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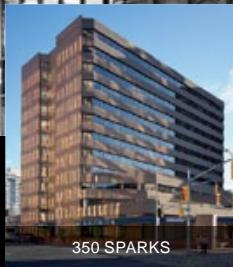
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Jennifer Campbell

2016: Annus horribilis?

Donald Trump has a clear chance of becoming the Republican candidate for the presidency of the United States, a position often referred to as "leader of the free world."

If only Trump's candidacy — and the U.S. primary and election spectacle as a whole — were 2016's most disturbing eventuality. Alas, it isn't. Writer Laura Neilson Bonikowsky has come up with nine others to join it. The war in Syria, conflict in the Middle East, a refugee crisis, a sagging Canadian economy, climate change, China's slumping economic growth, a bellicose Russia, provocation in the South China Sea and cyber attacks all join the U.S. election on our Top 10 countdown of a year worthy of worries.

We look at Russia twice in this edition. In February, Russian Ambassador Alexander Darchiev made a rare public address in which he discussed his country, its ideology and what he'd like to do to improve relations between Russia and Canada. We dedicated several pages to his speech in an effort to give our readers the diplomatic view from official Russia. We also asked Derek Fraser, our resident expert on Ukraine, for an update on relations between Russia and Ukraine and the prospects for stability there.

In addition, retired political science professor Robert Henderson writes about Taiwan after Tsai Ing-wen, the DPP party's candidate and Taiwan's first female president, won the presidency in January. Tensions with China in general, and in the South China Sea in particular, are on everyone's radar given the change in government and the desire by some in Taiwan's newly elected government to make

a public "declaration of independence."

Up front, columnist Fen Hampson teams up with former Canadian ambassador to the U.S., Derek Burney, to write about the Canada-U.S. relationship and their opinion that, in spite of a glitzy official visit by the Trudeau's in Washington in March, the U.S. doesn't care much about Canada.

We also have my interview with Michael Grant, one of Canada's two ambassadors to the United Nations. I had been asking him for an interview for months and was repeatedly turned down without explanation by Foreign Affairs officials. I renewed my request after the October election and bingo, it was granted. "Just the fact that we're doing this interview is significant," Grant said, referring to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's letter to diplomats stating they could, once again, speak on behalf of what is now called Global Affairs Canada — that they are the experts.

If trade is your interest, check out the articles written by the ambassadors of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Costa Rica and by the Pakistani high commissioner on trade between their countries and Canada.

On the subject of refugees, Turkish Ambassador Selçuk Ünal and Greek Ambassador George Marcantonatos each write passionately about how their governments are dealing with the unprecedented influx of refugees into their respective countries.

In our Delights section, George Fetherling features books on the Nazi occupation of Paris, the French resistance movement and the Afghan people.

Food columnist Margaret Dickens writes about the culinary history of South Africa, while culture editor Margo Roston takes us on a tour of Moroccan Ambassador Nouzha Chekrouni's Aylmer residence. Our wine columnist, Pieter Van den Weghe, toasts Grüner Veltliner and Canadiana writer Anthony Wilson-Smith celebrates Asian history in Canada.

Finally, in our Destinations section, Panamanian Ambassador Aristides Arosemena Medina takes us on an armchair tour of his country.

Jennifer Campbell is editor of *Diplomat*.

UP FRONT

2016 is shaping up to be a concerning year. Between the war in Syria, simmering tensions between Russia and neighbouring Ukraine, economic slumps across the globe, to name a few, there's plenty to rob one of sleep. Our cover photo illustrates Syrian refugees making their way to Greece. Our cover package begins on page 40.



CONTRIBUTORS

Robert D'A. Henderson, writer



Robert D'A. Henderson is a retired professor of international relations and currently does international assessments and elections monitoring in the former Soviet Union, the Middle East, the Horn of Africa and East Asia, among others. His recent writings include "China – Great Power Rising," in the *Routledge Handbook of Diplomacy and Statecraft* (London and New York). Previously, he edited the respected *Brassey's International Intelligence Yearbook* (Washington, D.C.), after serving as a senior international strategic analyst for the Canadian government and after teaching international relations and security studies at universities in Canada and overseas for nearly 20 years.

Ashley Fraser, photographer



Ashley Fraser has been a professional photographer for more than 10 years and was nominated for a National Newspaper Award in 2008. She still considers each shoot exciting. From being welcomed into an ambassador's residence to being in the middle of breaking news for a daily newspaper, there is always something to learn with each experience, she says. When she doesn't have a camera in her hands, you'll find her at the gym or on a snowboard, wakeboard, or standup paddleboard, depending on the season.

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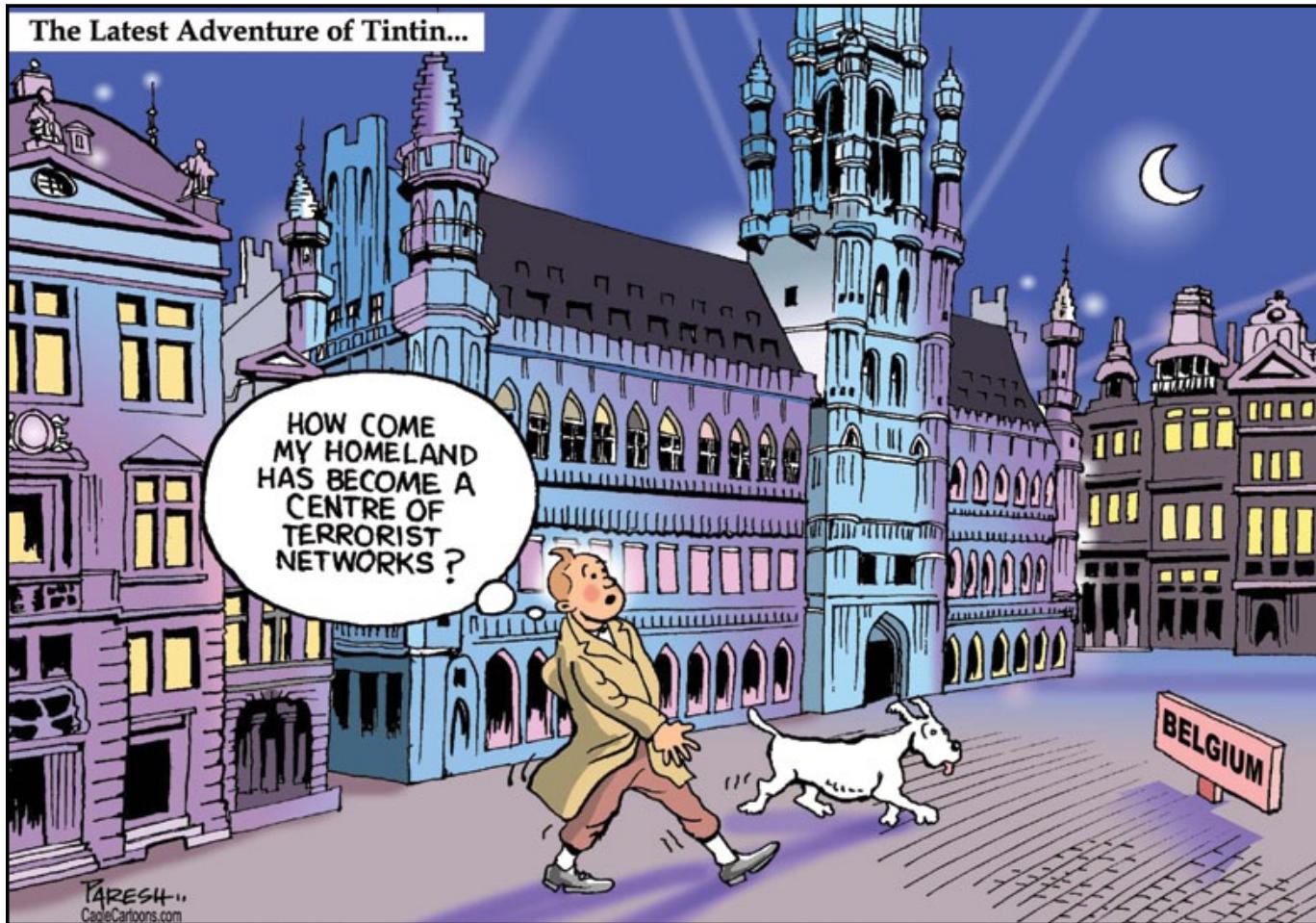
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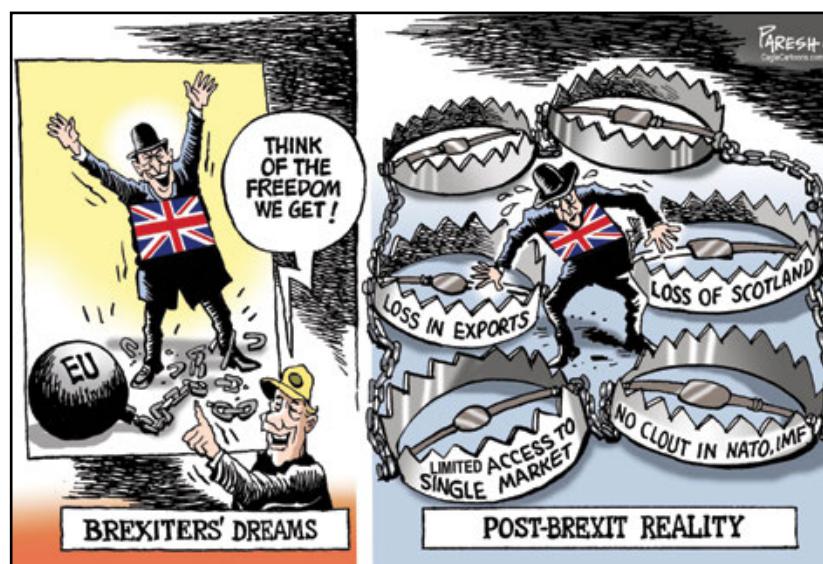
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"Kim Jong Un Nuclear Dreaming" by Riber Hansson,
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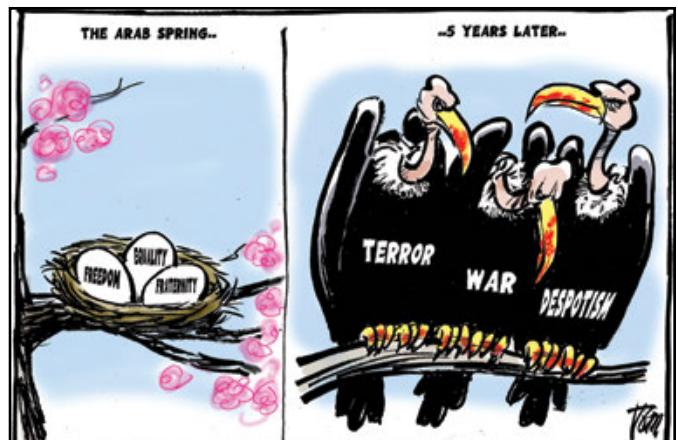
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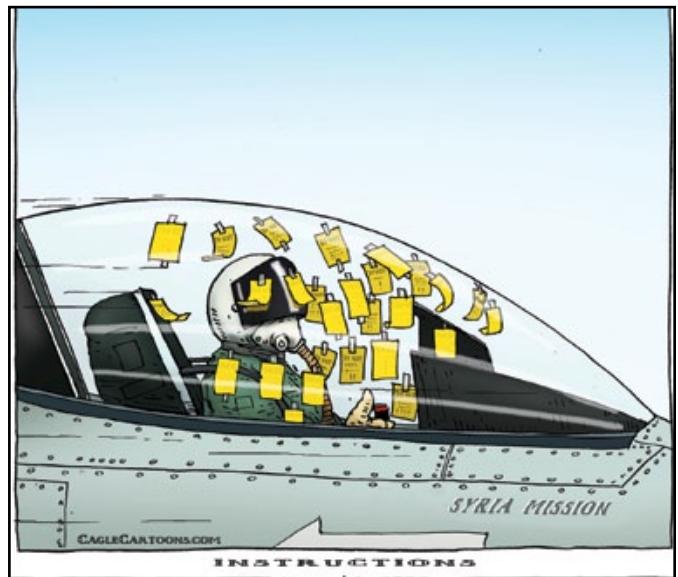
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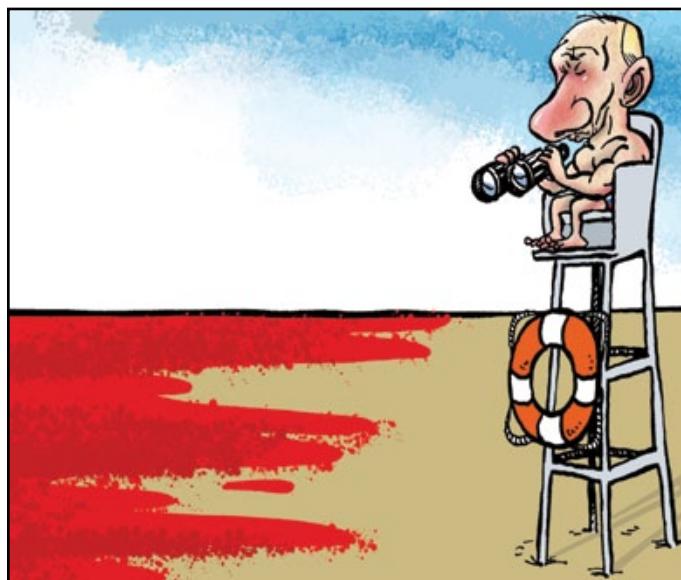
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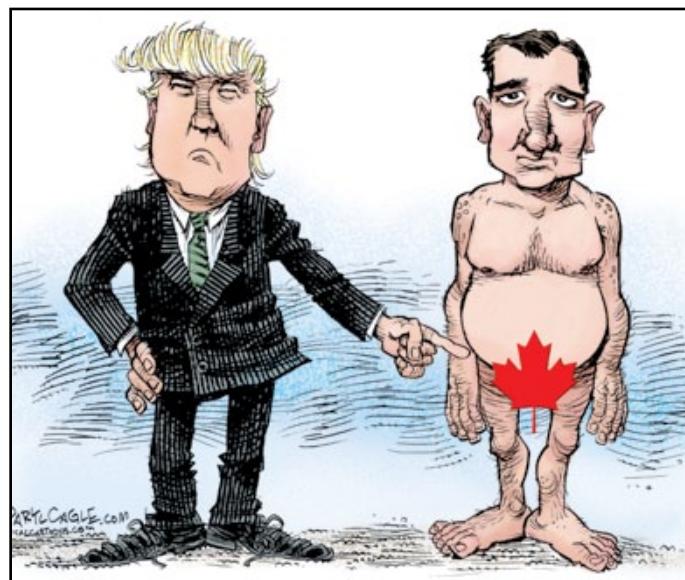
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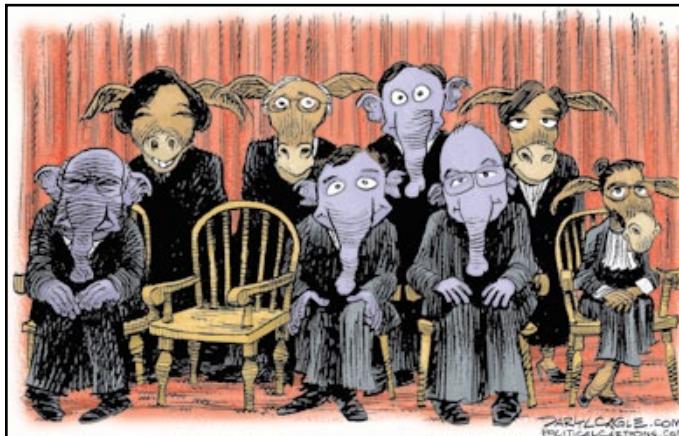
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"Assad Geneva Talks" by Emad Hajjaj, Jordan



"Great Britain Menu" by Tom Janssen, The Netherlands



"Merkel and Refugees" by Christo Komarnitski, Bulgaria

'Canada doesn't matter much to the U.S. anymore'



For many years, our ace in the hole with the Americans was the energy we exported to them.



By Fen Hampson and Derek Burney

We should get used to it. Canada doesn't matter much to the United States anymore, notwithstanding the warm reception the prime minister received at the White House during his official visit in March. Some of this is our doing. But much of it is also driven by economics and domestic politics in the U.S. As our importance to our American friends fades, we need a different kind of strategy to deal with Washington. We need one driven by a better appreciation of our own national interests, but also how a changing world is affecting the United States.

For too long, Canadians have believed we are important to the U.S. and that if we are nice to Americans, they will be nice to

us. That was the rap against former prime minister Stephen Harper in the last election: that he had blown it in his dealings with the White House over his tub thumping on the Keystone Pipeline. Harper assumed that pragmatic factors would outweigh trendy sentiment. He was wrong. Canada's new political leadership team is going to find out sooner rather than later that they are fettered by the same constraints, especially when a new president is sworn in next year.

Let's be clear, though. It's not that Americans are mean-spirited. They just don't see us as that important to them and, besides, they have complex domestic and global problems more pressing than issues with their northern neighbour.

When it comes to trade and investment, Canada is not only of declining importance to the United States, but the U.S. is also increasingly our trading competitor.

What was little noticed at the end of last year was that China replaced Canada as the United States' No. 1 trading partner in goods, accounting for 16 percent of overall U.S. trade, with the bulk of that trade being lopsided towards U.S. imports

of Chinese goods (\$482 billion versus \$116 billion of U.S. exports.) By this measure, Canada is now No. 2, accounting for 15 percent of U.S. trade (though Canada is still No. 1 when services are added to the equation), but we sell far less to the United States than China, only \$295 billion, and we are buying almost as much as we sell to the U.S. — \$280 billion. And what happened with goods may happen with services as the Chinese economy undergoes its own transformation towards services and high-tech and away from export-led growth based on manufacturing.

Moreover, Mexico may soon replace us as No. 2, given its rapid economic growth, which is projected to jump between three and four percent in the coming years, while ours is flat-lined, and given Mexico's larger population (120 million versus our 36 million). Mexico imported \$236 billion in goods from the U.S. and exported \$294 billion, just \$1 billion shy of what we sold.

For many years, our ace-in-the-hole with the Americans was our energy exports. As U.S. oil and gas production declined in the late 1990s, American

dependence on Canadian hydrocarbon exports correspondingly grew. We were the U.S.'s most important source of energy imports. Political instability in the Middle East meant Canadian oil came with a valuable security premium. That was one reason the Americans committed themselves under NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) not to do anything that would interfere with the free movement of energy across our borders.

Although we are still the U.S.'s most important energy supplier, exporting roughly 3.4 million barrels per day, the net is almost a million barrels lower (2.58 million). We import refined oil products in bulk from the U.S. to meet our own needs because we lack domestic refining capacity. With development of U.S. shale oil reserves and application of deep underground reserve fracking technology, which incidentally, and perhaps ironically, is a Canadian invention, U.S. domestic production has surged to the point where only 27 percent of the petroleum consumed by the U.S. is imported from abroad, the lowest level since 1985. The U.S. is also now in the business of exporting oil and refined oil products.

By changing U.S. laws to allow for the development of oil reserves in ecologically sensitive offshore reserves and also in Alaska, Obama's administration signalled that when it came to American interests, climate-change concerns came second to achieving energy self-sufficiency.

The same cannot be said for the way the administration treated Canada.

The U.S. president's decision to refuse to issue a permit for the construction of the Keystone Pipeline was all about political symbolism and appeasing the climate-change lobby. But it also spoke to a deeper truth about the Canada-U.S. relationship — Canada no longer matters as much as it did to U.S. energy security needs in an era of cheap oil and alternative sources of supply. Nor, for that matter, does the health of the Canadian economy, which needed the pipeline for jobs and growth. The one area where Prime Minister Justin Trudeau appears to see eye-to-eye with President Obama is climate change, but now, because of the U.S. courts, President Barack Obama's "aspirations" will be curtailed and we may be left clinging to unattainable Paris goals, as with the earlier Kyoto Agreement.

Despite talk about North American value chains and the integrated nature of the economies of Canada, Mexico and the U.S., the U.S. is increasingly competing with Canada. That has long been true of



U.S. Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter

wood products, where we have wrestled with the Americans over stumpage fees for shakes and shingles (the current agreement is over and is now a hot topic), and U.S. labelling on our beef and pork.

But competition now extends to energy, metals and other commodities. The Americans are beating a path to Asia faster than we are. The U.S. has built LNG (liquefied natural gas) terminals on its West Coast and has already begun shipments to Asia. The torrent of U.S. shale gas exports into the global market is projected to lower the price of the heating fuel in Asia by almost five percent. Meanwhile, Canada dilly-dallies with a requirement for further

public consultations that will slow what is already a glacial approvals process to build new tidewater terminals on the Pacific and the Atlantic. In innovation, we bleed more than we lead. A falling dollar will accelerate the outflow of talented researchers and entrepreneurs to the U.S.

On defence and security, we continue to play our hand badly. Although former prime minister Jean Chrétien could have given a hand to the Americans in the Iraq War, for domestic political reasons, he decided not to. The Americans accepted our decision and expressed the hope that Chrétien would not go out of his way to express his opposition publicly. But then he did just that, to their great annoyance.

In subsequent efforts to patch things up, he and his successor put more ground troops into Afghanistan and got us heavily involved in the war against the Taliban. Regardless of the merits of that decision, it was costly in terms of lives lost and the hundreds of millions of dollars of development and humanitarian assistance we threw at the Afghans. It also did not translate into the kind of influence or quid pro quo on things that mattered to us, such as easing post-9/11 border controls or working with Canada on joint infrastructure projects such as the construction of a new

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Today, history is repeating itself. Trudeau has stuck to his guns and made good on his electoral promise to withdraw Canada from the air bombing campaign against ISIS. The Americans have said nothing to criticize Canada publicly, though Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter made his unhappiness known by not inviting Canada's defence minister to a meeting of anti-ISIS coalition members earlier this year. To try to keep the Americans and our other NATO allies happy, Canada announced it will double the size of our training mission to help Iraqi Kurds, while increasing humanitarian assistance to those frontline states — Lebanon and Jordan — that are struggling to cope with a massive influx of refugees fleeing the war in neighbouring Syria.

In truth, many serious global challenges, such as the crisis in Syria, have been mishandled by the U.S. and its western allies. We may well be consigned to the periphery and should be careful not to exaggerate our significance or our capacity, especially since we spend barely one percent of our GDP on defence. If, as rumoured, the government chooses the Gripen fighter from Saab or the Rafael from France instead of the F35 to replace



Hillary Clinton has said she won't allow the Keystone Pipeline project.

our aging CF18s, this will not sit well in the land of Lockheed Martin, or do much for our "interoperability" with the United States Air Force. Our other NATO allies who have already signed on to buy the F35 won't be very happy with us, either.

Whoever wins the White House in the November presidential election will not be looking out for Canada's interests. Hillary Clinton, the Democratic front-runner, has already said she won't reverse Obama's decision on the Keystone pipeline. She is also opposed to the recently concluded Trans-Pacific Partnership agreement, which is all but dead because nobody — not even Republicans — supports it.

Among the Republican contenders, Donald Trump would play the same kind of hardball with Canada he is promising the Mexicans. In spite of the fact that he was born in Canada, Ted Cruz is running away from his birthplace as quickly as he can and he and Trudeau would not likely see eye-to-eye on very much.

If we are to tap the emerging markets of Asia to grow the Canadian economy and reduce our trade dependence on the U.S., we must strike out on our own with new bilateral trade deals, such as the one we recently concluded with Korea.

Canada's biggest challenge right now is to change our own expectations about our relationship with our neighbour. We need a mature relationship with the U.S. — defending our interests, instead of "making nice" should be the No. 1 priority. Getting the infrastructure to export energy beyond the one market, the U.S., where we sell at a discount, should be a singular priority.

Derek H. Burney is senior strategic adviser to Norton Rose Fulbright and was Canadian ambassador to the U.S. from 1989 to 1993. Fen Osler Hampson is a distinguished fellow and director of Global Security at the Centre for International Governance Innovation.

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Canadian ambassador to the United Nations, Michael Grant:

'Our top crisis is violent extremism in its various forms'

Photo by Jana Chytilova

Michael Grant is one of Canada's two ambassadors to the United Nations. He graduated from Concordia University in 1992 and joined the foreign service in 1994. He's held several positions in Ottawa and was director of the Middle East division before becoming ambassador to Libya in 2012, while his wife, Heidi Kutz, was serving as ambassador to Portugal. He has also had postings in Serbia, Turkey, Argentina and Mexico. He sat down with *Diplomat*'s editor, Jennifer Campbell, when he was in Ottawa this winter.

Diplomat magazine: You're posted in New York as ambassador to the UN and deputy permanent representative. How is that?

Michael Grant: We love it. My wife is a head of mission, too, so she's deputy consul general at the consulate in New York. So it works well — it's perfect for us.

DM: There would be very few places that you could be posted together.

MG: At our level, yeah. Brussels is probably the only other one.

DM: Geneva?

MG: Yeah, but neither of us is a real trade expert and the other head of mission there is the World Trade Organization, so that wouldn't work. We love New York, and our kids love it. We have two boys, nine and 11, and New York is kind of like Disney World.

DM: Where were your children when you were posted to Libya?

