arab world, also need is external assistance to promote the principles of freedom of religion, tolerance and inclusion. Although there was much criticism when the government of Canada established an office of religious freedom in the Department of Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Development in February 2013, the decision to do so was entirely consistent with Canada's long-standing leadership in advancing human rights and taking "principled positions to promote Canadian values of pluralism and tolerance throughout the world." The office's mandate to "protect, and advocate on behalf of religious minorities under threat; oppose religious hatred and intolerance; and promote Canadian values of pluralism and tolerance abroad" is sound. In fact, a similar office exists in the U.S. Department of State where it has been operating for many years.

Canada has also been supportive of the Centre for Global Pluralism, established by the Aga Khan, which describes itself as "an independent, not-for-profit international research and education centre" located in Ottawa. In its own words, the Centre was "[i]nspired by the example of Canada's inclusive approach to citizenship" and "works to advance respect for diversity worldwide, believing that openness and understanding toward the cultures, social structures, values and faiths of other peoples are essential to the survival of an interdependent world."

Both of these instruments, along with others, can serve as important tools of Canadian foreign policy and our own efforts to promote and restore the allure of democratic, pluralist values. However, to be effective, Canada will have to work more closely with other countries that are also prepared to speak out against violations of freedom of religion and defend basic human rights.

That said, we also need to understand the limitations of such activity in the face of events bordering on civil war. Syria is an even more horrific example than Egypt of the failure of global diplomacy and of institutions such as the UN, which were intended primarily to maintain stability and peace in the world and to promote human rights. The U.S., despite massive military assistance to Egypt, has become little more than a bewildered, some say humbled, bystander in both countries. As for Egypt, benefactors with even deeper pockets, such as Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States, have a greater stake in regional stability and will not shy away from helping those most likely to deliver stable outcomes. The seeds of pluralistic democracy will take years, not months, to take root.

This article is adapted from the authors' forthcoming book, *BRAVE NEW CANADA*, which will be published by McGill-Queen's University Press in early 2014.

Fen Osler Hampson is Distinguished Fellow and Director of Global Security at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and Chancellor's Professor at Carleton University. Derek H. Burney is senior strategic adviser for Norton Rose Fulbright, an international commercial law firm, and a Senior Research Fellow at the Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute (CDFAI.)

# Eliminating Nigerian corruption: 'a work in progress'

DYANNE WILSON

Ojo Uma Maduekwe came to diplomacy from politics. He was a member of the national assembly of Nigeria in the 1980s and was part of a constituent assembly that wrote a constitution for Nigeria following a military coup. He spent two years as an adviser to the chairman of the Social Democratic Party and was adviser to the minister of foreign affairs before becoming Nigeria's minister of culture and tourism and then minister of transport. Prior to coming to Canada, he spent three years as Nigeria's foreign minister. A lawyer by profession, he was also deputy director-general of Goodluck Jonathan's presidential campaign before being posted to Canada in September 2012.

***Diplomat* magazine**: What are your priorities for your time in Canada?

**Ojo Uma Maduekwe:** My priorities are many — to build on the traditional foundations between the two countries and expand trade and investment exponentially. Then, there's what I have come to call the Canadian brand, which I define as the Canadian capacity to get stuff done, something that has been globally acknowledged and resulted in the very impressive organization of Canadian society in terms of economics, politics and rule-of-law, human rights, multiculturalism. I want to see, as a fellow Commonwealth country, how we can interact with that Canadian brand and fast-track Nigerian capacity in fields of human endeavour. Thirdly, there's the enormous goodwill which Canada enjoys in my country. When I was foreign minister, I met (then-foreign minister) Lawrence Cannon on the margins of the UN and I told him, 'Our citizens are ahead of our government' in terms of people-to-people diplomacy. There's been a substantial presence of Canadian doctors, Canadian teachers, Canadian business — men and women. One of the places of choice for Nigerians who wish to study abroad is Canada. Canada's been very welcoming. So there's a need for government to protect these close ties.

**DM:** Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and one that's had some recent successes in terms of economics, including a recent trade mission from Canada. Where do you see the economy going?

**OUM:** The economy is inherently strong. Sixty percent of the population of Nigeria is young people below the age of 20, so you have a huge demographic dividend there, which we believe can translate into real potential for creating wealth. I'm looking beyond the huge resource endowment in terms of natural resources. We have virtually every metal in the world, and also oil, but we're looking beyond oil to see where the young people can create non-oil wealth, which is far less finite. For instance, Nollywood employs far more people than Hollywood. The Toronto International Film Festival was a big event to display the possibilities for the Nigerian film industry. We work closely with Canada to see how this diamond called Nollywood can now become the No. 1 film industry globally.

The economy is also strong because of good governance. We are lucky to have the former president of the World Bank — she is now our minister of finance for a second term. She comes to her office with global best practices in accountability, resource management, responsibility. All of that helps our economy to remain strong.

**DM:** Can you talk about the country's burgeoning democracy? Do you aspire to become a model for the region?

**OUM:** It can be a model, but I'll be honest, we're not yet there because we need to move away from political debates that focus narrowly on ethnicity. I often say, sometimes tongue-in-cheek, what is the colour of his cap? The colour of your cap is a geographic indicator. The red cap [the one the high commissioner wears] is from the eastern part of Nigeria. These are beautiful caps, lovely cultural statements, but they should not be political

statements. We are moving away from geography determining who occupies what positions in Nigeria.

Our differences and challenges and difficulties are best addressed through the open space of democracy. If we have challenges arising from democracy, the solution is to have more democracy. We are moving away from democracy interpreted solely in terms of elections, but also in terms of rule-of-law — to truly be a nation with rule-of-law and where transparency and accountability will be second nature for all who are in public life — to be a nation where you live and work and pay your taxes. That's what determines your status, not what language you speak or where you came from.

Recently, there was a huge event honouring President Goodluck Jonathan for what he has done for women. He has the highest number of women in the cabinet, in the history of Nigeria and we're not talking about just membership in cabinet but critical portfolios such as finance, petroleum resources. The director-general of the Nigerian Stock Exchange, the ambassador to the UN, the chief justice and minister of education (who has the biggest budget) are all women. We are becoming more inclusive and we consider democracy a rising tide that can lift everybody.

**DM:** What kinds of policies should your government develop around oil wealth?
**OUM:** We have to keep doing what we're doing, but create more transparency, more openness. And, of course, the great work that has been done already — the extractive industry's transparency initiative — is a big thing that opened up the oil sector. The petroleum industry bill formalizes the achievements and will make it more globally competitive and more attractive to investors. So we want to look at the oil sector, not just in terms of the big oil companies that can extract and just sell raw material. There are a huge number of things that come from oil — pharmaceuticals, plastic. We need to include the value chain rather than just exporting it and being subject to the volatility of the market. We're looking at how we can derive more value.

But it's not all about oil. We can also be a major service provider for the continent.

**DM:** So we could be calling Bell Canada and reach someone in Lagos?
**OUM:** Yes [smiles].

**DM:** When many Canadians hear Nigeria, they think corruption. Maybe those impressions are exaggerated, but there's no question it's a problem. Can you tell me what the government's doing to combat it?
**OUM:** A lot. When I was minister of transport, I told the president we had to tackle this. I started the first anti-corruption unit in Nigeria and we had a zero-tolerance policy on corruption and heads rolled all over the place. That was applauded and he took the example and made it mandatory for every other ministry. There were about 20 at last count. I created it, I started it and it's now official.

Have we done enough? Definitely not. Are we making considerable progress? I would say yes. It's a national consensus that we lose our capacity as a nation to play at our full weight. The EFCC [Economic and Financial Crimes Commission] and the ICPC [Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission] have also been established. So we have an impressive, if mixed, resource.

The arrow has left the bow and it cannot be returned; nobody can stop it. Government will be held more and more accountable. This issue may not have been taken seriously 50 years ago, but it is now part of mainstream discourse in Nigeria. It's progress. It could be faster and it's something we have to look at all the time, but the corrupt Nigerian now knows that the era of impunity is over, that there's a price to be paid.

**DM:** On the human rights front there are extrajudiciary killings, arbitrary arrests, torture of prisoners, human trafficking

UN PHOTO

Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan has more women in his cabinet than any Nigerian president in history.

for prostitution, female genital mutilation. Can you tell me what your government is doing about this list?
**OUM:** Work in progress. Yep. That's my answer.

**DM:** What is the work that's in progress?
**OUM:** First, we already have a human rights commission and it is indicative of the president's political will in dealing with the issue that he appointed a very fine gentleman who was known for being one of the strongest critics of government on human rights issues. Dr. Ben Angwe is highly regarded. He worked with George Soros. He's not the kind of guy the government can tell what to do.

The issue here — and I'm making excuses for where there will be lapses — the issue is to go through the cultural process of protecting human rights. Even the judicial system needs that process. And we need to let the enforcement agents [police] know that there will be consequences if they don't follow them.

**DM:** What happens to same-sex couples who marry?
**OUM:** The Nigerian position on that has been clearly stated and that is that we have a law, and a law is a law is a law. It was passed by the National Assembly. It does not recognize same-sex marriage, but there's not been any witch-hunting of people who are gay. There have been no efforts to prosecute or put people behind bars.

**DM:** But the law says they could be jailed.
**OUM:** They have not yet been put behind bars. That law is new. It was written to give a signal to other jurisdictions. You need to respect the culture of each country. At the end of the day, any law that is not culturally best, that doesn't have the nurturing environment of the culture of that place, will suffer from rejection. We are a religious people. Mainstream Christianity and mainstream Islam in Nigeria are of the opinion that same-sex couples are not recognized by any churches in Nigeria. That's where they are today. I don't know where they will be tomorrow. Remember that it hasn't been that long since Canada has recognized [same-sex relationships.]

**DM:** But there's no law in Canada to send same-sex lovers to prison.
**OUM:** No one has gone to prison. This should not mark the relationship between Canada and Nigeria.

**DM:** Does it? Do you hear about it?
**OUM:** There are bigger issues and ties that bind us. There are bigger commonalities. Where there could be problems, I would prefer dialogue. Let's enrich the understanding. This whole thing should be dialogue-driven and not banality-driven.

**DM:** How is the government dealing with organized crime and drug trafficking?
**OUM:** We've made a lot of progress in the



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Protesters demonstrate during the gay pride parade in Paris against penalties for gays in several countries, including Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Yemen.

area of human trafficking. The National Agency for the Prohibition of Traffic in Persons is making progress.

**DM:** What about drug trafficking?
**OUM:** The numbers have been reduced. There's more thorough training of drug-enforcement officers, better scrutiny for drugs and we've had excellent co-operation with Canada that has also resulted in better intelligence. Also, our own passport regime has improved.

**DM:** What about the notorious 419 scams? [so named because the fraudster's lure of sharing wealth illegally spirited out of the country violates Section 419 of the Nigerian Criminal Code.]
**OUM:** Again, that is reducing considerably. Those gullible victims are also Nigerian. I'm in sympathy with them, but some must also take responsibility for believing that someone writing from Nigeria about 10 million Canadian dollars available to be shared, if they receive a card number… C'mon. Why should people in Canada, who know that in their own country that would be criminal, believe that in Nigeria it's possible? It takes two to tango. One is not blaming the victim, but it's to say that the environment for 419 would have been far more hostile for the criminals if there weren't some corroborating greed. That greed has lessened because people are now sharing experiences. That is helping.

**DM:** For all its oil wealth, Nigeria still has one of the lowest life expectancies at 52 years. What can be done about that?
**OUM:** It's a question of development catching up with growth. The economy is doing quite well. The GDP growth is about 6.5 percent and projected to be higher next year.

DREAMSTIME

A street in downtown Lagos, the most populous city in Nigeria. The country has oil wealth but still has a very low GDP per capita.

**DM:** But the GDP per capita isn't great.
**OUM:** The population is big. We have not been able to get policies in place that would make growth normal and that's being done now. We also need to address the brain drain. I met a doctor in Calgary a month ago and he was educated in medical school in Nigeria. He said half of the people in his class left Nigeria.

**DM:** What is the government doing about Boko Haram, the Islamic jihadist militant terrorist organization based in Nigeria's northeast, and the cause of much of the religious unrest in the country?
**OUM:** It's doing well. The use of carrot and stick has worked. The government has offered amnesty to members of Boko Haram who are ready to lay down their arms. The government has promised to deal with it. There are elements of the terror infrastructure — we have splinter groups — who were not interested in discussion and they continue to inflict a fair amount of suffering on innocent civilians, so the government declared a civil emergency on the three northeastern states and it moved in troops [in May 2013]. They're doing a good job to bring peace.

The good thing about what's going on in those states is that the local people, Muslims, are working with the joint task force because they've had enough of the violence, which they say is not part of Islam. They're risking their lives to flush out the terrorists so there's ownership of the effort to remove the terror infrastructure.

**DM:** What effect do travel advisories such as the one Canada has issued [which advises avoiding all non-essential travel to Nigeria] have on tourism?
**OUM:** We are of the opinion that allies like Canada can find the right balance between the responsibilities of government and citizens to keep themselves secure as they travel around the world. And we need not raise undue alarm that can be counterproductive to the growing trade and investment opportunities that exist, even in supposedly conflicted places like sections of Nigeria.

There must be a presumption that the Nigerian government is responsible enough to do everything it can to ensure that visitors to Nigeria do not come into harm's way. So a travel advisory that is purely unilateral, that does not engage the Nigerian government, could be counterproductive because if we work on these things together, we can take responsibility to say: 'We discourage you from going to A, B or C and we will inform you of when it's safe to go there.' The Nigerian government can provide some security corridors, but the way this has been handled, and I'm careful not to criticize, gives a confusing signal to punish our investors. Growing the economy and creating jobs will help solve the security problem in Nigeria. It's a difficult balancing act, but I want to see greater creativity on both sides of the Atlantic.

**DM:** Are you dealing with Canadians on this matter?
**OUM:** We have met on this point and we've made our feelings known. My minister made this point to [Foreign] Minister [John] Baird. There has been some adjustment and they're doing a better job than some countries.

**DM:** Has anything resulted from the recent Canadian trade mission that went to Nigeria?
**DM:** We are expecting a Nigerian delegation to come here soon, to meet with Bombardier about providing products to the airport in Uyo, in western Nigeria, so that is the low-hanging fruit.

# Inspiring through educational opportunity

*By Christine Gervais*

I founded ACCESO International in 1996 to address the disparity between my own educational and scholarship opportunities and those of underprivileged students in developing countries of the Americas, a disparity that struck me during my travels in the region.

ACCESO International is an Ottawa-based Canadian charitable organization that is completely volunteer-operated. In my work with ACCESO, an impressive team of educators, lawyers, accountants, engineers, social workers, journalists, researchers and administrators has joined me. Together, we promote greater access to education by providing bursaries and learning materials at all levels of education — from preschool to post-secondary — in the Bahamas, Bolivia, Canada, Colombia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua and Peru.

We operate non-hierarchically by focusing on equality, consensus-building and collegiality among our volunteers, donors and beneficiaries. Our founding principles of solidarity, human rights, peace and social justice enable our students, partners and supporters to collaborate in meaningful and successful ways.

In addition to our annual commitment to schools, summer camps, homework centres, daycares, libraries, computer centres, skills-training workshops, playgrounds, vocational centres, orphanages, as well as to pre-natal and health-oriented workshops in various countries, we have also provided support for the reconstruction and replenishment of schools in the aftermath of natural disasters, including hurricanes and earthquakes in the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Haiti and Peru.

After almost two decades, we enjoy seeing the life-changing impacts of our ongoing support to thousands of students. Many of our projects focus on girls and women because we know empowerment through education leads to greater dignity, economic independence and ultimately poverty reduction.

We also celebrate the progress of our post-secondary graduates, many of whom are working as doctors, nurses, teachers, engineers, psychologists and social workers with local and international projects based within their own countries. We are particularly proud of students such as Marcial, the very first student we sponsored in 1996, who through our support, completed his high school and university studies and is now working as a teacher and principal in a poor rural community in the Dominican Republic, where he organizes community-enhancing projects and inspires other young people.

Yamileisy, a young woman from Dominican Republic, received help from ACCESO International. She is now pursuing post-secondary studies in communications.

On our project visits to the Dominican Republic in 2012, he helped us identify two high-achieving high school graduates whose families' limited financial situation prohibited them from continuing their studies. He drew our attention to Yamileisy, a young woman, and Amado, a young man. Both are now pursuing their post-secondary studies in communication and medicine respectively. This is just one of numerous examples of how the seed planted by generous donors and Ottawa volunteers is bearing fruit.

We work primarily in Latin America and the Caribbean, but we also strive to create greater access to education in our own community by providing back-to-school support (school bags, lunch boxes and shoes) for low-income refugee and immigrant children living in Ottawa.

Our local and international projects have benefited from private, corporate and diplomatic support in Ottawa. At the end of April each year, we host more than 300 guests at a fundraising event titled The Sounds & Tastes of the Americas. The dinner, auction and show celebrate the food and culture of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Since 2003, several embassies, including those from Bolivia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Peru, Spain and Venezuela have supported this event. They have contributed traditional dishes to the dinner and donated handicrafts to the silent auction as well as a dinner at an ambassador's residence. In recent years, Peruvian Ambassador Jose Antonio Bellina, and his wife, Rosa Luz, have generously donated a Peruvian dinner for 10 guests.

Since 1996, ACCESO International has worked in 12 countries and supported 42 pre-schools and daycares, 22 primary schools, six high schools, two vocational centres, two orphanages, six libraries, six homework centres, 14 summer camps and four playgrounds. It has given bursaries to more than 4,250 students.

Christine Gervais is the founder and president of ACCESO International and an associate professor of social sciences at the University of Ottawa. Contact her at info@accesointernational.ca or visit accesointernational.ca to learn more.

# Reunification is always the goal for Korea

FIRST NAME: Hee-yong

LAST NAME: Cho

CITIZENSHIP: Korean

BECAME AMBASSADOR TO CANADA: Sept. 13, 2012

PREVIOUS POSTINGS: Japan, China/Taiwan, Washington, Philippines

The year 2013 is the 60th anniversary of the Korean War Armistice and a time to pay tribute to the young soldiers, including nearly 27,000 Canadians, who came to Korea to defend a people they'd never met.

This year also marks the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Korea and Canada. To mark these milestones, our governments declared 2013 the Year of Korea in Canada and the Year of Canada in Korea. Canada also designated 2013 as the Year of the Korean War Veteran.

Over the past six decades, Korea and Canada have developed a special partnership based on shared history, common values, robust economic ties and close people-to-people connections. We have also achieved countless successes together as staunch allies and like-minded countries. With this momentous year in mind, I would like to discuss Korea's foreign policy toward North Korea and Northeast Asia.

For the first time in our modern history, Korea saw its first female president, Park Geun-hye, take office in February, signalling a "new era of hope" for our country. In her inauguration address, President Park laid out her vision. This vision defines the new government's foreign policy, which has been labelled trustpolitik.

With regard to the two Koreas, though we commemorate a 60-year-old armistice agreement, we recognize it is a fragile peace, at best. The task of all Koreans over this period has been to transform this fragile truce into a sustainable peace. Unfortunately, over the past six decades, North Korea has not made this job easy for us.

As part of President Park's vision, the government seeks a trust-building process on the Korean Peninsula. Trust is a powerful instrument to bring about genuine and sustainable peace. As such, the goal of this process is to establish co-operation on the Korean Peninsula and within the region, and eventually lay the foundation for peaceful reunification.

Trust-building strives to utilize instruments of security and deterrence, as well as dialogue and co-operation, to induce positive change in North Korea.

North Korea's provocations over the past year, from launching long-range missiles to conducting a nuclear test in an attempt to advance its weapons-of-mass-destruction (WMD) capability, pose a serious threat to the peace and security of the international community.

Faced with such threats, Korea's allies have shown unwavering solidarity and support. In particular, through UN Security Council resolutions and joint statements from the G8 and ASEAN summits, the international community has demonstrated unprecedented unity in condemning North Korea and urging it to change.

Korea, along with the international community, firmly adheres to maintaining strong deterrence against North Korean threats and nuclear development. To make substantial progress on denuclearization, necessary pre-steps must be taken. We will not tolerate their continued tactic of provocations, after which the international community sends food aid. Then they lead to yet further confrontations.

In order to start building trust on the peninsula, it is important that both Koreas commit to respecting agreements made with each other and with the international community. The Park Geun-hye government will continue its efforts to develop inter-Korean relations in such a manner. It also seeks to work with the international community to promote positive change within North Korea, so that it can become a responsible member of the global village. We cannot turn a blind eye to the hunger and human rights violations facing the Korean people on the other side of the peninsula. Regardless of the political situation, we will continue our humanitarian assistance and exchanges.

Overall, if North Korea makes the right choices, Korea and the international community will provide the necessary

J.A. DE ROO

North Koreans bow in front of the statues of Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il on Mansu Hill in Pyongyang.

assistance. Even if it takes time, the trust-building process will be steadily pursued as our best means for establishing South Korea-North Korea relations that align with common sense and international norms, and for carving out true trust and peace on the peninsula.

Still, the challenges confronting the Park Geun-hye government are not just North Korean nuclear and WMD issues. Many daunting challenges arise from the region and the world. In Northeast Asia, the degree of political and security co-operation remains at a nascent stage, despite the ever-increasing economic interdependence. Territorial and historical disputes are still troubling countries in this part of the world. We call this phenomenon the "Asia Paradox." Over the next few years, the way in which we deal with this paradox will determine Asia's new world order.

The Park Geun-hye government seeks to contribute to peace, stability and co-operation in Northeast Asia. Through this vision, we can achieve small, yet significant exchanges in areas of mutual interest, such as the environment, disaster relief, nuclear-power safety and counter-terrorism, which can develop into habits of co-operation. Eventually, this prolonged co-operation can be nurtured into a sustainable peace.

Of course, signs of co-operation in Northeast Asia are already taking place. The Korea-China-Japan Trilateral Summit has developed into an independent annual forum and in 2011, a permanent secretariat was established in Seoul to co-ordinate activities of trilateral co-operation.

As for the bilateral relations of Korea in the region, maintaining our firm and strong alliance with the United States will remain the bedrock of our foreign policy. This ensures our frontline is secure and our society remains calm and stable.

Korea is also nurturing its "strategic co-operative partnership" with China. In June, China's support for the Korean trust-building process was reconfirmed during the summit meeting between our two countries. At the same time, our leaders reaffirmed their shared understanding that they will not accept a nuclear-armed North Korea. They agreed to work more closely to attain their shared strategic goals of denuclearizing North Korea and maintaining peace and stability on the Korean peninsula and within Northeast Asia.

In addition, Korea will seek to stabilize its relations with Japan by enhancing co-operation in as many areas as possible, while maintaining a principled and firm stance on historical issues.

Finally, for more than six decades, Korea and Canada have stood shoulder-to-shoulder as staunch allies in dealing with North Korea. When North Korea commits acts of aggression, Canada consistently takes a principled stand in condemning its reckless actions and has imposed some of the toughest sanctions yet through its controlled-engagement policy. Overall, Canada firmly supports our efforts to improve relations with North Korea, advance human rights and achieve a peaceful reunification on the Korean Peninsula.

All of these efforts at enhanced co-operation are instrumental in laying the foundation for the eventual reunification of Korea. A unified Korea will benefit all partners in Northeast Asia. Rather than threaten the interests of others, peaceful reunification will create greater opportunities for growth, long-term stability and happiness in the region.

# A little Christmas 'gift to Ottawa'

This year, for the sixth year in a row, the delegation of the European Union will present a unique Christmas concert, free of charge, to Ottawans.

The concert, which attracted 1,300 Ottawans last year, has become a well-loved tradition, featuring Christmas carols from many of the European Union's member states. It gives Canadians a chance to enjoy the continent's carols, some of which they may know well; others they may never have heard.

It also gives the EU delegation a chance to engage the community because it asks local school choirs to sing the carols. This year, the Ottawa Children's Choir, the Ottawa University Calixa Choir and the Chorale de la Salle will perform. In all, that represents about 100 choir members who will sing carols that originated in Europe.

"Our motto is United in Diversity," said Manfred Auster, minister-counsellor and chargé d'affaires at the delegation of the European Union. "And I think the Christmas concert symbolizes that because it brings together musical history from many of the member states. "We can't have songs from all 28 member states — that would make a rather long program — but we try to be quite representative."

Now a well-known event, it usually attracts more than the church can hold, Mr. Auster said. Often there are people standing at the back, and there are frequently queues to get in.

The concert, organized by Ottawa resident Ulle Baum, who is originally from Estonia, is important for Ottawans like her, who are members of the European diaspora.

"They can come and hear their country's music," Ms Baum said. "It's free of charge; it's the EU's gift to Ottawa, to community — a wonderful way to build bridges between countries and people."

She noted that nearly all of those who attended last year's concert left with another gift, a more tangible one — a ball cap from the European Union.

The concert is unique in that the choirs learn the songs in the native language of the country from which they hail so they might be singing Danish for one song and Greek for another. Chorale de la Salle director Robert Filion said he gives his students YouTube videos to watch so they can learn the basic pronunciations.

MANFRED AUSTER

The EU Christmas Concert 2012: From left, Robert Filion, director of the Chorale de la Salle; Jackie Hawley, director of the Ottawa Children's Choir; organizer Ulle Baum; former EU Ambassador Matthias Brinkmann.

"The first year it was tough," Filion said. But they sometimes do the same songs as the previous year, which makes it easier. It's become an important event for choir members and learning new languages is part of the thrill.

"The singers learn these Christmas songs in complex new languages in just few months," Ms Baum said. "If they need extra help, a representative from the embassy in question comes to the rehearsal and helps with pronunciation of the words."

One of Ms Baum's favourite parts of the event is the last song on the play list, which is Silent Night. For that song, all members of the choirs sing with the organ and the entire audience is invited to sing along. "It's absolutely beautiful," Ms Baum says.

She credited musical directors Robert Filion, Jackey Hawley and Laurence Ewashko, "who work with great passion and very hard with the students to teach new songs and prepare the choirs for this important concert. It is a great team effort."

The concert takes place Dec. 6 at Notre Dame Basilica at 7 p.m.

# South Africa: Inspiring new ways

*By Membathisi Mdladlana*
*High Commissioner for SouthAfrica*

In April 2013, South Africa launched its industrial policy action plan (IPAP) with a goal of supporting the country's growth. IPAP is a framework of collective strategies that are part of the national development plan (NDP), the new growth path (NGP) and the national industrial policy framework (NIPF) policies.

These policies guide South Africa's socio-economic development by addressing challenges such as unemployment, inequality and underdevelopment. The NDP has identified six areas of focus: tourism, infrastructure development, agriculture, mining, manufacturing and green economy. The IPAP has identified priority sectors: metals fabrication, capital and transport equipment, green and energy-saving industries and agro-processing. Interventions in sectors such as automotives and components; medium and heavy vehicles; plastics, pharmaceuticals and chemicals; clothing, textiles, footwear and leather; bio-fuels; forestry, paper, pulp and furniture; creative and cultural industries; and business services have been earmarked for expanded economic growth. Other sectors for increased investment include nuclear, advanced materials, aerospace and defence and electro-technical and ICT, all of which are part of South Africa's innovation and knowledge economy.

The Canadian private sector sees South Africa as a gateway to the African market because of its stable democracy, rule of law, world-class banking system and good infrastructure. The bilateral trade between the two countries reached approximately $1.6 billion in 2011, but a great deal more can be done to realize this relationship's potential. Canadian exports to South Africa consist mainly of machinery, cereals, poultry and pork, while South African exports to Canada include motor vehicle components, precious stones, fruit and nuts, machinery and wine. There has been growing interest from Canadians for South African products such as rooibos tea, spices and organic lamb.

The Gautrain line, the first high-speed train in Sub-Saharan Africa.

On the bilateral investment front, energy and chemical company SASOL's inroads in the Canadian energy market are worth mentioning. SASOL completed a feasibility study on a proposed gas-to-liquids plant and will build a facility in Alberta. Anglo-American, through its subsidiary, De Beers, has committed a huge investment in its Yukon mining operations. From the Canadian side, Bombardier has successfully developed an 80-kilometre Gautrain line, the first high-speed train in sub-Saharan Africa, allowing passengers to zip between Johannesburg and Pretoria in as little as 26 minutes. More than 100,000 daily passengers will use this system. Future high-profile investment in various other sectors remains a priority.

South Africa is focusing on infrastructure development as a catalyst for economic growth and development and to improve life for all South Africans. Building on the infrastructure legacy of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, we are creating better rail, ports, roads, energy and broadband capacity.

In his 2013 budget presentation, Finance Minister Pravin Ghordhan enumerated a number of opportunities for investment in infrastructure. Opportunities are many, one of which is with the government's $326-million Cdn fund for rail signalling. The South African National Roads Agency Ltd. also received an additional $142-milion Cdn to fund urgent upgrades to the national road network. Bombardier was awarded with a $112-million Cdn signalling contract for the main commuter rail corridors in and around Durban. The Chinese information and communication technology giant Huawei was awarded the contract for a modernised digital signalling radio system for train communication and management that meets modern safety requirements.