MG: They were with my wife. She was ambassador to Portugal. Libya was an unaccompanied post. The security situation was pretty bad. This was right after the revolution [2012.] It was very interesting, though. We can debate Libya for a long time

and I do often. On one level, you're seeing this kind of society emerge, but there was no real government structure. [Still,] seeing civil society emerge from nothing was inspiring. Seeing these people who were willing to put their lives on hold to change their country really was inspiring. I was there for almost two years. There was about a year where it was almost optimistic. Everyone was still getting along. But there were a lot of problems. They just had no experience in how to run a government, how to be a parliamentarian. They were kind of clashing over job descriptions and when nothing was done, it allowed that vacuum to grow.

DM: What are your thoughts about Libya's lot now?

MG: We're starting to see a little hope. I think the UN is doing a pretty good job of trying to bring the parties together. It's not easy, but we're starting to see a little bit of light at the end of the tunnel. This is important. Because of the fact that ISIS is now camped there, the Libyan people need to move forward and I think there is a critical mass of people who want to. Be patient and it'll come. It deserves attention, but that's tough these days when you have so many crises all over the world.

DM: In your opinion, from your perspective at the UN, what's the biggest cause for concern at the moment?

MG: Clearly Syria. Just the devastation that's occurred because of what the Assad regime has done and now what ISIS has been allowed to do. But it's really difficult to say what is the top crisis because there are a number. You could say that our top crisis is violent extremism in its various forms, whether it's ISIS or Boko Haram or al-Qaeda or others. But if you're looking for a geographic location, I'd have to say Syria.

DM: What are the new government's plans for our peacekeeping operations?

MG: It's going to take a while. It's kind of an exciting time, in a way, for the UN. Last year, it went through some very significant reviews. We have a high-level panel on peace operations [HIPO] — and that change of name is significant because it recognizes it's not just peacekeeping. It's not just military on the ground. It's very much a comprehensive approach. If you look at the outcome of that report as well as the outcome of the report on the peace-building architecture, and, in many ways the review of Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security, there are some real common threads there. One is the importance of politics. These conflict situations will only get resolved through the political process and it's imperative to put the UN's emphasis back on that. As well, peacekeeping can't just operate in a vacuum. It needs to be connected to, first and foremost, the rest of the UN system, but also all international actors and civil society.

These reviews, some of them were mandated, but the HIPO was the secretary general's position. It caught everyone off guard, to be honest.

I chair the special committee on peacekeeping. It's something Canada has done for quite a while and in that body, we also were a little bit surprised and saying 'why now? [Ban Ki-moon] is close to the end of his mandate. Last year, the UN was occupied with the sustainable development goals (SDG) negotiations, so this was surprising. But it didn't take long for everyone, inside the UN and member states, to realize it's truly necessary because peacekeeping has changed dramatically. There is a feeling that the UN needs to up its game and we are starting to see



"You could say our top crisis is violent extremism in its various forms."

some of those old traditional peacekeepers come back. We've seen the Dutch and the Swedes and the Danes and the Brits, the Germans as well, get more involved. Collectively, now's the time to do this.

DM: Is there a move toward quality peacekeeping, instead of quantity, which lately has meant less-well-trained troops?

MG: That's the biggest visible difference between what peacekeeping was in the past and what it's becoming. There will always be a need for large numbers of peacekeepers, but if you're really going to improve the quality, you need to ensure

proper training, discipline, quality control and use of capabilities and technology that's emerged over the last 10 years. There aren't that many countries that can offer that entire package. The fact that the UN recognizes the need for reform is a good sign and we've had significant political leadership, including from the U.S., with President Barack Obama's summit last September, where we had an incredible amount of pledges in terms of troops and capabilities. There's been a real political momentum behind peace operations. It's an exciting time for the UN. There's still a lot to be done, but the



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UN recognizes its shortfalls and is now working very hard on how it generates its forces, how it plans. Those are opportunities for countries with the right kind of experience to help the UN.

DM: For Canada, what are your marching orders from the new government?

MG: You, like I, have seen the mandate letters and they're pretty clear that Canada is a country that believes in multilateralism, that the UN is the core institution and it needs to be supported and a key element of that is the UN's role when it comes to peace operations and peacekeeping. What we're doing now is looking at insuring that we have a full understanding of what it is the UN needs, seeing where our capabilities lie and then finding a way to match them. I think this will be a proper process. It'll take a little bit of time.

We'd be doing a disservice if we take the government direction we have and say 'OK, let's deploy to X, Y and Z.' I think if we truly believe in helping the UN improve the system, we're going to take a significant amount of time to discuss in depth with them and allies to see exactly what we can offer. And I think in some ways, maybe recalibrating some of the things we've done. We've maintained a presence in peacekeeping, but our biggest role right now is police. They've done an incredible job in Haiti and Canada is seen very much to this day as a leader — if not the leader — when it comes to police peacekeeping. After Afghanistan, it's not surprising that our numbers dropped. But with that comes the need to re-teach your muscles. The reflexes aren't quite there. We could easily point to certain areas where we could be active, but I think the proper thing to do is give it a big think.

DM: What was it like to be at the UN when Justin Trudeau was elected?

MG: The reaction was quite amazing, to be honest. As a public servant — and I've served under multiple governments — it's kind of an interesting role when you have colleagues come up to you and congratulate you. You sort of half say thank you. The prime minister has certainly had an instantaneous international profile and certainly some of the comments he made early on — such as the one in response to what he said about his cabinet — continue to resonate. I was on a panel [in January] in preparation for the Commission on the Status of Women and the moderator mentioned it as he was introducing me. And the people in attendance



Klaus Schwab, director of the World Economic Forum, worries the current refugee crisis may double or even triple in size.

broke out in applause when he said 'It's 2015.' I think this is an area where Canada can play a real leadership role. I mentioned earlier the review of Resolution 1325, which is an important element. [The resolution reaffirms the role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security.] The other is what's now called Agenda 2030, the SDGs, where the role of women and gender equity was a cross-cutting theme. It's great that they've been recognized, but it's still going to take a lot of work to ensure full implementation. And I think Canada can really be at the forefront of that. Certainly the prime minister has opened up the space for us to play that leadership role. So yeah, it was quite something to get that reaction. And it's great.

DM: How, as a Canadian diplomat, did you react to the letter Trudeau sent saying 'You guys are the experts?'

MG: Any time your boss sends you a letter that says he has confidence in you, it's kind of a nice thing. I've worked for many governments, many ministers and

think overall, the Canadian system, regardless of who's in office, is one of the best in the world in terms of the relationship between the political level and the public servants. We have a good, open, honest relationship. I think also, I and other ambassadors and public servants felt it was nice to be recognized for the work we do and the choice we've made. As an ambassador representing Canada abroad, it was a real boost. The fact that we're doing this interview is an important sign. It's a different approach. It demonstrates confidence and trust.

DM: So there are two Canadian ambassadors to the UN based in New York?

MG: Yes. We have the permanent representative who has just been named — Marc-André Blanchard — and I'm the deputy representative. In New York, it's fairly common to have at least two. The Americans have five, the Russians have three.

DM: How do you divide up your responsibilities?

MG: Different missions do it differently. Under previous ambassador [Guillermo] Rishchynski, we kept a fairly flat organization. We had our areas. The main reason you have two is just the volume of work and also you always need someone there at that rank.

We had our areas of focus. I chair peacekeeping, I chair a group on Haiti. When [Rishchynski] was there, he took the lead on future configuration of the peacebuilding commission on Sierra Leone as well as Afghanistan and a number of others.

When Marc-André arrives, that will be something we'll look at and see his style and approach.

DM: What's the difference between sending a political appointee to the UN versus sending a career diplomat?

MG: I think, first and foremost, people are picked for a job like that because they have the skill set to do it. If you take a career diplomat, who has spent his career on diplomatic posts, there is a language of diplomacy and it's learnable. Your skill set may be heavier on the UN and its issues, or it may be heavier on political initiatives. I think over time, after the end of a term, for example, I would expect it's all been evened out. Going into an assignment, it might be stronger in one area than another and in New York, you'll see a mix of political appointees and career diplomats.

DM: There are peace talks happening in Geneva on Syria as we speak. Are you hopeful for a solution?

MG: I think we need to support the UN's efforts to bring the parties together and I think we're seeing strong diplomatic efforts by Americans and others and these need to be explored. The only way we're going to get out of this crisis is through negotiation.

DM: The secretary-general got in a bit of hot water this week after criticizing Israel for building settlements in Palestinian territories. What is Canada's current position on the Israel-Palestine issue?

MG: Canada believes in a two-state solution. It's only going to be reached through negotiation.

DM: Can you share your thoughts on Canada reopening its embassy in Iran?

MG: I think we're getting a bit off the topic of the UN?

DM: Has the world forgotten about Haiti? Is it still on the UN's radar?

MG: It's gotten higher in the last few weeks, but it's always been high. The UN has a very active mission in Haiti, one that Canada participates in. We have 80 or 90 police on the ground there. Until recently, we had the top [officer]. He just finished his tour. Haiti needs to continue to move in the direction it's been moving and that's political process. There have been some speed bumps recently, but the role of the UN community is to get it through this process. We're hopeful we'll see a final round of elections and have a new president and parliament in place.

DM: Klaus Schwab at Davos talked about the refugee crisis and how he worries that Africans will start moving north, too, and the crisis will double and triple in size. Is the UN doing a good job?

MG: I think the UN is doing as good a job as it can in delaying the flows. The UN is a strong partner with Canada in helping us bring 25,000 refugees. Canada stepped up when the rest of the world seemed to be closing doors — that was appreciated. But you know, whether it's the Middle East or whether it's Africa, the way to deal with this is really finding solutions at home — proper development, proper governance. And I think one way that the UN is addressing that is through Agenda 2030 with the sustainable development goals. It's a very ambitious agenda, but it's achievable. At its core is ending world

poverty, but it's wide-ranging and includes proper governance. I think this is the way to growth. It's encouraging.

DM: The Liberal government has committed \$2.65 billion to climate change. What did your UN colleagues think of that?

MG: Canada's role in Paris resonated in a significant way. It's a great example of the kind of role Canada can play as a leader on substance and a country that has an ability to convene, facilitate and bring others along, because we can reach into different corners of the world and I think our role in helping reach that agreement has been a triumph, and recognized. It was a great signal of what a country like Canada can do.

DM: You weren't there in 2010 when we lost our Security Council seat. Is that discussed much?

MG: Look, we believe in the UN and the Security Council is one of the core institutions. Canada has served on it in the past and we will serve on it in future and we look forward to that time.

DM: I would think it would change your job significantly.

MG: Yes. We work very closely with Australia and New Zealand all the time and New Zealand is currently on the council and Australia just came off. I saw how the intensity of work really changes.

DM: What's the latest thing on which you've collaborated with New Zealand and Australia?

MG: We consult and collaborate on just about everything. We talk to everyone — whether someone you want to partner with or to understand their views. That kind of engagement is essential. Australia, New Zealand and Canada do have similar perspectives and we're stronger together in a lot of UN bodies than we are separately. There was a statement [earlier this year], which the Australian ambassador delivered on behalf of Canada and New Zealand. I mentioned the peacekeeping committee that I chair — within that body, we co-ordinate our work so when we make submissions about what we think should be in the report, we do it as Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The UN is about negotiation and if the three of us can't find common ground, there wouldn't be much hope for others. We try to lead by example in showing that you can partner for a common purpose.

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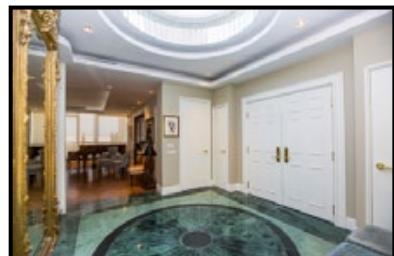
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DM: What are the UN's best projects in Africa? Would you name three things that give you hope for that continent?

MG: In terms of the UN's work in Africa, three distinct roles stand out. The UN's peacekeeping efforts in Africa are probably its most visible presence on the continent and one of the most important roles the UN has to play. With nine peacekeeping missions operating in some of the world's most challenging environments, the UN continues to be heavily engaged in maintaining peace and security in the region.

UN efforts in support of national government development priorities remain crucial to achieving the 2030 Agenda. UN work in Africa can help restore livelihoods, build economic opportunity and support long-term sustainable development.

Three things that offer hope for the continent: [First,] the prospects for sustainable development in Africa. The 2030 Agenda reflects a global consensus that sustainable development requires efforts to address social, economic and environmental issues, as well as to ensure peace, sound governance and respect for human rights and the rule of law. The universal nature of the 2030 Agenda sustainable development goals is important as it means the agenda will be pursued in a new spirit of partnership between countries and with communities and business. Implementation of the sustainable development goals will be challenging, and we are realistic about these challenges, but support for the goals shown by many countries in Africa and elsewhere is encouraging.

[Second,] the economic potential of Africa: The potential for economic growth is significant and should not be underestimated. Countries such as Ethiopia, Tanzania, Mozambique and Rwanda are all projected to experience rapid growth in the coming years.

[Finally,] there are prospects of peace

and democratic transition continent-wide: While there are many challenging situations that tend to dominate the agenda of the Security Council as well as mainstream media, there is an increasingly democratic tradition continent-wide that should be acknowledged. Countries [such as] Sierra Leone, which suffered a brutal civil war fewer than two decades ago, are managing this transition to democracy very effectively. Canada has been proud to support this transition as chair of the Sierra Leone peacebuilding configuration. There are elections in Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, Benin and Niger that will all be important to watch this year.

DM: Where does Responsibility to Protect (R2P) stand in regards to Syria and two other top-of-the-mind current crises? Does R2P deserve the often-heard criticism that it's just rhetoric?

MG: We continue to support R2P and remain committed to working to prevent and halt genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes and crimes against humanity. Canada is working with the United Nations, as well as like-minded countries and civil society to strengthen the commitment to prevent mass atrocities, enhance early-warning mechanisms and respond effectively to impending crises.

There is great potential in the R2P Pillar II agenda, particularly in the realm of prevention. Prevention efforts — often implemented in partnership with states — are an important component of the concept and demonstrate its enduring relevance.

DM: In January, Syrians heard an address from Staffan de Mistura, the UN special envoy for Syria, vowing that the UN will never abandon them. Do they have a right to wonder about the truth of that and, if yes, in what way?

MG: The situation in Syria remains front and centre for Canada as well as the broader international community. We

stand ready to support the Syrian people in their efforts to secure a future that is peaceful, just, democratic and respectful of the rights of all of its citizens. You will note that Canada has made a significant announcement recently, contributing more than \$1.6 billion over the next three years towards security, stabilization, humanitarian and development assistance, as well as enhanced diplomatic engagement, in response to the Syrian and Iraqi crises and their impact on the region.

More broadly, in the last six months we have seen a number of important steps by the UN to address the conflict in Syria. In particular, I would highlight the joint investigative mechanism established by the Security Council to investigate the use of chemical weapons in Syria and assign blame. This is the first investigation of its kind in the midst of a conflict. [Also,] the recent conference in London on the humanitarian situation in Syria pledged an unprecedented level of support for the Syrian people — almost US \$11 billion in assistance. [Finally,] the International Syria Support Group and the UN Security Council were instrumental in reviving a political process for discussions on a road-map towards resolution of the conflict. Much of this is thanks to the leadership and tireless efforts of UN Special Envoy de Mistura and the secretary general.

A Syrian-led political transition is the only path to a lasting solution that will relieve the suffering of the Syrian people. We hope that the recent outcome of the International Syria Support Group meeting in Munich, with commitments to provide humanitarian assistance and implement a nationwide ceasefire in Syria, will provide an opportunity for peace talks to continue.

While we remain realistic about the challenges to come, all three of these initiatives demonstrate the level of resolve and focus of the UN and its member states in supporting the people of Syria and the re-establishment of peace and stability. □



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Vicki Heyman on the art of American diplomacy

Vicki Heyman is every Ottawa art lover's dream. The wife of U.S. Ambassador Bruce Heyman, she is a self-appointed cultural envoy and the life force behind Contemporary Conversations, a series that has brought some of the United States' most interesting and accomplished artists to the capital.

Marie Watt, Nick Cave, Eric Fischl and Stephen Wilkes — they're big names in American art — each paid Ottawa a visit in 2015 to give a talk at the National Gallery of Canada's auditorium and take part in other relevant events organized around the visit. Marie Watt, a multimedia artist of Seneca descent, participated in a public sewing circle at the gallery on a Saturday and gave a talk at Carleton University. Eric Fischl participated in a roundtable discussion at the Canada Council Art Bank and Stephen Wilkes took part in an interactive conversation on photography as an agent for change.

Of equal weight is the lineup for 2016, which included Kiki Smith, a photographer, sculptor and textile artist, in March; and will include Theaster Gates, an installation artist, in May; and sculptor Anne Chu in September.

"In 2016, Contemporary Conversations is back by popular demand," the ebullient Vicki Heyman said.

The Art in Embassies program is an institutionalized program of the State Department that's been around since U.S. president John F. Kennedy. It traditionally brings American art to embassies around the world.

"I've always loved art," Heyman said. "I've always seen it as a vehicle for dialogue and exchange. I thought it would be wonderful to bring the art, but more wonderful to amplify it with the artists' voice." She approached the cultural office at the embassy to see if it could fund a program expansion that would include Contemporary Conversations.

Heyman's vision was to bring the artists to Canada "to speak about their art and cross-border issues of global importance: Social impact, social justice, identity and environment. It was the idea of humanizing and building a community of people who respond to art and to use this platform as a way to talk about what we care about."

A community is indeed what it built. "You never really know the power of



Artist Marie Watt, right, and Bruce and Vicki Heyman stand with Watt's blanket sculpture, which has spent the year at the ambassador's residence as part of Art in Embassies.



Artist Eric Fischl shows U.S. Ambassador Bruce Heyman his sculpture, Tumbling Woman, which was inspired by the events of 9/11.

something until it happens," she said, thinking back to Watt's talk. "She was the first artist. We had that extraordinary sewing circle, which brought people together to create art. After that weekend was over, I was like 'yes!'"

After hearing from four artists already, the series has brought together an evolving community of art lovers, activists,

community leaders, students, professors — and not just from Ottawa.

"I do believe that through art and community, individuals have the power to bring attention to things that are important and the power to change the landscape in which we live. It's about dialogue and hopefully that dialogue leads to some kind of action. That's my dream." □

Canadians building futures for girls and women in Northern Tanzania

By Mary Lu Beaupré

In 1998, two Ottawa women travelled to Kimoukowa village in the Longido District of Northern Tanzania to visit a young girl they were sponsoring. The women, Jo Marchant and Marian Roks, marvelled at the beauty of the arid, acacia-dotted landscape and the Maasai people who lived their traditional lives there. Tall, colourfully clad men tended large herds of livestock while women raised children and walked long distances to fetch firewood and water. When the Canadian travellers visited the local schools, they realized the young Maasai girls had no educational opportunities past primary school. Once girls neared puberty, they underwent the cultural practice of female genital mutilation in preparation for early marriage and early motherhood. Many Maasai mothers, themselves uneducated, wanted more choices for their daughters, but they were too poor to send the girls to secondary school. Marchant and Roks knew they wanted to help.

After speaking with local leaders, teachers and residents in the Longido District, the women founded a small registered Canadian charity called TEMBO (Tanzanian Education and Micro-Business Opportunity). At the heart of TEMBO's mission has always been a commitment to foster girls' and women's equity in the villages of Kimoukowa and Longido through education and micro-business. Today, TEMBO is a well-recognized and respected organization in Longido and has many dedicated supporters throughout Canada. At its helm is a smart, dedicated board of directors that works closely with local TEMBO staff in Tanzania and raises the necessary funds in Canada to support its projects.

Since 2007, TEMBO has raised the money for 205 girls to attend secondary school. This year alone, TEMBO is sponsoring 82 girls. The girls also receive informal educational programming designed to boost their language and academic skills. One of these programs, called PASS, runs for 10 weeks every autumn for 42 girls who are preparing to go to secondary school for the first time. Canadian volunteer teachers help the girls with language, math and study skills. A second program, called TEC, invites girls



Tanzanian girls who complete the 10-week PASS program are better prepared for secondary school.

who are already in secondary school to attend a three-week summer camp lead by Canadian volunteers and graduates of the University of Ottawa's faculty of education. Here, too, the emphasis is on English language development. Why the emphasis on language? The language of instruction in primary school in Tanzania is Swahili, but the language of instruction in secondary school is English. Maasai secondary students are exceptionally disadvantaged because they know very little English.

What a difference these informal programs make to the girls' academic success. When girls (ages 12-15) begin, they are shy, reluctant and very nervous, often speaking with their hands covering their mouths and their eyes downcast. By the end of the sessions, they are confident, eager and much better prepared to take on the challenges of secondary school.

"I first met Riziki in 2011 when she attended TEC," recalls educational director and board member Virginia Taylor. "At first, she was very shy and quiet, but always attentive and always trying. I recall how hard she worked and how focused she was. Like many, she wanted to be a doctor and she went after her dream. Today, she is studying sciences and she still wants to be a doctor."

TEMBO raises funds through private

and corporate sponsorship. The money goes directly to support girls' education, women's literacy, libraries and micro-financing projects, such as the highly successful goat project, through which a woman receives a male and female goat and gives the first offspring to another woman. The goats provide milk for her children and some can be sold as the herd expands.

This is a special year for TEMBO as it celebrates its most recent success story: the official opening of the Longido Learning Centre. The centre houses classrooms, adult and children's libraries and employs local workers who support informal and formal education programs for the entire community.

"Because this learning centre belongs to the community in every sense, it has the potential to deliver powerful educational programs to people of all ages," says TEMBO president Arlene McKechnie, a retired Ottawa lawyer.

Though TEMBO is a small organization, it continues to have a big impact on the lives of girls and women in northern Tanzania.

Mary Lu Beaupré is a volunteer with Ottawa-based TEMBO. Visit projecttembo.org for more information.

Bosnia-Canada trade: Plenty of untapped potential



*By Koviljka Spiric
Ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina*

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a heart-shaped land. This is not just a marketing motto or allusion to the appearance of the country, it is also a hint of what to expect from the country and the people who live in it.

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is situated in the Balkans in the space where the winds blow from the East and West, where civilizations encountered each other and made important decisions. No matter how far back in time we go, there is no lack of significant events, places and people in the nation's history.

Today, the fragments of this dynamic history can be seen at every step — from the diverse customs and culture to the rich Balkan, Oriental and Mediterranean cuisine.

As a country, Bosnia and Herzegovina has passed the initial and most difficult part of its transition to a market economy. The doors are wide open to investors, especially in the sectors of tourism, agriculture, energy and infrastructure. Further, there are opportunities in renewable energy through construction of mini-power plants. There is also huge potential for hydro-electric projects. BiH also requires infrastructure in the form of a network of highways, which is another opportunity for investors from Canada.

In 2015, Bosnia and Herzegovina exported goods and services around the world worth \$7.16 billion, which is a 3.5-percent increase from the previous year, while imports were \$12.63 billion, 2.1 percent less than the previous year. Despite positive trends and expected GDP growth of 3.2 percent in 2015, it is clear a long recovery period awaits my country's economy.



Mostar, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is one of the most visited places in the world.

The amount of goods exchanged between BiH and Canada is lower than it should be, although it does give us a chance to think about which direction to take in the future. In 2015, Bosnia and Herzegovina exported various types of lightweight tools and raw materials (disodium carbonate) and modern furniture made of wood, with a total value of more than \$9 million.

Canada exported tools (flywheels and pulleys), chainsaw blades, equipment and machinery parts, beans and clothing worth more than \$10 million to BiH. BiH wishes to enhance co-operation with Canada through increased expansion and sales of healthy and "ethnic" foods, high-quality wines and stronger exports of wooden furniture.

The Agency for Foreign Investment Promotion in Bosnia and Herzegovina has more than 200 projects that are ready for implementation.

In 2016, there will be planned privatization of nearly 50 companies. Potential investors will be offered a chance to buy Aluminium Mostar, a government-owned producer of aluminum, and the Sarajevo Tobacco Factory, as well as some other companies. Investors should be aware that conditions of purchasing property in BiH are the same for foreign and domestic individuals, and that both have the same ownership rights. Foreign investors are also

generally exempt from customs duties.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is not a country whose size meets the requirements of big investors, but its advantage is its geographical location, which allows it to be a regional centre that would allow Canadian investors to expand and service other markets in the region. Companies doing business in Bosnia and Herzegovina have free access to the market of southeast Europe through the CEFTA, as well as Turkey, a market with 100 million inhabitants, with which BiH has a free-trade agreement.

BiH saw impressive growth in tourism last year, with visits jumping 28.2 percent. The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) has placed Bosnia and Herzegovina among the top 10 countries exhibiting dynamic growth.

The country's many attractions make it difficult to sort out what has led to the increase. Is it the towns with diverse multicultural offerings, the beautiful Olympic mountains, the healing spas with medicinal mineral water or the Mediterranean landscape of the short, but beautiful coast of the Adriatic Sea? Whatever the case may be, tourism will be a generator of development in the years to come.

Koviljka Spiric is ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Reach her at info@bhembassy.com or 613-236-0028 ext. 5.