A fund to improve dams and water delivery systems, at an estimated $267 million Cdn has been allocated for regional bulk water infrastructure, in this financial year with an additional $195 million Cdn to top up the municipal water infrastructure grant. Another $154 million Cdn has been earmarked to complete the De Hoop Dam in the Limpopo Province. These projects will go a long way towards providing the much-needed jobs in line with the New Growth Path to create five million jobs by 2020. These infrastructure projects have been backed up with a massive investment in building an expanded energy-generation capacity to meet the growing need for power as the country grows.

In 2012, South Africa won a bid to host the Square Kilometre Array (SKA), the largest radio telescope in the world and with Canada being admitted to the SKA Board, the opportunities for collaboration between the two countries abound. In addition, the potential of shale gas development in the Northern Cape's Karoo Basin is estimated to be 485 trillion cubic feet. With Canadian investment and expertise in this energy sector, avenues for collaboration remain strong. These developments create a solid foundation for investment and co-operation in various economic sectors and will support the South African government's efforts at addressing unemployment in a meaningful way.

The visit of Gov.-Gen. David Johnston with President Jacob Zuma in May 2013, provided renewed vigour for bilateral co-operation in areas such as youth development, education, science and technology. The upcoming bilateral annual consultation scheduled in October, will add an impetus to our growing co-operation.

Membathisi Mphumzi S. Mdladlana is high commissioner for South Africa. Reach him at 613-744-0330.

# Poland and Canada: A dynamic and growing trade relationship

*By Zenon Kosiniak-Kamysz*
*Former ambassador of Poland*

POLISH EMBASSY

Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk visited Canada and met with Prime Minister Stephen Harper in May 2012.

I note with great satisfaction that my term as the Ambassador of Poland to Canada has witnessed an intensification of co-operation between our countries.

The political dialogue blossoms, anchored in common democratic principles and respect for human rights. Perhaps more important, however, we observe much progress being made in the area of economic co-operation.

In part, we owe this to the positive state of the Polish economy — especially when compared to the grim state of the world economy. In 2009, Poland was the only country in the European Union to avoid the recession; two years later, we experienced a 4.3-percent GDP growth followed by an estimated 2.5-per cent growth in 2012. These results were made possible by such factors as our sound macroeconomic policy and sustainable public finance management.

We also ensured Poland's attractiveness as a place to invest. The UNCTAD World Investment Report ranked our country sixth worldwide for attractiveness when it comes to foreign direct investment. The *Financial Times* placed us third globally for FDI in the processing sector, while the Hackett Group ranked Poland the third most attractive country in the world for financing, accounting and advisory centres. These are potent signals for global and Canadian investors alike.

A perfect expression of yet closer ties between our countries was an official visit by Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk to Canada in May 2012. The visit's program was dominated by economic issues, including events such as a round table on co-operation in shale gas exploration, which was attended by top-ranked representatives of the oil and gas industry. During the visit, the prime ministers of Poland and Canada issued a statement on energy co-operation that will guide our future joint endeavours.

Shale gas is an issue of foremost importance, since it constitutes the key to Poland's aspirations for increased energy security and reduced dependency on oil and gas imports. We are therefore most pleased to observe the involvement of Canadian oil and gas companies in Poland — we have welcomed, among others, Nexen and LNG Energy. Talks with other potential partners are in progress. We also treasure our co-operation with the Energy Resources Conservation Board of Alberta, which supports us with its renowned international experience in creating new legal frameworks to regulate the extraction of Polish shale gas.

Our co-operation reaches far beyond the oil and gas sector. Canada's Bombardier Inc. and Pratt & Whitney Canada have been present in Poland for many years. Last year, Polish mining giant KGHM Polska Miedź purchased a $3-billion Canadian company — Quadra FNX Mining Ltd., making Polish investment in Canada much larger than Canadian investment in Poland.

The co-operation between our countries is facilitated by the Polish diaspora in Canada which, with more than one million members, has representatives in the highest levels of Canadian business circles.

Trade, however, remains the cornerstone of our mutual relations. In January 2010, when I assumed my post, the volume of our mutual trade amounted to almost $990 million. In 2012, estimates put it at more than $1.5 billion, a result even more impressive if we take into account the effects of the global economic slowdown. Key Polish exports to Canada include aircraft engines and their parts, various other aircraft and helicopter construction components, mink skins, furniture and medicine.

Polish imports from Canada total $383 million, consisting mainly of aviation-sector products such as aircraft, jet and turboprop engines, as well as zinc ore. In 2012, Poland signed a contract with Bombardier Aerospace for eight Q400 NextGen aircraft, with an option for 12 more.

Despite this impressive record, we are aware that the current level of trade falls short of our potential. For that reason, we look with great hope towards the successful conclusion of the ongoing EU-Canada CETA negotiations, which constitute an unparalleled chance for development of not just trade, but also wider economic co-operation. Poland will welcome this agreement with great enthusiasm.

Zenon Kosiniak-Kamysz was Poland's ambassador to Canada until August 2013.

# Colombia and Canada have never been closer

*Nicolas Lloreda-Ricaurte*
*Ambassador of Colombia*

Over the course of 60 years of diplomatic ties, the bilateral relationship between Colombia and Canada has never been as strong as it is now, nor has it had as extensive an agenda. Yet, there are still many new opportunities, such as in large infrastructure projects, that shouldn't be missed.

When it comes to economics, the numbers are impressive. Bilateral trade reached an all-time high of more than US$1.5 billion for 2012. Indeed, Canadian exports to Colombia rose by more than 19 percent in 2012, bringing the total to more than US$1 billion. Canada imports mainly coffee, oils, coal, roses and other cut flowers, cane sugar and beet sugar and chemically pure sucrose and fungicides. From Canada, Colombia's main imports include wheat, potassium chloride, newsprint, lentils, aircraft, medication, motor vehicles, barley and machinery.

In addition, Canadian investments in Colombia are now present in all of its provinces, covering oil and gas, mining, banking and many other services. Canadian companies keep coming because they find a country with many similar priorities for business: Free enterprise, free trade, respect for the rule of law and predictable rules.

The fact that Colombia has been applying sound macro-economic policies, including keeping inflation under control, honouring public debt obligations and having an independent Central Bank is one strong reason. The fact that the country is a much safer place than it was is another compelling one.

President Juan Manuel Santos, who, as minister of defence in the previous government, delivered the hardest blows to the guerrillas, has, since becoming president, implemented a security agenda that has reduced the number of homicides and serious crimes to levels not seen in decades. His government's historic land restitution and victims compensation law, along with the peace process he began with the guerrillas to end the armed conflict, has put Colombia on a new path towards prosperity.

COLOMBIA FLOWER ASSOCIATION

Cut flowers are one of Canada's main imports from Colombia.

Besides the opportunities that exist in the mining, energy, tourism and finance sectors, there are new opportunities arising in Colombia's infrastructure sector due to recent changes in the regulatory framework of public-private partnerships.

The 2010-2014 National Development Plan identifies transportation infrastructure as a strategic engine for growth and estimates that at least US$35 billion is required in private investment in infrastructure between 2010 and 2014.

President Santos's national development plan identifies public-private alliances as a key element for the country to be competitive. Currently, there is a wide gap in public, economic and social infrastructure due mainly to previous: (a) deficient structuring of projects (b) weakness in the legislative framework for infrastructure projects, and (c) lack of adequate incentives allowing long-term investors to offer quality services.

The Santos's government has implemented a new framework for projects, based on public-private partnerships (PPPs) for construction, operation and maintenance of the economic and social infrastructure of the country. That includes transportation, energy, water and solid-waste management, hospitals, schools, jails and public libraries and buildings.

The first public initiative for PPP scheme projects was announced in February 2013. As of this date, the relevant Colombian agencies have tendered invitations to prequalify for five large public initiative PPP transportation projects. The first four projects involve transportation concessions that are divided into four groups of highway areas: centre-south; centre-west; centre-east and north. The fifth PPP project is the recovery of the Magdalena River for navigation of larger vessels. Just in transportation alone, the estimated total investment required is $24.4 billion in order to improve or build more than 8,000 kilometres of national roads, nearly half the current total of 17,000 kilometres.

An additional large number of major projects will be launched during 2013 and 2014 for highways, airports, rail, urban mobility, real estate, large penitentiaries, urban developments and social infrastructure.

As Colombia strives to diversify its exports and improve its competitiveness, under President Santos, the country has finally made a long-term commitment to develop its infrastructure. The PPP mechanism was chosen as the ideal public contracting system that, on one hand opens opportunities for investors who have expertise in large infrastructure, and, on the other, provides the government with a financially sound mechanism to pay for the required investments.

The Colombian governmental agencies in charge of implementing PPPs should have solid partners in the Canadian companies that already enjoy broad and recognized experience in these kinds of projects. Colombia will develop better institutions and practices, significantly improving the country's infrastructure, while the Canadian private sector will continue to benefit from its investments in our country. This could be the beginning of a win-win relationship in the infrastructure sector.

Nicolas Lloreda-Ricaurte is Colombia's ambassador to Canada. Reach him at 613-230-3760 ext. 222.

# Less Martin Luther, more Milton Friedman needed in the Arab world

*By Fred McMahon and Mark Milke*

Martin Luther and Mohamed Bouazizi, the Tunisian fruit vendor who set himself ablaze, may not seem to have much in common, but they both dropped a spark into much accumulated dry kindling and timber. That set off blazes that led to sectarian violence, revolution, additional repression and war.

Martin Luther's nailing of his 95 theses to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg on Oct. 31, 1517, is usually thought to mark the beginning of the Reformation; Bouazizi's self-immolation on Dec. 17, 2010, in Sidi Bouzid, Tunisia, led to the Arab Spring, which may become the Arab Reformation — and that is not necessarily a good thing.

Following 9/11, it became fashionable, among many westerners and Muslims such as Salman Rushdie, to call for an Islamic Reformation. The idea was that the Reformation gave birth to European tolerance, free thought and religious liberty.

But few of these commentators understood the cost or how the Reformation supposedly led to these outcomes. The Reformation was a bloody, massacre-filled, intolerant affair and now, five centuries later, something similar is being played out in the Arab world. A better understanding of the similarities along with lifting the rose-coloured view of our own past can help provide lessons that may spare the Arab world some of the horrors perpetrated in Europe.

Writers Fred McMahon and Mark Milke argue that the Arab Spring (shown here in Egypt) may well become the Arab Refomation — "and that's not necessarily a good thing."

### The Reformation: Anything but genteel

Though varying in details and proportions, the tinder and wood for the Reformation and the Arab Spring are largely the same — sectarian and ethnic divisions; holier-than-thou religious conviction that permits, even demands, killing your opponents; a dissatisfaction with the existing power structure; repression and an underlay of political and power conflicts. While there are many differences between the two, the bloodshed flows from the similarities: a more-or-less common culture uncomfortable with its structures, questioning its basis and rife with internal divisions.

In both cases, the proponents of change want(ed) literally to "re-form" their world. Luther provided a religious spark, Bouazizi, an economic, political one. But in both cases, the conflagration quickly spread across the spectrum.

Internal conflict arose with the many different visions of the "re-formed" world: In Europe, Catholic versus Protestant; Calvinistic, Lutheran, Puritan, often against each other, as well against Catholicism; in the modern Arab world, Sunni versus Shia versus secular; in both, a bewildering number of border, political and dynastic disputes; state power versus religious power versus individual rights — to name but a few fault lines.

### The "what if?" scenarios

In the present conflagration, many imagine "what ifs" leading to a sunny world: What if the secularists had won in the Egyptian presidential election, as they nearly did; what if Mohammed Morsi had pitched a broad tent; what if the West had intervened early in Syria?

The "what ifs" are fraught with hazard. Had the Egyptian secularists won, they would have inherited a horrid economy. They might have fared better economically than Morsi, but no one would have known of his incompetence, and the secularists would have suffered mightily in public opinion for the lousy situation, powering the Muslim Brotherhood and further divisions. For Morsi to have pitched a broad tent against the obvious inclinations of the Brotherhood, he needed Nelson Mandela status, but Mandelas are rare and Mandela built his inspirational power over decades — no such Mandela existed, or probably could exist, in Egypt. The West did intervene early in Libya, yet Libya is descending into chaos and extremists are gaining strength, intimidating the opposition and beginning to take control of territory.

Such "better worlds" are unknowable and are pure speculation; it might well be that the horrors and dangers would simply have assumed other forms. This is because many countries in the Arab world have yet to experience the deep fatigue that resulted from Reformation-era conflicts.

Thus, we will argue that the key policy lesson from this is that the West can do little to resolve the deep divisions in the Arab world; the flames of conflict will have to burn themselves out. However, taking this lesson, we will argue that focusing on economic issues can mitigate divisions and pave the way for stable democracy.

#### The Reformation and war

The Reformation period was as bloody as anything yet seen in the Arab world — 25 to 40 percent of the population of northern Germany was killed by war, internal violence or disease, which flourishes in times of violence. The massacre at Mérindol brings to mind the horrors of Syria. Francis I of France ordered the attack to punish the Waldensians, a Protestant sect, in the Northern Italian Alps. Virtually the entire population of Mérindol and the inhabitants of about 25 nearby villages were slaughtered.

So how did the Reformation become known for introducing tolerance? Europeans simply burned themselves out after a century-plus of religious war. Catholic armies marched up and down Europe killing Protestants; Protestant armies marched up and down Europe killing Catholics and, for that matter, other Protestants.

After 130 years of horror, even the slow learners of Europe began to understand that no side had the power to defeat or kill all the others — though for each side this would have been the preferred course of action — so they had better figure out how to, at least, tolerate one another. This resulted in the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, which introduced some limited ideas of religious tolerance.

The treaty involved great accomplishments by many people in advancing innovative ways of thinking by those who made the way for a new kind of peace. And, to be fair, such ideas began to arise fairly early in response to the bloodshed. Although Pope Paul III gave Imperial honours to the local grandee who raised the troops responsible for the Mérindol massacre; many in Europe were revolted.

LUCAS CRANACH

Martin Luther

One other factor must be noted, albeit briefly. As Luther was hammering his nails in northern Europe, in southern Europe, the Renaissance, which would change the perception of the human condition, had begun — and 130 years later, Renaissance thought fed into the ideas of tolerance in the Treaty of Westphalia. Even here, similarities are found: Much new Arab thought is bubbling beneath the surface, all too often suppressed by violence, just as the powers-that-were attempted to suppress early Renaissance thought. But, still, despite noble thought background to the Treaty of Westphalia, it was mainly blood exhaustion that led to the Peace.

#### Lessons from Western history

What are the lessons from this? The first is just attitudinal. Many in the West seem to believe that if only Arabs acted sensibly, like us, and were full of tolerance, like us, and had a nice intellectual Reformation, like us, then all their silly conflicts would disappear in rousing choruses of *Kumbaya* and John Lennon's *Imagine*. This attitude adjustment creates a more realistic view of the Arab Spring and the very long sorting-out period that will follow.

Exhortations for tolerance, freedom and democracy from the rest of the world are only occasionally useful. They help at the margin and make it clear which side we are on — something that will be remembered if the Arab Spring produces a semblance of democracy and greater freedom. Still, people in the region will have to learn the lesson themselves, as did people in Europe, though much blood is likely to flow before that happens.

#### Is the Arab Spring akin to 1848?

We also need to be prepared for the up, downs and disappointments. Marx thought the revolutions of 1848 would bring Communist Utopia, but they were quickly defeated. Many compare 1848, "the Spring of Nations," with the Arab Spring; but the Arab Spring, like the Reformation, contains a much broader, deeper and more existential range of issues. The immediate fires will not be as quickly extinguished as they were in 1848. But there is one hopeful lesson: The 1848 revolutions were crushed, but, within decades, a period of liberalization followed. This is a generational problem and opportunity. Young Arabs, brought up in an era of global communication, may be able to make their mark in 20 or so years just as the children of 1848 were.

#### A key for tolerance: Free markets

Arabs also have one great opportunity not available in the Reformation — the possibility of a reformed economy, and this is an area in which the West might be able to make a difference. This was not an option for the pre-industrial Reformation, ending more than 100 years before Adam Smith's breakthrough understanding of the power of free markets.

Nations where democracy and freedom are imposed, but which lack institutions of tolerance, trust and self-expression, typically end up worse off. Democracy and freedom only flourish where these institutions exist. Free markets have generated the highest levels of prosperity in human history, and thus through prosperity promote the values institutions required for

democratic evolution.

Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, two key figures in the *World Values Survey*, recently wrote in *Foreign Affairs*, "a massive body of evidence suggests … economic development does tend to bring important, roughly predictable, changes in society, culture and politics.… [H]igh levels of economic development tend to make people more tolerant and more trusting, bringing more emphasis on self-expression and participation in decision making." In other words, commercial virtues and tolerance are mutually supportive.

But, prosperity isn't the full story — if it were, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait would be leaders in tolerance and democracy.

How prosperity is created is important. Free markets are based on economic freedom at the individual level — the ability of individuals to make their own economic choices. Economic freedom transforms the dynamics of any society that lacked it. When people make their own economic choices, they gain only when they produce products or services desired in free exchange — in other words, by making people better off. Those in other ethnic or sectarian groups become customers, suppliers and clients. Over time, this builds tolerance and a common sense of citizenship.

**Crony capitalism is not the free market**

Open markets matter because when governments — or government friends under crony capitalism — control the economy, the economy grows slowly or not at all. Individuals and groups battle one another for wealth and privilege. People gain by cultivating connections, suppressing the opportunities of others and making them worse off.

All too often, the individual gains, not as an individual, but as a member of a rent-seeking group, whether economic, ethnic or religious. Groups stand against groups, as is all too evident in much of the world. Without economic freedom, the biggest gains accrue to those who cut a bigger slice of the existing, limited pie for themselves to the disadvantage of others. That only exacerbates existing tensions.

With economic freedom, people who increase the size of the pie for everyone achieve the biggest gains. This is a key reason why empirical studies show that economic freedom promotes tolerance, democracy and other freedoms directly and indirectly through economic development.

But this is a hard sell in the Arab world. At a conference in Tunis last year, one of us was asked by a charming, well-educated economics professor at a local university why Tunisia should turn to "neo-liberalism" when it had been tried and failed there.

Neo-liberalism has become a pejorative for free markets, and Tunisia has tried nothing of the sort. For instance, U.S. Nobel Laureate economist Douglass North has called the Fraser Institute's *Economic Freedom Index* the "best available" index of free markets. In 2010, just before the Arab Spring really got going, Tunisia rated 96th of the 141 jurisdictions rated — thus, no "neo-liberal" free market existed there.

Zine El Abidine Ben Ali: ousted president of Tunisia

**The Arab world's economy: often crony capitalism, not free markets**

Many of the Arab dictators created klepto-crony capitalist states while telling their people that they were undertaking free-market reforms. Instead, they handed state assets to friends, relatives and allies who made money by suppressing free markets and gaining monopolists' profits.

Given this mistaken notion of free markets, little support exists in the Arab world today for the concept. Additionally problematic, the Islamists' priority is not economic, especially not liberalization, as they likely prefer state control of the economy since it increases a regime's power over the economy and, thus, people's lives. Many secularists in the Arab world tend to be leftist. For example, in Tunisia, leftist secularists have suffered assassination while left-wing unions have rallied to their cause.

Also problematic, the shadow of "pan-Arab socialism" hangs over the region. Economies are heavily controlled by the state, para-state organizations, like the military, and government cronies, with bloated public sectors. According to the World Bank, between 1980 and 2010, MENA (Middle East and Northern Africa) was the region with the world's weakest growth at about 0.5 percent annually, half the rate of sub-Saharan Africa and one-ninth the rate of Asia. With low prosperity and weak economic freedom associated with low tolerance, no wonder the Arab Spring is bloody and likely to continue to be bloody.

**Limited government and limited Western aims**

The West cannot force factions in the Arab world to not hate or kill one another (imagine a Turkish force invading Reformation Europe to keep Christian factions apart). We mostly cannot impose democracy or bomb people into peace (both mostly oxymoronic concepts, though possible in rare cases.).

However, given the success of free-market economies, nations that are advanced economically may be able to help by combatting the mistaken identity of crony capitalism for free markets and by encouraging reform. That includes dismantling crony capitalist networks and monopolies, removing trade barriers, reducing state control of the economy, massively downsizing the civil service, eliminating market-distorting subsidies and creating a broad tax base that does not favour the powerful and rich. Such reforms will produce resistance; they extinguish privileges for those who expect them. The road is difficult, but affluent nations can help with economic support, and such reforms will alleviate other even deeper problems by changing societal dynamics.

Mark Twain (among others) has been credited with saying "History doesn't repeat itself, but it rhymes." The Arab Spring is not a repetition of the Reformation, but there are plenty of rhymes. They point to the lengthy timeframe and the understanding that we will have very little effect on the immediate dynamics, but that we can help promote change in the nature of the dynamics themselves by promoting freer and more open economies.

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# Coming to Canada: An overview of immigration history

*By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky*

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A painting showing a romanticized view of the United Empire Loyalists arriving in New Brunswick circa 1783.

In Statistics Canada's 2011 National Household Survey, the ethnic origin most often selected by respondents was Canadian, reported by more than 10.5 million people. It was followed by English, French, Scottish, Irish and German.

Canada is often called a land of immigrants. And it is true that all Canadians are either from somewhere else, or the descendants of people from somewhere else. Through 18th-Century British exploration, 19th-Century gold rushes and settlement of the West in the late-19th and early-20th centuries, Canada became a significant immigrant-receiving nation.

Migration of people from one country to settle in another has been central to Canadian history. Canada has, of late, been chastised for the racial and ethnic biases of its immigration history. However, the very idea of nationhood — the concept of an "us" and a "them" — signifies exclusion, so it stands to reason that populating the country would involve including some and excluding others. That exclusions were made on the basis of race and ethnicity is part of the dark side of Canada's history. As distasteful as the model of exclusion is, the path to inclusion has contributed to Canada's reputation for multiculturalism.

Economic development has always

been tied to Canadian immigration. The fur trade opened the continent to exploration and ultimately impelled immigration to the New World. Although the first migration of people to North America came from Asia 20,000-40,000 years ago, we tend to begin the history of Canadian immigration when Pierre de Monts and Samuel de Champlain established a settlement at Île St.Croix in 1604, and at Port-Royal, Acadia, in 1605.

MCCORD MUSEUM OF HISTORY

Charles Deschamps de Boishébert led several battles against the British and fought to prevent further deportation of the Acadians.

The first settlers — or immigrants — to Canada were the Acadians. These French settlers established a vibrant colony at Port-Royal, taming the high tides of the Bay of Fundy with dikes to create rich fields of hay to feed their livestock, irrigating crops, establishing alliances with the Mi'kmaq and the Maliseet and trading with English colonists in America. The colony's administration changed hands several times, but became English after the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13), when the Treaty of Utrecht ceded Acadia to Britain. The treaty included the forced departure of the Acadians, who showed little inclination to move to the new French colonies, which were less suited to their agricultural system.

British authorities at Port-Royal (renamed Annapolis Royal) interfered with their government's transfer decree, concerned about upsetting the balance of the area's population and removing the farmers needed to support the garrison. The English made little attempt to colonize the area, renamed Nova Scotia, until 1749. They required the Acadians to swear an oath of unconditional loyalty; the Acadians would agree only to an oath of neutrality. Britain, determined to make Nova Scotia "truly" British, brought in its own settlers and deported the Acadians. The deportation (1755-62) shipped the population to English colonies along the east coast as far south as Georgia. Many perished from hunger or disease or were lost at sea.

The British Conquest (1759-60) gave Canada to Great Britain and suspended migration from France, but did not impel English immigration. The Empire paid little attention to the Quebec colony but soon had to accept thousands of United Empire Loyalists, British subjects who had settled in the original Thirteen Colonies in the U.S. and were displaced by the American Revolution because of their support for Great Britain. The early Loyalists were Canada's first political refugees, many of whom migrated to Canada because they feared retribution or did not wish to become American citizens.

The main waves of Loyalist migration came in 1783 and 1784, assisted by imperial authority in the form of Sir Guy Carleton, governor of the Province of Quebec. The military gave the settlers supplies and organized the distribution of land. Most were farmers, not wealthy nor of high social rank, and ethnically mixed. They included White Loyalists with slaves, free Blacks and escaped slaves, and Six Nations Iroquois. The Black Loyalists were 3,000 African-Americans drawn north by the British promise of "freedom and a farm." It was a promise unfulfilled; the land grant system became corrupt and many received a mere quarter-acre rather than the promised 100 acres for the head of household and an additional 50 for each family member.

Into the mid-19th Century, immigration from England, Scotland and the U.S. slowly began to fill the best arable land. These immigrants generally reflected the heritage and values of the established community. The arrival of Irish settlers, driven from their homeland by the great Irish potato famine, represented Canada's first significant influx of foreign immigrants (there were already Irish immigrants in Canada). They generally spoke English, but they differed from the majority socially, culturally and religiously.

The "Famine Irish" had been tenant farmers living in poverty and dependence. In Canada, they were not enthusiastic about farming. They provided a mass of cheap labour that helped fuel the economic expansion of the 1850s and 60s, but were viewed as Roman Catholic intruders suspiciously loyal to the Crown. They also tended to migrate to the U.S., a practice that continued into the 20th Century, meaning their impact on Eastern Canada

**Immigrant or Refugee?**

Officially, a refugee is a class of immigrant. Canada's immigration policy recognizes three main categories of immigration, based on the economic, family reunification and humanitarian or protective objectives of the Immigration Act. The refugee category comprises refugees under the UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. The Convention was created in 1951 and entered into force in 1954. It was an international agreement that defined refugees and established protocols to guide relationships between refugees and their host countries. Originally it addressed the plight of Displaced Persons and refugees from the Second World War. It was expanded in 1967 to include people from other parts of the world who faced broader problems. Canada signed both agreements.

Refugees are classified as needing protection or relief; they are people who have been forced to leave their country and are afraid to return because of war, violence or persecution due to race, religion, nationality, political opinion or belonging to a particular social group. Refugees are expected to take longer to adjust to their new circumstances than other immigrants. The first refugees to Canada were the Quakers who fled the U.S. and England in the 1770s due to religious persecution. Historically, groups of refugees have come to Canada from around the world: the U.S., England, Germany, Poland, Italy, Austria, Russia, Ukraine, Palestine, Hungary, North Africa, Morocco, China, Rwanda, Chile, Myanmar, Tibet, Uganda, Iran, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Bosnia, Yugoslavia, Bhutan and Thailand.

was more significant than in the West.

In the late 19th Century, the Canadian Prairies were opened to settlement, though that settlement first required establishing a market for prairie agricultural products. Wilfrid Laurier's government implemented large-scale immigration with an aggressive program delivered by Clifford Sifton, minister of the interior. For the first time, Canada sought agricultural settlers from places other than the British Empire, Europe and the U.S. As Sifton declared, "I think that a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for 10 generations, and a stout wife and a half-dozen children is good quality."

Sifton's statement reflected neither government policy nor public sentiment; both were unreceptive to "stalwart peasants in sheepskin coats," a reference to Ukrainian farmers. The popular idea of "good quality" agricultural immigrants was, in order of preference, British and American, French, Belgian, Dutch, Scandinavian, Swiss, Finnish, Russian, Austro-Hungarian, German, Ukrainian and Polish. The majority of English-speaking Canadians feared that hordes of "strange" peoples would threaten Protestant Canadian society. Others held more tolerant opinions, understanding that immigrants were necessary for building the country, that their children would become integrated into the mainstream of society and that they were here to stay. Nevertheless, welcoming "them" to join "us" created a demand for immigration policies that restricted admission by ethnicity or race.

Populating the "last best West," the promotional term for the Canadian Prairies, brought Ukrainian immigrants, farmers and labourers from Galicia and Bukovina, fleeing oppressive economic and social conditions in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Seeking meadowland, water, wood and neighbours who spoke their language, they settled in the aspen parkland of the Prairies, from southeastern Manitoba through central Saskatchewan to the Rocky Mountain foothills west of Edmonton, with several Ukrainian block settlements established by 1914.

Among the homesteaders were settlers of German origin, though most came from the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires and the Balkan countries, not the German Empire, which had colonized those areas in the 18th Century. German migration to Canada began long before the great western migration; the oldest cohesive German settlement in Canada developed in Nova Scotia between 1750 and 1753 and Germans were among the Loyalist migration. Despite anti-German sentiment during the First World War, in 1918 Canada admitted 1,000 Hutterites and 500-600 Mennonites fleeing American intolerance. All but one of the U.S.'s 18 Hutterite colonies entered Canada on the basis of an 1899 order-in-council that granted them immunity from military service. Following the Second World War, Canada admitted 15,000 Germans as part of its postwar policy of resettling displaced persons from Europe.

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Children who've just arrived on the SS Argentina, awaiting examination at Pier 21 in 1952.

Opening the West relied on the development of a transnational railway. Much of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the West was done by immigrants from South China. Chinese immigrants had begun arriving in Canada in 1858 from San Francisco to prospect for gold in British Columbia's Fraser Valley. Canada's first Chinese community was Barkerville, B.C., with others established as the railway extended eastward. Between 1880 and 1885, 15,000 Chinese workers completed the B.C. section of the CPR.

The first Opium War (1839-42) and the T'ai P'ing Rebellion (1850-64) created poverty and political upheaval in China that forced many peasants and workers to seek opportunities elsewhere. From 1885, Chinese migrants had to pay a $50 "head" tax to enter Canada, the only ethnic group taxed for admission. By 1900, responding to public protest, the Liberal government restricted Chinese immigration further by raising the head tax to $100. B.C. politicians demanded it be increased to $500. The federal government appointed a Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration, which concluded that Asians were "unfit for full citizenship ... obnoxious to a free community and dangerous to the state." In 1903, Parliament raised the head tax to $500. On July 1, 1923 ("Humiliation Day"), the Chinese Immigration Act was replaced by legislation that virtually suspended Chinese immigration. The legislation was repealed in 1947.

Japanese immigrants were treated as poorly as the Chinese. The first known Japanese immigrant was Manzo Nagano, who arrived in B.C. in 1877. In 1907, at Canada's insistence, Japan limited migration of men to Canada to 400 annually. In 1928, Canada placed further restrictions on the Japanese, limiting immigration to 150 annually. During the Second World War, fears were rampant that the Japanese represented a national threat, particularly after Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and forced the surrender of the British garrison at Hong Kong. That imagined fear initiated policies of detention and dispossession and the removal of nearly 21,000

**Immigration Statistics**
(from Statistics Canada, May 2013)

There are more than 6,775,800 immigrants in Canada, representing 20.6 percent of the population.

There are more than 200 ethnic origins reported in Canada, 13 of which have populations exceeding 1 million: Italian, Chinese, First Nations (North American Indian), Ukrainian, East Indian, Dutch and Polish.

More than 1,369,100 respondents to the 2011 National Household Survey reported First Nations ancestry.

The largest visible minority groups are South Asians, Chinese and Blacks, who account for 61.3 percent of the visible-minority population.

In the 2011 National Household Survey, 1,567,400 individuals identified themselves as South Asian, the largest visible minority population.

The second largest visible minority population was Chinese, who number more than 1,324,700.

Source: Statistics Canada

**The Boat People**
Following the Vietnam War, Canada accepted refugees and immigrants fleeing the communists when Saigon fell on April 30, 1975. More than a million people left Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia (the three countries comprised the former Indochina). Many of them tried to escape across the South China Sea in small overcrowded boats ill-equipped for an extensive sea voyage and vulnerable to pirate attacks. Of those who didn't drown en route, most ended up in squalid refugee camps in Thailand and Malaysia, desperately seeking a place to go but not welcome anywhere. The refugees' movement to Canada gained impetus in 1978 when Canada announced that it would welcome 600 people aboard the *Hai Hong*, a Vietnamese freighter refused by Malaysia. In all, Canada accepted 59,970 Boat People by 1980.

Japanese from their homes; 75 percent were Canadian citizens. They were placed in detention camps across the country and their property sold by the government. In 1945, Japanese Canadians had to choose between deportation to war-torn Japan or dispersal east of the Rockies. Most chose the latter.

WILLIAM JAMES TOPLEY

Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier put Clifford Sifton, minister of the interior, in charge of an aggressive immigration program.

Perhaps the most diverse immigrant population in Canada are South Asians, people from, or descended from, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, representing several major languages, multiple religions and hundreds of discrete ethnic groups. The first to reach Canada came to Vancouver in 1903, mainly Sikhs who had heard of Canada from British Indian troops who had traversed Canada in 1902 en route to Edward VII's coronation. Attracted by high wages, South Asians began immigrating in large numbers. By 1908, they numbered 5,209 men, primarily Sikhs from Punjab, who had left their families to find work in Canada. The B.C. government, seeing a racial threat, imposed restrictions.

In 1908, the Canadian government, yielding to public pressure to stop immigration from India, established an order-in-council that required individuals to reach Canada from India by continuous passage, at a time when no steamship line provided such service, and to be in possession of $200. The conditions were challenged by a group of prospective South Asian immigrants who chartered the freighter *Komagata Maru,* but were forced back to India by immigration officials. The continuous-journey provision remained law until 1947. Community pressure and Indian government action forced Canada to allow the wives and dependent children of South Asian Canadians to immigrate and by the mid-1920s, the families of the immigrant South Asian men began to arrive.

In 1951, Canada replaced the continuous-passage regulation with an annual immigration quota. As racial and national restrictions were lifted in the 1960s, South Asian migration grew significantly. Canada also began to receive immigrants from Southeast Asia, which includes 11 countries, 10 of which are members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN, whose members include Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.) Although groups of Southeast Asians have arrived in Canada for this country's opportunities and advantages, many have come as refugees, most famously the Boat People of the late 1970s.

By the late 1960s, racial discrimination had been removed from immigration legislation and regulations. Canada proclaimed its Multiculturalism Policy in 1971, the first country to execute such legislative framework. In 1996, "Canadian"

**The *Komagata Maru* Incident**
In 1913, the continuous-passage order was contested by 38 Sikhs. In April 1914, encouraged by the 1913 concession, 376 Punjabis, mostly Sikhs, all British citizens, chartered *Komagata Maru*, a Japanese-owned freighter, to challenge the continuous-passage law. They sailed from Hong Kong to Vancouver, arriving on May 23. Most of the passengers were detained on board. For two months, they waited as immigration officials kept them out of court and, the case lost, as their leaders negotiated their departure. The arrival of the RCN cruiser *Rainbow* on July 20 persuaded the group to leave. On July 23, *Komagata Maru* departed for Calcutta, India, where it was met by police suspicious of the organizers' politics (they were thought to be associated with a terrorist movement in India). An exchange of gunfire between police and passengers killed 19 passengers. Many others were imprisoned. The incident strengthened Indian nationalism, but had little impact on Canadian immigration law.

was included as an ethnic heritage on the national census. By 2001, the census recorded more than 200 ethnic origins and the population of those of British, French or Canadian ethnic origins had decreased to less than half the population. Migration has increasingly shifted from Europeans to Asians, and Canada has become home to an increasing number of races, religions, languages and cultural traditions.

Much thought has been devoted to Canada's national identity, and whether or not it has one, in this mélange of immigrant ethnicities. However, the ethnicity of the individual does not replace one's identity as a Canadian. Rather, the country's multiple ethnicities define its people.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is an Alberta writer.

# Immigration: a policy gone wrong?

*By James Bissett*


PAUL MCKINNON/DREAMSTIME

Pier 21, which served as an ocean liner terminal and immigration shed between 1928 and 1971, is now Canada's National Museum of Immigration in Halifax, N.S.

Canada's immigration policy has often been praised as a model of how immigration programs should be managed. For many years, there was reason for this praise, but in the early part of the current decade, changes in the policy have led the federal government to lose control over the program. A brief history of how the policy has evolved since the end of the Second World War will illustrate where the policy went wrong.

From the end of the Second World War until 1962, Canada's immigration policy was based on the practice of selecting immigrants, with few exceptions, from Britain, Europe or the United States. It was, in effect, a "white-only" policy. The policy was formulated following a speech in Canada's House of Commons in May 1947, by prime minister William Lyon Mackenzie King. The prime minister declared categorically that Canada was "perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens."

He went on to say: "There will, I am sure, be general agreement with the view that the people of Canada do not wish as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population. Large-scale immigration from the orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population … The government, therefore, has no thought of making any change in immigration regulations which would have consequences of the kind … The essential thing is that immigrants be selected with care and their numbers be adjusted to the absorptive capacity of the country. This will clearly vary from year to year in response to economic conditions."

The prime minister's statement formed the basis of the Immigration Act of 1952, which provided legislative authority to operate an openly discriminatory policy of selecting immigrants from traditional source countries. The policy lasted for the following 10 years and, during this period it was extremely difficult for non-white immigrants to enter Canada.

Increasing criticism of the policy, and the August 1960 passage of prime minister John Diefenbaker's Bill of Rights led to a change in immigration regulations, permitting individuals from any country to apply to immigrate to Canada if they met

the applicable selection criteria (meaning they possessed the education, skills and training considered adequate to become established in the Canadian labour force.) However, the regulations permitting a wider degree of relatives to be sponsored from Britain, Europe or the United States than from other countries remained unchanged and the locations of Canadian visa offices were almost exclusively in those three areas. In reality, therefore, discrimination was still evident in Canada's immigration program.

In 1966, the government introduced major changes in immigration by creating the Department of Manpower and Immigration, which joined the National Employment Service and the Immigration Service. This structural change followed a government White Paper recommending that immigration focus on the objective of enhancing the Canadian labour force by selecting skilled and professional migrants with occupations needed in Canada. The family-class category should be restricted to a narrow range of dependent relatives: spouses, minor children and aged parents and grandparents.

In 1967, the government passed new regulations incorporating the recommendations of the White Paper and eliminating the final vestiges of racial discrimination in its immigration policy by allowing family-class immigrants to be sponsored regardless of their country of origin. The regulations also introduced the "point system" for selecting immigrants destined to the labour force.

The selection system consisted of nine factors of assessment considered to be useful in helping the interviewing officer decide if the applicant could become satisfactorily established in Canada. Financial help would only be available in emergency situations.

The nine factors were each allocated a specific number of points: education (20 points); personal qualities (15 points); occupational demand (15 points); occupational skill (10 points); age (10 points); arranged employment (10 points); designated occupations in chronic short supply (10 points); language (10 points); relative in Canada willing to help (5 points); area demand for employment in applicants destination (5 points). The arranged employment and designated occupation factors were worth 10 points, but only one of them could be considered.

An applicant needed to obtain 50 points out of 100 to qualify. However, the new regulations also gave the interviewing officer the discretion to refuse or accept an applicant regardless of the points achieved. This discretionary power to override the points was thought essential because the judgment of experienced visa officers was considered more important than an arithmetic model. Furthermore, discretion added a necessary flexibility to the system. (Over time, statistics showed that positive discretion was used far more often than was negative discretion.)

Canadians had no idea of just how revolutionary the 1967 regulations were. The new policy opened the immigration door to the world and in a short period, as new visa offices were opened in the Middle East, Africa and Asia, the composition of the immigration movement was radically transformed. As economic conditions in postwar Europe improved, fewer people there were interested in migrating and soon Canada became a favourite destination for people from the rest of the world. Between 1971 and 1981, approximately 52 percent of the immigrants admitted were from Asia, Africa, South America or the Caribbean.

The 1967 regulations were not enacted by an act of Parliament. There was no debate by members of the House of Commons; no press releases were issued and the media did not report on this historic development. The regulations were passed by an order-in-council, meaning that the regulatory changes were authorized by the cabinet, and quietly published in the *Canada Gazette* following a short statement by the minister of Manpower and Immigration in the House. It is difficult not to conclude that the government of the day did not wish to have this major immigration policy change brought to the attention of Canadians, nor did it want to see the subject debated in Parliament.

A further reason the dramatic change in immigration policy did not become an issue of public attention or controversy was because the new global policy was working. The immigrants, from whatever source country, were successful. They were finding jobs, making a contribution and were not a burden on the public purse.

The key to the success of the new global policy rested on two factors. Firstly, shortly after the new regulations were passed, it was discovered that the system lacked a mechanism to manage and control numbers. In the knowledge there would always be many more thousands of applicants who could meet the selection criteria than could be accepted, it was essential the system have the means of regulating and restricting annual numbers. This was done by raising the pass mark or by allotting zero points for the occupational demand factor, which then meant automatic refusal despite the overall marks received. In this way, annual numbers could be adjusted and controlled in accordance with employment conditions.

In fact, the annual immigration flow after 1967 until the 1990s remained relatively low; only exceeding 200,000 once during that period (1974). The second factor of success was that the immigrants were carefully selected and counselled to ensure that those issued visas were able to find employment quickly and become successfully established. The point system of selection of immigrants destined to the labour force, coupled by a restricted family reunion program, was working.

**What went wrong?**

In 1976, a new immigration act was introduced to finally replace the outdated 1952 legislation that had lasted for almost a quarter of a century. The new act, contrary to what was done in the past, followed extensive public discussion and debate across Canada and in Parliament. The discussion was centred on a government Green Paper that outlined many of the crucial issues related to immigration policy and its impact on the future demographic composition of the country.

For the first time, the Green Paper raised the issue of immigration and the environment by stating: "To many Canadians living in a modern industrialized and increasingly urbanized society, the benefits of high rates of population growth appear dubious on several grounds. Canada, like most advanced nations, counts the costs of more people in terms of congested metropolitan areas, housing shortages, pressure on arable land, damage to the environment — in short, the familiar catalogue of problems with which the most prosperous and sophisticated societies are currently endeavouring to cope."

Determined that immigration policy must be the subject of concern and debate by all Canadians, the government established a special joint committee of the Senate and House of Commons to provide input to the legislation. The committee travelled across Canada for 35 weeks holding public meetings and recording the opinions of groups and individuals. It concluded its hearings by recommending that Canada should continue to accept immigrants in moderate numbers, and put

forward 64 additional recommendations, the majority of which were accepted by the government.

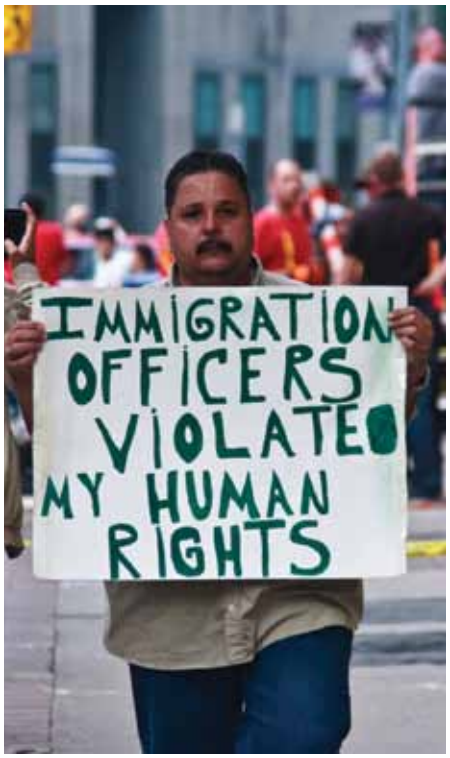
The 1976 Act retained the basic selection system and definition of the family class, but gave a broader role for the provinces in the selection of immigrants and provided for the federal government to enter into formal immigration agreements with the provinces. For the first time, the act also required the government to table in Parliament its proposed level of immigration for the coming year. In many respects, the 1976 Immigration Act could be seen as a model piece of progressive legislation that brought a framework of legislative authority and transparency to what previously had been done quietly behind doors and by regulatory change alone.

However, over time, the advances made in the 1970s were set back by a series of developments that have gradually replaced an immigration policy that had worked for the benefit of Canada and the newcomers. The primary reason the system has broken down is because all of our political parties have come to regard the importance of immigration in purely political terms. Immigrants are seen as potential voters for the party and each party advocates for increased levels of immigration. They are aided in this by a number of special interest groups and by most of the media. Numbers are seen as the most important factor and the name of the game is to increase the flow, regardless of economic conditions.

This radical shift in policy occurred in 1990 when the Progressive Conservative government decided to raise the annual immigration level to 250,000 despite evidence Canada was heading into an economic downturn. The minister responsible, Barbara McDougall, argued that higher levels would help the party to build stronger ties with ethnic communities. The economic forebodings expressed by finance minister Michael Wilson, were overruled. This decision marked a turning point in how immigration levels were to be managed in the years ahead, not only by the Conservatives, but also by the Liberals. The New Democratic Party promised even higher levels should it form the government.

When the Liberals replaced the Progressive Conservatives in the 1993 election, they continued the policy of mass numbers and in 2001 introduced a new immigration bill which, as the then-minister Elinor Caplan declared, was designed to say "yes" more often to immigrants and refugees. The new legislation came into effect in 2002 and proved to be a disaster.

Almost immediately, a backlog of successful applicants began to build up in embassies abroad. Either by design or accident, the new act stipulated that anyone who met the newly designed selection criteria "shall" be accepted. In addition, the new selection criteria heavily weighted the points allotted for years of education and dropped the "occupational demand" factor, thus removing from the system any mechanism for regulating numbers. The act also broadened the family class to include parents and grandparents of any age and incorporated this definition into the act itself rather than in the regulations. Soon there was a backlog of 600,000 applicants waiting for their visas, later to grow to more than a million.

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A man at Queen's Park in Toronto during the G8/G20 Summit in 2010 protests his treatment by immigration officers.

Included in the backlog were thousands of young Asians who, because of their years of education, were able to meet the criteria for selection. On the other hand, many highly skilled workers needed in Canada were unable to qualify because they did not score high on the formal education factor. More seriously, since employers were not able to get the workers they needed as immigrants — because the workers were waiting for months in the backlog or didn't qualify — they began to bring them to Canada as temporary foreign workers.

This gave rise to another serious problem. For years, Canada had avoided making the grave mistake made earlier by many European countries in the 1960s and 1970s of bringing in thousands of temporary workers to fill short-term labour needs. Few of those who came had any intention of leaving when their term of employment ended and today have formed a troubling underclass in many of Europe's major cities.

Temporary workers do not have to meet the federal selection criteria. Many of them are unskilled, have little educational or language qualifications and are willing to work for less pay than Canadians. Their numbers are high — almost one-and-a-half million have entered since 2008. While it can be assumed many may now have left, there is no way of knowing this. Canada does not have any exit control system and there is no procedure for following up or controlling the movements of temporary workers. Although steps are under way to better control this program, it may be too late. Certainly the numbers here now will not easily be removed.

Although immigration has been a shared responsibility between the federal and provincial governments, only recently have the provinces, with the exception of Quebec, signed formal immigration agreements. Quebec's Quiet Revolution led to the desire of that province to gain control of immigration selection in the realization that demography was critical to the province's nationalist aspirations. The first two agreements signed in 1971 and 1975 did not give Quebec the power to select its own immigrants, but in 1978, the Cullen-Couture Agreement did.

The financial terms of the agreement were generous to an extreme in Quebec's favour. To compensate for the costs of reception and settlement services, Quebec was guaranteed a base sum of $90 million annually, but that sum could escalate according to a complicated formula related to an increase in total federal expenditures (excluding debt services) and the proportion of immigrants entering Quebec in relation to its proportion of the total Canadian population and any increase in the number of non-francophone immigrants entering the province.

Furthermore, as icing on the cake, the

*Continued on page 40*

# Immigration policy: 'Committed to changes'

*By Chris Alexander*

When I came home from working in Afghanistan in July 2009, Canada's future looked uncertain. With hundreds of thousands out of work, with an economy sideswiped by market collapse right next door, Canada needed to get back on track. Just four short years later, the country is on a clear path to recovery.

We have created more jobs per capita than our international counterparts, made our streets safer and our armed forces stronger. Canadians have stepped up to renew infrastructure, tackle the deficit, and take prosperity even further.

Earlier this summer, I was honoured and humbled to be appointed Canada's citizenship and immigration minister by Prime Minister Stephen Harper. With our government's continued focus on what matters most to Canadians — jobs, growth, and economic prosperity — I am committed to continuing the changes to our immigration system that will support these priorities. It is essential for all Canadians that newcomers integrate quickly into Canada's labour market in ways that allow them to realize their full potential. The generations of immigrants who helped build this country understood this better than anyone. As minister, I will work hard to ensure that new Canadians have the skills and tools they need to succeed.

Canada is proud to welcome the highest levels of sustained immigration in our history and one of the highest per-capita levels of immigration in the developed world. We are rich with diversity and better as a country for it. To ensure Canada reaps the full economic benefits of immigration, our government remains committed to building a fast, flexible and fair immigration system focused on economic streams and responsive to Canada's dynamic labour market needs.

One of the key areas we are focused on is addressing serious labour shortages some regions of the country are facing. In January 2013, we launched the federal skilled trades Program (FSTP) to facilitate the immigration of skilled tradespeople who meet Canada's economic needs. In response to requests from Canadian employers to fill labour shortages — particularly in the resources and construction sectors — the FSTP attracts and retains skilled workers, while strengthening our economy.

BEN NELMS

Immigration and Citizenship Minister Chris Alexander attends a citizenship ceremony in Surrey, B.C.

We are in a global competition to attract the best and the brightest, and the economic potential they bring. In recognizing the importance of innovation and entrepreneurship, we have introduced initiatives such as the new start-up visa to attract foreign entrepreneurs, and the Canadian experience class (CEC) to retain skilled professionals.

For too long, newcomers have found themselves unemployed or underemployed despite excellent educational qualifications, work experience and language skills. This has deprived immigrants and the Canadian economy. Our government will improve the process of foreign credential recognition and help newcomers better integrate into the labour market.

We also want to explore, with provinces, territories and employers, approaches to developing a pool of skilled workers ready to begin work. Through our expression of interest (EOI) program, potential immigrants can submit an online application, matching their skills with available jobs. Previously, immigrants might wait in line for eight years, only to be placed in the labour market to "sink or swim." Our EOI program enables immigrants to arrive, confident they will find a job that suits their skill level. By engaging employers, this program will match labour-market shortages with eligible immigrants who possess the necessary skills, creating a more responsive immigration system.

Application backlogs have kept the best and brightest away and held Canada back. Since 2008, our government has reduced the backlog of permanent resident applications by approximately 40 percent, paving the way for a faster and more effective immigration system. One of my first actions was to change the approach

toward dormant citizenship cases so permanent residents who are keen to become Canadian no longer have to wait behind individuals who have missed multiple appointments for tests and interviews.

Our Conservative government is committed to uniting families and we have taken measures to ensure they no longer have to wait close to a decade to be reunited with their loved ones, as was the situation under the previous Liberal government. With the introduction of our successful Super Visa Program, parents and grandparents have the freedom and flexibility to travel easily between Canada and their home country, enabling them to stay connected with family and friends in Canada and at home without the hassle of reapplying every time. With more than 1,000 super visas issued monthly at an astounding 85 percent approval rate, this has become one of Citizenship and Immigration Canada's most popular programs, and serves as another example of how our government is bringing families together.

We are working to bring record numbers of international students and more tourists to our country, while also improving passport services to Canadians. We are modernizing our visa regime, facilitating legitimate trade and travel and also working with our partners to keep Canadians safe.

Canada's economic potential depends today on a delicate balance of deeper capital markets and financial regulation; specialized skills and responsive training and education; export-oriented industries and local services. This stability was not achieved overnight. This standard of living was not achieved by accident. It is due, in large part, to the tremendous contributions of centuries of immigrants and their descendants who together built a prosperous country. They did so by making peace with neighbours, establishing rule of law, securing their freedom through institutions, unleashing the spirit of enterprise and ensuring unity and tolerance.

Today, we are continuing their traditions by settling new Canadians, reuniting families more quickly, strengthening the value of citizenship and upholding our humanitarian traditions at home and abroad, even as we crack down on fraud and abuse, and work together with our partners around the world to ensure the safety of all those who call Canada their home.

Chris Alexander is minister of citizenship and immigration.

*Continued from page 38*

yearly amount paid to Quebec cannot be less than $90 million even if the numbers of immigrants to that province diminish or overall federal spending decreases. It was such a good deal that Quebec insisted the wording be incorporated into the 1990 Meech Lake Accord. When that accord was rejected, the agreement was quickly reformulated as the Canada-Quebec Accord at Quebec's insistence and signed in 1991.

As was to be expected, when the other provinces discovered the sweetheart deal given to Quebec, they, too, entered into the game and now all have signed agreements with the federal government (none has won as generous a deal as Quebec). These agreements are extremely costly and they essentially take the selection of many immigrants out of the hands of the federal government.

Quite apart from the immigrants selected by the provinces, it is evident that the federal government has lost control of the immigration program and is, in fact, responsible for a small part of the annual movement of people to Canada. If we look at the 257,515 immigrants who arrived in 2012, we find that only 38,577 of them were in the skilled-worker category — roughly 15 percent of the total. The remainder were largely the 52,700 spouses and children who accompanied the workers; 64,901 family members chosen by their relatives in Canada; 23,652 nominated by the provinces; 23,000 refugees; roughly 9,000 live-in caregivers; and 8,863 humanitarian cases. So we have more than 182,000 immigrants not selected because they are able to help our labour force or develop our economy. Yet the government continues to tell Canadians we need more than 250,000 immigrants a year.

Studies have shown the immigrants arriving since the 1990s are not doing well and many are living below the poverty line. One 2011 study, by economists Herbert Grubel and Patrick Grady, entitled *Immigration and the Welfare State*, concluded that the value of services and benefits received by the immigrants who arrived between 1987 and 2004 exceeded the taxes paid by them by between $16.3 and $23.6 billion in one fiscal year (2006). This study received very little coverage by the Canadian media.

Sadly, our immigration program has been transformed into a mass visa factory. The pressure of getting numbers has meant that the vast majority of immigrants are not even seen or interviewed by visa officers before arrival. The selection is now being done by reviewing paper qualifications only. The implications of this, from a security point of view alone, are staggering, but it helps explain, as well, why many of our immigrants are not doing well.

To be fair, former immigration minister Jason Kenney deserves high praise for a number of reforms he introduced, including eliminating the backlog, modernizing the dysfunctional asylum system and beginning to exercise better control over the temporary foreign-worker program. However, it is the policy of admitting 250,000 or more immigrants each year, without regard to labour force realities, that needs attention.

In his first press conference after being appointed minister in 2008, Kenney said the immigration system was broken and that it was his job to fix it. Let us hope his successor, Chris Alexander, will carry on the good work and get the federal government back in the immigration business.

After all, immigration is not just about numbers. For the past 25 years, Canada has been accepting newcomers at close to one percent of our population each year. This is a very high number. The U.S., by contrast, accepts about 0.4 percent. Most of our immigrants have been settling in the two urban areas of Toronto and Vancouver. And as Ontario's environment commissioner warned in his year 2000 report, any prospect of Ontario absorbing an additional 4.4 million to six million immigrants in the next 25 years, as it is planning to do, is, from an environmental perspective, "simply not sustainable."

One of the most serious problems involving public policy issues in Canada is the seeming inability of our politicians to recognize when policies that served the nation well in the past have, over time, become obsolete. This is clearly the case with immigration. Sadly, the old myths live on and our politicians and most of the media cling to the idea that Canada must rely on mass immigration to progress. This idea is a conviction without evidence and a vote of non-confidence in our ability to educate and train our own young people to meet our labour force needs and the economic challenges of a new century.

James Bissett is a former Canadian ambassador and was executive director of the Canadian Immigration Service from 1985 to 1990. He is on the board of directors of the Centre for Immigration Policy Reform.

# Changing migration management

*By Monica Boyd*

Canada's experience with managing migration has a long history, beginning with the powers assigned to provinces and the federal government under the *Constitution Act of 1867*. The federal government assumes leadership in the policy arena although Quebec has its own program and provinces are becoming more engaged in admissions.

The most recent federal act, the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* 2002 (IRPA) reaffirms the three main principles of admissibility for permanent residents: family reunification, humanitarian and economic. However, in the past decade, broad transformations occurred in the management of migration and in admissions criteria. The most fundamental is an altered process of federal management. But significant changes have also occured in determining which migrants are admitted and how, including tighter regulations governing entry in family and humanitarian classes, growth in the admissions of temporary workers, increased provincial and employer roles in the selection of economic migrants and the creation of a portal to admit skilled trades workers. By late fall 2013, the federal government will have completed its review of the temporary worker program and an expression of interest program (described below) is expected. As a consequence, Canada's immigration management and admissions programs will be very different from those of the 1970s and 1980s.

#### Managing migration

Between the 1950s and 1960s, the public service took the initiative in devising policy and advising the ministers of various portfolios; during the 1970s and 1980s, consultations with the public become part of policy-making. However, under Prime Minister Stephen Harper, power is increasingly centralized within the executive. The formulation and management of immigration policy by the executive branch of the Canadian government became a reality in 2008 with Bill C-50, the Budget Implementation Act, which contained amendments to the 2002 Immigration and Refugee Protection Act. This lacked precedent. Rather than tabling amendments as a stand-alone parliamentary bill subject to debate, consultation and the involvement of all political parties, amendments were inserted into a budget bill that was unlikely to be defeated, as defeat would represent a vote of non-confidence, causing the dissolution of the Conservative government.


The amendments gave total discretion to the minister of immigration on how to process applications made after February 2008. Further, the minister is authorized to give instructions to visa officers on processing applications, establishing categories of applications, prioritizing order, setting the number of applications processed and providing for repeat applications. Today, policy developments frequently are announced by the minister and posted in the *Canada Gazette*. Giving authority to the minister and embedding changes in budget bills facilitate the alteration of immigration regulations and immigration policy. This also minimizes parliamentary and public scrutiny on those issues.

#### Family and humanitarian admissions

For persons seeking admission on the basis of family ties, three major changes in 2011 and 2012 are (1) the amendments to IRPA targeting marriage fraud, (2) the pausing of parental re-unification, to resume in January 2014 using higher income levels and extending the sponsorship from 10 to 20 years, and (3) the creation of a super visa for parents and grandparents which allows temporary residence for up to two years at a time.