Costa Rica: A natural paradise for business growth



By Roberto Dormond-Cantu
Ambassador of Costa Rica

Costa Rica, my country, has big dreams and aspirations for the well-being of fellow Costa Ricans and humankind. Our well-being has been possible because we live in the oldest democracy in Latin America and, like Canada, we are a nation committed to peace, education, health, solidarity and the promotion and defence of human rights and the environment. Like Canada, we are a country open to the world, with an enormous population of migrants living among us. Like Canada, we are committed to further developing our economy within sustainable business practices.

Bilingualism is of key importance to Costa Rica. In Latin America, we are the country that uses English-language skills most in the workplace and we are its top country in English proficiency in an academic setting.

Thanks to a highly talented and educated population, Costa Rica has been able to create a diversified and robust economy. Only 40 years ago, our economy relied heavily on agricultural products, which remain extremely important for our country and our culture. We still produce and export the best coffee in the world. We are the No. 1 exporter of pineapple and other agricultural products, which delight Canadians and international consumers and are produced in compliance with sustainable production practices.

That said, we have actively transformed our economy into one based on knowledge.

International services, software development, advanced light manufacturing and audiovisual production are booming. In 2015, medical devices became our main export. We host more than 75 international



San Jose, pictured here, is Latin America's hub for companies looking to outsource.

companies in the life-sciences sector. We have been champions in clinical research and recently enacted legislation that will cement our leading position in this sector. In 2014, the World Bank determined that Costa Rica is the biggest high-tech exporter of industrial products in Latin America (as a percentage of manufactured exports). And again, the World Economic Forum gave us first place in quality of labour relations (co-operation between employer and employee) in Latin America, as well as first place in innovation and business sophistication in 2014-2015. San Jose, our capital, is ranked as Latin America's pre-eminent location for companies looking to outsource, according to Tholons, a strategic advisory firm.

The future is also bright. The *Financial Times'* foreign direct investment (FDI) intelligence report in 2013 stated that we will be the No. 1 country for future FDI in Central America and the Caribbean. As you can see, now is the time to continue fostering business development and opportunities between our nations. We aspire to engage in value chains with more Canadian enterprises.

Medical travel has been on the rise. We receive approximately 50,000 visits

for medical procedures per year. Our hospitals and clinics possess the required international accreditations and this has resulted in a new high-quality medical service industry. Meanwhile, the Global Tourism Monitor Survey named Costa Rica the most recommended tourism destination in the world from amongst 65 assessed countries.

Last year alone, we hosted more than 2.5 million visitors, the second largest group of which were Canadians. We have direct flights from Montreal, Toronto and Calgary. Costa Rica is a destination of choice for its quality, infrastructure, safety and certainly for our biggest assets — our friendly, educated people and our unique model of sustainable tourism. The latter attracts a responsible tourist who demands excellent service and unique natural beauty. Costa Rica offers both.

Summa magazine called Costa Rica the most popular destination in the world for adventure tourism and the most eco-friendly destination in the Americas.

Besides all the happy Canadians who visit every year, between 15,000 and 20,000 Canadians live among us.

It is no wonder hundreds of businesses have established bases in Costa Rica: Scotiabank, Four Seasons, the Konrad Group and Gildan Activewear Inc., to name a few Canadian corporations. Amazon, Hewlett-Packard, IBM, Mondelez International Inc., Bacardi, Bosch, Abbott, Boston Scientific, VMware and Citi are some of the hundreds of companies that have invested in our country and employ members of the talented and reliable Costa Rican workforce.

Costa Rica has created the legal framework for a very open economy by entering into free-trade agreements, which give us access to 57 countries, 2.5 billion people and 66 percent of the world's GDP. Costa Rica also provides a comprehensive tax holiday to those investing in strategic areas.

We are working hard in collaboration with different Canadian stakeholders to continue promoting business development between our nations.

Roberto Dormond-Cantu is ambassador of Costa Rica to Canada. Reach him at embcr-ca@rree.go.cr or 613-562-2855.

Enhancing Pakistan-Canada trade ties



*By Tariq Azim Khan
High Commissioner for Pakistan*

Pakistan is emerging as a trading nation, in part because of its location at the crossroads of South Asia, China, Central Asia, West Asia and the Indian Ocean. With its liberal pro-investment policies, Pakistan has a rapidly growing economy with a highly skilled and moderately priced workforce. "Trade not aid" has been the mantra of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's government.

Pakistan's economy has shown resilience, with 5.7 percent GDP growth for 2015, according to *The Economist* in January 2016. Based on a strong structural reforms program, the GDP is projected to reach six-percent-plus growth in the coming years. The country is deepening its economic ties with partner states from the Pacific to the Atlantic. A well-regulated banking system, independent judiciary and IT-enabled economy have been instrumental in helping foreigners do business in Pakistan and in attracting foreign investment to the world's seventh most populous market, with approximately 200 million consumers. Pakistan's investment policy 2013 offers equal treatment to local and foreign investors. Its special economic zones have a tax holiday for 10 years, duty-free imports of capital goods and allow captive power generation (a power plant that provides localized energy to its user rather than to a general grid.)

Branded textiles, world-renowned Basmati rice, Pakistani mangoes, surgical equipment, carpets, leather, sporting goods and footballs used in the World Cup, are just a few of Pakistan's famous exports.

The top five export destinations in 2015 for Pakistani goods and services were the European Union (EU), U.S., China,



Gawadar is Pakistan's deep-sea port.

Afghanistan and U.A.E. Pakistan's five leading import partners last year included China, the EU, U.A.E., Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

Pakistan and Canada traditionally enjoy friendly relations and close co-operation in development, people-to-people contacts and regional security. However, our economic ties have yet to reach their potential. According to Statistics Canada, bilateral merchandise trade alone, excluding trade in services, topped the \$1 billion mark in 2015, a 49-percent increase from 2014. Pakistan's exports were valued at more than \$350 million and Canadian exports totalled \$690 million.

Pakistan's exports to Canada were textiles, leather goods, vegetable products, plastic products, garments, carpets, surgical goods, sports gear, food products, base metals, medical equipment, pearls, gemstones and jewelry, mineral products, head and footwear and ceramic products. Pakistan's imports from Canada were vegetable products (colza seeds, also known as rapeseed, soya beans, chickpeas and lentils), mechanical and electrical equipment, wood products, chemical or allied industries' products and transport equipment.

Pakistan's exporters are faced with cumbersome visa formalities for attending trade fairs in Canada. Similarly, travel advisories discourage Canadian business people from visiting Pakistan. The Canadian authorities have been approached to revisit the travel advisory and business visa regime to facilitate deeper bilateral economic engagement between the private sectors of both countries. The bordering region with Afghanistan, where operations against terrorists are taking place, makes up only four to six percent of

the total area of Pakistan. Major business centres such as Lahore, Faisalabad, Sialkot and Karachi are peaceful. Four direct flights operate from Pakistan to Canada each week. About 500,000 hard-working Pakistani diaspora are contributing to Canada's economy and society.

The recent rise in the number of Canadian business people working with Pakistan is encouraging. Canada's SNC-Lavalin, AECOM, Hatch, Group RSW, AXOR, International Sovereign Energy and Enerflex have contributed to development projects in Pakistan. Likewise, Pakistani business people attend the SIAL Food and Construct Canada exhibitions in Canada.

Oil rigs and mining equipment are needed to exploit Pakistan's vast natural resources. Canada could make profitable investment in the oil, gas and minerals exploration, information technology, infrastructure, power generation, agro-business and science and technology sectors. Canadian investment in Pakistan is a meagre \$20 million. Canadian business can also benefit from Pakistan's IT-enabled services in animation and gaming, retail banking and finance, mobile content, document management and call centres. A number of multinationals have established themselves in Pakistan because it's a competitive offshore destination in cost and quality.

A Pakistan-Canada joint working group (JWG) to enhance bilateral co-operation in economic relations was established in 2008. The high commission is working on organizing the next round of JWG meetings. We are also vigorously pursuing a bilateral draft promotion and mutual protection of investment agreement.

The high commission and Pakistan's consulates in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver are focused on enhancing bilateral trade and investment, flow of technology and institutional linkages and would be happy to answer your business queries. Greater awareness is being created about Pakistan's export products, its major trade fairs and lucrative investment opportunities.

Tariq Azim Khan is Pakistan's high commissioner. Reach him at pahicottawa@mofa.gov.pk or call 613-238-7881.

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Turkey needs the international community's help



FIRST NAME: Selçuk
LAST NAME: Ünal
CITIZENSHIP: Turkish
PRESENTED CREDENTIALS AS AMBASSADOR: Oct. 2, 2014
PREVIOUS POSTINGS: Qatar, Ireland, Geneva, New York

The world is witnessing one of the biggest refugee crises since the Second World War and Turkey stands at the centre of it. Half of Syria's population, approximately 12 million people, are displaced; and almost half of them seek refuge in neighbouring countries such as mine.

Turkey did not stay indifferent to the humanitarian tragedies taking place at its borders. It is hosting more than 2.7 million Syrians and 300,000 Iraqis. That is the highest number of people hosted by a single country in the world today.

As of March 2016, 282,815 Syrians and 12,000 Iraqis are being housed in 25 protection centres. The rest, who live outside the camps, are also under Turkey's temporary protection regime. So far, 151,746 Syrian babies have been born in Turkey. An average of 110 babies are born every day in protection centres alone. More than 11 million medical consultations and 320,000 surgical operations have been carried out for Syrians in Turkish hospitals. The average number of daily admission applications to health centres is approximately 10,000. There are nearly 600,000 school-age Syrian children in Turkey. Unfortunately, just 250,000 of them are receiving an education. Efforts are continuing to link the rest to the Turkish education system.

Our aid to Syria and Iraq is not limited to the assistance activities in Turkey, but also extends beyond our borders. In addition to taking supplies to the border so Syrians can take them into the country and provide for those living in IDP camps on the Syrian side of the border, Turkey has established three camps in northern Iraq for civilians who fled to the

north because of the DAESH [IS] terror organization. We continuously deliver humanitarian assistance to sustain those camps in Syria and Iraq.

The figures speak for themselves.

This situation is not sustainable. Having provided a haven for those escaping persecution throughout centuries — Holocaust victims are but one example — Turkey has mobilized its resources and shared its national capabilities since Day 1. We have already spent more than US \$10 billion, while assistance provided by the international community amounts to only US \$455 million. Syrians in Turkey are provided with food, non-food items, health care, educational services, psychological support, vocational training and social activities in temporary protection centres and, as much as pos-

sible, in urban areas. In such an environment, the government recently adopted legislation that allows work permits to Syrians.

Turkey does not need help for itself; it is the Syrians who need help. Despite all of its challenges, Turkey continues its open-door policy without any religious and ethnic discrimination towards those escaping from the brutality of the Syrian regime and terror organizations. As a responsible member of the international community, we will continue to help them, with or without the help of the world.

Unfortunately, global response has failed. The international community finally realized the seriousness of this crisis only when the body of Alan Kurdi washed ashore on the Aegean coast, and thousands of hopeless refugees knocked on their doors. Alan was not, and is not, the only child who has died while trying to reach another country. The number of those who attempt dangerous journeys — the prey of human smugglers — across the Mediterranean to European shores is dramatically rising. It is because they are losing hope.

On the subject of dangerous journeys



A Syrian girl waits next to relief help at Suruc City, Turkey.

across the Aegean Sea, the Turkish Coast Guard initiated enhanced operations and allocated more national resources to save more lives at sea. In 2015, the number of people rescued increased fivefold compared to 2014. The Turkish Coast Guard rescued more than 70,000 migrants at sea and apprehended hundreds of smugglers in 2015. The number of migrants apprehended while attempting to cross Turkish territory between 2005 and 2015, has topped a half million.

The world should help Syria's neighbours help Syria, as should the UN. Proper funding for the implementation of the UN's "no lost generation strategy" is essential to save future generations.

An EU-Turkey action plan was agreed to at the EU-Turkey summit in November 2015. In line with this plan, Turkey has introduced visa requirements for Syrian nationals coming from third countries. And, as a part of the action plan, the EU decided to increase its coordination with Turkey for joint efforts vis-à-vis this humanitarian crisis, and pledged three billion euros to support projects that would improve the living conditions of Syrians in Turkey. This promise was confirmed during the January visit of Federica Mogherini, high



UNHCR workers serve lunch to refugees in the Akcakale camp in southern Turkey.

representative of the EU for foreign affairs and security policy, and Johannes Hahn, commissioner for European neighbourhood policy and enlargement. At the Turkey-EU Summit held on March 7, 2016, the progress made in the implementation of the Joint Action Plan regarding illegal migration was welcomed by all parties.

Turkey suggested some proposals for burden sharing and they are being discussed with the hope of finalization at the earliest opportunity.

Canada is playing a commendable role in responding to this crisis. The first plane carrying Syrian refugees from Turkey landed in Canada in January. We have to help everybody without discrimination.

The current humanitarian efforts can only temporarily mitigate the effects of this crisis in the short and medium term. A sustainable and long-term solution to the refugee problem can only be attained if the root causes of the Syrian conflict are solved. Without a negotiated political solution, this tragedy will only continue to cause massive waves of migration. As you read this, thousands of Syrians of Arab and Turkmen origin are entering Turkey due to the deteriorating situation in northern Syria.

Turkey has been supporting peace talks in Geneva and is hopeful for a resolution. But while being hopeful, we have to remember one thing: There is nothing stronger than a mother's wish to save her child from a certain death. We, all the responsible members of the international community, must help that child to save our joint future. □

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Two destroyed tanks sit in front of a mosque in Azaz, Syria, after a battle between the Free Syrian Army and the Syrian government.

2016: A year worthy of worry

Terrorism, economic uncertainty, political instability, climate change, refugee crises — this year is full of global concerns and not many solutions.

By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky

As a year of grave concerns, 2016 is giving us plenty to think about. Terrorism, war, economic and political instability, refugees, climate change, unemployment, rising food costs — the selection is vast, the problems complex. How much they concern you also depends on how confident you are in the abilities of national leaders to address them (another matter of concern).

A country's global position has traditionally been assessed by its economy, military, diplomacy and development assistance. The Canadian economy is approximately the 16th largest in the world. Our military is the 80th largest and Canada now ranks 51st in the world among peacekeeping nations. Diplomacy is handled by Global Affairs Canada, formerly Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, whose role in recent years has become more about co-ordinating central agencies with roles in different policy areas than about maintaining effective

multilateral diplomacy. Among its stated priorities is reinforcing Canada's relationship with the U.S. Canada's development assistance since 2010 has been 0.34 percent of the country's gross national income, well below the 0.7 percent target set in 1969 by a United Nations expert commission headed by former prime minister Lester B. Pearson. Clearly, Canada is not among the top tier of players on the world stage; therefore, many of our international activities will be directed by other nations' interests, especially those of the U.S.

Much has been written about the biggest threats to global and national well-being; defining only 10 among so many is difficult. This list is based on information and opinions from multiple sources, including Pew Research, the Council on Foreign Relations and the Brookings Institution, all nonpartisan think-tanks; Statistics Canada; security agencies (CSIS, the CIA); international newspapers, blogs and academics. The list is subjective, of course, and readers will have their own list, or a different descending order.

1. Islamic State

The jihadist Islamic State (also known as ISIS, ISIL and DAESH), is at war with the world. Its insane goal is to realize the prediction of Prophet Mohammed that Dabiq, Syria, would be the final battleground where Islam and Rome would fight before the end of time and Islam would triumph. IS took advantage of the premature withdrawal of the U.S. from Iraq to rise up in Iraq, then Syria. IS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi (also known as Al-Khalifah Ibrahim) has forces murdering and plundering to expand his caliphate. The violence is calculated to subjugate the world under Sharia law, instil terror and draw the West into that final battle.

While the goal is mad, IS is sophisticated and well-funded by oil and gas, taxation on economic activities, confiscation of property — including captured U.S. tanks, vehicles and armaments — trafficking in drugs and antiquities, criminal activity and state-run businesses. It uses social media to recruit the disenfranchised, the angry and the naïve.

Conventional wisdom says defeating IS requires taking its territory. In September 2014, IS controlled roughly 210,000 square kilometres of the Tigris-Euphrates river basin, which was reduced by 30 percent a year later by the U.S.-led coalition. IS has been pushed out of several cities and in Syria faces President Bashar al-Assad's army as well as rebel groups and airstrikes by the coalition and Russia. But IS losses in Iraq and Syria could be made up in other areas where marginalized youth with little money or opportunity are prey to recruitment.

The group is successful at recruiting from outside. CSIS says today's generation of foreign fighters represents "a clear and present danger" to the West. Recall that foreign fighters have figured in al-Qaeda and in Afghanistan since the 1980s. Security agencies are working, sometimes successfully, to prevent radicalization and identify recruiting efforts, but it's slow work. Current estimates put the number of armed foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq at close to 30,000, Canadians among them.

Canada's role in the fight against IS has included six CF-18s based in Kuwait. In February, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau controversially ordered the withdrawal of the fighter aircraft a month early in favour of tripling the training and assistance mission in northern Iraq, as NATO requested in December. It is a role Canada fulfilled until the U.S. withdrew in 2011. It is riskier work and will put more Canadian troops in harm's way.

This could be a significant year for IS; 2016 is the 100th anniversary of the Asia Minor Agreement (Sykes-Picot Agreement), which shaped the modern Middle East and which IS invokes in its propaganda. The architects of the agreement — Britain and France, with Russian assent — could become greater targets and we could see movement away from the caliphate structure to post-colonial revenge, says Ray Boisvert, former assistant director of CSIS.

The pressures bearing down on IS are significant, and must continue to be applied. Russia will be the game-changer. While insurgency typically runs down as its players lose their enthusiasm, IS faces an existential threat against which it can be expected to fight to the bitter end.

2. Middle East conflict

When has this part of the world not been in conflict? Marco Polo wrote in 1271 that he intended to travel through Syria and Iraq, but changed his route due to their



Seven people were killed and 40 injured in this attack against Israeli civilians on their way to Eilat, a popular tourist destination. Battles between Israelis and Palestinians continue.

ongoing war. Middle Eastern geopolitical interests and partnerships have impelled wars over land, religion, oil and other resources, colonialism and access to Asia, spawned by greed, corruption, revenge and sheer hatred. Current disputes include the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Syrian war, Sunni-Shiite divide and Saudi Arabia's conflicts with Iran and Yemen.

Israeli/Palestinian conflict

This dispute has biblical origins, but comes down to a fight over territory that was known until 1948 as Palestine, the name used by three monotheistic religions to describe, without defining boundaries, a "Holy Land." After the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, the Holy Land was divided into the State of Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Successive wars shifted borders, and peace treaties and ceasefires failed — violent action yielding violent counter-action.

The Palestinian uprisings in 1987 and 2000 involved escalating attacks. In August 2014, violating a cease-fire, Hamas fired nearly 3,000 rockets at Israel, which retaliated with airstrikes. A ceasefire ended the skirmish, but violence erupted in September 2015, despite ongoing peace talks. The Palestinian leadership announced it would no longer adhere to the 1993 Oslo Accords struck between the government of Israel and the PLO. Today's concern is the potential for a third intifada.

War in Syria

In 2011, protests against President Bashar al-Assad escalated into war between the Syrian government (backed by Russia, Iran, Lebanese Shiite Muslims and Hezbollah) and anti-government rebels.

The war spilled into neighbouring states, drawing outside intervention, particularly due to IS expansion from Iraq into Syria. IS has captured Syrian territory, committed atrocities against Shiites, Christians and Sunnis, and beheaded captives. Outside involvement has increased: Russia deployed 2,000 troops, fighter jets, helicopters and surface-to-air missiles; France expanded its airstrikes after attacks in Paris; Britain launched an air campaign; and the U.S. deployed 50 Special Ops forces to join Kurdish forces. Diplomacy and the Geneva II peace process have not resolved the conflict. Concerns now include military escalation, expansion of extremist groups in Syria, and most significant, further displacement of Syrian nationals.

Sunni/Shia divide

An ancient religious division between Sunni and Shiite Muslims foments the resurrection of conflicts in the Middle East and Muslim countries. Clashes between Sunni and Shiite forces have contributed to the Syrian civil war, encouraged violence in Iraq, worsened tension in Gulf countries and revived jihadi networks outside the region. Saudi Arabia (Sunni) and Iran (Shiite) are using the division to further their own ambitions. Although they are facets of Islam and agree on a monotheistic God with Mohammed as his messenger, Sunni and Shiite differ in their rituals and interpretation of Islam. Neither side can view the other with grace or objectivity. Of greatest concern are rising militancy, rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran, fractured states within the region and humanitarian crises.

Saudi Arabia vs Iran and Yemen

Saudi Arabia is dealing with the consequences of several problems: oil prices too low to maintain its economy, an expensive war in Yemen and escalating conflict with Iran.

Saudi Arabia's decision to glut the market to lower oil prices has put the kingdom's economy at the edge of collapse. The International Monetary Fund says the country cannot balance its budget if oil is below \$106 a barrel.

In Yemen, political instability, outside interference and backlash against U.S. counterterrorism have increased violence. Insurgent Houthis, Shiite rebels with links to Iran, routed Yemen's Sunni government in January 2015. Saudi-led intervention threatens to draw Yemen into the Sunni-Shia divide. The political turmoil has allowed al-Qaeda, IS and other terrorist groups to operate freely.

Escalating rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran has caused bloodshed across the Islamic world. On Jan. 2, 2016, Saudi Arabia beheaded 43 Sunni terrorists and four Shiite dissidents, among them respected Shiite cleric Nimr Baqr al-Nimr, a decision sure to generate anger in Iran and Shiite communities around the world. The Saudi-Iranian crisis has spread to African and Arab nations, some of which have taken diplomatic actions against Iran, while Egypt and Turkey have sided with the Saudis. Of concern are further Middle Eastern destabilization and opportunities for terrorist organizations to expand.

At stake for the world is the pressure to respond and the prolonged human effects in the Middle East. Human rights abuses, especially in Saudi Arabia, are having a humanitarian impact the world must address.

3. Syrian refugee crisis

The Syrian war has killed more than 250,000 people and displaced close to 11 million. Refugees have been fleeing their homes since 2011, scattering to neighbouring countries and to Europe. Many are stuck in camps, hoping for a way out. Peace talks have failed — refugees who hope to go home when the war ends will have a long wait.

The initial wave of people was welcomed in Europe, but the wave became a tsunami, and more than a million refugees arrived in 2015. It became an emotional and divisive matter as governments became concerned about the difficulties and cost — roughly US \$35,000 per adult.

The practical considerations are monu-



Syrian refugees in Macedonia: The war in Syria has displaced close to 11 million people.

mental — how do you find accommodations and services for thousands at once? Although the world has pledged US \$10 billion to support Syrian refugees, homes, schools and jobs can't be created overnight.

Security concerns are high, as well; IS has said it will infiltrate refugee groups and has 4,000 fighters standing by. Properly vetting incoming refugees who have no identification seems impossible and has provided opportunities for IS and migrants from several countries to take advantage of the Syrian crisis. Security fears have been borne out by Bulgarian police officials' discovery of 10,000 fake Syrian passports and reports from Germany's intelligence agency that IS fighters have entered Europe disguised as refugees.

John McCallum, Canada's immigration minister, says this concern does not apply to Canada because Canada is accepting only refugees who have already been vetted by the UN and is not accepting single males travelling alone, who are more likely to have been radicalized.

Canada has been receiving Syrian refugees since 2011, but in 2015 rushed to admit 25,000 more to meet an election campaign promise. In mid-February 2016, when only 15,700 had arrived out of the total to be received before March, hundreds awaited housing, with cities asking for the process to be slowed to allow them to find the proper support.

This crisis is not a short-term matter of providing humanitarian aid; it is a long-term challenge for integration, according

to Daniel Byman, of Brookings. While our intentions are good, we don't really know what we face. This crisis is unlike others we've met. During the Cold War, Canada accepted refugees fleeing the Communist ideology they opposed; they wanted to embrace western values. The Syrian refugees find themselves in a strange place that they may not have chosen, where everything is unfamiliar, and where gender equality and sexual liberty may be offensive. Addressing their trauma requires more than a roof and new clothes, and will take time.

The risk in rushing is that we won't do it right and people will suffer more, and that the refugees will be welcomed out of sympathy, but later be scorned or repressed. Canada has a moral obligation as a global citizen to assist refugees, but it must be done intelligently, not emotionally.

For IMF data on the crisis, and Davos boss Klaus Schwab's concern about another, bigger migration, see page 47.

4. The Canadian economy

The Dutch Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis reports that the long-term average growth rate for world trade has been five percent, but in 2014 it was 3.3 percent, 2.7 percent in 2013, and 2.1 percent in 2012. Canada's real GDP growth in 2015's third quarter was 0.6 percent, with slower growth in the fourth.



The Canadian economy has been slumping, showing diminishing growth over the last year

Household debt is at its highest in 25 years and Canada's debt over the past 15 years has increased more than any other G7 country. Statistics Canada reports 19,600 jobs lost in Canada in 2015, most in Alberta. The situation has worsened, Alberta's unemployment rose to 7.9 percent in mid-March 2016, surpassing the national rate of 7.2 percent.

Along with Saudi Arabia lowering oil prices, China's slowing economy has reduced the demand for commodities.

Energy, gold and mining stocks have declined and the falling loonie has raised food prices. The country is caught in what the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives calls a "staples trap" in which our economy relies too much on Alberta's oil-sands, invests too much in one sector and becomes less diversified.

Canada is one of the few countries to have reduced oil production, deepening the impact on oil-producing Alberta, Saskatchewan and Newfoundland and Labrador. Lower oil revenues led Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in January to consider a stimulus plan focused on Alberta and Saskatchewan. Economists dithered, agreeing and disagreeing with the PM, the finance minister and one another. The government didn't hasten to the rescue; in February, Trudeau announced funding that had been promised in 2014 would be delivered "within months." The outlook appears grim.

5. Climate change

You might think climate change would be at the top of this list, given its catastrophic implications, but the topics above keep us from focusing on the issue. A 2015 Pew Research survey revealed that in Europe, the U.S. and the Middle East, concern about the climate is surpassed by fear of IS.



Paris reaffirmed in December the goal to keep global warming to below 2C.

The effects of climate change are visible in rising global temperatures, rising sea levels and warming oceans, retreating glaciers and declining Arctic sea ice and extreme events such as storms, floods and drought. Greenhouse gases are to blame, says NASA, evident in the heat-trapping aura of carbon dioxide, methane and nitrous oxide that surrounds Earth.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, a group of 1,300 independent scientific experts under the auspices of the United Nations, has concluded that there is a more-than-90-percent probability that human activities over the past 250 years have warmed our planet, and that globally, economic and population growth are the most significant drivers of increased carbon dioxide emissions.

In most western nations, political ideology reflects how concerned we are, with a larger percentage of people on the left concerned about climate change. For example, in the U.S., 62 percent of Democrats report being "very concerned" while only 20 percent of Republicans say the same. That difference of opinion stops us from having meaningful conversations about what it would mean to be kinder to the Earth, regardless of our views on climate change.

Climate change deniers and doubters suggest that Earth has natural cycles of warming and cooling and humans are too insignificant to have such an impact. Well, maybe. But what would be the harm in reducing greenhouse gases and garbage, making the world more pleasant and mitigating our impact, however small, on the only planet we have?

6. China's slowing economy

China has the second-largest economy in the world. Even though it is experiencing its slowest rate of growth in 25 years, it is still among the fastest-growing economies globally. In 2013, when China's annual 10-percent growth rate threatened to become a bubble, the government's economic reform measures slowed growth to seven percent. Even though China generated more than a third of global GDP in 2015, commodity exports declined and personal income and business revenues grew more slowly than usual. Since 2012, the service sector has done better than manufacturing and is supporting China's modest growth.

Before this slowdown, China's voracious appetite for commodities kept prices up for oil, potash, nickel and other resources that Canada produces. Reduced demand has reversed commodity prices,



China is experiencing its slowest rate of growth in 25 years.

affecting other economies, including Canada's. Additionally, China's economic growth was built on low-value exports with great government investment in state-owned companies that are now struggling to repay debt. *The Economist* reported in August 2015 that combined private-public debt had risen to 2.5 times the GDP. The end result is that the Chinese, nationally and personally, are spending less.

Significantly, China is one of the largest foreign holders of U.S. funds (in November 2015, China owned \$1.264 trillion in treasuries, one-fifth of public debt held by foreign entities). China buys U.S. debt to support the dollar, pegging the yuan to the U.S. dollar and devaluing the currency as needed to keep export prices competitive. As the U.S.'s largest banker, China has leverage. With the loonie measured against the greenback, what China does affects us, too.

7. An irritated Russia

The Russian bear is aging and angry, its unpredictable leader, an authoritarian muscle man who complains of being poked by the West, aging along with it.

The ruble and Russia's standard of living have fallen with the price of oil. President Vladimir Putin blames the West for Russia's economic problems, citing sanctions over Ukraine, although he has not been the least intimidated by them. His perspective that the war in Ukraine was orchestrated by the West is shared by the Russian elite. Putin has also talked about an American-Saudi conspiracy and NATO economic warfare.

From a western perspective, Russia's aggression against Ukraine is part of a broader confrontation with the West in which Putin is depending on time and endurance to deliver Ukraine's collapse to protect Russian sovereignty and its access to the Black Sea coast in Crimea, where the Black Sea Fleet is harboured (Russia has a lease at Sevastopol until 2040). At least these are logical reasons for Russia to want Ukraine to capitulate; what Putin really wants seems open to interpretation and experts disagree on his intentions.

Almost 25 years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the threat from the East is the greatest it's ever been, according to *The Economist*, and is compounded by the weak American response to Russian aggression in Crimea. In the past, the Politburo put limitations on Soviet leaders, but today, Putin's personal interests are Russia's interests, even including using nuclear arms. As he is fond of saying, nobody should try to push Russia around when it has one of the world's biggest nuclear arsenals.



Russian President Vladimir Putin met with U.S. President Barack Obama and Secretary of State John Kerry on the margins of the UN General Assembly.

Russia and the U.S. also disagree over Syria. The U.S. has accused Russia of targeting opposition groups and killing civilians with its airstrikes; Russia refused to stop, until a tenuous recent ceasefire. Russia's form of counter-terrorism, such as collective punishment of suspects' families, could drive the radicalization of a new generation.

Further, Russian involvement in the fight against IS in Syria may lead to re-

newed Chechen insurgency among the Caucasus' Muslim population, or more attacks across Russia, such as the 2015 bombing of a Russian airliner by an IS-affiliated group. Russia has fought two Chechen wars to curb separatism and the Islamic threat, resulting ultimately in Chechnya's identity being superseded by an Islamic one. Chechnya's leader is former militant Ramzan Kadyrov, appointed by Putin in 2011; he is Putin's key ally in Chechnya and similarly pugnacious, volatile and an ultra-Russian nationalist.

The global nature of terrorist organizations, Russia's proximity to NATO members, and Russians' enthusiastic support of their capricious leader make Russia's problems a concern to the world.

8. Provocation in the South China Sea

Tensions are mounting between China and other countries in this strategic waterway, threatening to escalate into military action. One-third of the world's shipping travels through the South China Sea, which stretches from the Singapore and Malacca straits to the Strait of Taiwan. It is also believed to hold vast oil and gas reserves.

The natural islands in the hotly contested area are claimed by other countries, but China has claimed sovereignty over



Taiwanese and Japanese coast guards patrol the troubled waters of the South China Sea.

the sea and has been building artificial islands and establishing military facilities on them, damaging natural reefs, straining geopolitical tensions and creating contention with the U.S. China says the facilities

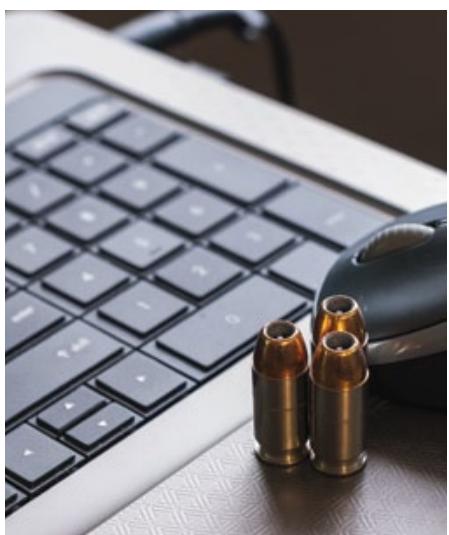
are needed to protect the islands and the U.S. is being provocative with its patrols. The U.S. has tested China's position by sending military vessels within 12 nautical miles of China's claimed territory.

Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia, Taiwan and Brunei have competing territorial claims in the South China Sea that don't involve China. Taiwan has controlled Itu Aba, the largest of the Spratly Islands, since 1956 and has built installations there. It has long been overshadowed by China in the dispute, but is asserting its claim now that the Philippines has challenged China in an international court in The Hague.

The U.S. has interests in maintaining freedom of navigation and lines of communication in the area, and preventing territorial disputes from escalating. Its defence treaty with Manila could draw the U.S. into China's disputes with the Philippines over natural gas and fishing grounds, or with Vietnam over territory.

Additionally, in the adjacent East China Sea, China is in a dispute with Japan over the Senkaku/Daiyu islands. They have been Japanese territory since 1895, and China has asserted claims over them since the 1970s. China and Japan each claim an exclusive economic zone of 200 nautical miles; the sea is 360 nautical miles wide, so the claimed areas overlap.

Although tension between China and Japan has subsided, nationalism and mistrust heighten the potential for conflict and impair efforts for peaceful resolution. American treaty commitments with Japan mean a military confrontation could involve U.S. military action in the area, which would obviously disrupt global trade.



Cyber-attacks are on the rise and everyone is vulnerable.

9. Cyber attacks

The most noticeable form of cyber attack is phishing. Usually, it takes the form of fake emails from cable companies or banks warning that we must provide personal information to keep our accounts open. In contrast, spear phishing is email-spoofing fraud that targets specific organizations to get access to confidential information. Spear phishing, in particular, has become a useful and effective criminal tool, with much of it based on social media profiles. Because we put our information "out there," we are all at risk.

This hidden menace affects millions of people worldwide and costs companies US \$400 billion each year. It will get worse because we tend to be stupid about social media and no one is doing anything to stop it.

In 2014, big attacks on corporations, such as the point-of-sale attacks on Target stores, transitioned to attacks aimed at getting identifiable personal information. Also in 2014, the Canadian Anti-Fraud Centre reported that financial institutions were receiving fraudulent emails from clients requesting money transfers to foreign accounts.

The largest target group of cyber-attacks will be small- and medium-sized businesses, partially because of a lack of sophistication within that group, but mostly because of the prevalence of information about these businesses in places such as Facebook and LinkedIn. Malware, delivered through attachments or links in phishing emails, is sold around the world to individual criminals and small criminal groups, and hacking services are for sale to use against small businesses.

The costs of cyber attacks will rise, but accountability won't and there is essentially no protection until a person or business has been defrauded or ruined. It is up to individuals to protect themselves.

10. American election

Given the long and tedious American electoral process, polls and early front-runners aren't accurate predictors of who will win. In this year's election, the attention given to the bombastic Donald Trump is obscuring other platforms. We are hearing less about what the other candidates are saying, particularly concerning IS — the top concern on this list.

Trump declared in May 2015 that he had a foolproof plan to defeat IS, but wouldn't share it, unwilling to alert the enemy. He said in December that he

would "bomb those suckers" and "blow up the pipes...blow up the refineries, every single inch, there would be nothing left." Among the other hawkish statements: Ted Cruz promised to "carpet bomb them into oblivion" and to find out "if sand can glow in the dark."

Hillary Clinton views military action as necessary as well ("We need to crush ISIS on its home turf"), but her approach also



Republican hopeful Donald Trump refuses to reveal his "fool proof" plan to deal with IS.

includes dismantling terrorist infrastructure, both real and virtual, and co-ordinating with allies to prevent attacks.

In 2014, Bernie Sanders said he didn't want the U.S. to lead the fight against IS, and he put the onus on Muslim countries to quash the terrorist group. Now his official platform, buried in his campaign website, is that the U.S. "should not be the policeman of the world" and should be united in a large coalition "led and sustained by nations in the region that have the means to protect themselves." Specifically, he advocates "on-the-ground Muslim troops," agreeing with King Abdullah of Jordan that "it will be Muslim troops who destroy ISIS, because ISIS has hijacked their religion," while the U.S., Britain, France, Germany and Russia would provide support to troops from Muslim nations.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is an Alberta author and frequent contributor to *Diplomat*.

Imagine a billion African migrants

As overwhelming as the European refugee crisis is, Klaus Schwab, executive chairman of the World Economic Forum, predicts much worse may be ahead.

"Look how many countries in Africa, for example, depend on income from oil exports," Schwab told *Bloomberg Business* ahead of the forum's annual meeting in Davos, Switzerland. "Now imagine one billion inhabitants — imagine they all move north."

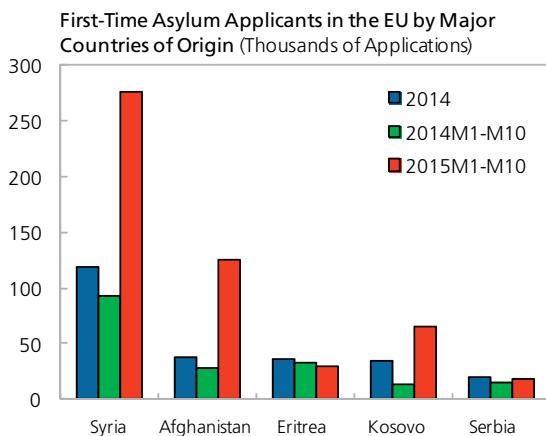
The trigger in that scenario, he said, is the meltdown of commodity prices and its less-discussed effect of “social breakdown.” Schwab says past policies and technological shifts have triggered unexpected political and technological consequences. On the political side, loss of trust in decision makers and people’s loss of a sense of a secure future have fuelled anger and xenophobia.

The technological side is the subject of his just-published book, *The Fourth In-*

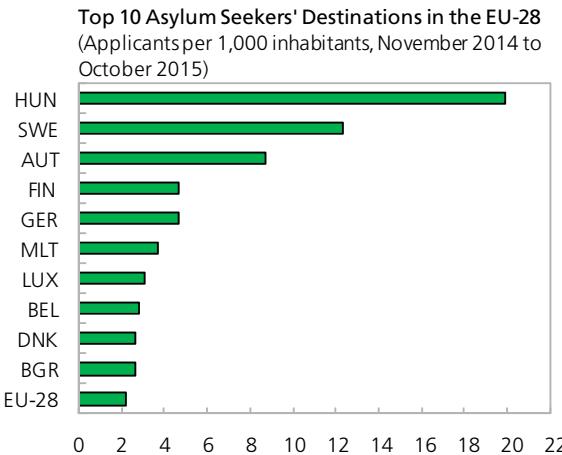
dustrial Revolution, whose innovation can wipe out 20 million jobs, decimating the crucial middle class and, along with it, the stabilizing influence this class has on democracies.

To prevent the fracture of human existence with "robotization," and the disintegration of people's sense of personal identity through work and family and community, he encourages a "global civilization" to carry humanity through the tumult.

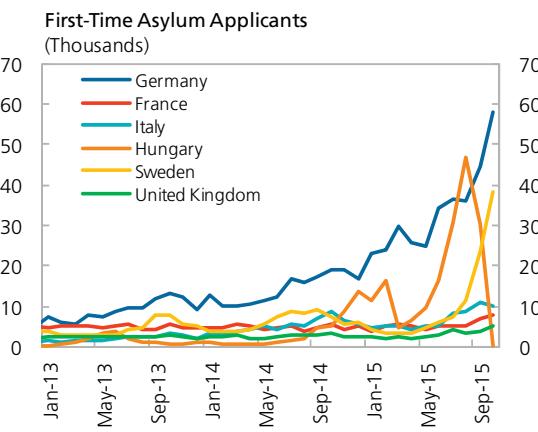
*** Asylum seekers escape conflict in Syria, Afghanistan and Eritrea**



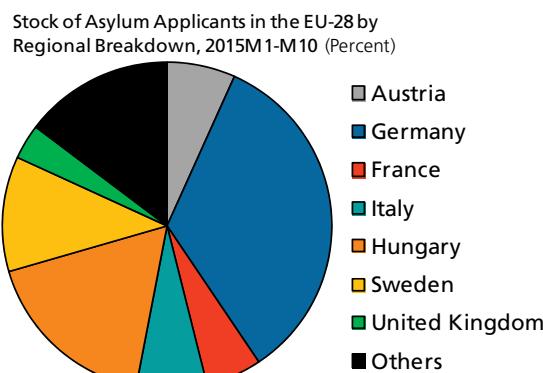
Hungary, Sweden and Austria receive the most applications relative to their populations



Within the EU, Hungary and Germany are receiving the bulk of the applications



* Germany and Sweden are main destinations, and Italy, Greece, and Hungary are gateways



* M1-M10: January to October Sources: Eurostat and IMF staff calculations.

¹ Data show first-time asylum applications in each country, hence there could be double-counting if an asylum seeker is registered in two countries. It is likely that the large number of registered asylum seekers in Hungary may also count asylum seekers that have moved on to destination countries such as Austria, Germany, and Sweden.

From the January 2016 International Monetary Fund report, *The Refugee Surge in Europe: Economic Challenges*.



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Foreign policy: The first 150 days

By Joe Landry



The Liberals ended bombing in Syria and Iraq by CF-18s, the fighter jet pictured, and are withdrawing them from international coalition forces.

Now that the Trudeau government has been in power for more than 150 days, we have begun to see what shape Canada's foreign policy will take under its leadership. There have been some surprises, while other actions have mirrored campaign promises and resurrected classic liberal values from the past.

The biggest move so far — and certainly the one that has gotten the most publicity — is the retooling of the Canadian commitment to fighting ISIS. In the election campaign, the Liberals promised to withdraw our CF-18s from the international coalition and to focus instead on "Canada's strengths." Canada's contribution to the aerial mission was essentially

negligible, making up only about three percent of all airstrikes. However, critics argue that withdrawing our fighters symbolizes weakness. Indeed, a number of jihadi propaganda sites highlighted the Canadian withdrawal as a victory and as a sign of a lack of Western resolve to continue the fight.

While the Liberals made a solid new commitment, by tripling the number of military trainers, more than doubling the number of soldiers on the ground, and upping the humanitarian contribution to the mission by hundreds of millions of dollars, they were still caught flat-footed when trying to explain why it was also necessary also to end the air mission. Crit-

ics have noted that Canada can "walk and chew gum at the same time." However, most recognize the rationale for ending the air campaign is rooted in politics: It was an election promise, and the Liberals wanted to keep it.

The government caught a break when our U.S. allies declared their approval for the revamped mission. Yet, time will tell whether public support for a more dangerous and costly mission in the Middle East is well received by the Canadian public. The government has also announced a much-needed defence policy review, slated for completion in 2016. Expect the review to re-prioritize Canada's military engagement capacity and strategy more

towards peacekeeping and peacebuilding than in recent years.

The other story that dominated the headlines was Canada's commitment to resettle 25,000 Syrian refugees by the end of 2015. While not meeting the timeline, due to capacity and security problems, the government has made good on its promise and, generally speaking, the move has mixed levels of public support in Canada. A recent poll by Angus Reid indicates that more than 70 percent of Canadians feel the target is too high, however another poll shows that a slim majority (52 percent) supported the plan to take in 25,000 refugees by the end of February. The evening news features feel-good news stories of refugees welcomed to their new communities. However, not everything has gone as smoothly as hoped, with housing shortages and refugees' difficulty adapting to their new surroundings creating some problems for the new arrivals. Nevertheless, Canada's international image was bolstered by scenes of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau welcoming refugees at the airport, in contrast to polls of likely Republican voters in the U.S. who support Donald Trump's call to cease immigration by Muslims until the country's security apparatus is deemed adequate for clearing them for entry.

Canada's welcoming of a large number of Syrian refugees (although 25,000 is a drop in the bucket when contrasted against the more than 55 million refugees around the world) appears to be a political boon for the Liberals.

Both less surprising and less controversial is the Trudeau government's move to re-engage multilaterally. The first large-scale public demonstration of this commitment in action was the COP21 Climate Change Conference in Paris at the end of 2015. Canada sent a large delegation that was very well received. Canada has received "Fossil Awards" as a laggard on climate change action for the past several years (including this one).

However, that looks set to change as Environment Minister Catherine McKenna addressed concerns over Canada's past behaviour and pointed to future constructive engagement both at home and abroad. Indeed, the issue appears to be a priority for this government, with a new branding for the ministry, which actually uses the term "climate change," as well mentioning it in the preamble of PMO mandate letters to ministers, outlining commitments and ministerial goals.

Less visible is the work being done behind the scenes to reinvigorate Canada's

foreign service and the country's mission to the United Nations and other multilateral bodies. The PMO reportedly contacted Canada's network of ambassadors around the world and lifted the strict communications rules that had been imposed by the previous government. Vetting of public speeches by the PMO is no longer required, and it vows to listen to the advice of diplomatic staff on the ground when it comes to dealing with relevant international issues.



Expect the Liberals to start re-emphasizing peacekeeping and peacebuilding.

There has also been talk of renewing the junior professional officer program, which allows young Canadians to work for UN bodies in a highly regarded program that was cancelled in 2010. The Liberals have further reached out to youth, particularly those in academia, with an "International Policy Ideas Challenge." In partnership with the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, Global Affairs Canada has challenged graduate students to propose, in a short pitch, their best foreign policy ideas. The top 10 students selected will be invited to present their ideas and the top three will receive cash to further develop the proposals, which will then be used within the department.

There was a shunning of academia under the previous government, and of public engagement generally. For example, it pared back and cancelled several key research funding programs and discontin-

ued small, but meaningful, annual tours and consultations aimed at informing graduate students about the work environment and mandate of various central agencies. So, although this is a small step, it represents a big shift in attitude. The next budget will most likely see renewed funding to foreign affairs, possibly targeting the enlargement of the Canadian permanent mission to the UN as well as the reopening of consulates and embassies that were closed in recent years for financial reasons. An official foreign policy review is viewed by some as long overdue and best undertaken together with the defence policy review this year to ensure coherence across departments.

Canada's international development policy underwent huge shifts in the past decade. One example is the sudden suspension of all aid funding to Haiti and the move towards public-private partnerships with mining companies in Africa, whereby Canadian aid was refocused towards appeasing communities affected by large-scale mining projects. Moreover, in 2014, \$125 million of aid funding was returned to the Finance Department unspent, and Canada's level of foreign aid as a percentage of GDP dropped. A shift away from economic interests and trade promotion is expected, with more funding to the most impoverished countries, especially those located in sub-Saharan Africa. Evidence-based policy-making decisions across the board are likewise expected to make a resurgence, with centres such as the International Development Research Centre playing a greater role in government policy. More generally, we can expect more openness and less secrecy. Publishing the mandate letters to ministers was the first step and the increased accessibility of the ministers has been evident. To be sure, reshaping Canada's international image is a priority item for this government. The day after the 2015 election, Justin Trudeau made a clear statement to the rest of the globe: "I want to say this. To this country's friends all around the world — many of you have worried that Canada has lost its compassionate and constructive voice in the world over the past 10 years. Well, I have a simple message for you: on behalf of 35 million Canadians: We're back."

Joe Landry is a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholar and PhD candidate at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University.



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Modern Russia: An ambassador's look at priorities and challenges



As Ambassador Alexander Darchiev describes it, Russia has undergone dramatic change, which involved a "political transition to a strong elected presidency" — in the current case, that of President Vladimir Putin, seen here after visiting with Chinese President Xi Jinping.



By Alexander Darchiev
Ambassador of Russia

Editor's note: Alexander Darchiev, ambassador of Russia, made a rare public speech at Carleton University in February. To provide a look at Russia's official positions on current conflicts and issues, we reprint an edited version of his speech here.

First of all, I would like to thank Carleton University and Larry Lederman [chairman of the Ambassador Speakers Series] for inviting me to address such a distinguished audience and have a chance to refresh past memories of

that sweet time when I was an academic, with no dress or speech code imposed on me.

In my capacity as research fellow at the U.S.-Canada Institute in Moscow, before I switched in 1992 to the Russian foreign ministry to become a seasoned bureaucrat, I had the luxury to study for a decade the liberal left or democratic (with a small "d") left in the United States — an "endangered species" at that time, but topical and successful nowadays, as Bernie Sanders was hard on Hillary Clinton's heels at

the Iowa caucuses, and he soundly won in the New Hampshire primaries.

Keeping in mind that brevity is the soul of wit, I will do my best to follow this adage, but given the magnitude of the topic — “priorities and challenges of modern Russia” — something can inevitably be missed or omitted, so you are invited to ask questions afterwards.

Since the early 1990s, Russia has undergone dramatic change, which involved a drastic transformation of the economic system from a state-run to a market one, as well as political transition to a strong elected presidency, reminiscent of a blended American-French model, to a vibrant legislative and judiciary and expanding civil society.

Of course, the last 25 years were overwhelmed with turbulence, delusions and misconceptions, especially in the late 1990s, an extremely uneasy and hard time, when the very statehood was threatened, when terrorism was spilling over from our southern borders to Moscow, when painful reforms sometimes went too far, throwing out the baby with the bath water.

But, through trial and error, one simple truth is now consensual and largely prevailing: excesses, whether ideologically coloured or not, extreme right or extreme left, are dead wrong; that it's a path to nowhere to write off our past, that Russian and Soviet history, both bright and dark, will forever be with us as a source of patriotism and inspiration, as well as grief

SANCTIONS ... HAVE HAD THE BACKLASH EFFECT OF HITTING EUROPEAN PRODUCERS WHO LOST BILLIONS OF EUROS, WITH SOME ECONOMIC FALLOUT EXPERIENCED IN [CANADA], TOO.

and reflection. And in terms of economic policy, the welfare state is not an antithesis to a free market: We could have the best of two worlds by nurturing a socially oriented market economy.

It's a real challenge to fine-tune the political and social system in a way that will harmonize traditional values, a



In addition to celebrating its heroic past, including “the enormous sacrifices in the war against Nazism,” Russia needs to build a more dynamic society on that foundation, Darchiev said. Seen here are Russian president Joseph Stalin, U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt and British prime minister Winston Churchill at the Tehran Conference in 1943.

deeply rooted sense of truth and justice, adherence to and expectation of state protections with individual freedoms, local self-governance and self-reliance.