Each change has its supporters and critics. Supporters argue marriage fraud is on the rise and represents an abuse of Canada's immigration system; similarly, elderly immigrant parents may be high users of welfare and health-care services. Critics see the requirement that the sponsored spouse or partner must cohabit in a conjugal relationship with their sponsor for a period of two years following receipt of the permanent resident status as creating reluctance to leave abusive partners. Further, critics suggest discussion on welfare and health care of elderly relatives casts a negative light on family reunification.

Many changes also have occurred to criteria governing the admission of refugees and others entering on humanitarian grounds. Refugee claimants, those who arrive in Canada and seek permanent residency on humanitarian grounds, are the focus of the most changes. In June 2012, the federal government cut funding to the interim federal health program, effectively denying health care to many claimants.

Bill C-31, which came into force Dec. 15, 2012, modified IRPA to allow the government to designate large groups that arrive in Canada as "irregular arrivals." These "designated foreign nationals" can face mandatory detention and a ban on applying for permanent residency for five years. Additionally, the minister can designate a country of origin as a generally non-refugee-producing country, one that respects human rights and offers state protection (examples are Australia, Ireland and Italy).

Refugee claimants from these countries have an expedited review process and may not appeal negative decisions from the refugee appeal division of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada. Again, reaction is varied. For some, refugee claimants seek a quick entry and take advantage of welfare and health programs. For others, the risk of restricting humanitarian access to those in need outweighs the costs of assisting all refugee claimants.

#### Expanding temporary migrants

Without question, recruiting labour has been and remains a major focus of immigration policy changes during the past decade. Migrants explicitly recruited to meet Canadian labour market needs on

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a temporary basis usually enter under three programs developed and managed by Citizenship and Immigration Canada — the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program, the Live-in Caregiver Program and the Temporary Foreign Worker Program, which is by far the largest.

Numbers have increased over time, standing at nearly 500,000 in 2012 (this includes new entries, those re-entering and those present with visas issued earlier). Some of the workers admitted temporarily are highly skilled, although the majority are not. Some workers enter as part of intra-company transfers or under inter-government agreements (such as the North American Free Trade Agreement) that permit worker mobility. Many, however, arrive as a result of employer job offers, which required a "labour market opinion" that assesses how that offer will affect Canadian jobs.

Supporters of a sizable temporary work force argue that such migration is necessary to meet the needs of rapid growth in Canada's resource industries, and that agricultural workers and live-in caregivers do jobs that Canadian residents will not take. Others argue that labour scarcity is less an issue than is employer reluctance to raise wages to the levels that attract Canadian workers. There are also concerns that a four-year work limit on visas that applies to many temporary migrant workers will not result in workers returning home, but will instead generate large numbers of illegal workers and their families, something that Canada has not experienced in the past. The first expiration date for these four-year visas will be reached April 1, 2015.

#### Economic admissions: provincial programs

A relatively recent development is the growing involvement of provinces in the selection of immigrants. Under the 1991 Canada-Quebec Accord, Quebec has its own regulations and may send visa-issuing officers to work in embassies and consulates. Other provinces participate in the provincial nominee program, introduced in 1996 to facilitate permanent admissions based on economic contributions. This class allows provinces to nominate migrants using selection criteria that reflect local labour markets. All provinces have signed agreements with the federal government, although substantial variations exist in how provinces recruit (websites, employer consultations, guidebooks), and in the types of workers sought (clerks, farm workers, entrepreneurs and workers for the tourism, food processing and trucking industries.)

The provincial nominee program draws heavily from temporary workers already in Canada and it fast-tracks chosen workers; applications receive priority over those in the skilled worker program, discussed below. The provincial nominee program decentralizes decision-making to the provinces and gives them a greater say on admissions in the economic contribution class.

#### Skilled workers and skilled trades

Since the 1960s, Canada's traditional mechanism for labour recruitment was the skilled worker category, where points are given for productivity-related factors such as age, official language knowledge and education. This point system has changed over time; today ministerial directives ensure that would-be applicants must either have a job offer or have worked in one of 24 designated occupations (the number and type of occupations has changed three times since its inception in 2008).

Applicants must obtain minimum points on language tests administered by private-sector firms and their education equivalency must be verified by a third party before their application is accepted. Admissions in this class are supply-side, generated by applicants queuing to apply and being admitted under annually capped numbers if they qualify. Numbers admitted in the skilled worker class, both as principal applicants and as family members have declined from the early 2000s, influenced in part by the priority given to applicants in the provincial nominees class.

Recent developments include the federal skilled trades class, established in January 2013, reflecting the need for workers in skilled trades. These applicants now also must meet minimum language skill requirements, undergo educational-training assessments, have experience in the same skilled trade as their job offer and have a job offer in one of 43 job categories considered to be in higher or moderate demand. One possible effect may be additional declines of admissions in the skilled-worker class, as the federal skilled trades class will now include trade workers formerly admitted under the skilled-worker class.

#### The future: two-step and just-in-time migration

In September 2008, the Canadian experience class (CEC) was established within the economic admissions class for permanent residents. CEC targets temporary foreign workers in occupations that require managerial skills or high levels of education, as well as select skilled tradespersons and foreign student graduates with Canadian graduate degrees. Like the provincial nominee program, which draws on temporary workers and the PhD stream program, CEC also provides a two-step process for permanent admission.

All the changes and new programs that deal with labour recruitment indicate that Canada is moving away from a supply-side model of economic-based admissions. Temporary workers frequently require an offer of employment and provinces are selecting candidates for permanent admission from temporary workers. International students and high-skill temporary workers are encouraged to become permanent residents through the CEC and other transition programs.

The government's announced commitment in 2012-2013 to developing an "expression of interest" (EOI) admission system is perhaps the most important signal in the reconfiguration of Canada's recruitment of skilled labour to one that is decentralized, demand-driven and employer-instigated. Similar to the approach devised in New Zealand and adopted by Australia, a pool of skilled workers would be created by having prospective immigrants fill in online forms that indicate human capital skills and work experience. Points would be assigned, applications ranked and then entered into a pool.

The EOI form would not be an application for admission, but rather the first stage in the potential recruitment of a worker. CIC envisions that employers or a provincial/territory government would select among this pool, triggering a second step of applying for admission. In such a system, backlogs of applications would be avoided and immigrants would arrive with offers of employment. This "just-in-time" process is viewed by government policy-makers as recruiting people with the right skills, fast-tracking applications for admission and having workers arrive in a few months. This system is expected to be announced in the fall of 2014 and it will dramatically depart from earlier practices and programs.

Monica Boyd is the Canada Research Chair in Immigration, Inequality and Public Policy at the University of Toronto.

# Drug wars: Uruguay's new legal approach to marijuana

*By Sean Dunagan*

UN PHOTO

A bill legalizing the cultivation, sale and distribution of marijuana, put forth by Uruguayan President Jose Mujica, is almost certain to pass in the coming weeks.

Last month, the lower house of Uruguay's bicameral parliament voted to legalize the cultivation, distribution and sale of marijuana by adults in the country. The bill is almost certain to pass through the Senate and be signed into law by President Jose Mujica in coming weeks.

If the bill passes, Uruguay will have the most progressive marijuana legislation of any country in the world. Even in Amsterdam, where small quantities of the drug are openly sold and consumed in the city's famous coffeehouses, marijuana remains technically illegal. In fact, an array of countries around the globe, from Portugal to Mexico to Colombia, have decriminalized possession of small quantities of marijuana, but in all of these cases, commercial cultivation and sale of the drug remain felony offences. This means that all of the profits from one of the biggest cash crops in the world go straight to organized crime.

Uruguay's plan addresses this issue by putting cultivation and distribution under government control. The set price will be slightly lower than the current illicit street price, which will certainly lure most of the country's 120,000 marijuana users away from the violent illegal market.

Uruguay's plan, while unique in its ambition, reflects the rapidly evolving views of drug policy throughout Latin America. Shortly after his November 2011 election, Guatemalan President Otto Pérez Molina called for an open dialogue about the "decriminalization of the production, the transit and, of course, the consumption" of all drugs. Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos has said he would welcome legalization, and former Mexican president Felipe Calderón has called for "market alternatives" to prohibition.

In Canada, Liberal leader Justin Trudeau has sparked a debate about the legalization of marijuana, after which Prime Minister Stephen Harper left the door open to exploring new enforcement options for possession, such as fines.

These leaders, like an increasing percentage of Canadians and Americans, have come to the realization that drug prohibition has failed and society must devise a smarter, more effective and less destructive approach to the issue of drug abuse.

I came to that conclusion following a 13-year career with the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, which included five years working in embassies and consulates in Latin America. Every year, the U.S. government spends more than $26 billion waging the drug war and arrests nearly one million people for drug-related crimes, yet drugs remain available in every community in the country and addiction rates are unchanged. Meanwhile, more than 60,000 Mexicans have been murdered in drug trade-related violence since 2006.

The United States holds a unique and destructive role in the global drug trade. It is the world's largest consumer country, the largest importer of illegal drugs, the industry's financier and a leading arms supplier to Mexican cartels. In short, it imports drugs and exports violence. It also exports bad policy. Despite growing calls for reform throughout Latin America and shifting public opinion at home, the U.S. government remains steadfast in its demonstrably unsuccessful prohibitionist strategy.

Worse, it refuses to join the growing hemispheric debate about drug war alternatives. This "big stick" approach is an affront to its southern neighbours and reflects a shocking callousness to the drug war's ravages in their countries.

The greatest diplomatic challenge facing the United States in the coming century will be how to advance national interests in an increasingly multi-polar world. The country's ability to compel other nations' compliance with U.S. wishes, simply because it's stronger and richer, will diminish as the influence of Brazil, China and other powers grows. This is not only a challenge, but an opportunity. The U.S. may well find that a more diverse marketplace of ideas will engender bold new solutions to shared problems.

Uruguay's pending legalization of marijuana is one such solution. While not a panacea, the regulated legalization of marijuana will necessarily take money out of the hands of violent criminal gangs and focus law enforcement resources on violent crimes. If the U.S. is serious about reducing the violence, death and destruction the drug war creates, it would do well to follow Uruguay's lead.

Former DEA senior intelligence research specialist Sean Dunagan is a speaker for Law Enforcement Against Prohibition, a group of police officers, judges, prosecutors, federal officials and other law enforcement officials who oppose the war on drugs.

# The world's healthiest

Modern health care plays a role, as does health policy, in creating a healthy nation. We list the world's Top 10, followed by the world's worst five countries.

*By Wolfgang Depner*


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Singapore, where traditional Chinese medicine shops can be found, ranks as the No. 1 healthiest country in the world.

In 1883, the German Reichstag changed the course of human history when it passed the first modern health insurance law. While modest in scope by our standards, this piece of legislation was the first in a series of laws that ushered in the modern welfare state.

Its original architect, Otto von Bismarck, was no friend of the working class. Quite the opposite, in fact. The Iron Chancellor, as Bismarck was known, believed that these reform measures would inoculate the working class against the radicalism of the socialist forces that had been gathering strength in rapidly industrializing Germany following its formal founding as a nation-state in 1871.

By denuding, or least moderating, the genuine existentialist anxieties of workers labouring in the unsafe and dangerous factories of the late 19th Century, Bismarck hoped to channel their revolutionary ambitions into a safe harbour.

Whatever Bismarck's motivations might have been, his agenda radically altered the relationship between the state and its citizens — and their expectations of governance. First, groups previously antagonistic towards one another were forced to co-operate. Bismarckian laws required shared contributions and sacrifices through collective institutions, which might eventually become objects of national pride, with similar binding effects like national railways or other large-scale projects.

The emerging welfare state also changed the role of the state. Whereas previous prevailing theories tasked the state with nothing more than protecting citizens from internal and external threats, the state started to assume new obligations in areas of human development that exceeded its previous mandate. More subtly, Bismarck created expectations and measures by which the performance of government could be assessed.

Health, once largely a private concern, was becoming a subject of public discourse and political decision-making. Accordingly, governments were increasingly judged by their ability to deliver public health services in an effective manner, both in terms of outcomes and costs.

This list of Top 10 healthiest countries is one such measure. Each has devoted considerable resources to an extensive health-care system — with the results to prove it, according to the 2012 Bloomberg Health Rankings (whose sources were the World Health Organization, the United Nations and the World Bank.) This, of course, is not the only reason the citizens of these countries rank among the healthiest in the world.

Other factors (including personal behaviour, dietary choices and cultural norms) also play a role in shaping public health outcomes. So it would be a mistake to reduce the "health" of a society to mere measures of utility. On the other hand, any attempts to broaden the definition of a healthy society can quickly lead into difficult, even dark corners. This said, a look at the very bottom of the Bloomberg Rankings highlights many of the conditions that characterize unhealthy societies: corruption, the absence of basic infrastructure and the very internal strife Bismarck was striving to prevent.

## 1. Singapore

Ten years ago, this tiny state found itself in the middle of one of the worst global epidemics of recent memory when the virus responsible for severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) infected 238 people, killing 33.

Besides this human loss, SARS rattled a society that reveres order. Schools closed for weeks and the government implemented sweeping measures designed to contain this disease, which ultimately claimed 238 lives from 8,096 reported cases worldwide. These measures, while ultimately successful, also temporarily crippled the economy of Singapore. Tourism and transport-related industries suffered major downturns. But this crisis also revealed the organizational talents and resourcefulness of Singapore.

It comes as no surprise then that Singapore ranks as the healthiest country in the world. Singapore's government, however, does not appear to be content with this status, as it finds itself in the midst of developing a Healthcare 2020 Masterplan designed to "keep Singaporeans healthy and give them greater peace of mind." Singapore's health-care problems today or in the near future are considerable — including an aging and increasingly sedentary society and a shortage of medical professionals. But if past performance predicts future success, Singapore appears poised to meet the challenge.

RALUCA TUDOR | DREAMSTIME.COM

Italy consistently ranks near the top on several health outcome categories. Is it the Mediterranean diet, perhaps?

## 2. Italy

Internationally, practitioners of medicine marvel at the country's major achievement: to build one of the most accessible, affordable and accomplished health-care systems in the world. This finding may force some to readjust their prejudices against Italy as an unproductive and indifferent society. Not surprisingly, Italy consistently ranks at or near the top of many health outcome categories, as tracked by various international agencies, such as the OECD. It notes that Italy's life expectancy at birth almost reaches 83 years, exceeding the average for all OECD countries of 80 years. But this figure also points to one of the central concerns facing the Italian health-care system and the state generally: its society is aging rapidly due to one of the lowest birth rates in the world. If the German poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe experienced Italy "like a youthful dream" during his famed sojourn in the late 18th Century, modern travellers are more likely to encounter a geriatric society.

## 3. Australia

It has become tradition among Canadian social scientists to seek ideas and inspiration from developments in the Land of Down Under.

Both countries share a colonial history with the United Kingdom. And both mix the British parliamentary system, ostensibly designed for a unitary system, with federalism. And both nations' elites confront the challenges of governing a relatively small, but diverse population spread across continent-spanning countries.

These similarities invite obvious comparisons. "Australia is the country most like Canada and, as such, the best country against which to benchmark ourselves," wrote *Globe and Mail* columnist Jeffrey Simpson three years ago. Mr. Simpson finds the Australian public health-care system outperforms its Canadian counterpart on a number of scores, by allowing some private competition.

Other, more comprehensive assessments have reached comparable conclu-

sions. While the nature of the health-care system is only one factor among many that determine the overall health of a population, it clearly has served Australia well, to the point that several western countries have tried to recommend changes in their respective jurisdictions along lines of the Australian model.

This commentary does not mean to downplay the reported deficits within the Australian health-care system (growing concerns about exploding costs and social inequity.) Nor does it mean to ignore larger health issues in Australia (the disparity in health outcomes between Australia's aboriginal and non-aboriginal population and the tripling of obesity rates through the last three decades.) Contrary to popular perceptions, Australia reports physical activity levels on par with the United States, the perceived paragon of sloth. It is clear, though, that Australia has managed to keep health-care costs in line without sacrificing quality, and has somehow maintained a relatively healthy population, at justifiable costs.

LADIRAS81 | DREAMSTIME.COM

Australia's health-care system, of which the Sydney Hospital is part, has served it well.

According to the OECD, Australians can expect to live 82 years, two years longer than the OECD average. At the same time, the OECD notes that health spending in Australia accounts for 9.1 percent of total GDP, below the 9.5 percent average for all OECD countries. This said, Australia ranks above the OECD average in terms of total health spending per person at US$3,670, compared to US$3,268. In other words, things are going well now, but the need for reform is apparent.

## 4. Switzerland

If money spent on health care could guarantee a "healthy" society, the United States would top the rankings. No other country in the western world spends more than the U.S.

This disconnect between input and output is a central reason the Obama administration passed the Affordable Health Care For America Act, a health-care scheme very much modelled along the Swiss system.

According to an OECD survey, combined public and private health expenditures in the U.S. topped US$8,233 per capita in 2010, a figure more than $3,000 higher than second-place Norway. Yet, the U.S. ranks well below its OECD counterparts in many health categories.

Unlike its European neighbours, Switzerland does not offer a "public option" to use the parlance of the U.S. debate. It instead achieves universal coverage by mandating individuals to purchase private insurance, as Obamacare insists. But if the two countries share an instinct for profit and free enterprise in the provision of health care, Switzerland has been far more effective in regulating the worst excesses of this approach while achieving top health outcomes. It has one of the lowest child mortality rates in the world (202nd) and highest life expectancies (eighth), according to the *CIA World Factbook*. And if we accept the OECD Better Life Index as a measure of mental health, the Swiss were the happiest people in 2013.

SWISSHIPPO | DREAMSTIME.COM

A Swiss helicopter makes a rescue. The country has one of the lowest child mortality rates and highest life expectancies.

Health care is not cheap in Switzerland. The country ranks behind the United States and Norway in terms of per-capita health spending ($5,270). But it is far more effective, with the results to prove it. According to a 2010 OECD survey, Switzerland had the lowest potential for finding additional savings in its health-care system among the 30 survey countries. The United States? Sixth.

## 5. Japan

Japan's finance minister, Taro Aso, stepped into it earlier this year when he urged the elderly to get on with dying. "Heaven forbid if you are forced to live on when you want to die," he said. "I would wake up feeling increasingly bad knowing that [treatment] was all being paid for by the government. The problem won't be solved unless you let them hurry up and die."

ELENA SCHWEITZER | DREAMSTIME.COM

Japan, famous for its healthy foods such as nigiri, has an aging population, but also the resources to deal with the elderly.

Of course, one wonders whether this appeal from one of Japan's senior politicians included an element of self-loathing because Aso — who eventually apologized — belongs to the very group he offended. Almost a quarter of Japan's 128 million citizens are over the age of 60 and their demographic share will only rise.

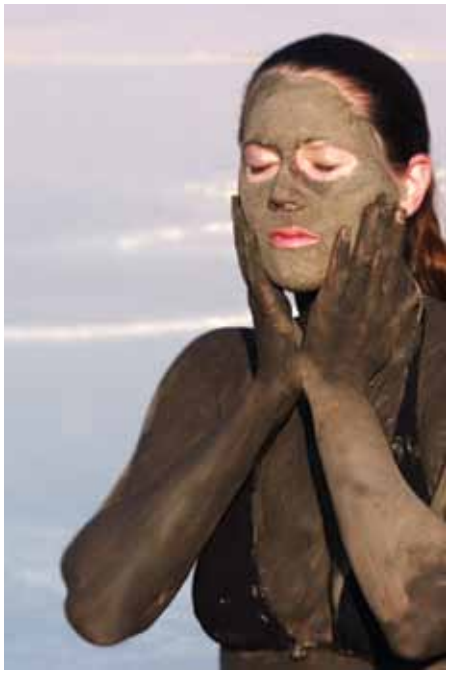
Japan is already home to the second-largest number of centenarians in the world after the U.S. This phenomenon has inspired an impressive volume of scholarship into the actual causes and potential consequences of Japan's aging

society. The former include genetics, diet and social practices, such as religious worship and communal activities. The latter, still emerging, focus on reduced economic productivity, labour shortages and intergenerational strife.

However, it is appropriate to already draw one tentative conclusion: The aging of Japan reveals a prosperous society, able to dedicate substantial resources to the care of its most vulnerable (and by implication valued) citizens. This commitment — which runs counter to the economic utilitarianism so prominently promoted by Aso — is an accomplishment worth celebrating. If nothing else, it suggests a "healthy" society, at peace with others and itself, at least for the time being.

## 6. Israel

You would not expect Riki Cohen, a 37-year-old married mother of three children from Hedera to relish the attention she received when Israel's finance minister, Yair Lapid, mentioned her name in a



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A woman gives herself a mask from mud in Israel's Dead Sea. Nearly eight of 10 Israelis report their health is good to very good.

column he posted on his Facebook page. You see, according to Lapid, Mrs. Cohen, who, with her husband, earns a little more than NIS 20,000 a month [$5,800 Cdn], is the very definition of middle class.

"We sit here, day after day and talk about balancing the budget. But our job is not to balance Excel spreadsheets, but to help Mrs. Cohen," Lapid lectured his civil servants.

As touching as this account might appear, it features a fatal flaw: Mrs. Cohen is a fictitious character, conjured up by the political imagination of Lapid. Reactions to Lapid's creativity were swift and devastating, but also distracted from a larger issue: the health of the Israeli health-care system, which according to Lapid, "is collapsing around (Cohen)."

The genuine facts, of course, tell a different, far more complex story — one that reflects larger tensions within Israel. On one hand, a recent run of strikes by doctors and nurses speaks to growing economic tensions. Yet the overall quality of the health-care system also reflects the country's high degree of livability. The most recent Life Index released by the OECD ranks Israel fifth with an 8.8 out of 10 rating on health issues, ahead of the U.S., Britain, France, Japan and Germany. Average life expectancy almost tops 80 years and nearly eight out of 10 Israelis say their health is good or very good.

But figures of this sort only tell part of the story. While Israelis can access some of the world's best neighbourhood medical clinics, many dread extended hospital stays, as the country ranks near the bottom of the OECD (27th out of 30) in terms of availability of general hospital beds with only 1.93 spaces per 1,000. Not surprisingly, Israel has the highest hospital occupancy in the OECD (98.8 percent). These infrastructure problems co-exist with certain societal inequities. According to a 2012 OECD review of health-care quality in Israel, recent immigrants, the poor and Arabs are getting worse care and living shorter lives than other groups, certainties that only hint at the larger complexities within Israel.

## 7. Spain

Five years into the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression and three years into the Euro crisis, the toll of human greed and government corruption is becoming more and more apparent in countries around the world, including those in the Mediterranean, where Greece is experiencing nothing less than a public-health crisis. According to statistics published in 2012, more than 2,500 people have taken their own lives in Greece since 2010, with the actual figure suspected to be higher. And Greek officials are warning that the worst might be still to come as the

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Swimmers finish the Barcelona Garmin Triathlon. Spain ranks eighth in the OECD's Better Life Index.

state continues to cut medical services in an effort to meet austerity measures.

Other countries in the region are facing comparable prospects, including Spain. While Spain easily ranks among the Top 10 in OECD's Better Life Index in terms of health (8th) and work-life balance (5th), its economic problems could undermine these standings. New research published by the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Disease this summer warned that ongoing austerity measures could effectively dismantle large parts of the country's health-care system. Warnings of this sort are difficult to judge, but the Greek experience should give Spaniards pause.

## 8. Netherlands

It is said that good things take time. Case in point: recent reforms to the Dutch health-care system. Following nearly two decades of discussion, Holland introduced a comprehensive reform package in 2006 that responded to a long list of deficiencies. They included health inequalities, some caused by a rigid two-tier system of private health insurance for the rich and state insurance for everyone else. They also dealt with extensive (not to mention expensive) bureaucratic rationing of state-supplied services and few incentives for private insurers to compete for business, with a corresponding lack of patient focus.

The much-discussed reforms ended the

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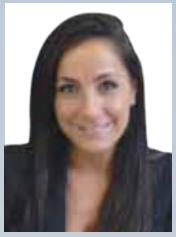

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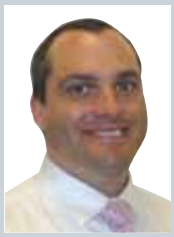

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two-tier system by creating a compulsory social health-insurance scheme. But if the government serves as the legal regulator, the insurance market itself is private. Insurers must offer a basic package of minimum health insurance, covering "essential health care" (the nature of which the government determines) at a "reasonable cost." According to government regulations, insurers cannot deny coverage to

PATRICIA HOFMEESTER | DREAMSTIME.COM

Biking is a typical Dutch method of transport for adults and children.

individuals deemed high-risk.

With a minimum level of care established, the Dutch government then allows insurance companies to compete against one another in setting premiums and service levels. This system ensures universality, but also grants individuals considerable choice. The results have been impressive. Voted the best health-care system by the Euro Health Consumer Index in 2008 and 2009, the Dutch system has since become an inspiration for reform in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. While Holland still lags behind the OECD average in the provision of some medical services, it scores higher in areas that measure access.

## 9. Sweden

Sweden — like its Nordic neighbours — possesses one of the most generous welfare systems anywhere in the developed world. Accordingly, Sweden commits significant resources to ensuring the health of its citizens.

Consider the following numbers. In 2010, 3.9 physicians cared for 1,000 citizens in Sweden, well above the OECD average of 3.2 per 1,000. This commitment is even more apparent when we consider the number of nurses per 1,000 — 11.1, well above the OECD average of 8.7. Sweden, not surprisingly, exceeds the OECD's average life expectancy of 80.1 years by almost two years (81.9).

Statistics of this sort, however, do not tell the whole story. Sweden's decentralized delivery of health care ensures local accountability and a measure of competition. Swedish citizens have also done their part in placing Sweden on this list. Encouraged by extensive educational campaigns, Swedes have significantly cut back on smoking. While 32 percent of Swedes smoked daily in 1980, slightly more than 13 percent did so in 2011, a figure well below the OECD average of 20.9 and the lowest among all OECD countries.

Swedish obesity rates, while doubling from 5.5 percent in 1989 to 11 percent in 2011, also remain lower than the OECD

ANDERS LUNDSTEDT | DREAMSTIME.COM

Cross-country skiing is a popular sport in Sweden. The average life expectancy of Swedes is 81.9 years.

average of 15 and well below reported rates in the United States (28.5 per cent). This said, aspects of the Swedish model leave room for improvement. Based on 2011 figures, Sweden has fewer hospital beds per 1,000 than the OECD average of 4.8 beds. Rising obesity rates also suggest that health care will continue to absorb a growing share of Sweden's GDP. As of 2011, that share stood at 9.5 percent, above the overall OECD average of 9.3 percent.

## 10. Germany

Notwithstanding local variations, health-care models tend to fall into four categories: the out-of-pocket model (people pay for medical services as needed); the "Beveridge" model (named after former British labour minister William Beveridge) that sees the state monopolize the delivery of health care; the "Bismarck" model, named after Germany's Iron Chancellor, that aims for universal coverage supplied by a combination of public and private insurers; and the National Health Insurance model, that mixes elements of the Beveridge and Bismarck models.

Germany, of course, has invented and subsequently refined the Bismarck model

STEVEN JONES | DREAMSTIME.COM

Germans skating at the Nymphenburg Palace Canal. Germany's health-care model is among the most advanced in the world.

to an impressive (but also costly) level of complexity, constantly seeming in need of reforms. On one hand, the German health-care model ranks among the most advanced in the world, capable of delivering a level of care largely unmatched. On the other hand, it also ranks among the most expensive, partly because it is very bureaucratic. Deficits of this sort are compounded by demographic realities. Germany's society is aging and Germans themselves do not always make the healthiest dietary and lifestyle choices. Obesity rates are among the highest in Europe and public acceptance of smoking is generally higher than in North America.

Wolfgang Depner is a doctoral candidate at the University of British Columbia-Okanagan and the co-editor of *Readings in Political Idealogies since the Rise of Modern Science*, published by Oxford University Press.

## TOP FIVE UNHEALTHIEST COUNTRIES

**Mozambique:** First, the good news. The HIV/AIDS epidemic that ravaged this southeastern African country has levelled off. Here comes the bad news: HIV/AIDS remains a defining fact of life in the country, as more than 1.4 million of its 24 million people live with the disease, the fifth-highest total in the world.

**Chad:** Located in the heart of the Sahel zone, the cross-continent strip that reaches from Senegal eastward to Sudan, this country arguably optimizes the struggles of the larger region. They include environmental decline, internal strife and political corruption and a host of related health problems. Women and their children face particularly grim odds. According to the CIA World Factbook, the country ranks sixth in infant mortality (almost 92 deaths per 1,000 live births) and second in terms of maternal mortality, the annual number of female deaths per 100,000 live births from any cause related to or aggravated by pregnancy, with 1,100 deaths per 100,000 live-births. Only the recently created South Sudan has a higher rate with 2,054 deaths per 100,000 live-births.

**Democratic Republic of Congo:** Ravaged by decades of war, Africa's fourth most populous country continues to chart an uncertain future. The governing challenges that confront the current government of Joseph Kabila appear immense. They include a nearly non-existent medical infrastructure — the DRC has 0.11 physicians (2004 figure) and 0.8 hospital beds per 1,000 people (2006 figure) — and a high rate of infectious diseases. Ongoing conflicts with various armed groups, some sponsored by foreign powers, continue to ravage the country and its people.