A lot has changed; the process is ongoing, and looking back to where the starting point was, one could assert positively — the beef is there, “because it's 2016.” Our party system, with a classic divide between the left, the centre-left and centre-right will soon be tested again at parliamentary elections this September. And, most important, the general public now agrees that, along with being proud of and paying tribute to our heroic past, especially the enormous sacrifices in the war against Nazism, which we call the Great Patriotic War, we need to build a more dynamic society on that foundation.

Western sanctions against Russia

There are many bumps in the road, both of an external nature caused by global economic disturbance and a looming world recession, and of domestic origin, given a huge — up to 10 times or more — income gap between the top rich and the poor, with the middle class squeezed.

With the drastic fall of oil and gas prices, as well as other export commodities, the Russian economy suffered a serious blow in 2015 that resulted in the GDP dropping by 3.7 percent.

It's true that western sanctions added to that negative trend, although to a much lesser degree than our systemic dependence on lavish natural resources revenues, which is not alien to Canada, as well.

Obviously, sanctions, as a double-edged sword, while unable to meet their intended goal, dear to some of our counterparts, of cornering or isolating Russia — which is “mission impossible” — or even bringing about a regime change, have had the backlash effect of hitting European producers who lost billions of euros, with some economic fallout experienced in this country, too.

Keeping in mind that “every cloud has a silver lining,” the current unfavourable conjuncture is not that bad, being rather a wake-up call to promote domestic production, due to our national currency devaluation against the U.S. dollar, which is a wake-up call to diversify by encouraging resourcefulness as opposed to over-reliance on resources.

At the end of the day, while acknowledging things are not serene at all, it should be recognized that the current storm has been weathered rather well. Some sectors, such as agriculture, do demonstrate modest, three-percent growth, industrial production is slightly up this year (again, three percent in the Russian



Pro-Russian supporters make their views known regarding the Russian expansion into Crimea.

Far East), while finances and the labour market are stable and the trade balance is positive. This promises, with many ifs, and although 2016 is already marked by severe budget constraints, it will be better than the year 2015.

Hard times come and go, but, most important, in an extremely difficult environment, we have kept our economy open, setting as a major priority to maintain an encouraging business climate for foreign investors, while providing incentives and stimulus to national industry, small and medium businesses, as well as guarantees to support low-income and vulnerable groups.

In a changing world, where terrorism, at its ugliest medieval, barbaric form in which mass beheadings and executions are routine, can come at any moment to our doorsteps, the pressing challenge for the West and Russia is to join efforts, as we did in an anti-Hitler coalition more than 70 years ago, putting aside disagreements and animosities until the common enemy was totally defeated.

Unfortunately, fallacies and misjudg-

ments of the early 1990s epitomized in the “end of history” belief that liberal capitalism and western-style democracy are universal prescriptions for nation-building and social transformation, have still pre-

**IT'S HIGH TIME TO
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cluded sober recognition that the notions of (American) exceptionalism, of a single-polar world, dominated by one indispensable power, are no longer relevant.

Instead of a serious and equal dialogue on new threats and challenges, the U.S., as the leading force of the West, intoxicated by a delusional belief in winning the Cold War, can hardly accept the new reality of a multi-polar world, recognizing other key players as equals.

It's high time to accept that the world is not as black-and-white as neocons would like it to be, that the old “real politik” is more relevant now than the irresponsible political and social engineering imposed by force through circumvention of the United Nations for the sake of ideology.

Revolution's aftermath: 'hangover, blood, chaos, crush and wasteland'

We badly need history back, to avoid a situation when new demons of ISIS and the like are created as an “unintended consequence,” according to President [Barack] Obama’s understatement with regard to George Bush’s invasion of Iraq.

So, one simple truth should be accepted: By sponsoring change in a Trotsky-type “permanent revolution” fashion, be ready to face the forces of extremism that will one day turn into a deadly, uncompromising enemy.

It’s true for Iraq, it’s true for Libya bombed into total chaos, as well as for Syria, where the U.S.-led coalition, obsessed with toppling Bashar al-Assad, armed and equipped Islamists to find out one day that they were out of control.

In retrospect, the West stepped on the same rake in Afghanistan during the 1980s, where the CIA trained and equipped mujahedeen to fight the Soviet army — only to face them two decades later, reincarnated as al-Qaeda, and to discover that former “freedom-fighters” employed acquired battle experience in attacking their former sponsors.

Despite differences and peculiarities, scenarios of forcefully imposed change — supporting the enemy of my enemy — repeated themselves, with deplorable results.

To effectively fight terrorism, this pattern should be changed. It is important to give up the temptation of easy solutions, to avoid endless repetition of what is at the core of any revolution, whether Bolshevik or Maidan or “coloured” or Arab Spring turning into a dark and cold winter, when first comes the spiritual elation, bolstered by illusions, and afterwards a hangover, blood, chaos, crush and wasteland.

Yes, there is now a strong demand for a more just and equal international order. Russia is open to constructive engagement based on recognition of national interests and mutual respect; and we all know, when Russians and Americans work together, the world is a safer place. When they are at loggerheads and Russia is targeted instead of joining efforts, there are high chances that the case will be lost.

We do have positive examples of mutually beneficial co-operation, most notably after 9/11, when President Vladimir Putin called then-U.S. president George W. Bush right after the attack, suggesting help.

Russia afterwards assisted the U.S. in Afghanistan, providing vital intelligence and supporting the Northern Alliance, both an American and Russian ally.

This was a classic “I do for you, you do for me” in degrading the Taliban and al-Qaeda, thus averting their far-reaching plans to infiltrate Central Asia. I can also mention a similar Russian-American joint effort in withdrawing Syrian chemical weapons, the recent agreement on the Ira-

nian nuclear program, political settlement in Syria by bringing together, or dragging together, with the door periodically slammed, government authorities and opposition members, who speak with many, sometimes conflicting, voices.

In the world we are living in, where a terrain of chaos along the axis of instability from North Africa to Afghanistan is rapidly expanding, complacency and misguidance cannot be afforded. We need to move forward with a political settlement in Syria, coming to terms with this, despite resistance by some regional powers that

respectful basis. We give preference, quite naturally, to co-operation with our partners, first of all, in the Eurasian Economic Union, as well as the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), the Shanghai Co-operation Organization and Asia-Pacific.

In Russian-American relations, while recognizing limits and seemingly insurmountable obstacles to our engagement, we would like to act co-operatively where it’s possible and where there is mutual interest although no illusions are harboured, given that in the past our many concerns,



“The West stepped on the same rake in Afghanistan during the 1980s when the CIA trained and equipped mujahedeen to fight the Soviet Army — only to face them two decades later, reincarnated as al-Qaeda,” the ambassador said. Shown here is Afghanistan during that time.

pursue their own agenda of catching fish in muddy water and providing cover for their “good terrorists,” who bear little or no difference to ISIS and the like.

Russians unhappy with NATO expansion

So, defining our national security, we prioritize engagement with the U.S. (and, I should add, Canada), with the European Union on an equal and mutually

for instance, over missile defence, were routinely ignored, followed by advice to trust America’s verbal assurances (instead of legally binding papers, as we insisted).

We believe that deep reassessment is needed to make our multipolar world more secure and just; this should be an honest two-way dialogue with the acceptance of the simple fact that the West does not speak for the whole of the interna-

tional community, only a part of it, while BRICS countries and other players stand for their vision of world order as more just and domination-free.

Don't forget about the wider Asia-Pacific, Latin America, about Africa, which is a victim of global inequality, doomed to survive on a subsistence level with no chances for even getting closer to the "golden billion."

Unfortunately, an old Cold War mentality is still there. Dire predictions by some western officials and media are in abundance and Red Scare scenarios are back, while in pure figures, NATO potential by any count, be it manpower, artillery, tanks and aircraft, exceeds Russian armed forces several times. The U.S. military budget, for instance, is more than a half trillion U.S. dollars, while Russian military expenditures are less than 60 billion U.S. dollars.

Yes, Russians are unhappy with NATO expansion, given that above-mentioned superiority and the fact that we are declared enemy No. 1. But it's not we who came to the alliance's doorsteps, it's NATO building up its infrastructure in closest proximity to our borders.

Nonetheless, there is no other alternative than keeping the dialogue on security issues going and coming to terms

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with items such as the Russia- and U.S.-sponsored UN Security Council Resolution 2254 on Syria. Joint efforts are badly needed to politically counter the North Korean rocket launch which, some say, was actually a covert missile test, in stark violation of UN resolutions.

We are standing at the frontier to make a choice between co-operation and tragic inability to face the clear and present threat of terrorism, of other challenges of

a global nature, risking a slide into a misjudged confrontation and diverting attention and resources from the major danger.

Terrorists do not distinguish between Americans, Russians or Canadians; an attack can happen anytime, anywhere, regardless of geography or a country's significance or insignificance in world affairs. It could be indoctrinated "lone wolves" who are extremely hard to detect, it could be recruited fighters, determined to kill, like the ones arrested in early February in Russia's Ural Mountains [those planning an attack on Moscow and St. Petersburg.]

Intelligence information-sharing 'pivotal'

We need to destroy the hotbed of terrorism in Syria and Iraq, removing the cause of the problem, rather than face, sometimes helplessly, its consequences. ISIS and the like are international terrorists: Remember Jihadi John, speaking perfect cockney, and other radicals from many European countries. There are up to 3,000 Russian citizens fighting in the ranks of Islamists of every ilk in Syria and Iraq. Better to degrade them there than allow them to show up in the Northern Caucasus, Moscow or St. Petersburg. Some of ISIS's rank-and-file could shuttle between the Middle East and Canada, so intelligence



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry joins U.S. President Barack Obama for a meeting with Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko before the NATO summit in Wales. Ambassador Darchiev doesn't welcome NATO expansion toward Russia

information sharing is critical.

I will not discover America, as goes one Russian saying, if I take the liberty to suggest that talking is better than not talking. It's the ABC of diplomacy which, sometimes, somewhere, has been ignored for quite a while, with the deplorable end result of name-calling and brinkmanship statements in abundance, to no avail in terms of pragmatism and common sense.

By any count, it's highly impractical to demonize your opponent. Henry Kissinger, the patriarch of "real politik," who has visited Moscow recently, spoke eloquently on the need to revitalize multilateral diplomatic efforts.

So, heeding that advice, another simple truth is to be remembered: Sacrificing diplomacy to domestic consumption and parochial calculations could backfire; by being polite, you will win much more than pretending to be rude, because of a high risk to become a laughing stock on social media.

What comes to my mind, as an exemplary case of a negotiating technique, is how Kissinger, in his capacity as national security adviser and secretary of state, maintained a confidential channel of communication with Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin.

To save time for substantial discussion, they agreed to fix principled positions of both sides on paper, designating them numerically; so, at their encounters, Kissinger simply referred, say, to the U.S. argument No. 5, while Dobrynin cited appropriate Soviet argument No. 5, and after that exchange, to fulfil instructions, they were turning to the real business of bargaining — something in demand nowadays.

It's very encouraging, I should say, that Canadians voted for change last October, which opens a window of opportunity for a fundamental shift from self-isolation to engagement in foreign policy, for a stronger and constructive Canadian voice in the international arena.

Canada could indeed do more, given its record of mediation (Cuban-U.S. rapprochement is one example), and by sharing its own experience; for instance, advising Ukraine to transform itself from a current unitary state into a federation. It can urge authorities in Kyiv to implement the Minsk Accords in earnest, in their entirety of interrelated measures, through direct dialogue with leaders of the Donetsk and Lugansk republics to define their special status as a "société distincte," where Russian is recognized as a state language, with political and economic rights guaranteed.

EEU market: \$2.2 trillion GDP

As an ambassador whose mission is to make relations with the host country better, I hope for the better, for bringing dialogue back, as opposed to an ideologically charged monologue, for restoring channels of communications to engage in tough, but promising bargaining.

We can agree to disagree, proceeding from the premise that traditional diplomacy has no alternative, if serious business is meant; Russia is ready for a comeback to "business as usual," though "business unusual" or "no business at all" was not our choice.

While acknowledging differences and recognizing each other's considerations, our countries as neighbours across the



Ambassador Darchiev applauds the way in which Henry Kissinger, seen here, approached his job as U.S. national security adviser and secretary of state when dealing with Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin.

North Pole have a vested interest in restoring normalcy, at least in such areas of pragmatic co-operation as the Arctic, anti-terror and business ties.

The northern dimension is of particular importance, given our adherence to the principle of sovereignty, as well as rights and responsibilities of Arctic powers, given determination to secure national interests, be it the Canadian Northwest Passage or the Russian Northern Sea Route.

Interaction cannot be avoided within consensual multilateral fora, starting from the Arctic Council and Arctic Economic Council, major business venues strongly

supported by both countries, to the UN Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf. A promising new format, worthy of mention in this context, is the Arctic Coastal Guard Forum.

As for business co-operation, which is now on a downward trend due to negative developments in the last two years, we have the potential to make our bilateral trade more robust by harnessing the opportunities that exist in the huge Russian and Canadian markets.

Bilateral trade, to be precise, is around US \$1.3 billion, which is the lowest point in a decade and three times less than our 2008 peak (US \$3.2 billion).

On that bleak background, some bright spots do exist, including more than 14 Canadian-Russian joint ventures established only during the last two years in a wide range of areas, as well as the increase, due to Russian currency depreciation, of imports from Russia to Canada by 20 percent.

Special praise goes to the mining sector, which has always been an excellent example of our bilateral co-operation, flagshipped by successful operations in Russia of such well-known companies as Kinross Gold, Silver Bear Resources and Global Cobalt. We could also make headway in our agricultural co-operation as well.

Doing business with Russia these days means substantial expansion to a larger market of a relatively new, but fast-expanding integration entity of Eurasian Economic Union, which is a joint co-operative effort by Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia, comprising 15 percent of the world's land mass, with goods and services, as well as a labour force, shuttling freely between member states.

It's a market of more than 183 million people, with a gross domestic product of US \$2.2 trillion (or more than \$4 trillion, if counted by purchasing power), an integration project formed in strict accordance with WTO rules, following a principled approach of inclusion, not exclusion, and proceeding from the premise that regional trade agreements, such as the TPP, should supplement, not substitute for, the existing global trade system.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am an optimist, and an optimist, by definition, is an informed pessimist. So my symbol of faith is that both sides of every story should be heard, that common sense will prevail in the final run, although change does not happen overnight; it's a process which, I believe, could unfold rapidly or step-by-step, but surely in a positive direction. □

A false spring?

By Derek Fraser



When then-Ukrainian president Viktor Yanukovych abandoned the EU Association Agreement in 2013, his actions provoked the events, known as the Maidan uprising, that led to his downfall.

Since the end of the year, there has been a shift in tone in Russian-Ukrainian relations. At Russia's initiative, talks on the conflict in the Donbas between representatives of Russia, Russian-supported rebels, Ukraine, the EU, and now the U.S., have become more intensive.

For two of the key negotiations, Presi-

dent Vladimir Putin has replaced officials from the Russian foreign ministry with political figures reporting to him.

The purpose of the Russian push is to achieve the implementation on its terms of the Minsk II Agreement of February 2015, which established the current poorly observed ceasefire.

Each side seeks to exploit the ambigu-

ties of the agreement to its own advantage.

Russia wants an agreement on less-than-democratic elections for the Donbas so as to give political legitimacy to its proxies, the rebels, and amendments to the Ukrainian constitution that would give full autonomy to a Russian-controlled Donbas, including the right to its own foreign policy and a veto on the foreign and



Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko meets with German President Angela Merkel and U.S. Vice-President Joe Biden at the 51st Munich Security Conference in 2015.

domestic foreign policy of Ukraine. Russia attempts to force Ukraine to acquiesce to these terms by making the resumption of Ukrainian control of the border with Russia, and thus the withdrawal of the unacknowledged Russian troops, conditional on their acceptance.

Ukraine requires Russia first to withdraw Russian troops and weapons and allow Ukraine to resume control of the border with Russia before elections are held or an amended constitution comes into force.

Ukraine furthermore refuses to accept elections that are not held under Ukrainian law, organized by the Central Electoral Commission with the participation of all Ukrainian parties, and citizens of the area, with total media freedom and observed by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE).

There has never been any appetite in Ukraine for decentralization anywhere in the country. Just before the Russian-led uprising in the Donbas, decentralization in Donetsk and Luhansk enjoyed the support of only about a quarter of the population.

The Ukrainian government is nevertheless supporting a revision of the constitution to permit decentralization at the community level for the entire country. Local bodies would have responsibility in areas such as health care, education, cultural institutions and public works. A special status for the Donbas would, however, only last three years.

Russia wants what Ukraine can't give

What the Ukrainian government is prepared to do in constitutional reform, therefore, falls far short of what Russia requires.

Furthermore, the government may not even have the political support needed to gain approval for this initiative. An amendment to the constitution requires 300 votes in the parliament, the Rada, on second reading. On the first reading in August, the proposed amendment obtained only 265 votes. There is a real danger that, should President Petro Poroshenko push through even the modest forms of decentralization this amendment proposes, the government will be defeated, perhaps forcing early elections and the fall of the government.

The reasons for the recent renewal of Russian diplomatic activity appear to be that the worsening economic situation in Russia, principally caused by the decline in the price of oil, has forced Russia to seek to end western sanctions.

There is pressure on the Ukrainians as well. Western Europe is suffering from "Ukraine fatigue." If it appears that Putin is co-operating, and Poroshenko stalling in seeking a settlement, some EU countries may eventually be tempted to put an end to sanctions and leave Ukraine to its fate.

While Russia evidently wants to free itself from western sanctions, from the little information that has seeped out of the negotiating sessions, there is nothing to suggest that Russia is prepared to pay

the price of surrendering control of the Donbas or accepting the independence of Ukraine. Russia appears more likely to be seeking a way of obtaining a release from the sanctions without changing its policy towards Ukraine. The increased Russian attacks in the Donbas suggest instead that Russia is still trying to destabilize Ukraine and perhaps prevent passage of the amendments to the constitution so as to blame Ukraine for the lack of progress.

Russian reluctance

There are two reasons for Russian reluctance to change course on Ukraine. The large and hostile demonstrations in Moscow and St. Petersburg in 2011 and 2012 that greeted Putin's return to the presidency led Russia to pursue aggressively a policy that the country had been gradually developing since the previous decade: Convincing the West to treat Russia as a great power again, with a veto on issues of importance to her.

Russia's belligerent foreign policy, especially shown in the annexation of Crimea, has sent popular approval for Putin to unprecedented heights. It is not clear that, in the Kremlin's eyes, the danger of unrest arising from the worsening economic situation has reached the point where it counter-balances the political damage a Russian retreat on Ukraine would cause.

Furthermore, for Russia, the abandonment of its Ukrainian ambitions could sound the death knell for its wider ambi-

tions to again be treated as a great power. It doubtful that Putin is prepared to give them up.

To understand the dilemma Putin is facing, let us look in detail at his foreign policy aims. Putin has been attempting to recover Russia's great power status by obtaining a veto over major aspects of European and East-West affairs, and by bringing the other former Soviet republics back under Russian control.

Let's first consider Russia's efforts to obtain its veto. In 2008, president Dmitry Medvedev proposed a European Security Treaty that would devalue existing security measures, such as the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

The Medvedev proposals would also have prevented NATO from acting independently of Moscow and any further former Soviet republics from joining NATO.

Finally, the proposals would have weakened the independence of the East European countries by dropping the OSCE principles of the inviolability of borders, non-intervention in internal affairs, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

Russia also proposed a "union of Europe" between Russia and the EU. The union would co-ordinate energy, military, political and strategic matters. In October 2014, Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov stated that the agreement with the EU would be based on a system of indivisible security whereby no country would strengthen its security at the expense of the others. Such provisions would prevent the EU from acting independently of Moscow or the other former Soviet republics from associating with the EU. North America would, in fact, be excluded from Europe.

The Medvedev proposals apparently remain the basis of Russian policy. Since 2012, there have been many Russian speeches and articles advocating a return to the Yalta-Potsdam or Cold War system of East-West relations in which the Soviet Union had a veto.

Lavrov, speaking in October 2014, stated that the Ukrainian civil war could have been avoided if Russia's proposed treaties on European security had been concluded.

Let us now examine Russia's attempt to bring the other former Soviet republics to heel. In August 2013, Ruslan Pukhov, the director of the Moscow-based Centre for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies (which is close to the defence ministry) and the author of an authoritative study

of the new Russian Military Doctrine, declared that in order to achieve the aim of the Russian National Security Doctrine-2020, namely the renaissance of Rus-

latest in a series of attempts to re-establish Russian control in the former Soviet Union. The Russians hope that the EEU will grow into a geopolitical bloc with responsibility for collective security.

No European integration

For Russia, Ukrainian membership in the EEU is essential to the success of the organization. In September 2013, Putin's aide for developing the Eurasian Economic Union, Sergei Glaziev, warned Ukraine that, if it signed the EU Association Agreement, which would have prevented Ukrainian membership in the EEU, Russia might support secessionist movements in Ukraine. During that autumn, Russia maintained its pressure on Ukraine. Eventually, then-Ukrainian president Viktor Yanukovych abandoned the EU Association Agreement and all but joined the Eurasian Economic Union. His actions provoked the Maidan uprising, which led to his downfall.

NATO was not an issue at this stage. NATO had refused to offer Ukraine a path to membership in 2008. Yanukovych had earlier proclaimed Ukraine's non-aligned status. The idea of joining NATO enjoyed the support of only 17 percent of the population.

The overthrow of Yanukovych in February 2014 and the decision of the new government to sign the EU Association Agreement, and perhaps its intention to apply again for NATO membership, led Putin to activate long-prepared plans to subjugate Ukraine.

After seizing Crimea in February 2014, Russia launched the secessionist movement in the Donbas in April to prevent Ukraine from moving West. All but one of the principal leaders of the uprising were Russians.

An influential voice on Russian foreign policy, Sergey Karaganov, the honorary chairman of the Presidium of the Council on Foreign and Defence Policy, and a Kremlin adviser on Russia's relations with the other former Soviet republics, stated at the time of the Russian seizure of the Donbas that Russia wants "a united, federative Ukraine, if possible. Only this arrangement will maintain the formal integrity of the state, but Ukraine as a full-fledged state will be a distant historical memory. This scenario will ensure Russia's de facto dominance in east and southeast Ukraine and semi-autonomy for the country's west."

While Russia may have abandoned its ambition to carve a Russian-controlled Novorossiya out of the southeast of



Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko

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sia as a great power, Russian dominance over the other former Soviet Republics had to be restored. Russia could, if necessary, use force to achieve its objectives.

The chief instrument for establishing Russian dominance is the Russian-led Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) of former Soviet republics (Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan.) The EEU is the

Ukraine, there has otherwise been no indication of any change in Russian thinking since then.

The Russian threat is not confined to Ukraine. In a speech in October 2014, Putin declared that the Ukrainian civil war was an example of a conflict “at the intersection of major states’ geopolitical interests,” and added, “I think it will certainly not be the last” without a clear system of mutual commitments and agreements. In another speech in the same month, Lavrov added that Moldova and the Baltic states should “consider events in Ukraine and draw conclusions.”

To increase pressure on the Baltic states, Russia’s attorney general’s office opened an investigation in the autumn of 2015 into the legality of the Baltic states’ independence. Furthermore, at about the same time, Russian political analyst Rostislav Ishchenko, an associate of the Izborsky Club, a nationalist group with deep roots in the Kremlin, advocated, in what other Russian commentators have described as a trial balloon, the “preventive occupation” of the Baltic States so as to force the West into negotiations. British Defence Secretary Michael Fallon has said Putin poses a “real and present danger” to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Russian pressure on the Baltic republics is also physical. Russian forces staged a raid on Estonia to kidnap an Estonian security official. The Russian foreign ministry has warned Latvia about its treatment of its Russian minority while Russian military aircraft violate Baltic airspace and the Russian navy harasses Lithuanian ships.

There may be, therefore, no easy or quick fix to the current East-West crisis. Under the circumstances, we must pursue negotiations with Russia. At the same time, we must keep robust sanctions against her, continue to strengthen NATO and maintain our support for Ukraine.

Abandoning sanctions at this point, which could lead democratic Ukraine to fall, would not mean a return to normal relations with Russia. It might merely encourage Russia to act against the Baltic republics. It might also provoke a movement of Ukrainian refugees to Western Europe that would rival that coming from the Middle East.

Derek Fraser is a former Ambassador to Ukraine. He is now an associate fellow at the Centre for Global Studies and adjunct professor for political science at the University of Victoria, and an adviser to the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta.

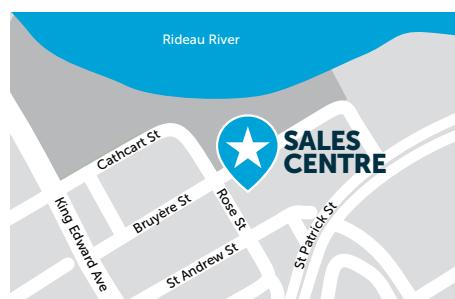
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South Africa's looming crisis



South African President Jacob Zuma, shown here at his inauguration, has overseen a situation in which good governance in Africa's formerly most-accomplished nation is largely gone, according to columnist Robert Rotberg.



**Robert I.
Rotberg**

South Africa's economic, social and political outcomes drive sub-Saharan Africa. At least it did for a few years at the end of the last century and the beginning of this one. After all, South Africa for many years harboured sub-Saharan Africa's most dynamic economy, its most vibrant political system, its most advanced infrastructure and its most established educational system. South Africa also became a member of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South

Africa) — supposedly a group of the leading nation states of the developing world. After the defeat of apartheid, South Africa also was led by Nelson Mandela, a glowing icon of positive change and humanistic achievement for his country, for Africa and for the world.

South Africa was expected to lead sub-Saharan Africa's emergence onto the world scene as a major player, soon equivalent to Asia. But no longer. This decade's sad tale is of great promises unfulfilled, of Mandela's legacy blemished and discarded, of political leadership failing a now-cynical nation, and of increasing internal anger over inequality. Thanks to bad management and collapsing commodity export prices, South Africa could easily slip into recession this year.

Political regimes everywhere depend on projecting and demonstrating legitimacy. From Canada to Chile, from the

United Kingdom to Uganda, the ability of a government to govern and a leader to lead effectively depends on retaining the legitimacy that each gained through electoral approval or as a result of widespread, generalized citizen-provided approbation. When such legitimacy recedes, as it did even before the Harper administration was voted out of office in Canada, the ability of a leader, or a regime associated with a flawed leader, to continue to preside assuredly over the affairs of a nation becomes severely compromised.

That is what has happened, relentlessly, in South Africa. President Jacob Zuma's political star, once shining brightly over a legitimized post-Mandela, African National Congress-mediated, limitless horizon, has now dimmed to the dark point where good governance in Africa's formerly most accomplished nation is largely gone. According to a late 2015

Afrobarometer opinion survey, public distrust of Zuma personally increased from 37 percent in 2011 to 66 percent in 2015. Public "approval" of Zuma's performance as president fell from 64 percent in 2011 to 36 percent in 2015. Afrobarometer stated: "A majority of citizens believe[s] that he routinely ignores both the legislature and the judiciary."

Zuma's US \$251-million jet, \$21-million villa
 Despite an unyielding drought that imperils South Africa's much-vaunted agricultural productivity; the failure of Eskom, the state-owned electric monopoly, to supply steady power to cities, towns and rural areas (cities are often plunged into darkness for hours at a time); and a likely annual economic growth rate of a measly one percent, Zuma blithely condemns his critics and giggles when criticized in Parliament. Recently, he purchased a US \$251-million presidential jet. Last year, he lamely defended the state's expenditure of US \$21 million to construct a massive villa for him in his home province of KwaZulu-Natal, a retreat he intends to inhabit after eventually leaving the presidency. (Just before Zuma assumed South Africa's presidency in 2009, he had 783 counts of corruption, fraud, money-laundering and tax evasion over his head, charges that were dropped as he entered high office.)

Zuma probably plunged himself and his government to a nadir in December when he dismissed an able finance minister who had been thwarting Zuma's wild attempts to purchase Russian nuclear reactors (with big side payments) and buy new aircraft through shady middlemen (with more kickbacks). Zuma installed an amateur ministerial replacement, and then, after a national uproar, was compelled four days later to replace the amateur with a well-respected finance minister from the past. Even so, the first sacking led to a run on the rand. In early 2016, the rand had lost almost half of its value against the U.S. dollar.

Nelson Mandela united South Africa when he vaulted to prominence in 1990, after 27 years in prison, and proceeded to reconcile the peoples of the post-apartheid nation. His too-brief presidency, from 1994 to 1999, was remarkable for its harmony. Thabo Mbeki, anointed to succeed him, denied HIV-AIDS, flirted with various "alternative" cures for the viral disease and — crucially — allowed corruption to flourish. Regarded as imperious and disdainful of parish politics, he was ousted in a palace coup by Zuma and others in 2007, when South Africa was still relatively

well-managed (despite growing corruption) and the then-ANC-led government fully legitimate. Kgalema Motlanthe finished out the remainder of Mbeki's presidential term until Zuma could take up the reins constitutionally. Motlanthe is now critical of Zuma.

Since then, South Africa has rolled uncontrollably downhill, with economic growth rates and GDP levels per capita



A majority of South African citizens now believes that Jacob Zuma, above, routinely ignores the legislature and the judiciary.

suffering. A sizeable number of newly empowered African businessmen have grown immensely wealthy by partnering, according to a Mbeki affirmative-action scheme, with the pre-existing white corporate and mining establishments. But most Africans, Coloureds and Indians have seen their living standards fall. Unemployment rates are officially only 25 percent; unofficially, according to South African academic researchers and other experts, more than 40 percent of Africans are unemployed. That is, 40 percent are outside the formal wage sector, existing precariously by "informal" means.

Crime rates in South Africa, high under apartheid, are much higher today. Although Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala and Venezuela have overtaken South Africa as the most murderous nations of the globe, it still scores among the notorious top five or six civilian-killing places in the world. In 2013, 47 South Africans were murdered each day, roughly 32 per 100,000 citizens annually. Rapes are all too common, officially totalling 99 per 100,000 nationwide in 2014-15. However, the well-regarded South African Institute of

Strategic Studies believes that only 1/13th of all rapes are reported, so the overall figure could be much higher. Certainly, local watchdog groups and civil society organizations believe that South Africa has a plague of rapes, including rapes of very young children.

Murdered farmers, land redistribution promises and food shortages

On the increase over 2008 are violent property crimes — "aggravated robberies" — including street robberies, house robberies, business thefts and car and truck hijackings. South Africa's rate of 225 violent property crimes per 100,000 people was among the highest in the world in 2013-2014. A number of African- and Coloured-populated townships have demanded better and fairer policing, largely to no avail. When New York City Police Commissioner William J. Bratton visited South Africa with me in 1997, he was surprised to see so few police patrolling Johannesburg; senior officials told him that their men were fearful of being out on the streets at night, even in groups of two. Little has changed in 2016.

A worrying and growing category of crime occurs on farms, especially in this unusually dry year. According to the Transvaal Agricultural Union, a long-established local farmers' organization, and Afriforum, the murder rate of white farmers was 133 per 100,000 in 2014 (a devastatingly destructive number by global standards). In 2015, the rate was lower — 65 per 100,000. But even that lower rate is almost as high as the murder rate in Honduras. Most of the killers of white farmers were Africans, but Africans also killed African farm owners, 35 percent of the total murdered in 2015. White and black farmers say that South Africa's police ignore farm crimes — a common complaint from nearly all sectors of society. Because South Africa's agricultural sector is at risk economically, and because the ANC and Zuma have noisily suggested that Africans should own considerably more farms than they do, farming and farm ownership is much more precarious than it was a decade ago. White farmers are fleeing farms, thus depressing agricultural output and making South Africa poorer than before.

South Africa's deteriorating educational system hardly provides the basis on which young Africans can emerge capable of replacing deprived circumstances with new kinds of lives and fortunes. The statistics are harsh: Only about half of the Africans who finish high school and sit

the compulsory matriculation examination ever pass. They are therefore denied school completion certificates and, in effect, are unemployable in crowded urban job markets. More telling, in some ways: only 12 percent of the 500,000 Africans who try to "matriculate" each year score highly enough to qualify for university training. One recent study of how well students across the globe performed in science and mathematics ranked South Africa next to last. Two of its older universities are ranked among the best in Africa, the remainder far lower.

South Africa, having dismissed or retired a cohort of white (mostly Afrikaans-speaking) civil servants and artisans in the years after independence in 1994, now suffers a massive skills shortage. Approximately 800,000 positions — from accountants to plumbers — are said to be vacant and effectively unfillable despite the very large pool of unemployed Africans. *The Economist* reports that a key reason South Africa under Zuma is so short of electrical power and Eskom so badly run is, first, that a cadre of experienced engineers was replaced by unqualified African political appointees, and second, that the ANC insisted on installing party hacks in senior positions. "You don't deploy cadres to play on the national football [soccer] team, so why do you deploy them to Eskom?" a senior African reputedly pleaded, unsuccessfully, with Zuma.

The same incompetency prevails in the 700 other state-owned corporations, especially those under the aegis of Transnet, the overseer of harbours, rail transit and the money-losing South African Airways. (China recently promised big loans to shore up Transnet and Eskom, but that funding and some experts from China may arrive too late for major rescues of a collapsing infrastructure.)

School principals who steal cash earmarked for students' books and food

Despite lapsing legitimacy and protests over service delivery failures, cabinet ministers, Zuma and civil servants have enjoyed fat pay raises and increased perquisites. The number of civil servants has grown by 25 percent since 2000; a whopping 20 percent of all employed Africans work for the central government, its nine provinces or its municipalities.

But even those who have gainful government employment bemoan how little is accomplished. Health services have declined, but it is the schools, on which Africans depend for their advancement, that infuriate parents. According to South

Africa's Corruption Watch organization, there are at least 1,000 crooked school principals, some of whom have walked off with cash meant to provide textbooks and food for their pupils. Many teachers turn up drunk. Many fail to show, and very few appear on Fridays, instead beginning their weekends early. Officials of the powerful teachers' union have been charged with selling access to comfortable school positions.

Corruption is everywhere, certainly at the highest ANC levels. But the stench of corruption also pervades most municipalities beyond the non-ANC-run Western Cape Province. The police, the National Prosecuting Authority, the Health Professions Council and most dealings between government and citizens are riddled with corruption. Some years ago, parliamen-



Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa is capable of restoring a Mandela-like legitimacy within the ANC and South Africa.

tarians were accused of padding their travel allowances. More recently, Zuma's example has emboldened many of his subordinates to abuse their public positions for blatant private gain. Because the Office of the Public Protector, an ombudsman, was publicly critical of illegal spending on Zuma's retirement villa, her office has since been starved of funds.

Only a still mostly free press, a handful of private radio and TV stations and South Africa's Constitutional Court prevent Zuma's South Africa from regressing to the distressing African weak governance mean. Many judges on the constitutional and lower courts still uphold the rule of law and despite ANC verbal attacks, the Constitutional Court often rules against the executive. There have been a number

of significant reversals of official policy. Yet often, the ANC government pays the courts little heed. When a lower court ordered Zuma to detain visiting President Omar al-Bashir of the Sudan in late 2015 because of an outstanding International Criminal Court indictment, Zuma let Bashir quickly fly home from a government airbase.

Zuma's and the ANC's legitimacy will be tested electorally in May or June, when elections at the local level are scheduled. The ANC kept its parliamentary majority with a reduced 62 percent vote in the 2014 parliamentary elections, down from 66 percent five years before. The liberal Democratic Alliance (DA) increased its total to 22 percent and the militant Economic Freedom Fighters won six percent. Given its decreasing legitimacy, the ANC fears it will lose control of a number of major cities, including Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth. (The DA already runs Cape Town.) There could be a decisive turn against the ANC, and thus against Zuma (whose term runs to 2019).

If the ANC loses massively, testifying clearly to its forfeiture of legitimacy and dominance, it could easily regard Zuma as a liability and force him to retire early. That could promote Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa, a former trade union leader and anti-apartheid campaigner who became wealthy as an empowered elite. Or the ANC might overlook Ramaphosa (from a minority ethnic group) and choose someone else much more sympathetic to Zuma (and prepared to protect him from retribution). Ramaphosa is capable of restoring a Mandela-like legitimacy within the ANC and South Africa, but those who prefer the wages of corruption and naked power may prevent such a return to stability and progress. If so, Mandela's legacy of integrity and inclusivity will continue to be thwarted and denied.

Only someone of Ramaphosa's stature and ability, heading a rejuvenated and reformed ANC, could restore South Africa to its rightful position of leadership within Africa in the second and third decades of the 21st Century. Absent a Ramaphosa, South Africa's national performance will continue to deprive its people of beneficial outcomes, and an Africa of integrity and positive developmental advances.

Robert I. Rotberg is a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center, senior fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation and founding director of Harvard's Kennedy School program on intrastate conflict.

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Taiwanese President Tsai's to-do list

By Robert D'A. Henderson

Unprecedented election results in January have produced unprecedented options for Taiwanese President-elect Tsai Ing-wen in domestic politics, international trade and cross-strait relations with Mainland China.

For the third time, the opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) won the presidency, with Tsai winning 56 percent of the popular vote. The long-ruling nationalist party (Kuomintang or KMT) candidate, Eric Chu, won 31 percent.

But, for the first time, the DPP also won a majority in the legislative branch — the Legislative Yuan (LY), which had continuously been dominated by a KMT majority. While media attention has focused on the presidential contest, the DPP control of the LY will likely have greater impact on both domestic political activities and cross-strait relations with Mainland China.

Since Feb. 1, 2016, the DPP's 68-seat majority has had control of the 113-seat LY, while the KMT has been reduced to just 35 seats. Under the revised Republic of China (ROC) Constitution, Tsai will not assume office until May 20, when she will replace the current president, Ma Ying-jeou.

In her first remarks in January, Tsai stated: "Our democratic system, national identity and international space must be respected." This view is supported by her repeated statements during the election campaign that she would maintain the "status quo" of cross-strait relations, rather than overturning the departing Ma's policies.

This election was not a popular referendum on Taiwanese independence, but rather on growing cross-strait economic integration with the Chinese mainland — integration that could, in the future, lead to political integration. As DPP Secretary-General Joseph Wu has said: "The cross-strait issue was not a salient issue in the campaign and therefore was not the issue defining the election result."

Even so, in a Feb. 17 statement, DPP spokesman Wang Min-sheng explained that Tsai has clearly said that she would follow the public's will, abide by democratic principles and insist on safeguarding the Taiwanese people's options for their future. The DPP statement went on



The Taiwanese government and the Chinese Communist Party hold similar claims to the Spratly and Paracel islands in the South China Sea. Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei have competing claims on these island chains.

to note that "the DPP will not follow the established approach [of the Ma administration]." Rather, the Taiwan public's will and democracy should be the new government's "two pillars" in formulating a cross-strait policy and if the party deviates from these two pillars, it "cannot expect its platform to be stable for very long."

Earlier in her June 2015 visit to the United States, as well as during the election campaign, Tsai repeatedly stated her support for "maintaining the 'status quo'" in cross-strait relations — by promoting a cross-strait policy in accordance with the ROC constitutional system and the public's will. While continuing cross-strait "peace and stability" based on consultations and exchanges over the previous two decades, Tsai has stated that cross-strait relations would be "consistent, predictable and sustainable" after her inauguration.

Working with a DPP majority

Under the ROC constitution, the president is elected for a four-year term and has the

power to appoint the government premier and cabinet ministers. Tsai does not need to consider a new cabinet line-up until April, when she can simply call for letters of resignation from all serving ministers — and then appoint (or reappoint) those she wants in her cabinet.

More important, DPP lawmakers have control of the LY for the first time. This has relegated KMT members to a small minority, also for the first time in ROC history.

In addition to the DPP and KMT seats, the new and young-leaning New Power Party has five seats, pushing the People First Party to fourth-party status with three seats. Independents hold two seats.

This party structure will become important for a number of political issues. First, newly elected LY President Su Jia-chyuan (DPP) has already stated there is a series of reforms under consideration for boosting public participation and transparency in the legislature.

Another issue is passing Cross-Strait Agreement Oversight legislation. Accord-

ing to DPP Secretary-General Joseph Wu, the passing of this oversight legislation would be a “top priority” for the DPP-led legislature during its first 100 days. Such legislation was a major demand of Sunflower Movement protesters in 2014, when they occupied the LY to block passage of the controversial Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA) with Mainland China. The agreement would have opened up the island’s service industries to mainland investment and businesses. The protesters argued that agreements like the CSSTA deal had been done without public oversight or input.

Some political observers have suggested that the DPP legislators, in coalition with the New Power Party (NPP), could achieve the super majority needed to amend existing legislation. But to change the ROC constitution would require a three-fourths LY vote. Taiwan also has a national referendum law (2003) that permits questions of national importance to be put directly to Taiwan citizens — and which has been used in the past.

Internationally, the DPP legislative caucus will need to ensure party solidarity to push through its proposed and future legislative initiatives. One area that is likely to be a minefield is legislation that calls for a declaration of a “Republic of Taiwan.” While ROC-Taiwan conducts all the functions of a sovereign state, there are many in the DPP who want a public “declaration of independence.” While this would be difficult without changes to the ROC constitution, such a declaration would certainly elicit a strong response from Mainland China, which still claims Taiwan as part of its sovereign territory.

Increasing international trade

Taiwan is basically an export economy that has increasingly been integrated into Mainland China’s economy — with an estimated US \$1.3 billion in Taiwanese investment in mainland manufacturing and as part of supply-chain exports worldwide. But as China’s economy has slowed down, so has Taiwan’s.

One method for increasing Taiwan’s international market is through membership in international trade and regulatory agreements — or at least by revising Taiwan’s own regulatory and administrative structures to ensure that its exports are not restricted in those markets. The ROC government under Ma eased restrictions on more than 860 laws and regulations to achieve greater trade liberalization — and fast-tracked implementation of the new free economic pilot zones on the island to

boost supply-chain exports.

At present, there are three major multi-country trading blocs being formed in the Asia-Pacific Region: the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), the China-led Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) and the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). Each of these groupings — with some overlapping country memberships — seeks to enhance regional businesses, trade and economies, though with different degrees of economic integration. To push Taiwan’s inclusion in such trading blocs, Tsai has already announced plans to set up a dedicated cabinet office to handle the island’s international trade negotiations.

The TPP agreement is attempting to harmonize trade-regulatory structures and build a regional digital economy between developed economies on the Pacific Rim, to establish protections for intellectual property rights and ensure new enforceable corporate rights, among others. TPP membership is open to any Asia Pacific Economic Community (APEC) country that is prepared to liberalize its regulatory structures. While Mainland China and Taiwan (as Chinese-Taipei) are APEC members, the Beijing government has shown no interest in joining the TPP. And it would likely block Taiwan from joining — much as it did with World Trade Organization membership when China joined in December 2001 and, in a compromise, Taiwan joined a month later as a “separate customs territory.”

The RCEP is a free-trade agreement currently being negotiated between member Asian economies. It is scheduled for completion by November 2016 and aims to lower tariffs and eliminate non-tariff barriers. Two of the RCEP members — Singapore and New Zealand — are also TPP signatory members and have separately signed free-trade agreements with Taiwan. By negotiating trade regulatory agreements with these two countries, Taiwan is better prepared for future negotiations and for applying for membership in these trading blocs — when and if the opportunity arises. Similarly, Taiwan’s trading agreement with Singapore further harmonizes its trade relations regionally as Singapore is an ASEAN member and a signatory to the 2010 ASEAN-China Free Trade Area agreement.

The AEC is seeking economic integration of ASEAN member countries into a single market and production base to boost its competitiveness in world trade. Building on its free-trade agreement with Singapore, Taiwan will need to increase



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its economic ties and production links to Singapore and other ASEAN countries to maintain and grow its role as a major supply-chain country for Asia.

The “One China” principle

“Stable and transparent” cross-strait relations between the democratic ROC-Taiwan and the communist People’s Republic of China are complex. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) government in Beijing claims sovereignty over the island and refuses to renounce the use of force for its claim — even while the mainland and the island are increasingly becoming economically integrated.

Since its creation in 1949, the CCP government has consistently insisted that the “Taiwan issue” is an internal affair under the “One China” principle. Between 2008 and 2016, the KMT-led ROC government under Ma supported the so-called 1992 consensus that accepted that there was one China, with each side of the Taiwan Strait having its own interpretation of the concept. This CCP-KMT rapprochement lowered tensions and set the stage for more than 20 agreements on cross-strait regulatory interactions, trade, air flights and tourism, among others.

Last November, Ma and Chinese President Xi Jin-ping’s historic handshake in Singapore symbolized this lessening of tensions after more than five decades of hostility. For Tsai, it will be important to maintain this reduced level of tension.

But a number of issues will arise in the coming months and years. First, within the DPP party, there will continue to be discourse for a “declaration of independence” for Taiwan. This would likely require a change to the ROC constitution, which states the Mainland and Taiwan belong to One China. And Tsai will have to decide if and when she will make an official policy statement on this issue — bearing in mind that Taiwan exercises sovereign powers over the island and its adjacent areas. She has stated that this issue must take into account the wishes of the Taiwanese people.

Next, with the DPP holding a majority of LY seats, the proposed oversight legislation on cross-strait agreements will likely pass. What is in question is whether such legislative overview will be retroactive to the already signed agreements.

Third, Tsai is likely to reduce Taiwan’s excessive economic dependence on Mainland China through widening its global market and developing new economic partnerships with Pacific Rim countries. But there are already media reports that



Taiwanese President Tsai Ing-Wen

Taiwanese businesspeople based on the mainland fear economic relations could be harmed under the DPP.

Fourth, how will Beijing react? To date, statements issued by China have implicitly and explicitly said the Taiwan issue is an internal one and warned against calls for independence. In a recent speech in Washington, D.C., Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi said China does not care “who is in power in the Taiwan region of China ... what we care about is, once someone has come into power, how he or she handles the cross-strait relationship.”

The Beijing government continues to refuse to renounce the use of force towards Taiwan — including an estimated 1,200 short- and medium-range missiles aimed at the island. It also has other means of pressuring Taiwan, such as reducing tourist numbers, restricting investments and holding military exercises near the Taiwan Strait. Chinese media report the number of Chinese tourists permitted to travel to Taiwan will be reduced in the coming months, which is concerning for Taiwan as it’s been a major source of revenue during the current economic downturn.

And finally, Taiwan under Tsai will still rely upon the U.S. for defence support, including the purchase of high-tech weaponry under the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act.

“Peace and stability” in South China Sea

The Taiwanese government and the CCP government hold similar claims to the Spratly Islands and Paracel Islands in the South China Sea — with each thought to have significant undersea resources as well as ocean fisheries. Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei also have claims on these island chains, through

which an estimated US \$5 trillion in international ship-borne trade passes every year. While Ma had proposed a joint South China Sea resource development initiative without deciding on the sovereignty issue, Tsai will need to decide whether to pursue this initiative or just maintain control of the islands under the ROC administration. This could become a major international issue during her term of office.

More international space for Taiwan

Taiwan has formal diplomatic relations with only 22 countries worldwide, as a result of the continuing pressure from Mainland China for foreign countries to cut diplomatic ties with Taiwan. But Taiwan continues to work toward full membership — or at least observer status — in intergovernmental organizations, particularly regulatory groups, such as the World Health Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization, Interpol and others, that don’t require statehood. The incoming government will need support from key governments such as the United States, Britain, Japan, Canada, Australia and the European Union in this quest.

Prospects for Canada-Taiwan relations

This year, China and Taiwan have a number of key issues to pursue in bilateral relations. Wu Rong-chuan — Taipei Economic and Cultural Office Representative in Ottawa — has pointed to priorities in promoting trade and investment, people-to-people exchanges, diaspora re-engagement and continued co-operation between Taiwanese and Canadian NGOs.

Also, it would be advantageous for Taiwan to work toward harmonizing its trade and regulatory structures with those of Canada — and the other TPP signatories — as this would assist democratic Taiwan’s efforts to apply for membership in the TPP in the future. Many of the TPP signatories are Taiwan’s major trading partners, including the United States and Japan, and, like Canada, all have signed the agreement with ratification pending.

For Taiwan, there are a number of issues — domestic, international and cross-strait — that could create a rocky path ahead for Tsai and her DPP government.

Robert D’A. Henderson is a retired professor of international relations who currently does international assessments and international elections monitoring. Among his recent writings is “China — Great Power Rising” in the *Routledge Handbook of Diplomacy and Statecraft* (London and New York).

Greece coping with refugee crisis

By George L. Marcantonatos



Syrian refugees arrive on the Greek island of Lesbos after crossing the Aegean Sea from Turkey.

Population displacement and its resulting migration is, as we know, a complex issue and one of the major challenges the European Union is currently facing. The intense migratory and refugee flows Greece has experienced for years have reached unprecedented levels in the last several months.

Since January 2015, more than 950,000 refugees and migrants have entered Greece. Average daily arrivals from Turkey to Greece stood at 2,186 in January 2016 alone. The limits of our infrastructure to receive those refugees are constantly being tested.

After being disproportionately burdened, Greece, which is situated at the EU's external border, continues to do its utmost to rescue refugees fleeing war after their perilous journey in the Aegean Sea. To date, Greece has rescued 150,000 people from the waters of the Aegean. My country has put tremendous effort into rescuing those people in need and receiving them in a humane way on our frontline islands, with the aid and mobilization of the local population.

Sea borders do not in any way resemble land borders. No fence can be erected. Once refugees and migrants embark on

a boat from the Turkish coast, search and rescue operations are activated.

My country believes we must address this issue in terms of humanitarianism and human rights because these principles are the basis of civilization in Europe and in Greece.

For years now, Greece has been underscoring the need for co-ordinated European action with regard to the management of the refugee and migration crisis.

The refugee crisis has revealed the limits and shortcomings of the Dublin Regulation in its present form. The

regulation, as it currently stands, places a disproportionate burden on the countries of first entry. Frontline countries of the EU have been stressing this all along. The regulation should be thoroughly reviewed and entirely overhauled in order to create a genuine burden-sharing system that would allocate asylum-seekers on the basis of objective criteria.