**Lesotho:** Totally surrounded by its neighbour, South Africa, this enclave struggles to meet the most basic needs of its citizens. Almost 75 percent of its 1.9 million residents lack access to improved sanitation facilities and almost 24 percent of its adult population suffers from HIV/AIDS, the third-highest rate in the world.

**Swaziland:** Neighboured by Mozambique and South Africa, land locked Swaziland has a population of just 1.4 million. Of its adults, more than 26 percent suffer from HIV/AIDS, the worst rate in the world, according to the CIA World Factbook. Not surprisingly, the average life expectancy in Swaziland is just over 50 years.

## HOW THE TOP 50 RANK

| Rank | Country | Health Grade | Total Health Score |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Singapore | 89.45% | 92.52% |
| 2 | Italy | 89.07 | 94.61 |
| 3 | Australia | 88.33 | 93.19 |
| 4 | Switzerland | 88.29 | 93.47 |
| 5 | Japan | 86.83 | 91.08 |
| 6 | Israel | 85.97 | 91.97 |
| 7 | Spain | 84.36 | 91.26 |
| 8 | Netherlands | 84.09 | 88.40 |
| 9 | Sweden | 83.90 | 89.37 |
| 10 | Germany | 83.58 | 88.81 |
| 11 | Cyprus | 83.29 | 88.87 |
| 12 | Austria | 83.10 | 89.12 |
| 13 | France | 82.99 | 88.66 |
| 14 | Canada | 82.46 | 88.60 |
| 15 | New Zealand | 81.79 | 87.87 |
| 16 | Greece | 81.63 | 86.40 |
| 17 | Hong Kong | 81.41 | 86.10 |
| 18 | Norway | 80.53 | 86.53 |
| 19 | Ireland | 79.91 | 86.48 |
| 20 | Belgium | 77.48 | 82.88 |
| 21 | United Kingdom | 76.84 | 82.82 |
| 22 | Finland | 76.69 | 82.12 |
| 23 | Portugal | 75.15 | 81.72 |
| 24 | Costa Rica | 74.01 | 79.39 |
| 25 | Slovenia | 73.02 | 80.29 |
| 26 | Denmark | 72.55 | 78.30 |
| 27 | Chile | 72.46 | 79.34 |
| 28 | Cuba | 72.11 | 77.26 |
| 29 | South Korea | 71.27 | 76.08 |
| 30 | United Arab Emirates | 70.34 | 77.31 |
| 31 | Kuwait | 69.44 | 75.93 |
| 32 | Czech Republic | 66.96 | 73.49 |
| 33 | United States | 66.84 | 72.96 |
| 34 | Bosnia and Herzegovina | 64.99 | 72.27 |
| 35 | Bahrain | 64.32 | 70.54 |
| 36 | Croatia | 63.69 | 69.91 |
| 37 | Mexico | 62.40 | 69.03 |
| 38 | Albania | 61.18 | 66.94 |
| 39 | Panama | 60.87 | 67.02 |
| 40 | Poland | 60.71 | 67.13 |
| 41 | Uruguay | 60.52 | 66.96 |
| 42 | Syrian Arab Republic | 60.36 | 67.41 |
| 43 | Macedonia | 59.00 | 64.82 |
| 44 | Turkey | 58.83 | 64.45 |
| 45 | Tunisia | 58.23 | 64.00 |
| 46 | Oman | 57.97 | 62.87 |
| 47 | Ecuador | 57.63 | 63.21 |
| 48 | Argentina | 57.03 | 63.94 |
| 49 | Slovak Republic | 56.77 | 63.20 |
| 50 | Peru | 56.23 | 60.90 |

SOURCE: THE UNITED NATIONS, WHO AND WORLD BANK


Canadian veal calf chained in solitude for its short life to a plastic igloo and fed a deficient diet to produce tender pale meat.

TWYLA FRANCOIS

A calf raised naturally in a small farm setting.

A boy on a farm in Africa surrounded by cattle.

## Food animals:

# How Canada lags on humaness

*By Donna Jacobs*

Feed many families and you begin to feed a whole nation. To that end, the UN has declared 2014 The International Year of Family Farming.

This family-by-family focus targets food self-sufficiency and large-scale benefits for developing countries. It aims to supply tools and know-how to small farmers — often women — so they can feed their families and market their produce and, in turn, feed their nations.

Thinking small has worked for microfinanced businesses. In many countries with widespread or regional poverty, climate is a farmer's ally. As a Trinidadian once put it: "There is no reason we are importing so much food on this island. You just go outside and spit and things will grow."

And while the UN is thinking small and sustainable, and celebrating Family Farming, Canada is thinking big and continues another year of factory farming.

In this issue, *Diplomat* magazine takes a critical look at Canada's industrial-scale farm practices and contrasts them with a major trading partner, the EU, with which it seeks a free-trade agreement.

The following articles rely on findings from researchers, veterinarians, industry, governments and animal-welfare organizations. They visit a panorama of large-scale farms which, in Canada, are mostly family-owned. Many use growth chemicals, extreme and painful lifelong animal confinement and surgical procedures without painkillers.

Crowded and unsanitary conditions drive the routine feeding of crucial antibiotics to these farm animals — even as such overuse is making animals and people increasingly immune to these drugs and therefore eventually rendering them ineffective.

A few background statistics on Canadian factory farming:

• The average Canadian flock size of egg-laying chickens was 19,287 hens, but industrialized Canadian egg farms can range from a few hundred to more than 400,000 hens living their entire lives tightly packed in stacked cages. The average laying hen's production is about 300 eggs per year (25 dozen). The EU has outlawed battery cages for egg-laying hens.

• 80 percent of cattle are fattened for market in Western Canada, entailing long transport times, with the crowded animals, unable to lie down, standing in urine and manure and travelling in all weather. When they arrive, the feedlots range from a few hundred cattle to 40,000 animals that spend weeks in unshaded, unsheltered pens and similarly unsanitary conditions.

The Alberta Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development and the Feeder Associations of Alberta Ltd. produced the *Alberta Feedlot Management Guide.* It is quoted on the ministry's website: When it rains, a cow often stands for long periods because it is "uncomfortable lying in the mud" and doesn't eat normally because it is "reluctant to venture out in the mud to the feed bunks" where it has to "pull its hoofs out of the mud." One straw bale per head per week, says the guide, or wood chips and sawdust "keep cattle dry and clean." (The alternative for consumers who buy feed-lot-finished beef is to buy "grass-finished" or "pasture-raised" or "natural" beef.)

• Factory farms keep other species: turkeys, minks, foxes, meat chickens, sheep, ducks, geese, goats and horses. Canadian abattoirs slaughtered 82,000 horses in 2012 — an average of 1,600 horses each week. The numbers are high because in 2007, the U.S. outlawed horse slaughter, prompting the animals to be shipped north and slaughtered here.

Killing horses for meat is controversial, partly because many were family pets and riding horses, and because they received medications banned for use in the food chain. Further, horses are difficult to humanely slaughter because of their skittish nature, combined with the fact that the equipment used is intended for larger, more docile cattle.

Also controversial is Canada's production of foie gras, "fatty liver," which involves the force-feeding of ducks and geese massive amounts of such high-energy food as corn to cause their livers to become painfully, grossly enlarged and

TWYLA FRANCOIS

Battery-caged egg-laying hens in life-long confinement.

TWYLA FRANCOIS

A veal calf taken from his mother soon after birth and chained in tight confinement for its short life.

GLOBAL ACTION NETWORK

Ducks caged on a foie gras farm in Quebec.

GLOBAL ACTION NETWORK

An injured duck on a Quebec foie gras farm where many suffer internal damage from force-feeding tubes.

DAMIANPALUS | DREAMSTIME.COM

MARK SEPPLE | DREAMSTIME.COM

diseased. Their beaks are forced open, a metal tube is forced down their throats, often tearing their necks and rupturing their internal organs. Israel and a number of European countries have banned foie gras; Canada's foie gras farm operations are mostly in Quebec.

The trade implications for Canadian factory farm practices are instructive. The EU and Russia won't allow entry of most of Canada's beef or pork from the animals Canadian farmers raise and Canadian consumers eat. Just last year, before the ban, according to Reuters in Moscow, Canada was Russia's largest pork supplier. China won't allow most pork from Canada into the country.

The reason for the EU, Russian and Chinese ban is Canada's use of a growth-boosting drug, a beta-agonist called ractopamine. It is banned by nearly 85 percent of the world's countries. It's a non-hormone growth promoter that adds weight while reducing fat content in meat before the animal is slaughtered. While legal and approved by health authorities here, this is perhaps the most active international trade problem facing Canada concerning its use of chemical agents in animals raised for food.

Complaints over its effects on cattle and pigs range from lameness and rapid heartbeat to agitation and aggression. In Canada, Eli Lilly's Elanco Animal Health Unit sells ractopamine under the name Paylean (for turkeys and pigs) and Optaflexx (for cattle).

Elanco has acknowledged that "during the unloading phase [of transport] the incidence of injured and dead pigs increased with the dosage of Paylean." By some estimates, 70 percent of beef cattle and pigs in Canada and the U.S. are given beta-agonists. It saves about $5 per hog in production costs.

Exposure to these compounds can cause restlessness and anxiety in humans. In a study of six healthy men given varying low doses of Paylean, results showed an increased heart rate as the dosage increased. One man was withdrawn from the study due to "adverse cardiac effects."

In late August, Merck temporarily took its beta-agonist (trade name Zilmax) off the U.S. market over animal-welfare concerns. Arkansas-based Tyson Foods — the world's largest processor and marketer of chicken, beef and pork (10,000 employees) — announced that as of Sept. 6, it would no longer accept cattle given Zilmax in their feed.

Cargill (Kansas-based with 142,000 employees in 65 countries, including Canada) followed Tyson and stopped taking Zilmax-fed cattle by the end of September. It slaughters and processes eight million cattle yearly.

Beginning this year, Loblaw is stocking more eggs from free-run chickens.

And these trade restrictions and exclusions of Canadian meat may widen, according to Donald M. Broom, professor of animal welfare in the department of clinical veterinary medicine, University of Cambridge; adviser to the Council of Europe Standing Committee on the Welfare of Animals Kept for Farming Purposes and former chair of the EU Scientific Veterinary Committee.

Dr. Broom, who has researched consumer response to inhumane practices, says Canada may face increasing difficulty in selling to consumers who object to its farm practices. And, among his list of successful boycotts owing to media publicity, was one carried out because of the poor welfare of veal calves in France. Some British consumers boycotted all French products, including wine. It was temporary for some, but for others it continued until the EU banned use of veal crate housing, tethering (tying up) the calves and feeding them deliberately deficient diets.

Canadian veal calves have no such protection even though new codes — voluntary guidelines in Canada — for treatment of farm animals are being written. The codes are co-ordinated by the National Farm Animal Care Council. EU regulations, by contrast, are legally enforceable. Canadian veal calves are routinely taken from their mothers at birth, tethered in isolated crates for months and many are fed iron-deficient and low-fibre diets to ensure their flesh is pale and tender.

Crowding animals into unnatural small spaces creates behavioural problems such as aggression. Dr. Broom weighed the necessity and costs involved in some painful surgical procedures that overcrowded factory-farmed animals undergo: "The labour involved in chemical castration [by injection] will be a bit less than for surgical castration, perhaps five minutes less, so that would save most of the $2 cost [the estimated savings found in a 1985 study]." Surgical castration causes a significant reduction in a calf's growth, which makes the chemical method cheaper, though it must be measurably reliable as there is a "substantial cost for failed castration."

Hot-iron branding has a small time and equipment cost, he said. Freeze-branding costs a cylinder of cold gas — "probably some cents per animal." Done properly, it doesn't affect a calf's appetite, while hot-iron branding may. The biggest cost comes from consumers who won't buy meat from hot-branded cattle, a response likely to increase, he says. "Some EU consumers will avoid all Canadian products for this reason.

"Tail-docking (cutting off part or all of an animal's tail) costs more than not docking. Leaving a sheep's tail uncut can occasionally allow insect infestation "but this is rare in most places," he says. Fly problems are greater for a cow that has no tail to repel them.

And in terms of costs, slaughterhouses that flout regulations bear a "very high cost if the public finds out," Dr. Broom says. "Profitability of slaughterhouses is better if welfare standards are high."

University of Guelph professor Tina Widowski and assistant professor Derek Haley say factory farming practices are a result of the public wanting "steady and safe and affordable animal-origin foods. We got what we wanted. Now people also have the additional expectation that systems be highly considerate of the well-being of the animals."

Mr. Haley specializes in animal behaviour and welfare and Prof. Widowski specializes in animal and poultry science and is director of the Campbell Centre for the Study of Animal Welfare. They cited three areas in which Canada (and not only Canada) needs to improve: high-density, quite barren environments; painful surgery and handling and transport of livestock and poultry. These aspects are being investigated by welfare scientists working towards science-based "acceptable solutions."

A less-often discussed factory-farm practice is the use of tie stalls for milking

cows. The lactating cow's calf is taken away soon after birth, to provide humans with her milk. The cows are tied in one place so they can be easily milked, and so they require less bedding and less clean-up as a gutter receives the manure.

Some cows may be untied and allowed exercise outside. When they are not lactating, (approximately only two months before being artificially inseminated to speed the cycle and maximize milk production) they may be kept in loose-housing pens where they may, or may not, get exercise out of doors.

Canadian consumers are in the early stages of driving change based on their objections to inhumane treatment of farm animals. Grocers and restaurants are putting farmers and food suppliers on notice that they won't take their pork or eggs unless the pigs and hens are more humanely treated.

The public is objecting to the confinement of sows in a barred cage for most, if not all of their breeding life to such extreme lengths that she can only move a step or two forward or backward during her pregnancy — and a similar barred cage while she is nursing her piglets. The rationale, whose validity is debated within the industry, is that in open housing, aggression and bullying can be a problem, and that during nursing, sows can crush their piglets.

Animal welfare regulations generally improve for three reasons: governments force change, businesses take the lead and make the changes for themselves or their suppliers, or consumer complaints and demands force the change.

Stephanie Brown, co-founder and a director of the Canadian Coalition for Farm Animals (CCFA), based in Toronto, wrote the overview piece in this issue. Having worked for 15 years to improve the welfare of farm animals — and also the closely related human health and environmental effects of factory farming — she says the best driver for change is the consumer.

OLIVER BERREVILLE

Twyla Francois with a rescued hen.

For the past two and a half years, CCFA (humanefood.ca) ran ads about sow stalls on television, including CBC and CTV. The ads asked people to use the website to write to the CEOs of some of the major food chains, along with members of Parliament and industry representatives. "Many, many Canadians did that," says Ms Brown, "and donated to CCFA to help run the ad again." Edana Brown, a director of CCFA, has reviewed the key aspects of an animal's life on the Canadian factory farm.

CTV's *W5* ran an undercover exposé by Mercy for Animals Canada on a Manitoba pig farm, with photos and documentation by a male employee working undercover. Footage showed the extreme confinement in cages and cruelty. Nearly 50,000 people signed a petition to ban sow confinement. Twyla Francois, currently director of investigations for Mercy for Animals Canada, took many of the photographs that illustrate this editorial package, both in her current role and her previous work with Canadians for the Ethical Treatment of Food Animals.

Humane Society International Canada (a Montreal-based branch of the Humane Society of the United States) ran a media campaign to ban caging of sows. They found a spokesman in Canadian actor Ryan Gosling.

By May, an Environics poll found that 84 percent of Canadians want a national ban on gestation crates for breeding pigs.

The Retail Council of Canada announced that by 2022, eight of Canada's largest food stores: Loblaw, Walmart, Costco, Safeway, Metro, Federated Co-operatives, Sobeys and Co-op Atlantic will refuse to buy fresh pork from producers who confine pigs to those crates. And Olymel and Maple Leaf Foods — two of Canada's three biggest pork producers — have said they will move away from gestation crates on deadlines of 2022 and 2017, respectively.

Sonya Fiorini, senior director for corporate social responsibility at Loblaw Companies Limited, has written a piece on how Loblaw led the eight-grocer decision to phase out sow stalls by 2022. Loblaw is now expanding the number of eggs it sells from hens housed in open indoor barns. Their eggs are known as "free-run." Free-range eggs require outside access for hens, more commonly provided in temperate parts of British Columbia.

EU regulations allow "enriched" or "furnished" cages with perching and nesting areas in still-crowded spaces. Each hen, for her entire egg-laying life, is allowed a minimum 93 square inches, (almost exactly the equivalent of an 8 1/2" x 11" piece of paper) and a cage height of 7.8". The change is supported by some academics and industry members as humane, but is widely opposed by the Canadian animal welfare organizations that want free-run or free-range housing for poultry.

In the EU, there is no confusion over how egg farms operate, or which eggs to buy. Eggs are individually coded as either organic (hens are given free-range access or fed sprouted grains and organic feed when indoors), free-range, deep-litter indoor housing, or battery cage. Coding tells shoppers a little about the life of the hen that laid the egg they are eating.

OLIVER BERREVILLE

Turkeys on a Canadian factory farm.

Donna Jacobs is publisher of *Diplomat* magazine.

# The EU vs. Canada: Fixing factory farms by granting 'The 5 Freedoms'

*By Stephanie Brown*

Globally, the number of land animals killed each year for food exceeds 65 billion, according to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization. In the United States alone, 10 billion land animals are killed for food. In Canada, the number is 700 million. These statistics are unfathomable — a bit like the national debt. Standards for the treatment of these sentient creatures vary greatly among nations.

The European Union and its member nations are the most progressive, with Canada lagging on the humaneness scale. With pressure from consumer and corporate initiatives, this may change. For example, eight major Canadian grocers recently announced they would not buy pork — as of 2022 — from farmers who confine their pregnant pigs for four months in steel and concrete gestation cages, unable to walk or turn around. Canada's million-plus female breeding pigs spend their adult lives so intensively confined, they suffer physical and mental pain. After 2022, sows will still be confined for between two and three weeks in farrowing crates, which are similar steel cages for birthing and nursing piglets, because the grocers have, so far, only dealt with gestation stalls.

Canada's federal government has lacked leadership in farm animal welfare, with no national policy that includes compliance tools or penalties when the codes of practice are not followed. The majority of Canada's farm animals exist in "factory farm" conditions, where animals are seen as production units and receive the least possible space for the shortest time and the least amount of feed. Producers are caught in a catch-22 because they're under pressure to supply animal products at rock-bottom prices to meet demand for cheap food. These methods of production are deemed economical, unless the human and animal health and welfare and environmental costs are also measured.

Ian Duncan, professor emeritus in animal science at the University of Guelph, told *Diplomat*: "Cheap food seems to be part of the mantra since World War II, with ever-more-efficient systems. But when it comes to animal production, the cost is being paid by the animals. Animals are being kept in worse and worse conditions. We're now spending less than 10 percent of our income on food. Milk is now cheaper than bottled water.


FALLSVIEW/ DREAMSTIME

Cows at Sheep River Valley, Alberta.

"Cheap food, such as the 99-cent burger, has health implications for chronic diseases, including heart disease, diabetes, obesity and cancer and infectious diseases like influenza," says Michael Greger, MD, director of public health and animal agriculture at Humane Society International. "A diet high in cheap animal products has other costs externalized by society. Such food is not cheap if environmental degradations are included. Yet these foods are cheap at purchase point, so people consume lots of them."

Sows are tightly confined as are 95 percent of Canada's egg-laying hens, in their case, in small "battery" cages, stacked many levels high. Each hen has a space approximately the size of a mouse pad, with no amenities to nest, perch, dust bathe or move away from other birds — all important needs. The hens' beaks are cut to thwart damage to other birds in crowded cages.

As with most surgical procedures related to raising food animals — castration, hot-iron branding, beak-trimming, tail-cutting — the animal is given no painkiller.

Dr. Duncan notes: "Producers' husbandry skills have been lost in the last 40 to 60 years. It's very sad." It will require

re-learning those skills to allow animals greater freedom in the future.

Dairy cows are impregnated annually to produce milk to be redirected to humans. The cow's calf is taken from her within hours of birth — causing emotional pain for both, given the mammalian bond between parent and offspring. The calf receives artificial formula and is usually reared in solitary confinement, later to join the milking herd, or if male, to be sold as veal. The regimen of high milk and calf production takes a heavy toll on the cow, so after four or five years, she is burned out, perilously thin, and shipped to slaughter — to become lean hamburger meat as she lacks enough body fat for marbled beef.

Meat chickens, known as broilers, typically live less than five weeks in tremendously crowded barns, air thick with ammonia from accumulated manure. They are little more than chicks when slaughtered. Genetically selected to grow at phenomenal rates, these birds are given antibiotics to speed growth and keep them alive under unsanitary and stressful conditions. Their feed typically includes rendered animal body parts. (Rendered parts from yesterday's slaughter animals routinely are fed back to living animals, many of them vegetarian by nature. It's how the meat industry rids itself of mountains of unwanted body parts and blood. It's also how "mad cow" disease inadvertently spread among Canadian cattle in 2003.)

Canadian beef calves are branded or marked for identification, dehorned and castrated. Most Canadian cattle graze on pasture part of their lives, but weeks before slaughter they are shipped to crowded, muddy feed lots for "finishing" — quick fattening — on high-protein feed such as corn, which ruminants cannot easily digest. The indigestible diet causes liver abscesses, which are cut from the carcass at slaughter.

Pigs are a highly intelligent and social species. Current standards allow castration and tail-cutting of piglets without pain relief, yet it costs only 22¢ per painkiller dose for piglet castration, according to the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture. (Farmers say tail-cutting is necessary to prevent infection from bites from other pigs, though it can be argued that the behaviour is due to boredom because of the pigs' living conditions.)

Breeding sows are intensively confined in gestation and farrowing (birthing) crates, unable to turn around. When sows wear out after four years or so, they are shipped to slaughter to become cold cuts and sausage. Their meat so depleted that it is only fit as such processed meat. Their progeny, market pigs, are given antibiotics to speed growth — valuable drugs for humans and animals that lose their effectiveness against microbial diseases from antibiotic overuse in farm animals. Pig feed, too, typically contains rendered animal parts.

THORVALDUR KRISTMUNDSSON/EUROPA

Johannes Hahn, European Union commissioner for regional policy, and EU officials, visit a farm in northern Iceland.

#### EU legislation for farm animals

Why is the European Union so progressive toward farm animals? Its citizens have demanded it. Dr. Duncan notes, too, that animal-welfare experts develop EU standards. Legislation to protect farm animals is based on the premise that animals are sentient beings. As logical and accurate as that is, it's not a concept followed in many countries, including Canada.

EU legislation is based on the Five Freedoms, a standard developed in the United Kingdom, and intended to meet animals' physiological and behavioural needs. They include:

- Freedom from thirst, hunger and malnutrition (to maintain full health and vigour)
- Freedom from discomfort (includes shelter and rest area)
- Freedom from pain, injury and disease (by prevention or rapid diagnosis and treatment)
- Freedom to express normal behaviour (sufficient space, proper facilities and company of the animals' own kind)
- Freedom from fear and distress (ensuring conditions that avoid mental suffering).

In Canada, there are no federal or provincial laws to protect farm animals from established confinement practices, nor has Canada adopted the Five Freedoms. Canada lacks a national farm-animal policy, according to David Fraser, professor in the animal welfare program at the University of British Columbia and co-ordinator of a 2012 report titled, *A National Farm Animal Welfare System for Canada*, which he produced for the National Farm Animal Health and Welfare Council, a new agency funded by federal and provincial governments and industry. The council's vision is lofty: "For Canada to have a comprehensive farm-animal welfare system that ensures the welfare of farm animals, reflects Canadian values, involves national standards that are informed by timely scientific research and includes a suite of compliance tools and activities sufficient

TWYLA FRANCOIS

Battery-caged hens, blood-spattered from injuries due to aggression among the overcrowded birds.

to ensure domestic and international confidence in the welfare of farm animals in Canada."

It remains to be seen if the vision will be fulfilled, whether driven by consumer demand for more humane treatment, by industry or by government. The report notes the "possible future difficulty accessing certain markets" without such a system.

Currently, Canadian voluntary (that is, non-legislated) codes of practice set standards for the treatment of farmed animals, but many have been outdated by decades. Funded by the federal government, the codes are co-ordinated by the National Farm Animal Care Council (NFACC), an organization dominated by industry interests with limited representation from animal-protection organizations — though the focus is welfare. The welfare representative on code committees is selected from only one organization, to the exclusion of all other animal-protection organizations. The code development process now includes a science-informed direction.

Animals are considered property under the law in Canada and may be treated more as machines than as sentient beings. Enforcement of codes is non-existent at present and some producers admit they have not read the code for the animals they keep. Canada's new five-year agriculture policy, Growing Forward II, does not include funding provisions for producers to upgrade facilities for improved animal welfare.

A premise in EU policy is that animal health and welfare are inextricably linked — that when one suffers, both do, including food safety. The EU bases farm-animal legislation on high welfare standards to raise the bar and not to economically disadvantage member nations that meet high welfare standards.

What do more humanely produced animal products cost? Socio-economic data prepared by the European Commission show production of a free-range egg costs just 2.6 eurocents (Cdn $.035) more to produce than a battery egg, while a free-run (barn) egg costs 1.3 eurocents (Cdn $.0178) more. Housing sows in groups rather than stalls adds just 1 to 2 eurocents to the cost of producing one kilogram of pork.

### Health matters

How healthy are Canadian animal products when animal welfare is given short shrift? The EU banned imports of Canadian beef because it deems implanted growth hormones unsafe. To produce docile animals, Canadian beef cattle undergo surgical castration, without anesthetic, only to undergo a second compensating procedure. They are implanted with growth hormones (six are government-approved for use) to speed growth slowed by their castration.

Canada and the United States allow use of ractopamine, a food additive marketed as "Paylean," intended to produce lean meat and speed growth in pigs. The FDA in the U.S. and the Canadian Food Inspection Agency also allow use of Paylean in turkeys and (under Merck's trade name Optaflexx) in beef cattle.

Russia, China and 160 other nations banned its use and banned most imported Canadian pork because of Paylean. Mexico and Brazil are among 26 countries that allow use of the additive.

Studies on pigs given Paylean, especially those subjected to the stress of transport, showed that they suffer increased injury, quickened heart rates, lameness, aggression and death.

If an animal is sick or injured when it leaves the farm, transport conditions in Canada can only exacerbate those conditions. Comparing Canadian trucks to those in the EU, Luigi Faucitano, an animal scientist with Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada who specializes in pigs, notes a critical difference in Canadian vehicles compared with those in the EU: Canadian trucks don't have mechanical ventilation.

"In the EU, ventilation is managed by the driver," he says. "It's an example for Canada to follow. No [pig] trucks in North America have mechanical ventilation, which is very important."

Commenting on the duration of rest periods during travel, Dr. Faucitano says: "Five hours rest for pvigs [after long transport] is too short to be fit to travel again." He adds that some trucks with multi-levels have ramps too steep for pigs to climb. "A solution is hydraulic systems which raise and lower whole floors of pigs in the truck."

"Research in swine transport is very recent," he points out. "Many recommendations in the [NFACC] codes must be validated with science. An example is densities, where all our current recommendations are from the EU and the U.S. — but their recommendations usually relate to warm temperatures, not the cold temperatures in Canada."

### Consumer and corporate influences

Consumers value well-being for farmed animals once they understand the intensive confinement of factory farming. Canadian food retailers, including eight major grocers, Tim Hortons, plus 100 other Canadian restaurants, have taken a stand, setting benchmarks to end sow stalls.

It's not only ethical treatment of farm animals that concerns consumers, but the

OLIVER BERREVILLE

Crowded broiler chicks in an unsanitary Canadian factory farm with poor air quality from accumulated manure and urine.

tie between animal health and welfare and food safety. What happens to animals also affects humans; it affects our environment and our health, including failed antibiotics.

Canadian scientists Rebecca Irwin of Public Health Canada and Scott McEwen of the Ontario Veterinary College are signatories to a letter published in the August issue of the journal *Emerging Infectious Diseases*, calling for a worldwide ban on use of third-generation cephalosporin drugs in poultry. The drug is commonly used to fight bloodstream infections in humans caused by drug resistant E. coli, which can be transmitted to humans from animals. Meanwhile, this important drug is widely used sub-therapeutically in Canadian poultry as a growth promoter.

TWYLA FRANCOIS

An emaciated cull cow, burned out from frequent breeding and intense milk production, waits at an Ontario livestock auction.

The authors report unnecessary deaths from drug-resistant infections and increased hospital stays, with extrapolations to all of Europe of 1,518 additional deaths and 67,236 days of hospital admissions as a result of cephalosporin and other antimicrobial drug use in poultry. The authors conclude: "The number of avoidable deaths and the costs of health care potentially caused by third-generation cephalosporin use in food animals are staggering."