The hotspots on Lesbos, Chios, Samos and Leros, as well as two relocation centres on the mainland (Athens and Thessaloniki) are fully operational. Kos will be fully operational shortly. Greece will respect its commitment to increase its reception capacity to 50,000 places and, by May, we will add an additional 5,000 places to those that already exist.

Everyone acknowledges that the size of the current refugee and migration crisis greatly exceeds the management capabilities of any one state and is, therefore, a global issue.

A just solution to the crisis

There are many who claim, albeit from a safe distance, that had they been in Greece's position, they would have all the solutions ready, all the questions answered, all the necessary structures in place to deal with the unprecedented "tsunami" of refugees and migrants.

While these critics continue to live in a virtual reality, Greece and the Greek people are seeing life on the front line and representing Europe and European values to the world.

The primary costs of managing the refugee and migrant influxes are estimated at more than 1.5 billion euros in a state that is concurrently going through an unprecedented fiscal adjustment. And that does not include the indirect expenses incurred and the profits that have been lost due to the refugee and migration crisis.

Greece has always supported the development of a common and integrated European policy for the management of the EU's external border. Member states and EU institutions must make every effort to ensure that this European policy is institutionally sound, functional and effective.

Moreover, it is obvious that this crisis is not only an urgent European problem, but also a global one. The great European challenge with regard to refugee issues lies in shaping a co-ordinated state of affairs in the refugees' countries of origin, in countries the refugees move through, and, of course, in EU countries. Greece's position is that we need to address the root causes of the problem and that the whole of the EU and the international

community must work intensively and constructively to find a peaceful, just and democratic political solution.

We will either develop a common policy to deal with the crisis, or the crisis will overwhelm us and become existential for the EU. Taking unilateral measures and closing borders has a direct impact on Greece, resulting in the concentration of

resettlement and humanitarian admission process directly from Turkey to the EU.

We need to focus on ensuring EU action and support when dealing with the continued and sustained irregular migrant flows along the Western Balkans' route, including the establishment of adequate reception capacity, while avoiding unilateral and unco-ordinated measures. Imple-



Nojeen, a 16-year-old Syrian refugee, who uses a wheelchair due to a balance problem, waits to be lifted to the road. She and her older sister landed on the Greek island of Lesbos after crossing from Turkey, in hopes of finding better medical care. Greek authorities are looking after her.

significant numbers of migrants on Greek territory, while neither the relocation program nor returns are working adequately or efficiently.

Greece welcomes the recent conclusion of the European Council and reiterates its commitment to fully implement the relevant decisions.

We all recognize that Turkey is under a great deal of pressure, already hosting more than two million refugees. Nonetheless, it is a key country which could stem the flows to the EU's southeastern borders. The reality is that it is on Turkish soil that migratory flows can be effectively checked and managed. Once the refugees and migrants are able to embark from Turkish soil, it is already too late.

In managing the refugee and migrant crisis, we must take urgent action to dismantle smuggling and human trafficking networks, with special emphasis on unaccompanied minors. In this regard, we have to recognize that since last September, more than 340 children have drowned at sea. At the same time, it is necessary to proceed swiftly to activate the refugee

mentation of extreme measures will lead to a humanitarian crisis in Greece.

Greece insists, and will continue to insist, on European principles. And while it is shouldering the bulk of the burden of the refugee crisis — the root causes for which it bears no responsibility — it remains a factor for stability and peace in the region.

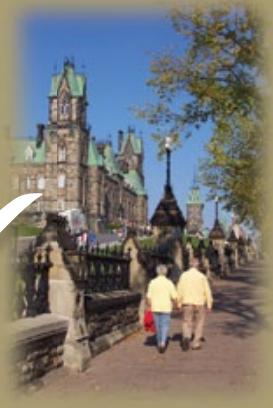
Despite the ongoing financial and social constraints facing my country, our public opinion has been sympathetic to and supportive of the refugees, in a manner that corresponds to our ethics and culture. Finally, Greek authorities have been acting with humanity, always under strained conditions, but always respecting international law and fundamental European values.

The time has arrived, at long last, to work and co-operate more effectively on the solution to the problem, for the benefit of the refugees themselves, but also for the benefit of our values and our civilization.

George L. Marcantonatos is Greece's ambassador to Canada.

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Iran sanctions relaxed: Opportunities and risks

By John W. Boscariol and Robert A. Glasgow

In early February, Global Affairs Minister Stéphane Dion announced that Canada had amended its economic sanctions against Iran. This implements the Liberal government's response to the January determination by the International Atomic Energy Agency that Iran has met the requirements for sanctions relief to begin under the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA).

A number of Canada's allies, including the European Union, the United States, Australia and Japan, have already announced that they would lift economic sanctions against Iran to varying degrees. Canadian firms, especially those in the oil and gas, aerospace, mining, automotive, financial services and high-tech sectors, should be carefully assessing the emerging trade and investment opportunities in Iran to ensure full compliance with the remaining patchwork of sanctions and export control measures.

Until the February announcement, Canada maintained a broad trade embargo against Iran, including supply and sourcing bans and prohibitions against providing or acquiring financial services to, from or for the benefit of persons in Iran. These measures also included prohibitions against engaging in activities with any of the more than 600 individuals and entities that were classified as "designated persons."

Canada has made significant revisions to the list of designated persons, now referred to as "listed persons," who are subject to a general asset freeze and transaction ban. The number of listed individuals has been halved, from 83 to 41. The number of listed entities has been reduced from 530 to only 161.

However, there have also been additions to the list of sanctioned persons and entities. Canada has followed the course of action taken by the United States in placing restrictions on Iran's ballistic missile program. To that end, Canada has added six individuals and one entity to its list of sanctioned persons.

The United Nations' list of designated persons has also been significantly reduced. These changes are also reflected in



IAEA director general Yukiya Amano and Iranian Vice-President Ali Akhbar Salehi sign a roadmap for the clarification of past and present issues regarding Iran's nuclear program in Vienna.

Canada's Regulations Implementing the United Nations Resolutions on Iran.

Trade embargo liberalization

The trade embargo has been substantially liberalized. The prohibitions against making investments in Iran, restricting port services to Iranian vessels, or providing flagging or classification services to Iranian oil tankers or cargo vessels have all been completely repealed. Also repealed are the prohibitions against importing or purchasing any goods from Iran and the blanket financial services ban.

Canada has lifted the general supply ban by repealing that section and replac-

ing it with a prohibition on supplying goods and technology, which lists 41 categories of items commonly used in nuclear, biological and chemical weapons programs, including certain centrifuges, autoclaves, fibrous or filamentary materials, gamma-ray spectrometers and specialty metals.

Canadian companies also need to review the remaining restrictions in place under Canada's Regulations Implementing the United Nations Resolutions on Iran. These relate to activities involving nuclear proliferation, military and conventional arms programs and ballistic missile development.

Export controls

Canadian corporations must remain vigilant regarding the need to obtain appropriate export permits under the Export and Import Permits Act for any goods or technology listed on Canada's Export Control List (ECL). Even though trade with Iran is now possible, the Canada Border Services Agency will likely continue to scrutinize exports to Iran to ensure compliance with economic sanctions and export controls.

For exports or transfers of ECL-controlled items to Iran, the government has issued a notice to exporters (No. 196.) This notice clarifies the policy of the Export Controls Division that, while all permits for transfers of controlled items to Iran will be considered, those for certain sensitive items will likely be denied. The denial list includes items from each ECL Group. This includes certain dual-use items, all items on the munitions list, the nuclear non-proliferation list and nuclear-related dual-use list. Missile technology is also on the denial list, other than certain specifically enumerated components.

Although the government's notice makes no mention of U.S.-origin items, it is important to note that all goods or technology of U.S. origin, regardless of sensitivity, to be exported or transferred to Iran require a permit from the Export Controls Division. Any proposed transfer to Iran of such items should be carefully reviewed by Canadian companies prior to transfer to determine whether a permit is necessary.

EU sanctions eased

The EU has relaxed its prohibitions on a wide variety of transactions with Iran, including those with the Iranian oil and gas sector, provision of engineering and maintenance services to cargo aircraft, supply services to Iranian vessels and related services. The EU has also lifted restrictions on certain financial services, including prohibitions on trading in Iranian government bonds and prohibiting insurance and re-insurance in Iran or to Iranian persons.

However, certain EU prohibitions, while they have technically been removed, have been replaced with a prior authorization and licensing scheme. Such authorizations would be in the hands of the individual member states of the EU, some of which may be more forthcoming than others. In particular, dealings in dual-use equipment — equipment having both military and civilian uses — precious metals, diamonds and graphite have been targeted as needing prior authorization.



A heavy water reactor in Arak, Iran.

U.S. embargo remains largely intact

U.S. sanctions relief has been mostly confined to "secondary sanctions," namely sanctions placed on non-U.S. persons. The U.S. embargo remains in effect and it is still illegal to clear transactions involving Iranian persons or entities through U.S. financial institutions. The embargo will be subject to new exceptions for carpets, foodstuffs and aircraft parts and maintenance.

The United States has also issued a licence that authorizes certain transactions with Iran by U.S.-owned foreign affiliates and subsidiaries that are otherwise prohibited for U.S. persons under the continuing embargo. Certain transactions continue to be forbidden for U.S.-owned foreign affiliates, including the export or re-export of U.S. goods and services, transferring funds through, to, or from the U.S. financial system, engaging in transactions with individuals on the list of specially designated nationals (SDN) or foreign sanctions evaders list, engaging in transactions with any military, paramilitary, intelligence or law enforcement officials or agents of Iran, or activity proscribed under certain elements of the U.S. sanctions regime.

In either case, neither the U.S. nor the EU has completely removed Iranian entities or individuals from their respective blacklists of designated nationals. In particular, the U.S. recently added additional Iranians to the U.S. Office of Foreign Asset Control's SDN list in response to an Iranian ballistic missile test. Others remaining under sanction include entities and individuals with close ties to the IRGC and the Quds Force, in particular.

The path ahead

Canadian companies considering business opportunities in Iran should review and consider the remaining patchwork of

potentially applicable trade control measures, including:

- determining whether the proposed transactions involve any goods, services and technology prohibited under the special economic measures (Iran) regulations or listed on Canada's ECL (including all U.S.-origin goods and technology);
- determining whether the activities involve any entities or individuals blacklisted under Canada's autonomous or UN-based sanctions measures; and
- assessing whether the opportunities involve any connections with the U.S. or EU, such that their sanctions might apply, including the involvement of goods, services or technology from those jurisdictions or U.S. or EU nationals.

With international economic sanctions falling away, Iran's re-entry into the world economy presents significant opportunities for Canadian businesses across the range of sectors listed above. For example, Dion said in January that Bombardier would be allowed to do business with Iran in order to compete with Airbus, a European company. Numerous sources, including officials in the Italian government, have indicated that Airbus is already engaged in negotiations to sell more than 100 planes to Iranian airlines following sanctions relief.

Those firms that understand and mitigate the risks that arise from economic sanctions measures that remain in place will have a competitive advantage in pursuing these trade and investment opportunities.

This piece is reprinted with permission. John W. Boscariol is a partner and Robert A. Glasgow is an associate in the International Trade and Investment Law Group at McCarthy Tétrault's Toronto office.

Revisionism revisited



George
Fetherling

As it happened, Ronald C. Rosbottom, a professor of French culture at Amherst College in New England, was in Paris on Jan. 7, 2015, the day of the terrorist attack on the offices of *Charlie Hebdo*. A bit of bad luck, one might say, but perhaps a bit of good luck as well, for Rosbottom is the author of *When Paris Went Dark: The City of Light Under German Occupation, 1940–1944* (Hachette Canada, \$31), a social and political history of the city's takeover by the Nazis. There are, of course, a number of fine books on this subject. Rosbottom's distinguishes itself by relying not only on memoirs and official documents, but also on the pop culture of that time and place, including movies, songs, drawings, posters and the like. If satirical publications such as *Charlie Hebdo* had existed in Paris 76 years ago, Rosbottom would be putting them to good use now.

We all should remember the broad outlines of what happened in June 1940. Having already overrun territories elsewhere in Europe, the Germans pointed their claws westward, with the ultimate goal of vanquishing Britain and then attacking North America. They easily broke through the Maginot Line, the series of fixed fortifications that the French had erected as though the Great War and the Spanish Civil War had taught them nothing about air power. To put the matter concisely, the Nazis essentially just rolled into Paris (strode, one might almost say), seemingly acting as much like flâneurs as conquérants. No shots were fired, and many Parisians welcomed the Nazis with cheers and huzzahs (while others joined the underground Resistance movement). Hitler himself arrived in Paris, a place whose cityscape even he had always admired. He had his picture taken with the Eiffel Tower, the way people do. He also visited Napoleon's tomb — of course.

For the first two years or so of the Occupation, daily life in Paris went along



After his army rolled into Paris, Hitler himself showed up and had his picture taken in front of the Eiffel Tower. He is shown here, centre, with architect Albert Speer, left, and Arno Breker, right.

more smoothly than anyone had a right to expect. The city was full of soldiers, of course. Most of them made up the new garrison of 20,000, but others used Paris in somewhat the way American troops used Bangkok and Hong Kong during the Vietnam War: as a respite from combat, in this case combat with the Russians on the Eastern Front. They were issued booklets showing how to navigate the Métro and how to deal with the locals (who, for their part, had pamphlets with tips for avoiding difficulties with the Germans). This odd period of mutual unease, which Rosbottom calls "the Minuet," began to unravel seriously in September 1941 when food rationing was instituted. From that point onwards, the situation quickly turned very dark indeed.

Not all of France was held by the Na-

zis, at least not officially or all at once. Their Occupied Zone took up nearly all of northern France and the entire Atlantic coast from Spain to Belgium. Southern France was the Free Zone, also known as Vichy France after the city that served as the seat of the Nazis' puppet government. Vichy was formed in 1942 (and shared the map with a chunk of the country taken over by the Italian fascists). By that time, the persecution of Jews had worsened by calculated increments. Jewish businesses had to display yellow signs reading *Entreprise Juive*. Then Jews were forbidden to own or even manage businesses, to study in universities, to practise law, medicine and the other professions or to own a radio or a bicycle. Their bank accounts and safe deposit boxes were confiscated, and then the truly terrible part got under way.

Deportation of Jews begins

Working with Vichy police and militias, the Nazis began deporting Jews en masse in a series of rafles or roundups. At the end of June 1942, Adolf Eichmann arrived in Paris to commence "the final solution." In August 1944, the Russians and the western Allies, including Canadians, of course, fought their way into Paris from opposite directions and les années noires came to an end — in fact, but certainly not in memory. Not even remotely.

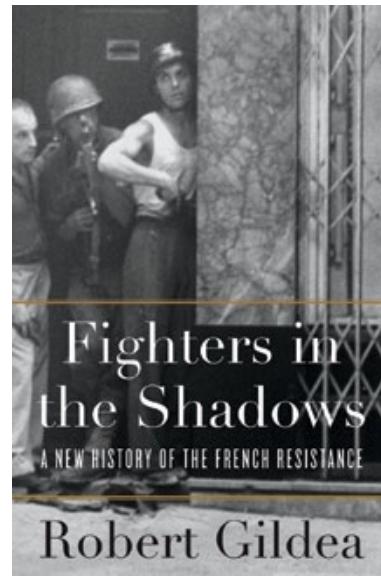
Rosbottom introduces himself to the reader by saying he does not "claim the mantle of historian but rather of storyteller and guide." This is fair enough, but overly modest. He does a fine job on his primary task of re-creating the rhythms of Parisian life during the 50 months of German rule. To do so, he must also write about the French underground guerrilla movement that rose up in the city and throughout the nation, driving the Nazis mad with bombings, sabotage, assassinations, booby-traps and other such activities. He must likewise deal with the Free French government-in-exile that Gen. Charles de Gaulle, the future French president, ran from London. All these are highly controversial topics in France to this day.

The bitterness and rancour took hold the moment the Nazis were driven out. A few days after his triumphal return, de Gaulle, who led his own forces in the Normandy invasion, addressed a huge crowd of Parisians from the city hall steps. He said: "Paris liberated! Liberated by its own efforts, liberated by its people with the help of the armies of France, with the help of all of France." To put it mildly, he withheld praise for the Americans, the Russians and the others who did the heavy work, and minimized the contribution of — indeed the very makeup of — the underground resisters.

When the Nazis got serious about their occupation, they encouraged people to give them the names of fellow citizens who were invisibly assimilated Jews or anyone who was thought to be undermining German authority. Citizens spread lethal gossip and squealed on one another, often for purely personal motives. The Nazis gathered large numbers of suspects who would never be heard from again. In the Southern Zone, such people were dealt with by the Vichy police (who, in a 1942 purge called Le Grand Rafle, rounded up Jews as young as two years old).

The nation had been humiliated when the French army was overrun so easily. (Just before the war's end, there were still 1.5 million French PoWs being held

in camps in Germany.) When France was free again, the search was on for civilians who had taken the easy road and helped the Germans in various ways, large and small. De Gaulle called them "a handful of scoundrels," but that was hardly what they were. Some of the totals are almost unbelievable. By the autumn of 1943, 85,000 French women had children



fathered by German soldiers. Even women not accused of such *collaboration horizontale*, but only of mild fraternization, had their heads shaved by angry mobs who then paraded them through the streets. (They were the lucky ones.) Male collaborators of various sorts were frequently just shot in the head by veterans of the resistance.

Underground tales

Almost at once, people who felt at least sheepish and more likely totally humiliated by the way they'd been dominated began to create a glorious folklore around the brave Resistance veterans. Every so often as the years rolled on, someone would challenge the accepted version of almost-universal French bravery, and the wound would be reopened again, as happened in the 1970s, for example, with the French film, *The Sorrow and the Pity*. In recent years, many francophone authors (such as François Boulet or Philippe Bourrin), as well as anglophone ones (Ian Ousby or Robert Gildea), have written fresh revisionist books on the subject. Gildea, an Oxford professor, has written more than one, in fact. His latest is *Fighters in the Shadows: A New History of the French Resistance* (Harvard University

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Press, US\$35).

Gildea's argument, in brief, is that just as Charles de Gaulle downplayed the number of Nazi collaborationists, so too did he distort the size, composition and workings of the resistance movement, which was also called the Maquis (after a tough Mediterranean shrub). De Gaulle's retrospective version was that the movement included a significant percentage of the population when, in fact, Gildea writes, the most widespread civilian response to the occupation was an attitude of *attentisme* ("wait-and-see"). In de Gaulle's mind, or vision, very nearly all resisters were French nationals — and male. Forty thousand young French men — 80 percent of them under the age of 20 — did take part, but worked and fought beside economic migrants and Jewish refugees from much of Europe, British behind-the-lines experts from the Special Operations Executive and, most of all, hardened veterans of the Spanish Civil War, a highly cosmopolitan bunch indeed, including communists, liberals, unaligned anti-fascists and, of course, just plain adventurers. One would look hard to find stories of greater bravery than some of those in Gildea's books.

Fighters in the Shadows is full of documents, including rosters of many who served and came to sad ends at the hands of the Nazis. A great number of the brave and noble ones — to judge from Gildea's narrative, a disproportionate percentage — were women, many of whose tales will make you weep. De Gaulle did his best to ignore their sacrifices. Only three years ago were two of these resistentes permitted to be buried in the Panthéon, the traditional final resting place of France's greatest heroes. One of them was Geneviève de Gaulle. One wonders to what extent her late uncle would have approved.

Why is the above so important? With the terrorist attack on Paris on Nov. 13, 2015, still ringing in our ears, the top-selling, most controversial and serious new book in France is *Soumission*, by one of the country's most famous and important literary figures, the novelist and poet Michel Houellebecq. The image on the front is the fated issue of *Charlie Hebdo*. Houellebecq's English-language publisher wasted no time in confirming that his company would push ahead with plans for publishing an English translation by Lorin Stein. It is available as you read this (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, \$32). The book is set in a France under Islamist rule. It is fiction. Let's keep it that way.

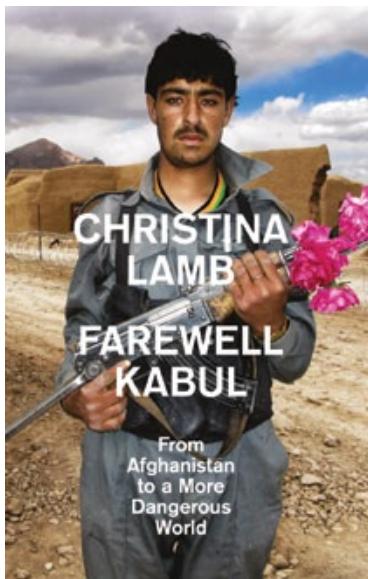
The search for intelligent intelligence

I've always been wary of books written "with" someone besides the purported author. An example is *The Great War of Our Time: The CIA's Fight Against Terrorism from Al Qa'ida to ISIS* by Michael Morell (Hachette Canada, \$31). Morell is now a consultant and network television explainer. Prior to that, he was variously acting director or deputy director of the CIA, following Leon Panetta, who departed to be secretary of defence, and David Petraeus, who left in a sex scandal. The book is written "with" Bill Harlow, a former CIA public relations executive. So what we get here are snippets of Morell's autobiography, complete with school graduation pictures, and a not ill-informed defence of the agency's workings. Morell believes "more can and should be shared with the American people about what the agency does every day" because popular culture creates distorted impressions. He calls one of these pop-cult stereotypes the Jack Ryan myth (that the agency is invincible). Others are the Get Smart myth (that the agency is incompetent) and the Jason Bourne myth (that it is a rogue operation with its own extra-governmental agenda). All of these, Morell naturally says, are false.

Afghanistan adieu

One thing Morell's book does do is to boldly imply, and yet in a between-the-lines sort of way as though the notion weren't obvious, that we're stuck not in a series of disconnected wars, but a single continuous one against an enemy with numerous names and many theatres of operation. Each new episode in the sequence takes control of our attention, allowing us to almost forget the previous ones. One of the virtues of *Farewell Kabul: From Afghanistan to a More Dangerous World* by the British journalist Christina Lamb (HarperCollins Canada, \$39.99) is that it vividly recounts and analyses the opening salvo of the allied invasion of Afghanistan following the 9/11 attacks and tracks the consequences through the next 13 years, getting to know nearly everyone — Afghan, American and British — of any importance. In doing so, the author genuinely comes to love the people and the culture in ways that few male correspondents seem to have done. She reminds one of Gloria Emerson of the *New York Times*, who had such a relationship with Vietnam, publishing a wonderful book about it called *Winners and Losers*, and then committing suicide in 2004 when Parkinson's disease prevented her from writing more.

Lamb quotes a famous remark by Harold Macmillan, the British prime minister (1957–63): “Rule number one in politics is never invade Afghanistan.” This statement arose from the crushing British defeats there in the 19th Century, but the Russians failed to heed the advice in the 20th. Lamb’s experience reporting the late stages of the Soviet fiasco in the 1980s prepared her to cover the American and allied invasion that began a month after the Twin Towers were destroyed. Her observations about the leaders of the western military and, to a lesser extent,



the Afghan bureaucracy, are caustic, but never smart-alecky — just bizarre. The British defence minister of the day confessed he couldn’t locate Afghanistan on a map. Afghanistan’s energy minister was dubbed the “minister of darkness” because there were often long stretches without electric power. The U.S. spent more than \$3 million for patrol boats to police the coastline of a country that is landlocked. And so on. “How on Earth,” she asks, looking back, “had the might of NATO, 48 countries with satellites in the skies, 140,000 troops dropping missiles the price of a Porsche, not managed to defeat a group of ragtag religious students led by a one-eyed mullah his own colleagues described as ‘dumb in the mouth?’” Not that she hated the westerners. Rather, she had come to love the Afghans and their culture.

Rethinking wars — again

An American academic, Dominic Tierney, whose résumé includes Oxford, the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard

and the Foreign Policy Research Institute, takes a bold view of American strategy (and to some extent diplomacy) in *The Right Way to Lose a War: America in an Age of Unwinnable Conflicts* (Hachette Canada, \$31). His thesis is this: Given that future wars are likely to be unconventional, dirty, low-down and regional or even local, and thus not susceptible to the long-held U.S. military patterns and procedures, it might be time to rethink — once more — participation in other people’s civil wars and regional conflicts.

With the exception of the Gulf War of 1991, the U.S. hasn’t had a clear victory for 70 years. It has seen, however, several somewhat productive stalemates, as in Korea. The subtitle of Tierney’s previous book, *How We Fight: Crusades, Quagmires, and the American Way of War* sums up his viewpoint neatly. To avoid being sucked into quagmires, Washington should open with a big surge, and once having made the point, negotiate a workable agreement that falls short of either outright victory or outright defeat, and then go away (though of course the other possible exit strategy — wise when possible — is never to leave home in the first place).

And briefly...

One of the subplots in *Spectre*, the most recent James Bond film, has to do with the idea of merging MI5, the British domestic intelligence service, with the international one, MI6. This struck me as odd until I read *John Le Carré: The Biography* by Adam Sisman (Knopf Canada, \$36). For it turns out that Le Carré (real name: David Cornwell), the author of such thrillers as *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* and *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, belonged to both agencies (though not at the same time). Then, there are spies we’ve never heard of who keep suddenly turning up from the past. *The Ingenious Mr. Pyke* by Henry Hemming (Publishers Group Canada, \$33.99) concerns a brilliant inventor and financier who came up with the notion of a combined U.S.-Canadian special forces group in the Second World War, but turned out to be a highly placed Soviet agent. The Baroness Moura Budberg was a famous Russian author (and other things) in the Bolshevik period. Her own bizarre story is told by Deborah McDonald and Jeremy Dronfield in *A Very Dangerous Woman: The Lives, Loves and Lies of Russia’s Most Seductive Spy* (Publishers Group Canada, \$29.99).