McDonald's serves 69 million customers daily in more than 100 countries and is the largest procurer of beef in the world, by volume. Bruce Feinberg, senior director of global quality for McDonald's worldwide supply chain management, told a Calgary audience recently that a key moment for McDonald's came when a consumer survey showed when "animal welfare" was paired with "health"— as in health and welfare — consumers drew a strong connection between the health of the animal and the quality and safety of the food product.

McDonald's is a corporate leader in farm-animal welfare. For example, its space requirement for leghorn laying hens, the most commonly used breed, exceeds Canada's voluntary standard. McDonald's also requires an annual audit of slaughter plants that supply its meat. The program assesses percentages of animal vocalizations and falls suffered, and correct first-time stunning attempts (which stuns the animal, making it insentient before it is bled and killed) by slaughter plant workers, as part of a program developed by Temple Grandin, an internationally recognized animal expert affiliated with Colorado State University. *Time* magazine named her one of 2010's 100 most influential people in the world.

Most consumers don't want animals to suffer and can effectively take action to protect animals by cutting back or cutting out animal products, assuring a more ethical and environmentally friendly diet.

As countries make improvements to animal production standards — as the EU, Australia, New Zealand and some U.S. states have — trade sanctions could be in the offing for nations that lag behind, eventually forcing a move towards healthier and more humane farm animal conditions.

Stephanie Brown is co-founder and director of the Toronto-based Canadian Coalition for Farm Animals.

# Loblaw-led coalition of grocers drive phase-out of sow stalls by 2022

*Sonya Fiorini*

As the country's largest food retailer, Loblaw has a very real impact on what and how Canadians eat. Over the past several years, animal welfare has been on our corporate social responsibility agenda as part of our sourcing-with-integrity principle. We have spent time investigating the issues with various stakeholders; we've visited numerous farms, dedicated resources to get involved and uncovered the facts by getting the full picture and taking a holistic approach.

I have visited both pig and egg layer farms to view first-hand some of the conditions in which these animals are housed. What I saw were dedicated farmers who are trying to do the right thing and produce healthy animals for us to consume, all within a fragile industry. Many of them are second or third generation farmers who take the welfare of their animals seriously. However, the demands of consumers are changing and there is a need for the pork industry to evolve.

Prior to 2013, Loblaw committed to working with industry associations, experts and our vendors to establish animal welfare best practices and standards. I'm pleased to say we have made a commitment to phase out sow stalls by the year 2022 and further expand our free-run egg offerings this year.

Grocery retailers share a healthy competitive relationship, but should not compete when it comes to the welfare of animals. There is a lot of good that is being done by working together to foster positive change.

SONYA FIORINI

Most sows in Canada spend their lives in gestation stalls like these on this western Ontario farm; voluntary codes of practice recommend banning the stalls.

An example of this is the recent commitment we spearheaded in the spring of 2013 with seven other grocery members who belong to the Retail Council of Canada. The idea was to source fresh pork products from sows raised in alternative housing by the end of 2022. In addition to Loblaw, members backing the commitment include major food retailers: Co-op Atlantic, Canada Safeway, Costco Wholesale Canada, Federated Co-operatives Limited, Metro Inc., Sobeys Inc., and Walmart Canada Corp.

This commitment acknowledges the economic challenges for producers of shifting to new housing systems. The signatories pledge to work with farmers and suppliers to find practical solutions that maintain viable farms. It does not call

SONYA FIORINI

Most gestation stalls will be phased out by 2022 when eight large grocery chains refuse pork from such cage-confined pigs.

for an immediate shift from sow stalls, which could have a negative impact on pig welfare and pork producers. Rather, it provides for transition over a period of nine years.

The pork industry has a tremendous opportunity to innovate to new systems that can improve the welfare of pigs. But not all industry members will see it this way. They will require substantial capital investments to physically change barns, but also considerable human resources to choose the right system and train workers to a new way of handling animals.

Those are real and important considerations. However, the opportunity lies in the potential to differentiate the Canadian pork market for the better in the long run and position itself well into the future. Our primary objective is to provide our customers with choice and increasingly, we are hearing from them that they expect improvements in the handling and housing of animals raised for food.

We are pleased with the response we received from the Canadian Pork Council following the announcement of the commitment: "The grocers' decision represents an opportunity for retailers and hog producers to work together and manage changes to sow housing." Feedback like that is important to Loblaw because we have spent considerable time and effort attempting to balance the requests of our customers, the pork industry and animal-rights advocates. We have also been pleased to receive support from several animal-rights advocates, which gives us confidence that we, and the retail food industry in Canada, have struck a good balance.

Animal welfare has always been important to Loblaw. With more than 14 million Canadians shopping in our stores every week, we have a big responsibility to garner our customers' trust by striving to do the right thing. For many years, grocery retailers have been targeted by animal welfare advocates to put pressure on their supply chains and place these issues front and centre with their customers. We make decisions based on what the customer wants — lower prices, healthier choices, great value, quality and the ethical and sustainable sourcing of our products. So, in this case, we made the decision due to customer demand and because it was the right thing to do — much the same as our commitment to source 100-percent sustainable seafood.

Sonya Fiorini, senior director for corporate social responsibility for Loblaw Companies, holds a piglet on a western Ontario farm.

Our 2022 phase-out timeline is an important step, but it is only a small piece of the larger effort under way, industry wide. Concerns for animal welfare reflect society as a whole and play a role in the entire value chain.

Loblaw is an associate member of the National Farm Animal Care Council (NFACC), a multi-stakeholder forum that facilitates the development of standard codes of practice for farm animals, including revising the current pig and egg layer codes of practice in Canada. This process provides a credible, science-based and balanced approach. NFACC's board comprises a wide variety of stakeholders including industry, government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). As members of NFACC, we can get a closer look and take part in the work they are doing. This organization is unique to Canada and has been very instrumental in engaging stakeholders in its mandate to revise the existing codes of practice for farm animals.

This past June, the NFACC released the highly anticipated new draft pig code of practice. Among the many recommendations in the code, is a phase-out of sow stalls, which was identified as a priority welfare issue. Currently in Canada, approximately 10 percent of sow barns conform to loose housing environments. It will require concerted investment to meet these new standards when they are adopted.

While there remains more to do, Loblaw has a clear commitment to source with integrity. Our actions are evidence of the progress being made in the area of animal welfare that will continue well into the future.

To learn more about Loblaw's corporate social responsibility initiatives, please visit Loblaw-reports.ca

Sonya Fiorini is senior director, corporate social responsibility, for Loblaw Companies Limited.

# The hard lives of animals on Canada's factory farms

*By Edana Brown*

Concentrated feeding animal operations — more commonly referred to as factory farms — first began to appear around the 1920s. Industrialization was speeding up everything from transportation to communication, while, at the same time, medical discoveries such as insulin and penicillin were dramatically improving the quality of human and animal health. Farmers realized they could raise animals indoors in small spaces with little or no sunlight as long as they fed livestock Vitamin D and antibiotics. In addition, long-distance transportation enabled shipping of animals to larger, more centralized slaughter operations.

It wasn't until after the Second World War, however, that factory farms became more widespread. By the 1980s, they had become commonplace, and with them the confines of battery cages for laying hens, gestation crates for breeding pigs, feedlots for beef cattle and tethered stalls for dairy cows.

Today, about 95 percent of the animals raised for food live in these kinds of conditions, under manufacturing ideals applied effectively to furniture and car parts, but less so to cows and pigs. While efforts are under way in various countries, most notably the European Union, to improve conditions, the seemingly insatiable global appetite for meat is calling into question not only our eating habits, but our ability to sustain them in a humane way. According to the Washington, D.C.-based Worldwatch Institute, meat production globally has tripled over the last four decades and increased 20 percent in the last 10 years, with emerging middle classes in countries such as China helping to drive this demand. In Canada alone, looking at pork as an example (it is the world's most consumed meat), figures from the Canadian Pork Council show that the number of pigs raised in Canada nearly doubled between 1984 and 2012.

Canada, similar to the EU, is working to phase out what could loosely be termed extreme factory farming. Countries such as China, meanwhile, are embracing it.

MARVOLK / DREAMSTIME

A sow on an organic farm nursing her piglets in open housing.

This is farming that controls every aspect of the animal's life, denying it most of its natural behaviour and, in many cases, altering it physically, usually without pain relief.

Egg-laying hens, for instance, have up to a third of their beaks cut off — "trimmed" — to minimize the cannibalism that results from pecking in battery cages.

Pigs have their tails docked, leaving only an ultra-sensitive stub, to prevent tail-sucking of pen mates that may cause infection.

Piglets' teeth are clipped to minimize injury to their mothers' teats. Normally the nursing sow would get up and walk away — exercise for both the sow and piglets. Confined on her side in a farrowing crate, she can't move.

Male piglets are castrated, without anesthetic, to prevent "boar taint," an odour and flavour that can make pork unmarketable.

Dehorning beef cows, tusk-trimming boars and tail-docking dairy cows are also procedures that have evolved into more or less routine practices, as have confining the animals and feeding them additives to accelerate growth and combat unsanitary living conditions.

Factory farming also has spawned systemic mass disposal of animals and waste that is both a welfare and environmental concern. Many male chicks in egg hatcheries are ground up alive and used as fertilizer. Bull calves on dairy farms, considered an industry byproduct, are taken from their mothers and sold as veal. Piglets that don't meet aggressive growth timelines are euthanized by "pounding against concrete," where the animal is held by its back legs and pounded against concrete flooring. High concentrations

Free-run roosters

CANADIAN COALITION FOR FARM ANIMALS

Hens rescued from an egg barn at slaughter time and now living at Cedar Row Sanctuary, were suffering from feather loss. After a few months in factory farms, many have broken feathers from hitting them against the bars of their extremely cramped cages.

of urine and fecal waste in these facilities cause respiratory problems, both for workers and animals, and leech into water systems, killing aquatic life.

The EU is taking a leadership position in improving these systems. It has banned battery cages for egg-laying hens and greatly reduced the allowable time sows can spend in stalls. Its ban on castration of pigs takes effect in 2018. Several individual EU member states — Sweden and Norway, for example — have imposed bans on practices such as beak trimming. There are also provisions for the use of straw or similar substrate for pigs, an often-overlooked issue in Canada, but important considering pigs' strong nest-building instincts. Research from scientists on Canada's National Farm Animal Care Council (NFACC) shows that, among other things, straw reduces "stereotypies" — neurotic, repetitive behaviour including tail-biting.

Admittedly, there are problems in the EU with compliance with the regulations, as well as concerns regarding producer competitiveness. Farmers in countries that are complying with the ban — Britain, for instance — are understandably upset about pork imported from non-compliant countries. Bottom line: Better animal welfare usually costs money, which drives up production costs. Here in Canada, the Canadian Pork Council estimates that conversion of two-by-seven-foot sow stalls to open housing will average $500 per pig, though this estimate is disputed as inflated.

Perhaps it comes as no surprise, then, that compliance is promising to be an issue in Canada, too. In the NFACC's newly updated code of practice for pigs, confinement of sows in stalls has been reduced from four months (the sow's entire pregnancy) to five weeks. (As an aside, this is in addition to the three weeks she will spend in a farrowing crate, a different cage where she is moved to give birth and nurse her piglets.) The EU has similar allowances for sow stalls: they are permitted for four weeks after insemination and one week before farrowing.

Canada's new sow-stall requirements, one of several contentious areas in the new pig code, will begin taking effect in 2014. However, given that it's voluntary, some pork associations are considering non-support of the code and, instead, creating their own.

Edana Brown is a director of the Canadian Coalition for Farm Animals.

# The (animal) costs of transport

*By Edana Brown*

At some point in their lives, virtually all farmed animals are transported. The duration and conditions of transport have a major impact on animal well-being and are especially hard on certain species. Pigs are prone to motion sickness and heatstroke, in part because they don't sweat. Chickens, meanwhile, are stacked on trucks in such a way that they often either die from exposure on the outside or, especially if the truck is tarped, from suffocation inside.

Many animals become sick or injured, and about three million in Canada are dead on arrival (DOA) at slaughter plants each year and are used for everything from asphalt to cosmetics. Too often, these deaths are considered the cost of doing business. It is a high cost, both from a welfare and monetary standpoint.

According to the Chicken Farmers of Saskatchewan, in 2008 alone, the economic loss resulting from DOA broiler chickens amounted to $7,151,028. In a rare, recent court case involving high numbers of DOAs at chicken processor Maple Lodge Farms, Gord Doonan, a senior veterinarian with the Canadian Food Inspection Agency, has questioned whether it's possible to transport chickens humanely at all.

Canada's 33-year-old transport regulations are acknowledged to be among the worst in the developed world. Cattle, sheep and goats can be shipped for 52 hours without water, food or rest, in addition to a five-hour food-withdrawal period before travel. For horses, pigs and poultry, the maximum is 36 hours. The unreasonable time frame may be to facilitate transport of cattle non-stop from west to east for slaughter. Moreover, the clock is set back to zero when a transporter crosses the border.

This compares with the 28-hour law in the U.S. — after 28 hours, transporters are required to stop and allow animals to rest — while in the EU, there are specific regulations for short and longer journeys, and requirements for basic amenities in trucks that most North American vehicles lack. These regulations were implemented in January 2007.

For a shorter journey of a maximum eight hours, EU trucks must allow for grouping or separating of animals (stalls are mandatory for horses); protection from the weather; and access to animals in transit (a significant compliance issue, as some vehicles still don't provide it). For longer journeys — transport of cattle, sheep or goats for 29 hours, pigs and horses for 24 hours, and nursing animals for 19 hours — a truck must have, among other things, automatic ventilation and water systems, bedding, GPS and temperature alarms.

OLIVER BERREVILLE

Turkeys from a Manitoba turkey farm in an overloaded, untarped truck enroute to a slaughterhouse.

THE WORLD SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF ANIMALS

Pigs crowded together during transport.

In 2011, the European Commission released a report that looked at the impact of these requirements. Overall, transport costs have risen 2.9 percent for horses — the highest increase, due to the mandate for stalls — and 0.6 to 0.8 percent for other species. These average out to 11,900 euro per vehicle, or about $16,320 Cdn. The report noted that while trade in live animals has increased since the regulations came into effect, prices have not, a fact attributed to unfair competition resulting from some transporters complying with regulations while others don't.

At the same time, the report surveyed various agriculture stakeholders regarding improvements in animal welfare and body condition as a result of the new rules; while responses were negative among some groups — i.e. no improvements at all — farmers as a whole noted considerable increased benefits in terms of fewer DOAs.

The costs associated with transporting live animals — often for days and sometimes weeks at a time — are huge. Not only do they suffer on the journey; they

also enter countries where they have little to no protection. For example, Canada is exporting to Kazakhstan live cattle for breeding. Horses may be next.

In Canada, the majority of live animal trade is with the U.S. Live cattle, for example, are among Canada's top agri-food exports to the U.S., along with pigs. Worldwide, in 2011, we exported $24.9 million worth of breeding cattle, amidst total agriculture/agri-food exports valued at $40 billion.

Live animal exports play a similarly significant role in the EU's agriculture sector. In the U.K. alone, the total value of live animal exports in 2011 amounted to more than £400 million ($658 million Cdn). However, the EU's live animal trade is coming under increasing public scrutiny because it often involves longer and more gruelling journeys to the Middle East and North Africa. Ireland, for instance, recently reopened its live export trade to Libya after being banned from trade in 1996 due to the threat of BSE (bovine spongiform encephalitis, or mad cow disease).

At the same time, the EU's "8 hours campaign" seeks to limit the transport of all live animals intended for slaughter to eight hours. It has the support of 126 members of the European Parliament (MEPs) from 19 countries and all political groups.

While such efforts may be seen by some as hypocritical, they do help shine a light, not only on the transport of animals, but also the larger issue of an industry that often relies on inherently inhumane practices as a matter of routine operation.

In the case of Canada's Maple Lodge Farms, for example, the company has argued it has no choice but to transport chickens in all weather to fulfil customer contracts and keep slaughter lines at capacity. If the birds stay in the barns longer than 33 days, they grow too large for fast food companies' specifications. As well, the fact that food is withdrawn from the birds several hours before they are shipped makes it difficult to change schedules last-minute; the processor is expecting the current flock, while a new flock of day-old chicks awaits delivery.

In short, it's a just-in-time manufacturing system that depends on animals to pay the price of efficiency.

# Solutions for Canada's cruel slaughterhouses

*By Edana Brown*

CAPA34 | DREAMSTIME.COM

Continuous conveyor of chickens at a slaughterhouse.

The XL Foods E. coli outbreak in the fall of 2012 was a vivid reminder for many Canadians of the reality and risks of industrial slaughter. Accompanying the daily news updates on the outbreak — in total, there were 18 confirmed cases — were glimpses into the scope and speed of modern slaughter plants.

XL Foods processed approximately 3,800 head of cattle a day. The plant accounted for 35 percent of the country's beef production. The union representing plant workers said one of the key barriers to food safety was line speed: the lines were too fast, and there was too much pressure to keep them moving at all costs. In the words of Gil McGowan, president of the Alberta Federation of Labour: "There is a culture in that plant that puts priority on quantity over quality, and until that changes, we're going to continue to struggle."

Somewhere in that struggle are live animals, moving through a fast, highly mechanized process that places a premium on efficiency and productivity. If there are concerns about the safety of their carcasses, logic suggests their welfare might have been compromised before slaughter, despite legislation mandating that it be humane.

Canada first implemented laws governing slaughter in 1960. This followed the lead taken by the U.S. which, responding to intense public pressure, enacted its Humane Slaughter Act in 1958. Today in Canada, most large commercial slaughterhouses are regulated either federally through the Meat Inspection Act, or provincially through similar legislation. Provincial facilities may sell meat only in the province in which they operate.

In addition, Canada has voluntary, industry-driven codes of practice for farm animal welfare; however, these cover only on-farm euthanasia, not commercial slaughter.

The result is a bit of a regulatory hodgepodge and overall lack of consistency that tends to weaken legislative credibility and

OLIVER BERREVILLE

Horse feedlot in Alberta where thousands of horses are held before slaughter for their meat. Canadian abattoirs killed 82,000 horses in 2012.

make the laws more difficult to enforce. In fact, Canada's National Farmed Animal Health and Welfare Council states in a recent report: "Because of the mixture of federal and provincial regulations for humane slaughter, Canada lacks a harmonized standard in this important area." The report further points out: "In some jurisdictions, there is a third category of plants, generally small plants with local clientele, that fall under no federal or provincial slaughter regulations."

Inspection of the majority of these plants falls to the Canadian Food Inspection Agency (CFIA). As of March 2012, there were 3,534 CFIA inspectors overseeing 110 federally registered slaughter plants across the country; XL Foods alone had 40 inspectors and six vets, working in two shifts. All in all, this is a relatively small number of people overseeing the slaughter of very large numbers of animals, and their focus on food safety tends to take priority over efforts to keep the process humane.

Commercial slaughter methods vary from one animal to another. Cows are stunned using a captive-bolt gun, which fires a metal rod into the skull and retracts it again. Rendered unconscious, the animal is hoisted up by a back leg, its throat is cut and, with heart still pumping, it bleeds out, or is exsanguinated. The animal then proceeds through an assembly line of workers, each of whom performs a different task — from removing skin and limbs to evisceration.

Pigs are usually stunned using electricity or carbon dioxide, the latter administered by herding the animals in groups into a $CO_2$ chamber that then pushes them out unconscious on the other side. They are then hung and bled similarly to cows, with a key difference being that pigs also enter a scalding tank to remove their hair. While $CO_2$ is touted as a more humane method of slaughter, research from animal scientists on the National Farm Animal Care Council finds that "Pigs at all ages appear to find inhalation of this gas highly aversive: escape and retreat attempts, gasping, head shaking and vocalizations occur frequently prior to loss of consciousness."

Chicken slaughter is especially contentious from a welfare standpoint, as the electrical bath typically used to stun the birds is often ineffective due either to improper levels of electricity or to the birds' squirming and lifting their heads, thereby missing the bath altogether. Consequently, they are fully conscious when their throats are cut. This is in addition to the pain endured while shackled upside down on the slaughter line.

While the EU uses slaughter methods similar to Canada, it has made significant strides in areas where Canada is lacking.

One is that EU slaughterhouse workers must earn a certificate of competence, for which they must write an exam. As well, every slaughter facility must appoint a designated Animal Welfare Officer to ensure compliance with appropriate regulations.

Especially significant is the EU's use of closed-circuit TV (CCTV) in slaughterhouses — a trend that has been strongly supported by retailers such as Marks & Spencer, Tesco, and J. Sainsbury. As of 2011, just under 20 percent of red-meat slaughterhouses were using CCTV cameras.

EU member states are also taking steps individually in support of more humane slaughter. Danish authorities, for instance, make regular unannounced slaughterhouse inspections. Sweden prohibits ritual slaughter — that is, highly controversial slaughter without stunning (whereby the animal's throat is cut while fully conscious) Many countries, including Canada and the U.S., allow the exemption of stunning on religious grounds. Increasingly, evidence is surfacing — eye-witness accounts from meat inspectors, for example — that animals slaughtered without first being stunned endure extreme suffering.

The EU also is leading the development of innovative slaughter processes such as those used to detect boar taint on uncastrated pigs. Boar taint is a strong odour and flavour in a small percentage of males that can make pork unmarketable. For many countries, the solution has been to castrate the animal, usually without anesthetic. However, with the EU's 2018 deadline for ending castration, new sensory and chemical methods are being developed to detect boar taint at slaughter time, enabling the plant to redirect the meat while eliminating the need for painful castration.

Like Canada, however, the EU also faces quality-control issues around slaughter, as made evident by the recent horse meat scandal. The ever-expanding creep of the contamination in early 2013 not only drove home the magnitude of the meat industry, but also raised serious questions around the scruples of those within it. Perhaps not surprisingly, amidst fraudulent labelling and mounting food safety concerns, little was said about animal welfare.

Edana Brown is a director of the Canadian Coalition for Farm Animals.

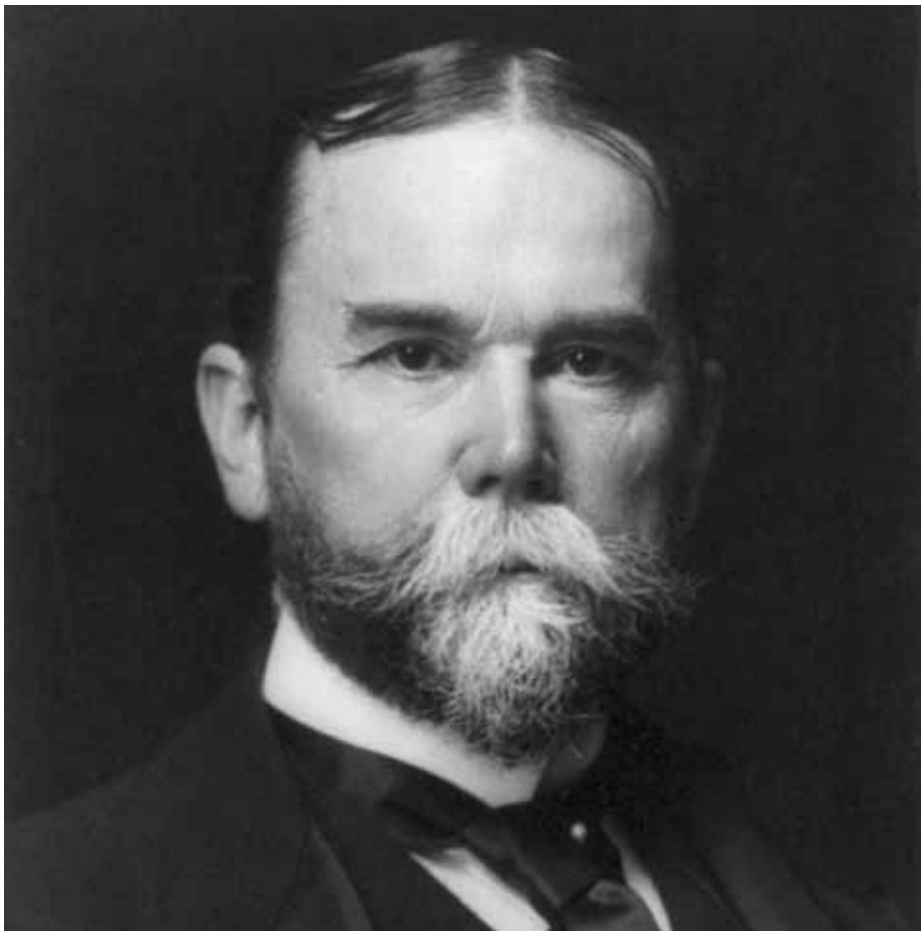
# Some diplomatic intrigues

*By George Fetherling*

GEORGE FETHERLING

An error in Steven Spielberg's film, *Lincoln* stirred up a little controversy last year. The movie, as most everyone now knows, depicts Abraham Lincoln's manoeuvring to get the 13th amendment to the Constitution, the one abolishing slavery, passed by the House of Representatives. Tension builds to the scene where there is a roll-call vote. Two of the congressmen from Connecticut say nay. Watching this on the screen, many proud citizens of that state rose up, for New England was the staunchest supporter of abolition and all three Connecticut representatives in fact voted yea. A short-lived tempest in the media teapot. But there was another obvious, and more interesting error in Mr. Spielberg's film.

The movie is set in January 1865, three months before the end of the American Civil War, and has scenes between President Lincoln and his young secretary, John Hay (played by Joseph Cross). But Hay had left the White House early in 1864, right after the start of his boss's second term. Why more interesting? Because John Hay is an important character in diplomatic history. He began as the individual who opened Abraham Lincoln's mail, ghosted the replies (as well as speeches and such) and acted as a kind of anonymous presidential press agent. He went on to become one of the most adroit and influential U.S. secretaries of state, a key figure in American diplomacy and foreign policy well into the 20th Century. He's the subject of a new biography, John Taliaferro's *All the Great Prizes: The Life of John Hay, from Lincoln to Roosevelt* (Teddy, that is, not Franklin — Simon & Schuster Canada, $40).



John Hay was private secretary to Abraham Lincoln. He had diplomatic postings in Paris and Vienna and was secretary of state under William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt.

In accounts of the Lincoln presidency the name of Hay (1838-1905) nearly always appears linked with that of John Nicolay (1832-1901), Lincoln's other secretary. (How small the bureaucracy was 150 years ago.) The way the two names are spoken together, like those of Bonnie and Clyde or Wayne and Shuster, is partly because, late in life, they collaborated on a 10-volume biography of the martyred president as well as on editions of his works. This stereoscopic view is perpetuated in another new book, *Lincoln's Boys: John Hay, John Nicolay and the War for Lincoln's Image* by Joshua Zeitz (Penguin Canada, $31.50). But the two men were very different characters.

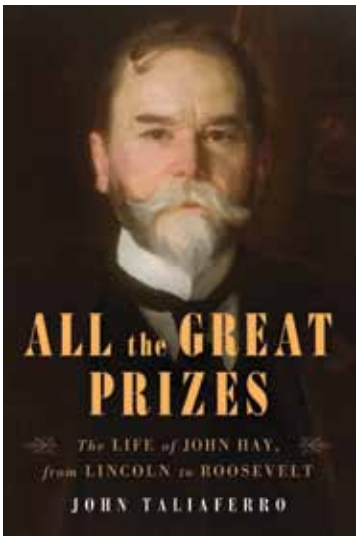
Nicolay was a Bavarian immigrant (in a 1992 documentary, his character was voiced by Arnold Schwarzenegger) who became a partisan newspaper editor in Illinois and then assistant to the Illinois secretary of state. President Lincoln's first appointment was the one naming Nicolay as his secretary — office manager, as we might say today. By contrast, Hay, who had gone to school with Nicolay, was already on the scene, having joined the team immediately after Lincoln became a presidential candidate and needed to "find some young man to help me with my correspondence, I can't afford to pay much, but the practice is worth something." Hay was recommended by his uncle, whose law office in Springfield, the state capital, was next door to Lincoln's. Hay was a young Bohemian who once experimented with "hasheesh" and aspired to be a poet. He was very bright, quick and biddable, candid in private, but tactful in public.

Perhaps most important of all, he was a fast, flexible and fluent writer. In the age when so much of diplomatic work was bound up with written dispatches, couched in fine prose, this talent helped to push him up the ladder.

Arriving there with the new chief executive in 1861, Hay found Washington "a congeries of hovels, inharmoniously strewn with temples." He made the best of it, because there and later elsewhere, he was a highly sociable individual, a play- and concert-goer, a sought-after beau, a delightful dinner party guest and, one imagines, a reliable fourth for bridge. This picture contrasts with his own assessment of Lincoln: "In many respects [a person] doomed to a certain loneliness of excellence." The president and the first lady had lost one child at an early age, had another with certain disabilities and a third who, fearing Mrs. Lincoln's irrational temper, as so many people did, contrived to be absent when he could. Hay "became, if not a surrogate son, then a young man who stirred a higher form of paternal nurturing that Lincoln, despite his best intentions, did not successfully bestow on either of his surviving children." The junior partner in such a relationship usually comes away having learned a great deal. In this case, one lesson lay in the fact that Lincoln possessed "the fire of a reformer […] yet he proceeded by the way of caution and practical statecraft."

*All the Great Prizes* is a genuinely rewarding and pleasurably written biography, drawing a great deal on its subject's private papers, including the diary he kept during Lincoln's first term — though the document is sometimes maddening. Hay was there when Lincoln made the Gettysburg address but didn't write down anything interesting about the experience. He also heard Lincoln deliver his famous second inaugural speech ("With malice toward none, with charity for all") without describing the speaker or the scene. He did a better job recording in detail what went on at Lincoln's death bed the following month. After the assassination, he stopped writing in the journal at all.

The author cites two youthful experiences that set John Hay's intellectual development in motion. He grew up mostly in Warsaw, Illinois, where, age nine, an escaped slave took refuge in the family's cellar. By his adulthood, he "had been offended by slavery for as long as he could remember." Like so many northerners, however, he long maintained a distinction between the evils of slavery on the one hand and African American equality on the other. Mr. Taliaferro writes of his subject's "ingrained racial prejudice, although one that would have not shocked his mid-century readers." The point is that, like Abraham Lincoln, and possibly through that example, he started out with one set of beliefs, but steadily moved towards more enlightened views. In Hay's case, the same process applies in his relations with Jews. After Lincoln's death, he was given a consular position in Paris (as was Nicolay). Later he served in Vienna. There he came into contact with Jewish culture and,




the author writes, looked down on Jews as he had earlier looked down on African Americans, as "a race apart, removed from grace, and a dismally long way from assimilation into the mainstream." But 30 years later, when he was secretary of state, he was a strong official foe of anti-Semitism. He had grown.

The second indelible childhood incident occurred in 1844, also in Warsaw, Illinois, where local vigilantes, possibly including Hay's father (the son was coy on the subject), murdered the Mormon leader Joseph Smith, as recounted most recently in a new study, *Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet* by John G. Turner (Harvard University Press, US$45). Young was, of course, Smith's successor, who led his followers across the plains and deserts to Utah and tried to establish a nation (not precisely the right word perhaps) independent of federal control. This led to the startling events that David L. Bigler and William Bagley analyse in their book, *The Mormon Rebellion: America's First Civil War, 1857-1858* (University of Oklahoma Press, US$24.95 paper). A large rebellion had to be forcibly put down by troops under the command of Albert Sidney Johnson, who has the rare distinction of having held a general's rank in three different armies — the army of the Republic of Texas (before Texas became a state), the U.S. army and the Confederate army. In the service of the last, he bled to death at the Battle of Shiloh.

These two incidents from childhood, we're told, gave Hay a disdain of demagogues and empires. That is, empires other than U.S.'s, whose ambitions he served as assistant secretary of state under president Rutherford B. Hays, and then, under president William McKinley, as ambassador to the Court of St. James's, a position in which he did much to improve relations between Washington and London. Later, he himself was secretary of state in McKinley's cabinet and then, following McKinley's assassination, in Theodore Roosevelt's. For years, his patron was Lincoln's secretary of state, William H. Seward, whom Mr. Taliaferro paints as a hero, but was seen as a toxic boob by the British and a danger by Canadians. As John Boyko explains in *Blood and Daring: How Canada Fought the American Civil War and Forged a Nation* (Knopf Canada, $35), Seward kept insisting that the U.S. invade Canada, hoping to provoke a war between the U.S. and Britain that would somehow (this sounds goofy) bring the Confederacy to its knees.

Much of *All the Great Prizes* focuses, rightly so, on Hay's mature career as a policy maker. He despised Napoleon III, who brought Paris and France into the contemporary world, because he was also a dictator who presided over an empire, had favoured the South in the American Civil War, and had violated the Monroe Doctrine by invading Mexico (just as the U.S. had done less than 20 years earlier). Perhaps Hay's greatest impact was in the Pacific, especially if you consider that three of the many treaties he negotiated had to do with the U.S. gaining possession of what became the Panama Canal Zone. Another such agreement gave the U.S. what is now American Samoa. All this while he helped to dampen other countries' imperial claims, except in the all-important matter of the Open Door Policy in China. This was the power grab by which foreign powers declared suzerainty over numerous Chinese ports and immunity from Chinese law, thus igniting the Boxer Rebellion. A telling fact: It was actually John Hay, not William Randolph Hearst or one of his journalists, who called

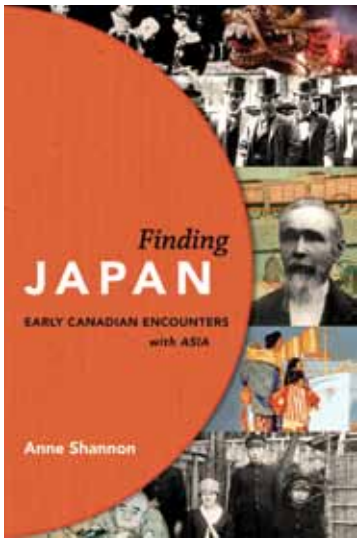
the American capture of Cuba and the Philippines "a splendid little war."

In brief, there's certainly a great deal in *All the Great Prizes* for *Diplomat* readers, just as there is in a little-publicized new Canadian work, *Finding Japan: Early Encounters with Asia* (Heritage House, $22.95 paper) by Anne Shannon, formerly of the Canadian embassy in Tokyo. In this broadly researched and well-illustrated book, she rescues from obscurity a number of people with Canadian connections who played a part in laying the groundwork for trade and diplomatic relations between Canada and Japan — goals that weren't achieved without missteps by us and misfortunes for them.

In 1906, the governor-general, Earl Grey, advised the presidents of the Canadian Pacific, Canadian National and Grand Trunk railways that "the scientists of Japan have concluded that a diet of bread is preferred to rice" and that it would be only a question of time before these findings would enrich those who grew and shipped Canadian wheat. Ms Shannon assures us that this loony idea, one shared in time by prime minister Wilfrid Laurier, was "born of little more than watching curious exhibition-goers clamour for samples" of bread at a trade show in Osaka several years earlier. Underlying all this was the fact that Japan, even in these early years, had the trade advantage over Canada through its exports of tea and silk.

As party to an alliance between Britain and Japan, Canada was committed to taking Japan's side in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05. But whatever edge this fact may have offered Canada in breaking into the Japanese market was counterbalanced by anti-Japanese (indeed, anti-Asian) prejudice and violence that became rampant in the Canadian West, especially in British Columbia. Still, in time, many Canadian companies, not merely Canadian Pacific, but others as different as Alcan and Sun Life Assurance, had a secure presence in Japan (and elsewhere in East Asia). Saying so sounds cold and heartless, but the fire that destroyed Yokohama in 1920 and the earthquake that ruined Tokyo in 1923 played right into Canadian hands, as when, for example, Canadian lumber baron H.R. MacMillan cleaned up as a result.

Mackenzie King was, in his characteristically odd way, both an Asiaphile and an Asiaphobe (there's a bizarre anecdote




about how on one of his visits to Japan he foretold some geishas' fortunes by reading their palms). When he created External Affairs in 1929, he ordained three embassies: Washington, Paris — and Tokyo. Of course relations cooled in 1936 when the military took over the Japanese government, the year before Japan's full-scale invasion of China. The Canadian legation in Japan closed in 1938, not to reopen until after the Second World War, during which

King's government ordered Japanese-Canadians interned.

**BRIEFLY NOTED....**

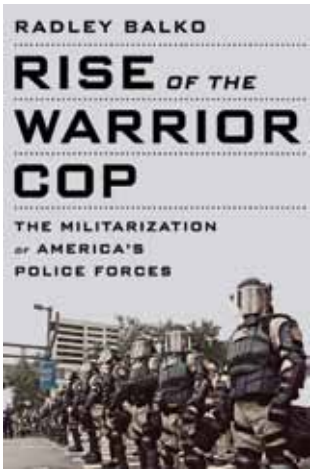
Radley Balko, known to some through his connection to the Cato Institute, the libertarian think-tank, is a senior investigative reporter for the *Huffington Post*. His book, *Rise of the Warrior Cop: The Militarization of America's Police Forces* (Publishers Group Canada, $31) is one big horror story made from scores of tiny ones: Stories of how U.S. police departments (and many other arms of government at all levels) increasingly employ military tactics and equipment to do far more than simply carry out the assigned wars against drugs and terrorism. The first use of a SWAT team — dressed and armed in military fashion, usually operating without warrants or without giving warning — took place in Los Angeles in 1969. The target was a group of Black Panthers. In 2005, the most recent year for which Mr. Balko can locate figures, there were 50,000 such raids across the country. Targets have included participants in friendly poker games and individuals behind in their student loan payments, and even, in one case, Tibetan monks on a peace mission. Innocent civilians, usually unarmed, have ended up dead, as have some of the raiders. Policies that allow enforcers to scoop up "proceeds from criminal activity" to fatten their own budgets are part of the problem. Another is the way that Washington provides grants to state and local governments for military-grade weapons, armoured vehicles and the like. One Pentagon program alone doled out $500 million in 2011. But, of course, the real issues are the climate of fear pervasive in American life and a pop culture that glamorizes extreme violence. This is not a fringe book, but an important work championed by such publications as the *Economist* and the *Wall Street Journal*.

In recent years, university presses have increasingly taken to scholarly books of the sort that professors need to list in the annual review of their accomplishments


SMALLMAN12Q

A SWAT team in Oregon during a training exercise.

demanded by department heads and deans. Typically such volumes contain only articles or papers by a handful of contributors that, taken together, don't survey a topic, but rather zero in on a small number of highly specialized subtopics. A list of interesting new examples of such books might include *Democracy in East Asia: A New Century*, edited by Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner and Yun-han Chu. It argues that the next wave of democratization will inevitably take place in East and Southeast Asia (the Near East and Middle East having failed so miserably). The title (US$29.95 paper) is published by Johns Hopkins University Press, which has made a small specialty of the field called democratization studies, one whose growth might almost be said to have outpaced that of democracy itself. The press publishes what may well be the core text in this subject area, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule* (US$28 paper). It was written, rather than merely edited, by Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter and carries the refreshingly modest subtitle, "Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies."




George Fetherling's most recent book is *The Writing Life: Journals 1975-2005* (McGill-Queen's University Press).

# Need a Dublin lawyer?

MARGARET DICKENSON

Ireland's food history and culture can be traced back to prehistoric times. That it's an island at the very western edge of Europe meant the influence of other countries did not play much of a role in Irish cuisine until recently. As such, traditional dishes still figure prominently in a cuisine that has evolved from centuries of cultural, political and social change.

Think Irish cuisine and you'll certainly imagine amazing cheeses and butter produced from milk of "cattle that remain out on pasture all year round," explains Ambassador Raymond Bassett. Of course, many traditional dishes also come to mind. Topping the list would be Irish stews and potatoes of some sort. Those familiar with traditional Irish cuisine would cite boxty (a type of thick pancake of mashed and shredded potatoes, flour and baking powder or soda), colcannon (a mixture of milk and butter-mashed potatoes with chopped cooked onion and cabbage or kale) and champ (mashed potatoes with spring onions stirred into them). Other dishes mentioned would be coddle (especially Dublin coddle) consisting of bacon, pork sausages and potatoes, black pudding (blood sausage), soda bread, barmbrack (a type of currant cake, a treat for Halloween when tiny charms are found in it) and Irish breakfast (a fried or grilled meal of bacon, egg, sausage, black pudding and fried tomato.)

One cannot ignore the introduction of the potato, which was brought to Europe in the late 16th Century and then worked its way to Ireland. It has been hailed as the "greatest occurrence" and condemned as the "worst calamity," dramatically affecting and completely changing the Irish diet, its cuisine and its people. Consequently, the before and after references to the arrival of the potato in Ireland have become an important marker in the evolution of Irish cuisine.

Before farms with fields and domestic animals gave way to food production as the principal preoccupation, the Irish were primarily hunters and gatherers. Cattle were kept for dairying, not meat. Milk was turned mainly into a widely drunk sour milk, butter, curds, soft and hard cheeses. Only in winter, when fodder was scarce, would old cows and unwanted bull calves be slaughtered, salted and preserved as winter food for the gentry and nobility. Cheeses and curds were known as white meats. Milk and milk products made up the key part of the diet of the working class, and particularly the poor, all year round. The practice of bleeding cattle was common to make black pudding by mixing blood with barley and seasoning.

Pigs herded in oak forests, feeding on acorns and woodland fodder, provided the cheapest meat. Pork was popular with everyone (and that reputation holds true to this day). Blood collected after slaughtering went into the black pudding, a practice that still continues. Salting pork doubled the price due to the high cost of salt and, as a result, a vast majority of the population got by just on pieces of salted bacon with fresh meat being reserved for holy days or festive occasions.

The endless assortment of stews and soups for which Ireland remains renowned was inspired by the earliest of cooking vessels, the cauldron. Stews and soups varied with the availability of ingredients. Coastal-area creations differed from those inland, ranging from clam and cockle soup, lobster soup to sheep's head broth. With iron and bronze cooking cauldrons being expensive, wooden troughs filled with water, brought to and kept at a boil with hot stones, proved to be an ingenious alternative. Ovens as such did not exist until later, but cauldrons turned upside-down on hot stones acted as a crude type of oven. As for roasting, in addition to spits, placing meat on a hot stone and covering it with more hot stones offered another successful roasting technique as the fatty drippings ignited to continuously heat the stones. Roasting meat was basted with honey or a honey sauce. Honey (as a dip) and salt (for flavouring) were served with all meats.

LARRY DICKENSON

Margaret's Dublin Lawyer (also known as Drunken lobster)

Oats and barley served as thickeners for soups and stews, and when milled into flour, they were used to make a variety of coarse breads. The limited supply of wheat was designated to create a palatable variety of "wheaten" bread (particularly for nobility), sweet cakes and scones. Although the Irish have never lost their love of butter, it was historically important to accompany bread as stone-ground flour often contained pieces of stone and grits. The butter helped lubricate the throat to more easily swallow the bread. Understandably, more cereals were consumed as porridge.

In the past, a myriad of wild fruits gathered in the summer ranged from crabapples and plums to an extensive number of berries (strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, elderberries, whortleberries and rowberries, for example). The only cultivated fruit seemed to have been apples. People made do with very few vegetables and greens; they were mostly limited to onions, wild leeks, sorrel, nettles and watercress.

Significant augmentation and diversification of native Irish ingredients and cooking techniques began in the 12th and 13th Centuries with the waves of conquest and colonization (Anglo-Norman, Tudor and Stuart), which brought new food traditions. These included built-up ovens, the use of spices, figs, grapes, almonds, walnuts, hare, pheasant and turkey along with a much more sophisticated appreciation of food and cooking. Tea and coffee houses became fashionable. But most important, the potato arrived and changed the entire food culture of a nation.

The Irish are recognized to have been the first to seriously consider the potato a staple food. The plentiful, cheap and efficient food source allowed poor families to lease a few acres for a season, which enabled them to pay their rent, build a cottage and feed themselves. As a result, the under-populated island of 1570 became the most densely populated country in Europe by 1840. As potato cultivation expanded and land for grazing cattle declined, meat and dairy prices increased, and the diet of the poor was reduced to potatoes supplemented with cabbage in the summer and salted herring in the winter. Not only did this diet lack the well-balanced choices that had existed for centuries, but it left a large portion of Irish society vulnerable when the famines of 1739 and 1845 struck after potato crops were destroyed, first by cold weather and then by blight. During these periods, in total, more than one million people died, two million emigrated and another three million were left to live on charity. The island's population was reduced by 50 percent, but the potato, the cause of these disasters, remained the most important Irish food item.

DREAMSTIME

Traditional Irish stew remains renowned in Ireland.

Parallelling these calamities was the start of what may be considered modern Irish cuisine, initiated by a solid farming class (families owning more than two acres). They expanded their diets to include a wider variety of vegetables, more meat and more bread made from wheat. Potatoes were the main vegetable served at every meal and they also became a thickener for soups and stews. With the increase in village grocers' shops, more foreign food products and concepts began to influence Irish cuisine. Sugar replaced honey, tea replaced ale and beer.

However, throughout the first half of the 20th Century, Irish food was thought of as being rather boring. A good plain meal of meat, vegetables and potatoes became the symbol of post-famine Ireland. Then, as the economic prosperity of the 1960s became evident, and with increased travel abroad, Irish cuisine continued to diversify. Reflective of a popular demand to create international recipes and ethnic foods, the availability of non-traditional ingredients expanded. Simultaneously, a new Irish cuisine emerged based on traditional ingredients and recipes that were dealt with in new ways and with an emphasis on fresh vegetables, fish (particularly salmon, trout and cod), shellfish (prawns, oysters, mussels), a wide range of hand-made cheeses, traditional soda bread and, of course, the potato. Ambassador Bassett boasts of the Emerald Isle's organic produce "grown naturally without any genetically modified material." As well, today, people are encouraged to adapt healthier food choices and cooking techniques. Even chefs are swapping stick-to-your-ribs meals for those with a lighter touch that subtly embody flavours from around the world.

I invite you to try my version of Dublin Lawyer, a recipe dating back hundreds of years. (Note: The origin of this unusual name is uncertain.) For best culinary success, use Irish whiskey! Bon Appétit!

**Dublin Lawyer (my Drunken Lobster)**
*Makes 2 servings*

1/16 tsp (pinch) cayenne pepper
1/8 tsp (0.5 mL) ground nutmeg
1/4 tsp (1 mL) minced fresh garlic

1/2 tsp (3 mL) each of lemon zest and dried crushed tarragon leaves
2 tbsp (30 mL) soft butter
3 lobster tails, uncooked (5 oz or 150 g each)*
To taste, salt
1 tbsp (15 mL) whiskey
2 tbsp (30 mL) heavy cream (35% fat), first addition
1 tbsp (15 mL) chopped fresh chives
1/2 tsp (3 mL) cornstarch
1 tsp (5 mL) heavy cream (35% fat), second addition

1. In a small bowl, thoroughly combine cayenne pepper, nutmeg, garlic, lemon zest and tarragon leaves with soft butter. Set spiced butter aside.
2. Carefully insert the handle of a metal teaspoon into each lobster tail (entire length) between shell and flesh along the top side of lobster shell in order to keep tail straight during cooking.
3. Drop tails into boiling salted** water and cook until thickest part of tail just turns opaque (about 4 minutes). Drain and immediately plunge into cold water to stop cooking. Drain again.
4. To reserve top side of shells for serving, with scissors, cut entire length of the underside of the tail shells on both sides; peel off the released underside of shells and discard before loosening and detaching the flesh from the top side of the lobster shells.
5. Cut lobster flesh into 1/2-inch-wide (1.25 cm-wide) medallions.
6. In a non-stick skillet over medium-low heat, sauté lobster medallions in melted spiced butter for 2 minutes. Add whiskey, then 2 tbsp (30 mL) heavy cream and chives. Season with salt. Whisk and suspend cornstarch in 1 tsp (5 mL) heavy cream and add to skillet, stirring constantly until sauce thickens.
7. Serve immediately in reserved lobster shells (inverted position) and if desired, along with garlic butter-sautéed mushrooms, buttered mini potatoes and cooked kale scented with garlic infused olive oil. Garnish with fresh chive stems.

* Total weight of lobster flesh, when cooked, is 6 oz or 180 g.
** Note: The uncooked lobster tails may be quite salty, so be cautious when adding salt.

Margaret Dickenson wrote the award-winning cookbook, *Margaret's Table — Easy Cooking & Inspiring Entertaining*. (www.margaretstable.ca)

# Emily Murphy's famous triumph

**How Canadian women, once non-Persons, dominate provincial politics**

*By Anthony Wilson-Smith*

"I feel equal," wrote Emily Murphy in 1927, "to high and splendid braveries." By that point in her life, the 59-year-old native of Cookstown, Ont.'s had earned the right to big ambitions: Her achievements included turns as a successful writer (under the name "Janey Canuck"), social activist, self-taught legal expert and, as of 1916, the first female magistrate in the British Empire. She was also a wife and mother.

What she was *not*, under the law of Canada, was a "person," because she was a woman. She discovered that fact on her first day on the bench in 1916. Murphy was challenged by a lawyer who insisted that as a woman, she was not a person under the terms of the British law system then in place in Canada.

Murphy was infuriated by that assertion and decided to change it. Over the next decade, she gained four important allies — Henrietta Edwards, Louise McKinney, Nellie McClung and Irene Parlby — and together they became known first as "The Alberta Five" and eventually, as their renown grew, "The Famous Five." All were Alberta residents, and each had a strong will and a commitment to social justice. McClung, McKinney and Parlby had served in the Alberta legislature; the Montreal-born Edwards was an expert in laws related to rights of women and children. They joined as petitioners in the "Persons Case" brought before the Supreme Court of Canada in 1927. The goal was to have women declared legal "persons," which would make them eligible to hold appointed positions, including in the Senate.

Emily Murphy

They filed their petition on Aug. 27, 1927, asking whether it was constitutionally possible for a woman to be appointed to the Senate. The federal government referred the question to the Supreme Court, asking: "Does the word 'Persons' in Section 24 of the *British North America Act*, 1867, include female persons?" On April 24, 1928, the court responded, unanimously, that women are not such "Persons." The judgment's last line said: "Understood to mean 'Are women eligible for appointment to the Senate of Canada,' the question is answered in the negative." But less than two months later, on Oct. 18, 1929, the British Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which had precedence over the Supreme Court, overturned that decision.

The Liberal government of prime minister Mackenzie King moved relatively quickly after that, appointing Canada's first female senator on Feb. 15 of the following year. It was not, however, Murphy (a Conservative), as expected: instead, the choice was Cairine Wilson, a fluently bilingual Montreal native who was a Liberal party activist. Ironically, Wilson's husband didn't want his wife to take paid work and advised the governor general that she did not want the position, but Wilson was offered and accepted the appointment anyway. Murphy did not have long to savour her victory: she died in October 1933, aged 65.

Murphy is best remembered, in one of Historica Canada's *Heritage Minutes*, among other things, for that successful battle. It still stands as a key step toward women filling more important roles in Canadian politics and society. As one measure of that advancement, today the premiers of Canada's four most populous provinces — Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia and Alberta — are women, as are the premiers of Newfoundland and Labrador and of the Nunavut territory. Murphy's achievement also stands in contrast to her views on other issues, such as her opposition to non-white immigration and support of eugenics, a pseudo-scientific study of hereditary issues. The views she expressed on those topics are now clearly offensive and outside of mainstream attitudes and justifiably and negatively affect the way she is remembered. But her achievements on behalf of women remain indisputable, to the benefit of all.

Anthony Wilson-Smith is president of the Historica-Dominion Institute.

# The mystery and appeal of Pinot Noir

PIETER VAN DEN WEGHE

Wine endears itself to drama, romance and even a sense of mystery. And Pinot Noir is the perfect stage on which to play out those narratives. Its aromas, flavours and personality evoke plenty of drama and romance, and much of its seductive appeal is so mysterious that it is maddeningly hard to quantify and explain.

Pinot Noir's history is no less elusive. Pinot is thought to have existed for about 2,000 years. This makes it one of the oldest grape varieties from Western Europe, itself the crèche of most of the grape varieties enjoyed as quality wine today. Some researchers now feel that Pinot's long age that explains its large number of clones (more than 1,000 registered) rather than its reputation of having a higher mutation rate than other varieties.

Colour mutations of Pinot Noir, such as Pinot Gris, and Pinot Blanc, are not truly separate varieties. They possess the same genetics when analysed at the standard set of eight DNA markers. Also, this colour mutation can occur on the same plant, with grapes of black, grey, white or even striped colour growing on a single Pinot vine.

Pinot's old age also explains its grand role in parenting other grape varieties. Despite its unknown parentage, research has determined that Pinot Noir and another (almost extinct) grape varietal, Gouais Blanc, spontaneously crossed at various times and locations throughout the northeast of France to produce at least 21 grape varieties. DNA analysis shows these include such modernly relevant grapes as Melon de Bourgogne, Gamay Noir, Aligoté, Auxerrois and Chardonnay. Extending the pedigree further indicates that Pinot is also a likely grandparent of Syrah.

Finding a Pinot that fulfils expectations can also be elusive. Some suggestions will certainly help make the hunt a little easier.

An often-forgotten side of Pinot Noir is the delicious sparkling wine made from its grapes. A brilliant starting point is a rosé Champagne. A great example is Moutard Père et Fils' non-vintage Rosé de Cuvaison Brut Réserve (CSPC#340091). It has strong red fruit and smoke with elegance and sophistication. This representation of a classic sparkling wine is available from Vintages for $47.95.

For bubbly on a budget, Codorníu's non-vintage Pinot Noir Brut Rosé Cava (#665372) fits the bill. Made using the same traditional method as Champagne, it packs a lot for its $16.95 price tag. It has lots of red berry, spice and lees notes and an exuberant personality.

A Pinot wine of a very different stripe is a white blend produced by Marcel Deiss, a Demeter certified biodynamic winery in France's Alsace region. Deiss's 2011 Pinot d'Alsace is a blend of Pinot Noir with its offspring Auxerrois and colour mutations from Pinot Blanc and Pinot Gris. The nose and palette have hints of lees and lots of ripe stone fruit. The texture is quite rich and luxurious, and has a little lick of residual sugar. It's available from the Le Sommelier wine agency for $28.19 per bottle.

A more traditional and delicious red wine example to suggest is the Z'IVO's 2006 Pinot Noir. Sourced from the Eola-Amity Hills in Oregon's Willamette Valley, this is avery round and silky Pinot Noir. It has generous flavours of cherry and dark fruit and a finish of spice and mineral. Great value at $35.25 and available from Vintages' online store (#287177).

A terrific Burgundy at a very approachable price is Domaine Prieur Brunet's 2009 Santenay 1er Cru Maladiere. The producer can trace its history back to 1804 and has five hectares of vineyards in the La Maladiere. The wine has great balance, freshness, and pretty aromas and flavours of red fruit and earth accompanied by a touch of spice. This is good value at $37 and is available from The Small Winemakers wine agency.

Part of Pinot's charm and appeal is its elusiveness. While it often speaks to us in terms of elegance and finesse, it also truly tugs on our imagination in a way that most other wines can't. However, when a great bottle of Pinot is found, we will happily succumb to its mysterious ways.

Pieter Van den Weghe is wine director at Beckta dining & wine.

# A condo full of Croatian culture

*By Margo Roston*

ALL PHOTOS BY DYANNE WILSON

The main reception room of Croatian Ambassador Veselko Grubisic's four-bedroom condo has three large windows facing Sussex Drive, bright oriental carpets and two white sofas.

Croatia's Ambassador Veselko Grubisic, his wife, Marta, and their three children live on Sussex Drive, or the capital's Mile of History, as it is known. Their heritage condominium is a stone's throw away from the National Gallery, across the street from the U.S. embassy and strategically located on the edge of the vibrant ByWard Market.

Their four-bedroom, 3,000-square-foot residence is located in a stunning, renovated historic building between York and Clarence streets, an amalgamation of five 19th-Century commercial buildings. The structures, built between 1846 and 1876, had a certain importance since Sussex Drive, and its location next to Lowertown, made it the commercial centre of the city at that time.

Shortly before the end of the First World War, the buildings were purchased one-by-one, between 1917 and 1920, by Mother Marie-Thomas d'Aquin, a Dominican nun from France. She put the build-

The ambassador's 100-year-old gramophone from his posting in Ireland.

The foyer features bright contemporary art, and a table where visitors can sign the guestbook.

PHOTO BY DYANNE WILSON

Veselko Grubisic and his wife, Marta.

ALL PHOTOS BY DYANNE WILSON

The dining room, where stone walls put the building in its historical context.

ings together for her Institut Jeanne d'Arc, which served as a convent for her order and as a residence and refuge for single girls moving to Ottawa. Privileged Anglo children also attended the convent's school, where they took classes in French and English from Grades 1 to 3.

The building was purchased by the National Capital Commission (NCC) in 1980 and eventually was developed into condominiums by Sarah Jennings, sister of the late ABC news anchor, Peter Jennings, and her husband, Ian Johns.

They developed the space into two buildings and Mr. Jennings, who planned to spend free time in Ottawa when he had a chance, turned two of the apartments into one on the fourth floor of the smaller building. Sadly, he died from lung cancer

A replica of the famous Vučedol Dove, a symbol of fertility, which dates back to between 2800 and 2500 BC.

in 2005 before he could live in his lovely pied-à-terre. His two children originally decided to sell the condo and put it on the market for more than $1 million. When it didn't sell, they decided to rent it, first to the Ottawa Senators' Alexei Kovalev and his family and most recently, to the Croatian government.

"I love it here," says Ms Grubisic. "When I get up, I can go out for coffee and shopping."

When he talks about renting his residence, the ambassador smiles. After all, he says, his Chapel Street embassy is located in one of the most beautiful heritage buildings in Sandy Hill, acquired with funds raised by the Croatian community in Canada.

The condo's charming courtyard is dominated by Dancing Bear, a large 1999 sculpture by Paula Salia, an Inuit artist

The view of Parliament from the condo's Sussex Drive-facing terrace.

from Baffin Island. But their condo also has a truly commanding view of the sights that every tourist in town flocks to see.

Once you have entered the condo from a bright and colourful foyer where Croatian artists such as contemporary artist Zdenka Schonwald and naif painter Ivan Lackovic are well represented, you immediately enter the main reception room. There, three large windows face Sussex Drive. The expanse of glass shows off the spectacular sight of the U.S. Embassy, Major's Hill Park, Parliament Hill and the Parliamentary Library.

The ambassadorial couple has furnished the room simply with bright oriental carpets and two white sofas. A massive fireplace and bookshelves crammed with the volumes the ambassador brought from home give the room its warm character. The former chemical engineer, who was asked to join the foreign service in 1991 after Croatia achieved independence, has served in Brussels and Dublin and has been in Ottawa three years. A 100-year-old gramophone is a delightful souvenir from his Irish posting.

The south-facing walls of the living room and dining room are beautiful examples of the building's original stone, putting the condo in its historical context.

And history is never far away. Off the living room is a large, private patio with an unobstructed view of the heart of Canada's capital. Not all their guests get to see the view, however. When more than 40 guests are expected, the couple entertain at their large embassy.

Dinner parties with traditional Croatian food are catered by Anna Bota, who owned the New Dubrovnik restaurant for the past 30 years. She closed its doors at the end of July. For the ambassador and his wife, a typical menu might include pumpkin bisque, risotto, perhaps beef, and maybe *palachinka*, a Croatian form of crêpes Suzette often served with nuts and chocolate.

The ambassador will ply his guests with tasty Croatian chocolates, wine and champagne, both well-known treats of which he is justly proud. His country's Bajadera chocolates are famous, featuring a delectable concoction of hazelnut nougat filling sandwiched between two layers of dark chocolate. Meanwhile, Croatia's Plavac Mali red wine is poured liberally and generously.

So let's all raise a glass and say *Zivili*, which means: "to life."

Margo Roston is *Diplomat's* culture editor.

# Celebration time

## A listing of the national and independence days marked by countries

| October | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | China | National Day |
| 1 | Cyprus | Independence Day |
| 1 | Nigeria | National Day |
| 1 | Palau | Independence Day |
| 1 | Tuvalu | National Day |
| 2 | Guinea | National Day |
| 3 | Germany | Day of German Unity |
| 3 | Korea, Republic | National Foundation Day |
| 4 | Lesotho | National Day |
| 9 | Uganda | Independence Day |
| 10 | Fiji | National Day |
| 12 | Spain | National Day |
| 12 | Equatorial Guinea | National Day |
| 23 | Hungary | Commemoration of the 1956 Revolution and Day of Proclamation of the Republic of Hungary |
| 24 | Zambia | Independence Day |
| 26 | Austria | National Day |
| 27 | Saint Vincent and the Grenadines | Independence Day |
| 27 | Turkmenistan | Independence Day |
| 28 | Czech Republic | Proclamation of Czech States |
| 29 | Turkey | Proclamation of the Republic |
| **November** | | |
| 1 | Algeria | National Day |
| 1 | Antigua and Barbuda | Independence Day |
| 3 | Dominica | Independence Day |
| 3 | Micronesia | Independence Day |
| 3 | Panama | Independence Day |
| 9 | Cambodia | National Day |
| 11 | Angola | Independence Day |
| 18 | Latvia | Independence Day |
| 18 | Oman | National Day |
| 19 | Monaco | National Day |
| 22 | Lebanon | Independence Day |
| 25 | Bosnia and Herzegovina | National Day |
| 25 | Suriname | Independence Day |
| 28 | Albania | National Day |
| 28 | Timor-Leste | Independence Day |
| 28 | Mauritania | Independence Day |
| 30 | Barbados | Independence Day |
| **December** | | |
| 1 | Central African Republic | Proclamation of the Republic |
| 1 | Romania | National Day |
| 2 | Laos | National Day |
| 2 | United Arab Emirates | National Day |
| 5 | Thailand | National Day |
| 6 | Finland | Independence Day |
| 11 | Burkina Faso | National Day |
| 12 | Kenya | Independence Day |
| 16 | Bahrain | Independence Day |
| 16 | Kazakhstan | Independence Day |
| 16 | Qatar | Independence Day |
| 23 | Japan | National Day |

## New arrivals

**Calsey Willmore Johnson**
**High Commissioner for the Bahamas**

Dr. Johnson was a career broadcaster for three decades and was general manager of the Broadcasting Corporation of the Bahamas (BCB) — the country's national broadcasting system — for 14 years. He served a five-year term as executive chairman of the board of the BCB.

He also served as a senator in the Bahamas parliament for two years (2002 to 2004) and, after his career in broadcasting, he became vice-president of marketing and sales with British Fidelity Insurance and was a member of the CL Financial Group.

Dr. Johnson's posting in Canada represents a return for him as he studied journalism at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute (now Ryerson University) from 1967 to 1972.

He is married to Dulcena Johnson and has one daughter.

**Niels Boel Abrahamsen**
**Ambassador of Denmark**

Mr. Abrahamsen joined the foreign ministry in 1993, after completing a master's degree in economics at the University of Copenhagen and working at the ministry of finance for two years.

By 1995, he was first secretary in Austria and returned three years later to head the foreign ministry's EU department. In 2001, he was minister-counsellor at the embassy in Washington and a year later, he became deputy head of the finance department at the foreign ministry.

In 2006, he was made head of security and three years later, ambassador for security, services and digitalization at the ministry. In 2012, he became ambassador to Afghanistan for a year before being posted to Canada.

Mr. Abrahamsen is married to Karen Eva Lind Abrahamsen and they have two sons.

**Gita Kalmet**
**Ambassador of Estonia**

Ms. Kalmet studied drama at the Tallinn State Conservatoire and then spent the first five years of her career as an actress. In 1993, she attended the Estonian School of Diplomacy and began her foreign service career that same year, as a desk officer in the political department.

Her first posting was to France in 1999 after which she returned to Tallinn as a desk officer for NATO. In 2003, she became director of the EU current affairs division and three years later, she was appointed ambassador to the Netherlands, where she spent five years. In 2011, she became director-general of the public diplomacy department and was appointed to Canada two years later.

Ms. Kalmet speaks Estonian, English, French and Russian. She is married to theatre director Madis Kalmet. They have two sons.

**Hau Do Suan**
**Ambassador of Myanmar**

Mr. Suan joined the foreign ministry in 1979 and served in the political department for two years before being seconded to the ministry of education as an assistant to the deputy minister.

Between 1983 and 1999, he had various jobs, including as deputy assistant director of the legal division, third secretary to the mission at the UN and later in Geneva, head of the international organization division, second secretary and deputy head-of-mission in Canberra.

In 2003, he was posted as minister-counsellor to the embassy in China and then became consul general at the Kunming mission in China. In 2009, he was deputy director-general of the political division before being sent to Canada.

Mr. Suan is married to Nwe Nwe Aye and they have two children.

**Cornelis Johannes Kole**
**Ambassador of the Netherlands**

C.J. Kole joined the foreign ministry in 1984. Between 1985 and 1995, he held postings at the embassy in Warsaw, in the Queen's cabinet and at the foreign ministry's headquarters in The Hague.

In 1995, he became deputy-director of the protocol department and then a project leader in the foreign ministry's human resources department. After that, he became a policy officer and spokesman at the EU embassy in Brussels, after which he returned to headquarters to become director of the communications branch.

In 2006, he was posted to Paris as deputy-head-of-mission and then became ambassador to Iran in 2010, completing the posting just before coming to Ottawa.

Mr. Kole is married to Saskia Jordans and has a master's of law from Groningen University.

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**Mohd Dawood Qayomi**
Counsellor and chargé d'affaires

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**Jamie Ross Ferdinand**
Attaché

**Katherine Jeffrey**
First secretary

Belarus
**Timofei Demin**
Second secretary

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**Yingchun Hong**
Counsellor

**Wanrong Huang**
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Attaché

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**Rajesh Agarwal**
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India
**Tsewang Namgyal**
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Indonesia
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**Masuya Nishikuramori**
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Third secretary

**Junko Wada**
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**Jang Min Choi**
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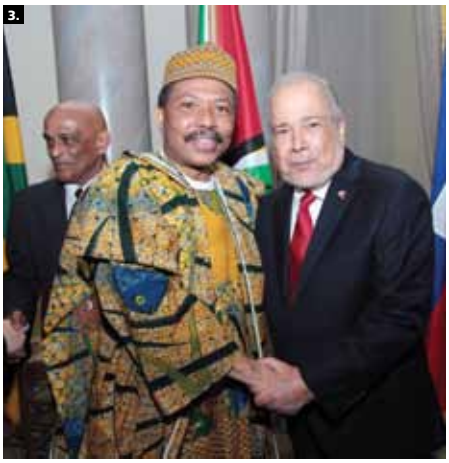
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1. Belgian Ambassador Bruno van der Pluijm hosted a reception at his residence to mark the country's National Day. From left, Denis Robert, Canada's ambassador to Belgium, Mr. van der Pluijm and his wife, Hildegarde van de Voorde. 2. The Arab ambassadors of Ottawa held a gala and award ceremony at the Canadian Museum of History, to honour the excellence of Canadians of Arab descent. Mezzo-soprano Julie Nesrallah, who performed at the event, was one of the award recipients. (Photo: M. Belmellat) 3. The heads of mission of CARICOM hosted a reception on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of their organization's establishment. Here Haitian Ambassador Frantz Liautaud, right, greets Benin Ambassador Honoré-Théodore Ahimakin. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 4. Cameroon High Commissioner Solomon Azoh-Mbi Anu'a-Gheyle, centre, and his wife, Mercy, hosted a national day reception at the Château Laurier. They're shown greeting Swedish Ambassador Teppo Tauriainen. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 5. The African diplomatic corps hosted Africa Day 2013 at the Palais des congrès in Gatineau. Rwandan Ambassador Edda Mukabagwiza greets Kenneth David Kaunda, first president of Zambia. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 6. Argentine chargé d'affaires José Ureta hosted a national day reception at the Château Laurier. He's shown with Angolan Ambassador Agostinho Tavares da Silva Neto. (Photo: Sam Garcia)


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1. French Ambassador Philippe Zeller and his wife Odile, hosted a dinner at their residence to celebrate the launch of the book *Sainte-Cyrille-de-Perpétue*, which was written by the six women pictured here. From left: Florence Saint-Léger Liautaud (Haiti), Marianne Feaver (Canada), Ms. Zeller, Hélène Carrier, Madeleine Brinkmann (EU) and Federica Lehner (Switzerland). (Photo: Sam Garcia) 2. Otto's BMW held a family day event for diplomats at the Canadian Museum of History. From left, James Robertson, Deputy British High Commissioner Corin Robertson, their children, Zoe and Alex and Jason Gullo Mullins, a dancer from the Cherokee Nation and cultural ambassador for the Ottawa-based NGO Aboriginal Experiences. (Photo: Marc Bridgen) 3. Norwegian Ambassador Mona Elisabeth Brother and her husband Asmund Baklien hosted a national day reception at their residence. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 4. Italian Ambassador Gian Cornado paid a courtesy call to Ottawa Mayor Jim Watson. 5. Greek Parliament speaker Evangelos Meimarakis spoke at a reception held in his honour. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 6. Tooms Hendrik Ilves, president of Estonia, visited Ottawa in the spring. He's shown entering the centre block with MP Peter Van Loan, who hosted a reception in his honour. (Photo: Ulle Baum)


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1. Former EU Ambassador Matthias Brinkmann, centre, and the Canada-Europe Parliamentary Association co-hosted a reception to celebrate Europe. From left, Colombian Ambassador Nicolas Lloreda Ricaurte and Spanish Ambassador Carlos Gomez-Mugica Sanz. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 2. Netherlands Ambassador Wim Geerts joined the band at a reception he hosted on Queen's Day at Ottawa City Hall. It also served as his farewell reception. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. To mark the 222nd anniversary of the adoption of the constitution, Ambassador Zenon Kosiniak-Kamysk, left, and his wife, Katarzyna, hosted a reception at the Château Laurier. The ambassador is shown with former top soldier Walter Natynczyk. (Photo: Polish embassy) 4. To mark the independence day of Paraguay, Ambassador Manuel Schaerer Kanonnikoff, left, hosted a reception. He's shown with Percy Abols, director of A.G.R.I. Inc. (Photo: Frank Scheme) 5. Portuguese Ambassador Jose Fernando Moreira da Cunha hosted a reception at his residence to mark Portugal's National Day. He's shown greeting Mali Ambassador Ami Diallo Traore. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 6. Deputy Mayor Steve Desroches and Indian High Commissioner Nirmal Verma watch as Jagdeep Perhar, president of the India Canada Association, raised India's flag at Ottawa City Hall to mark the 66th anniversary of India's Independence.


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1. The opening gala of the weekend to honour Korean War veterans took place at the Canadian War Museum. From left, Brigitte D'Auzac de Lamartinie of Historica Canada; Alex Herd, researcher for Historica Canada; James Witham, director-general of the war museum; Lee Yang, Korean Ambassador Cho Hee-yong; Choi Wan-Geun, of the Patriots and Veterans Affairs for Korea; Young-Hae Lee, president of the Canada Korea Society; Doug Finney, president-elect of the National Korean Veterans Association (KVA); former Veterans Affairs minister Steven Blaney; Senator Yonah Martin; Senator Joseph Day; Korean military attaché Col. Soo-Wan Lee; former Canadian trade commissioner Robert C. Lee; Col. David Clark of the U.S. Department of Defense; MP Chungsen Leung and the piper for the evening. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 2. Azerbaijani consul Goshgar A. Zeynalov, right, attended the opening of the Edward Burtynsky show at the Canadian Museum of Nature. He's shown with the artist, centre, and Museum CEO Meg Beckel. (Photo: Martin Lipman) 3. Ken Taylor, Canada's former ambassador to Iran, spoke at a Carleton University alumni association lunch. From left, retired Canadian diplomats Chris Westdal, Craig MacDonald, Rick Kohler, Ken Taylor, Malcolm McKechnie, Lawrence Lederman. (Photo: Mike Pinder)

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# Marketplace

# Kazakhstan: The jewel of Central Asia

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF KAZAKHSTAN

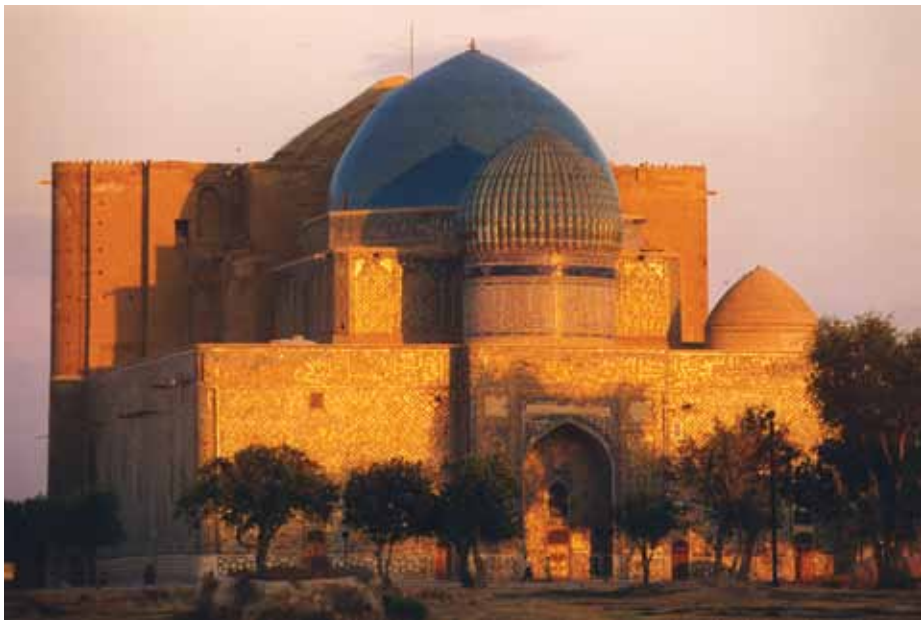
Baiterek Tower in Kazakhstan's capital, Astana.

*By Konstantin Zhigalov*
*Ambassador of Kazakhstan*

Kazakhstan is the ninth biggest country in the world — larger than Western Europe, but located in Central Asia, deep in the Eurasian continent. It shares borders with Russia (the longest continental border in the world at 6,846 kilometres), China (1,533 kilometres), Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan.

As a result of its geographic location and size (2.7 million square kilometres), Kazakhstan has a natural beauty that features the most striking examples of European and Asian landscapes: steppes, mountains, lakes and the Caspian Sea in the west, which is famous for its oil and gas deposits, to say nothing of its caviar.

Kazakhstan's land is rich with history. It remembers Genghis Khan's hordes and the journeys of tradesmen and travellers along the northern route of the Great Silk Road. Today, there are unique national parks and reserves and more than 9,000 archeological and historic sites. At one such site, a famous "Golden Man" was discovered dating from the 4th Century BC,



MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF KAZAKHSTAN

The Mausoleum of Khoja Ahmed Yasawi, built in the 14th Century.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF KAZAKHSTAN

Women in traditional Kazakh dress.

his armour clad with almost 3,000 golden plates. Mausoleum of Khoja Ahmed Yasawi is an important Islamic pilgrimage site constructed from 1389 to 1405, which has been added to the UNESCO World Heritage List. More than 6,000 species of plants grow in Kazakhstan, 500 species of birds nest here and 107 species of fish inhabit local rivers and lakes.

These factors promote a diverse tourism industry in Kazakhstan. According to Kazakhstan Tourism Industry Development, the industry's contribution to the country's GDP will grow from $2.4 billion to $7 billion by 2020.

The country itself saw impressive economic growth after it gained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 and extraction of oil, natural gas, coal, uranium and other minerals and metals was intensified through foreign investment. Today, Kazakhstan is the world's largest uranium producer. Within the next decade, the country is expected to become one of the world's largest oil producers and exporters.

Since independence, Kazakhstan's per-capita GDP grown from $700 to $12,500 and it had attracted more than $170 billion of foreign direct investment (FDI) during this period. As a result, Kazakhstan has become one of the five fastest growing economies in the world.

The government recognizes that diversification, modernization and investment in people's well-being, health care, education, sports and other areas are vital to creating sustainable development. To that end, our athletes showed impressive results at the recent Summer Olympic Games in London, finishing 12th in the overall medal standings with a total of 13 medals (seven gold, one silver and five bronze).

For most tourists, a visit to Kazakhstan starts with Almaty. It is the biggest city in Kazakhstan, with a population of almost 1.5 million and is a major connecting hub for international flights arriving from Europe or departing to Asia.

But it's more than that. Despite of losing its status as Kazakhstan's capital in 1997, Almaty is still considered the financial and cultural centre of the country and is often referred to as the "southern capital." It is located at the foot of the Zaili Alatau Mountains and has a mild climate, which makes it inviting for guests to spend time in its parks, gardens and squares. This climate is also good for the variety of flowers, vegetables and fruits that grow in the area.

Apples have a long history in this city. The legendary Aport apple, which made the city famous long before the Soviet period, is grown in Almaty. In fact, Alma-Ata, the former name of the city, translates as the "Father of Apples." In addition, the Tien Shan Mountains are some of the most impressive attractions surrounding Almaty, with Khan Tengri being Kazakhstan's highest summit at more than 7,000 metres.

The city's most popular recreation site is Kok Tobe, which means "Green Hill," which can be reached by an aerial tramway line from downtown Almaty. The 350-metre-high city television tower, Alma-Ata Tower, is located on the hill, where visitors can enjoy a magnificent panorama of the city and breathtaking sunsets. Within a half-hour drive from Almaty, you can reach Medeu and its legendary ice stadium, built in the 1970s, where more than 120 world skating records have been set.

From there, you can visit Shymbulak, a popular ski resort. Both Shymbulak and Medeu provided venues for the 2011

TOURISM INDUSTRY COMMITTEE OF KAZAKHSTAN

Walking through the Sharyn Canyon.

TOURISM INDUSTRY COMMITTEE OF KAZAKHSTAN

Mountain climbing in the Sayram-Ugam National Park.

Asian Winter Games hosted by Kazakhstan. Almaty is unique, because it offers its guests an opportunity to ski in its mountains and play golf on its fields on the same day. Since 2005, Almaty has been hosting the Kazakhstan Open, a men's professional golf tournament on the European Challenge Tour.

Travelling to the east of Almaty, closer to the border with China, you will discover the 154-kilometre-long and 350-metre-deep Sharyn Canyon. Its formation began around 12 million years ago. Many rare plants and trees grow in the canyon area, some of which are found in only one other canyon — the famous Grand Canyon of Arizona.

The prevalent image of Kazakhstan is that of endless steppe. This is especially true for Sary Arka (which means "yellow back"). This area is considered the heartland of the people of Kazakhstan, home to the legendary Kypchak nation, a tribe of master horse-riders. Famous 19th-Century Kazakh poet, reformer and philosopher Abai Kunanbayev wrote about the great steppe of Sary Arka: "It is summer. The trees cast their shadows, and in the meadows the flowers bloom impetuously. Busily, the summer camps are being put up and the grass is so high in the steppe that the backs of the horses are hardly visible."

Kazakhstan's new capital, Astana, was established in the heart of the Sary Arka in 1997. Within a short period, the left bank of the Ishim River in Astana saw the creation of a brand new city. The decision of Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev to move the capital from Almaty to Astana was not an easy one, as it led to heated debates and many people had to be convinced of the need to make Astana the new capital of Kazakhstan.

Today, Astana is rightfully recognized as the brainchild of President Nazarbayev. It has become one of the biggest cities in Kazakhstan and, in fewer than 15 years, its population has tripled to more than 700,000 people. Its impressive growth reflects the dynamic development of our modern country.

Astana is also the political centre of Kazakhstan. In 2010, the city hosted the first Summit of the Organization of Security and Co-operation in Europe held since 1999. The Council of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of Islamic Co-operation was organized in Astana the following year, thus placing Kazakhstan in a unique position: The country had successfully chaired the largest Euro-Atlantic Summit, and then hosted the largest Muslim international organization. Another historic event awaits Astana in 2017: hosting the international EXPO-2017, which coincides with the capital's 20th anniversary.

Because of its capital status, Astana attracts plenty of tourists, especially with its fascinating and grandiose architecture. The city's official plan was drafted by Japanese architect Kisho Kurokawa. Various building styles give an impression of a harmonious meeting of Western and Eastern cultures. The new Presidential Palace, Baiterek Tower and Astana Opera House are just a few of the must-see sites in Astana. Another popular tourist site is the Palace of Peace and Accord, designed by British architect Sir Norman Foster in the form of a glass pyramid, and serving primarily as a venue for events held by the Congress of World and Traditional Religions. Kazakhstan's, like Canada, is a multi-ethnic country with representatives from more than 130 ethnic groups of various religious beliefs. Kazakhstan's multi-ethnic and inter-religious unity, a driving force behind much of its political and economic progress, is often reflected in the architecture of its capital city.

Many hotels have been recently constructed in Astana to accommodate its guests, who may be pleasantly surprised

by the quality and service they experience in its five-star hotels. However, one should keep in mind that Astana is the second-coldest capital in the world (by some rankings, Ottawa takes the third place and Ulan Bator, Mongolia, takes first). Thus, the best time for a visit may be during spring, summer and fall.

Burabay National Nature Park is located about 200 kilometres northeast of Astana. Because of its beautiful spring-fed lakes, mountains and forests, it is known as the "Kazakh Switzerland." Clean air and relaxing scenery also make Burabay a great health resort that can provide its guests with sanatoriums and spas. Fishermen and hunters will also find many attractive activities in Kazakhstan, especially with the revival of falconry, which was a traditional, ancient way of hunting for the nomads in Central Asia.

Located in a very remote area of Kazakhstan, the Baikonur Cosmodrome is the world's first and largest operational space-launch facility. It is known for launching the first human, Yuri Gagarin, into outer space and also Kazakhstan's cosmonaut, Talgat Musabayev, who was listed in *Guinness Book of World Records* after spending more than 30 hours in one month working outside the space station. Canadian astronaut Chris Hadfield was also launched to space from the Baikonur Cosmodrome. Even though Baikonur is located in a very remote area of Kazakhstan, it has been attracting more and more tourists who are interested in seeing its launches. The tourism industry around the Baikonur area is expected to intensify in the future with development of additional infrastructure and new investment.

Finally, a trip to Kazakhstan would not be complete without tasting the country's national cuisine. Traditional Kazakh dishes are mainly prepared with cooked horsemeat and mutton served with *baursaki* (fried dough), *shorpa* (meat broth), *kumis* (fermented horse milk drink), *irimshik* (sour cow's cheese) or *kurt* (salted cheese balls). Hospitality is second-nature for Kazakhstan's people, so every traveller and guest can expect to be heartily welcomed.

Given the size and diversity of my country, it is practically impossible in a brief article to share all the exciting adventures and discoveries that await in Kazakhstan. I encourage readers to contact our embassy for more information and travel options in Kazakhstan.

Reach Mr. Zhigalov at kazakhembassy@gmail.com or 613-695-8055.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF KAZAKHSTAN

Akorda Presidential Palace in Astana.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF KAZAKHSTAN

Falconry hunting during winter.

TOURISM INDUSTRY COMMITTEE OF KAZAKHSTAN

Aksu Zhabagly Nature Reserve in Southern Kazakhstan.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF KAZAKHSTAN

Herds of horses in the steppe.

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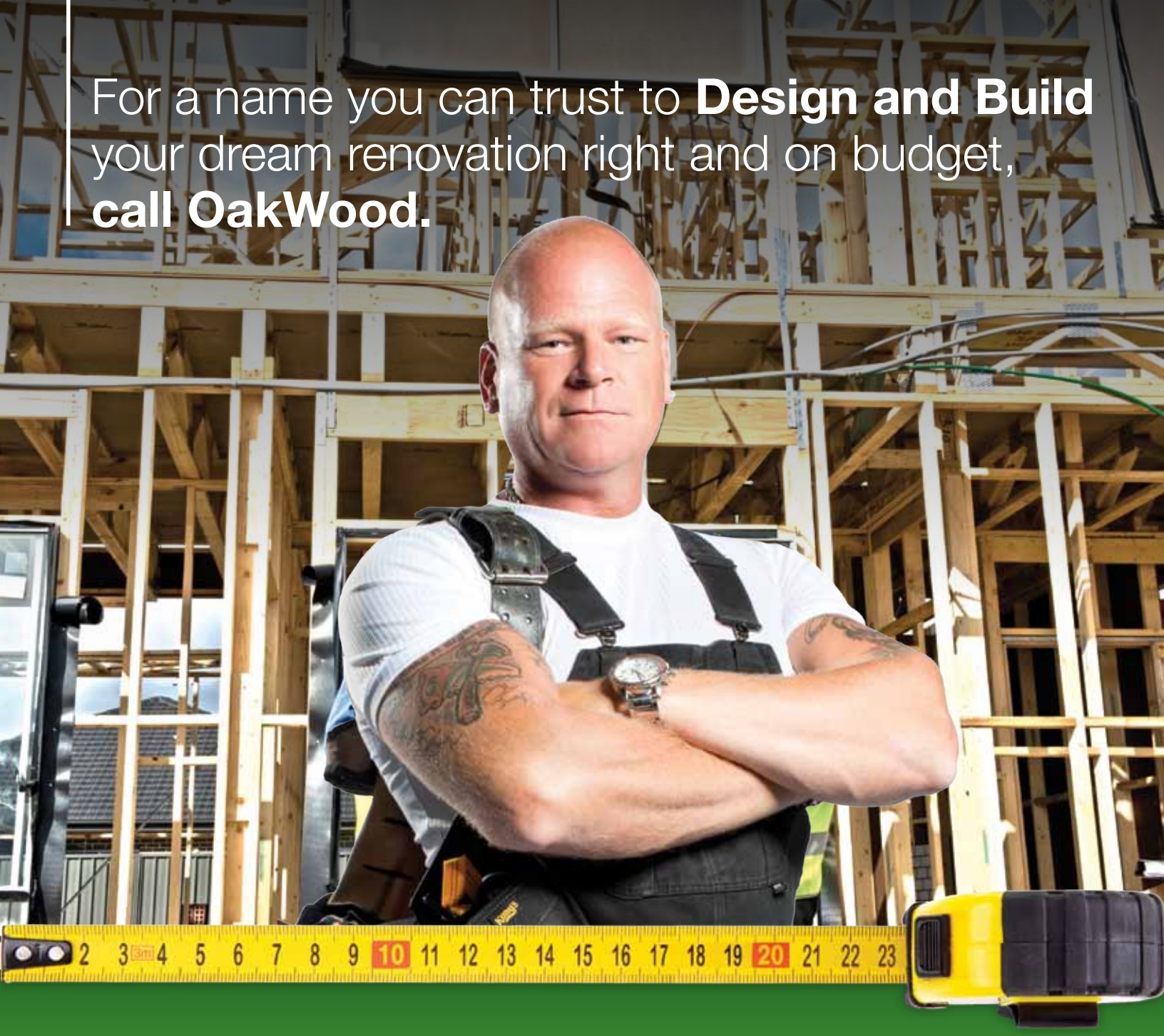

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