George Fetherling is a novelist and cultural commentator.

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Celebrating Asian heritage

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

Many Canadians today see our diverse population as a source of pride and strength — for good reason. More than one in five Canadians were born elsewhere. That is the highest percentage of immigrants in the G7 group of large industrialized nations. Asia (including people born in the Middle East) has provided the greatest number of newcomers in recent years. Since the 1990s, Canadians — who once thought primarily of Europe when they considered events abroad — now define themselves, and the world, differently. As former prime minister Jean Chrétien said: "The Pacific is getting smaller and the Atlantic is becoming wider."

Still, the history of Asian people arriving in Canada has seen highs and lows. China is one such example. The first Chinese arrived in Canada in 1788, when about 50 settlers, who were artisans by training, accompanied Capt. John Meares. These settlers helped to build a trading post and encouraged trade in sea otter pelts between Nootka Sound (in what would become British Columbia) and Guangzhou, China. On Vancouver Island, and across B.C., the Chinese population was estimated at 7,000 people by 1860. Their numbers grew with the addition of about 15,000 Chinese labourers brought in between 1880 and 1885 to complete the B.C. section of the coast-to-coast railway line.

This also marked the start of one of this country's darker chapters. More than 600 workers died as a result of adverse working conditions, as shown in the Heritage Minute "Nitro." After 1885, Chinese migrants were required to pay a \$50 tax to enter Canada. In 1900, Asian immigration was further restricted; the "head tax" was doubled to \$100, and raised again in 1903 to \$500. This was the result of complaints that were summed up by one senator, who concluded the Chinese "are not of our race and cannot become part of ourselves." Chinese Canadians were not allowed to vote until 1947.

Arrivals from other Asian countries also faced discrimination. The first Japanese immigrants arrived in 1877. Thirty years later, Japanese migration to Canada was restricted to 400 males a year, and, in 1928, limited to 150 people annually. During the Second World War, Japanese Canadians were interned and their property was placed under "protective



The launch of the *North-West America* at Nootka Sound, 1788.

custody." South Asians faced other hardships. In 1914, the government blocked the arrival of the *Komagata Maru*, a ship carrying would-be arrivals from India, and ordered them to be sent back. Upon



Capt. John Meares

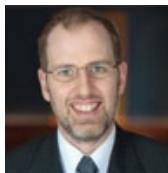
their return, they clashed with British Indian police who tried to force them onto a specially commissioned train bound for Punjab. Twenty passengers died. Canada restricted immigration from South Asia to such an extent that, as late as 1961, the

national census counted fewer than 7,000 people with origins in the region.

Today, many of these injustices have been corrected, and acknowledged, and the communities are thriving. In the 2011 census, South Asians, Chinese and Black Canadians accounted for 61 percent of the country's visible minority population. They were followed by Filipinos, Latin Americans, Arabs, Southeast Asians, West Asians, Koreans and Japanese. A vivid reflection of the changing times is the four Sikh Canadians named to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's cabinet (another was born in Afghanistan). As we mark Asian Heritage Month, there is general agreement about the positive impacts these and other communities bring to Canada. At Historica Canada, we offer examples of this firsthand through the speakers who take part in our Passages Canada (passagestocanada.com) program and its accompanying video series. The Canadian population now reflects the presence of the strengths of people from around the world. As a result, Canadians feel increasingly confident about our place within it.

Anthony Wilson-Smith is president and CEO of Historica Canada.

Gorgeous Grüner Veltliner



Pieter
Van den Weghe

Few countries have a wine industry that's only known for a single grape varietal. Sure, many North American wine drinkers immediately expect a Pinotage when they think of what they will find in their glass of South African red wine. Yet, those consumers would probably be surprised that Pinotage represents only seven percent of South Africa's total grape plantings, falling behind Cabernet Sauvignon and Syrah.

Similarly, Sauvignon Blanc is often thought to be New Zealand's claim to fame in the wine world. However, not only does New Zealand Pinot Noir have a well-earned place of recognition in today's wine market, several other countries and regions in the world produce benchmark expressions of Sauvignon Blanc.

This makes Austria's success with Grüner Veltliner even more impressive. Everyday wine drinkers would be hard-pressed to provide the name of another white or red grape varietal from this European country, and few expect Grüner Veltliner to come from anywhere else. It is truly the Austrian grape.

The first mentions of Grüner Veltliner come from the 18th Century, and it's been proven through DNA that the grape is the result of a natural crossing of Savignin and St. Georgener, an almost extinct vine that is only found in an area outside of Eisenstadt, a small city south of Vienna.

Grüner Veltliner is the most important grape varietal grown and produced in Austria. As of 2009, there were more than 13,500 hectares of vineyards planted with this exciting varietal. Although this is down from nearly 17,500 hectares in 1999, Grüner Veltliner is still the most cultivated varietal in Austria, representing nearly 30 percent of all of the country's wine grape plantings. By comparison, the second-most planted varietal is the red grape, Zweigelt, with just 6,500 hectares under vine.

These plantings can be found all over Austria's wine-producing regions, but are

especially concentrated in Niederösterreich and Burgenland. Some of the best sites for Grüner Veltliner are considered to be Kamptal, Kremstal and Wachau.

Often, Grüner Veltliner's calling card is a strong note of pepper and spice in the aromatics. While on the palate, the wines can vary from light to full-bodied, they are often made in a dry to slightly off-dry style, and usually have flavours of citrus, stone fruit, mineral and spice.

When grown with high yields, the wines from Grüner Veltliner are fresh, clean and easy to enjoy. Much of the Grüner Veltliner that has helped establish its popularity outside of Austria is delicious when young and intended for early consumption. However, with better vineyards and skilled winemakers, wines made from this grape can also be rich and age-worthy. With long-term aging, these finer expressions develop a soft texture and flavours very similar to aged white Burgundy.

While there are small yields of Grüner Veltliner in Germany and Italy, and more significant plantings in Slovakia and the Czech Republic, these productions have yet to significantly impact Austria's hold on the varietal. In addition, a few New World countries and regions have started to grow this fantastic grape, including California, Oregon, New Zealand and Canada's own, British Columbia.

Given that much of the potential and recognition of this grape have yet to be realized — especially as new regions experiment with it — we can look forward to more and more delicious wines from Austria and other corners of the world in the coming months and years.

Fred Loimer's 2013 "Lois" Grüner Veltliner (available from the LCBO's Vintages for \$17.95) is a beautiful, enticing and aromatic wine. With the classic notes of spice and pepper in balance with fresh citrus, this wine is the perfect introduction to this brilliant grape.

For something unorthodox, Steininger's 2012 traditional method sparkling Grüner Veltliner fits the bill perfectly. With more than 30 months of lees contact, this is the perfect Grüner for celebrating the everyday. It is available through the Vintage Trade in Toronto for \$29.95. Email cheryl@vintagetrade.com or call 1-866-390-8745.

Pieter Van den Weghe is general manager and sommelier at Beckta.



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The cultural melting pot of South African cuisine

Photos by Larry Dickenson



Margaret
Dickenson

South Africa regards itself as one of the cradles of mankind, a claim endorsed by the discovery of 117,000-year-old footprints just north of Cape Town. Referred to as the "Rainbow Nation," it offers a unique diversity in its cuisine, rooted in the evolution of a rich culinary history based on its people surviving life in the bush. It was later enriched by the migration of the Bantu people from the north, before being amplified by an infusion of foreigners — Portuguese, Dutch, French, British, Germans, Indians, Malaysians, Indonesians and Chinese.

The earliest recorded inhabitants in South Africa were the San or Bushmen, nomadic hunter-gatherers who survived on foods such as crayfish, tortoises, coconuts and squash. Then, about 2,000 years ago, a second group, the Khoekhoen, who were pastoral and somewhat nomadic herders, reached the Cape after steadily migrating southward. They raised sheep, goats and cattle to provide a stable, balanced diet and enable them to dwell in larger groups in areas formerly occupied by the San.

Khoisan became a unifying name for these two groups. There was some intermarriage, but the San continued to be hunter-gatherers and the Khoekhoen continued to raise livestock. Over time, however, some Khoekhoen gave up their pastoral lifestyle and adopted the hunter-gatherer culture of the San, probably due to a drying climate and their region's lack of suitable animals for domestication. The physical and cultural evolution of the Khoisan was different from that of others in Africa.

Bantu natives from further north in Africa, who also gradually migrated southward and began arriving in South Africa in the 9th Century, introduced the practice of modern agriculture. The Khoisan, who really didn't farm, then adopted the do-



Bobotie is a well-known spicy and sweet South Africa dish made of minced meat and bread.

mesticated sheep and cattle of the Bantu. As a result, meat and milk play major roles in traditional African cuisine. Drying was a method of preserving meat without refrigeration, as was souring milk. Both practices are still in use. The Bantu also taught the Khoisan to grow vegetables such as squash, sweet potatoes and corn — the latter is known as "*mealies*." The Bantu intermarried with the Khoisan and became the dominant South African population before the Dutch arrived in 1652.

Non-Africans arrive

Although the Portuguese had made brief stops at the Cape on their journeys to and from the lucrative spice-trading destinations of East Africa and India since 1488, it was the Dutch East India Company in 1652 that realized the value of establishing a secure base for ships to shelter and replenish supplies of meat, fruit and vegetables for their onward voyages. Soon, a Dutch settlement was established with

gardens producing potatoes, cucumbers, pumpkins, watermelons and pineapples. Simultaneously, with the increased trade of the Dutch East India Company between Europe, South Africa and India, a demand for slave labour to work on farms and in the fishing industry emerged. The slaves — primarily from India, Indonesia, Malaysia and Madagascar — brought their own cuisines to South Africa's culinary mix. In 1688, French Calvinists, known as Huguenots, fearing persecution by King Louis XIV, fled to South Africa. During the 18th Century, the Dutch, challenged by the British, saw their global power decline. And by the beginning of the 19th Century, the Cape was shifting back and forth between Dutch and British rule.

The slaves introduced a variety of spices, which boosted the flavour of normally bland Dutch and English stews and other dishes such as Boer Chicken Pie, which features abundant seasoning and is topped with eggs and ham. The Dutch

and Germans introduced baked goods and pastries while the most notable British contribution was meat pies. Although the first recorded wine was produced in 1659 by the Cape colony's Dutch founder, Jan van Riebeeck, the arrival of the French Huguenots 30 years later launched the production of wine, an industry that began to make a mark on the world stage.

What is South African cuisine today?

South African cuisine is an amalgamation of traditional African cuisine and the cuisines of the foreigners who've shaped its history. Dried and roasted meat remain favourites among all South Africans, regardless of descent. *Biltong* is much like beef jerky, but may also be prepared with game meat such as kudu, antelope, ostrich or eland. It is sun-dried, salted and spiced. *Biltong*, along with the ever-popular *beskuits*, which are dried, sweet, rusk-like biscuits, counted as essential staples for the Voortrekkers — the African and Dutch word for pioneers — who moved into the interior of South Africa in what is historically referred to as the Great Trek. Today, pieces of *biltong* and dried fruit serve as an enjoyable snack. *Braais* or barbecues, a much-loved recreational activity, is an ancient practice that has been elevated to an art form in South Africa. Frequently, *braais* feature *sosaties*, which are similar to kebabs of meat — usually lamb — spiced in different ways. It is marinated, grilled on skewers and served with sauce and biscuits. *Sosaties* and a variety of sausages are meal-time favourites.

From personal experience, South African sausages could become addictive. Imagine *boerewors*, highly spiced, often a mixture of pork, mutton and beef, seasoned with a gamut of spices plus red wine or vinegar, or *droewors*, a thin sun-dried sausage version of *biltong*, but without pork because it does not keep well. *Frikkadel*s, a cross between a small hamburger and a meatball, at times wrapped in cabbage leaves, pop with flavours of nutmeg and coriander.

Another traditional South African outdoor way of cooking uses a *potjie*, a large three-legged cast-iron pot set over coals or charcoal. A traditional stew cooked in a *potjie* is referred to as a *potjiekos* in the northern area and as "*bredie*" in the Cape. Early pioneers simmered *potjiekos* in a *potjie* for hours, adding meat, vegetables and wild plants, plus whatever was available. Today, combinations of foods make delectable *potjiekos* — seafood with white fish and mussels; lamb shank with beetroot; and chicken. The *potjiekos* are usually

named after the principal vegetable ingredient, even though they include meat and vegetables — tomato *bredie* has slightly caramelized tomatoes and meat; sugarbeet *bredie* is a relative of the French cassoulet; and carrot *bredie* is made with flavourful mashed carrots. Traditionally, pot bread, a classic South African yeast bread, made with honey and baked in a cast-iron pan, accompanies these stews.



Tomato bredie is a traditional South African dish, named for its principal vegetable ingredient.

A meaty national dish

Generally recognized as South Africa's national dish, a meat pie known as *bototie* symbolizes the melting pot of South Africa's "rainbow of nations," from the indigenous rearing and eating of beef, the Dutch settlers' culinary practices and the spices brought by slaves and trading ships. *Bototie* recipes and techniques differ widely, but the most authentic and traditional ones incorporate minced beef or lamb or ostrich, plus six key ingredients: bread soaked in milk, raisins, apricot jam, curry powder, cinnamon and bay leaves. Used in harmony, these ingredients create a particular balance of spicy and sweet flavours, where sweetness should not overpower the dish. The consistency varies from that of stiff meatloaf to something softer and is eaten with *geel rys*, a spicy yellow rice. As a condiment with *bototie*, South Africans delight in serving *blatjang*, similar to a smooth fruit chutney made of apricots, peaches and chilies for added heat. Its versatility as an additive for curries, stews and other dishes makes it a staple in South African kitchens.

Seafood, harvested along the coastline of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, continues to be a dietary staple. Hake, the most common fish, typically ends up as a fish and chips meal. Rock lobster, mussels, octopus and cod tend to be more available on the southern tip.

Another staple is *putupap* or *pap*, a mealy porridge; however, before the

introduction of corn, sorghum was used and generally eaten with vegetable and meat stews. Pap comes in many variations — *slap pap* is a runnier, softer breakfast porridge; *stywe pap* is a thick paste-like version similar to mashed potatoes that proves ideal for mopping up stew with one's fingers; and *phutu pap* is a drier, slightly crumbly polenta-like version.

In the language of the Zulu and Hosa, the word *amasi* refers to fermented milk that tastes like yogurt or cottage cheese (in Afrikaans, the word is *mass*.) Traditionally, preparation entails fermenting unpasteurized cow's milk in a hide sack or a calabash, draining off the watery *umlaza* from the thick liquid, *amasi*, which is primarily poured over pap or drunk straight. South Africans rarely consume fresh milk, which they refer to as as green milk, except as a thinning agent for very thick *amasi*. Zulus believe that *amasi* is the tonic that empowers men to be strong, healthy and, most important, desirable. Even Nelson Mandela enjoyed *amasi*. In fact, it once almost exposed his hiding place when he was sought by the apartheid government. Fortunately, he overheard two Zulu workers mentioning how strange indeed to see milk left out on the windowsill to ferment in an area inhabited by whites.

A produce-friendly climate

The mild climate of South Africa enables the production of a wide range of fruits and vegetables. The most common are corn, potatoes, cabbage, peppers, green beans and sunflowers, plus a wild spinach known as *morogo*. Common side dishes would be mealy corn soup; corn on the cob; green bean salads; yams; *geel rys*; *atjar*, which are pickled fruits and vegetables; and condiments such as chopped vegetables and chutneys. For a snack, South Africans consider *mashonzha*, which are mopane worms similar to caterpillars, a traditional delicacy, if not an acquired taste. They come fried, grilled or stewed and are served in markets with a chili sauce or peanuts.

South Africans, renowned for their hospitality, offer a choice of drinks — beer, perhaps even *mechow* or *umqombothi*, a traditional thick, creamy, slightly gritty and mildly sour African beer made with maize or sorghum; a wide variety of wines; Van Der Hum liqueur, a blend of brandy, wine, orange peel and spices; a powerful home-made fruit brandy similar to American moonshine; and the after-dinner Amarula Cream, a cream liqueur made from fruit of the marula tree. Reportedly, monkeys, baboons and elephants who eat the rotting

fruit in the wild get drunk.

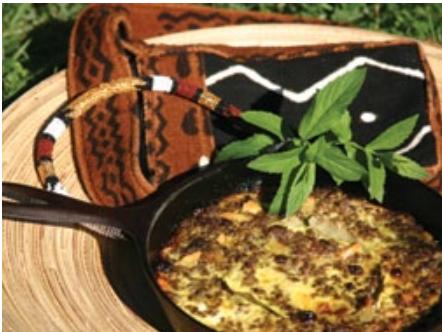
Fresh fruit, puddings and cakes conclude a meal. Originally created by Dutch settlers in the Cape, malva pudding, a soft, moist, delicate sponge cake, claims to be an authentic South African dessert. Popular as well are the glistening and oh-so-sweet *koeksisters* — which is pronounced “cook sisters.” These delicacies are deep-fried cousins of the doughnut that have been dipped in a sugar syrup. The light *melktart*, a custard tart made of milk and eggs with a cinnamon topping to accentuate the milky flavour, is another popular option.

Now, I invite you to celebrate South African cuisine by saluting its culinary heritage with my version of the country’s national dish, *bobotie*. Bon appétit!

Bobotie

Makes about 4 one-cup (250 mL) servings

3/4 slice of dense white bread
2/3 cup (170 mL) milk, divided
1 lb (450 g) minced lean beef
1/3 cup (80 mL) chopped onion
1/3 cup (80 mL) peeled and chopped tart apple
1/4 cup (60 mL) raisins
3 tbsp (45 mL) slivered toasted almonds



1½ tsp (8 mL) each of apricot jam, peach chutney and curry powder

3/4 tsp (4 mL) salt

½ tsp (3 mL) each of cinnamon, nutmeg,

turmeric, lemon juice and lemon zest

Dash of both cumin and ground cloves

2 tsp (10 mL) oil, divided

3/4 tsp (4 mL) of both minced garlic and grated gingerroot (peeled)

3 bay leaves

2 eggs

1 cup (250 mL) peach chutney (in addition to above)

1. Soak bread in only 1/4 cup (60 mL) milk for 15 minutes, squeeze dry and set milk aside.

2. In a large bowl, thoroughly mix to-

gether beef and soaked bread (torn apart) before stirring in onion, apple, raisins, almonds, jam, chutney (1½ tsp or 8 mL), curry powder, salt, cinnamon, nutmeg, turmeric, lemon juice, zest, cumin and cloves.

3. Heat only 1 tsp (5 mL) of oil in a large non-stick skillet over medium-low heat; add garlic and ginger and sauté for about a minute, stirring constantly.

4. Add beef mixture, stirring constantly just until meat is no longer pink.

5. Transfer mixture to a lightly oiled (1 tsp or 5 mL) cast-iron frypan or oven-proof baking dish. Level the surface before pushing in the bay leaves.

6. Thoroughly whisk together the eggs with the remaining milk and the milk set aside from soaking the bread; pour it evenly over the surface of the meat.

7. Bake in a preheated 350 °F (180 °C) oven just until the *bobotie* sets (about 40 minutes).

8. Serve with peach chutney, and if desired, a flavourful rice and freshly cooked vegetables, including corn on the cob.

Margaret Dickenson is a cookbook author, TV host, menu/recipe developer, protocol, business and etiquette instructor. (www.margaretstable.ca)

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W W W . L A R R I M A C . C O M

A residence built with Moroccan charm

Photos by Ashley Fraser



The residence of Moroccan Ambassador Nouzha Chekrouni was rebuilt in 1996 after a fire in 1994 destroyed the original residence. The new building is full of Moroccan touches.



Margo
Roston

If you don't pay attention, you might just miss the small sign and street number of the Moroccan ambassador's residence on busy Aylmer Road.

It's not far from the plush fairways of the Royal Ottawa Golf Club, nor from the Champlain Bridge to Ottawa. In fact, it's just far enough away to stand alone on a stunning piece of property near the Ottawa River.

Follow the long driveway and at the end you'll find a majestic three-and-a-half-storey brick mansion, the home for the past seven years of Moroccan Ambassador Nouzha Chekrouni and her husband, El Menouar Bentefrit. They live there alone now that their two children, both of whom still live in Canada, are adults. Their mar-

ried daughter is a translator and their son works at a technology start-up.

This residence, surrounded by mature trees, has a story. It was created from the ruins of the previous Moroccan residence that burned to the ground in 1994. It was carefully rebuilt two years later with the idea that it should not only be modern and functional, but should also reflect some Moroccan traditions.

Relying on advice from officials in Morocco, and from a Montreal architect who specializes in Moroccan design, the elegant traditions of the culture show up



The main reception room runs nearly the length of the house and is almost completely open, with a back wall of windows overlooking a large garden.



Ambassador Chekrouni has been living in the residence for seven years.



This hexagon-shaped space is typical of a room found in Moroccan homes. Above is an elegantly designed wood ceiling.



The centre of the reception area features a white marble fireplace and white furniture. A painting of horsemen with spears hangs over the mantel.

with stunning frequency in the house.

The front door is framed by a massive marble arch, and once inside, guests are greeted by a lovely mosaic tile fountain with three brass spigots. "It doesn't work," admits a smiling ambassador as she shows it off, but that doesn't matter to her at all.

The main floor reception area covers nearly the length of the house and is almost completely open, with a back wall of windows overlooking a large garden.

"When I first came here, there were no houses there," says the ambassador, wistfully pointing out a new home just visible past the garden. Although the river can't be seen from the main floor, the upper storey windows provide a fine view of the water and the city of Ottawa beyond.

The centre of the reception area features a white marble fireplace and white furniture set off by a bright red Moroccan carpet. A painting of horsemen with spears hangs over the mantel. A more modern piece is the work of a young deaf woman, a protégée of the ambassador when she was the minister responsible for women and the disabled before being appointed to her Canadian post.

Each end of the lovely reception room



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has its own distinctive space: one end, where the ambassador enjoys her afternoon tea, features a design in orange and blue. The other, near the wood and wrought-iron staircase, is where she relaxes over morning coffee.

Nearby, the gold oak-panelled dining room comfortably seats 24 and is located conveniently close to the kitchen. When the house was rebuilt, the designers decided to add an extensive kitchen in the basement, for use when the ambassador hosts large receptions. Food is a serious matter at the residence and guests are treated to a delightful array of Moroccan specialties, all cooked by the ambassador's Moroccan chef. Among traditional favourites featured at the long, sumptuous table are pastillas — sweet and savoury meat pies served as appetizers — as well as mouth-watering tagines, which are traditional stews seasoned with caramelized prunes and dried apricots. Couscous is another national dish readily available at diplomatic get-togethers. And one mustn't forget the traditional mint tea.

"We welcome guests to share with us," says the ambassador.

Several steps down from the main reception room is what is known as the



The dining room comfortably seats 24 guests.

winter garden, a sun-lit informal space featuring carved wooden furniture and decorated in subdued colours. It is heralded on either side by elegantly hand-carved plaster archways.

Perhaps the most traditional space in the house is the Moroccan room created for the enjoyment of those who live there, their families and countrymen, as a touch of home in a foreign land. A beautifully crafted plaster wall with a tall arch leads from the main reception area into a hexagon-shaped room lined with an orange-red bench. This is typical of a room found in Moroccan homes. Above is an elegantly designed wood ceiling.

"This is where we serve tea and pastries," Chekrouni says.

The house has four bedrooms complete with ensuites, staff quarters and high up, a guest suite with a view of the river.

After so many years here, the official residence has easily become a home for the active ambassador, who can golf nearby with Canadian friends, look out her window at Canadian scenery and sip mint tea in a traditional Moroccan space... a lovely melding of two cultures.

Margo Roston is *Diplomat*'s culture editor.

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Marica Matković Ambassador of Croatia



Ambassador Matković is a lawyer by training and began her career as a legal adviser in Zagreb in 1978, after which she worked in the same role for a housing association.

She then became a counsellor at the ministry of health and then the foreign ministry's international law department.

By 1996, she was head of the department for consular affairs at the foreign ministry and then became minister-counsellor in the Czech Republic. In 2001, she was head of the northern and western Europe division, after which she was named deputy head of mission at the embassy in Serbia in 2002.

In 2003, she returned to headquarters as head of the consular affairs department, then was appointed consul-general to Chicago. From 2008 to 2012, she was ambassador to Israel and from 2012 to 2015, she was secretary general of the Croatian government.

She speaks English, Croatian and Czech.

Abdulhamid A.M.A. Alfaijarkawi Ambassador of Kuwait



Ambassador Alfailakawi joined the Kuwaiti foreign ministry in 1982 as a diplomatic attaché. A year later, he was posted to Beijing. In 1988, he returned to headquarters

to work on the Asia and Africa desk and later that same year, was posted to the embassy in Washington as second secretary.

In 1994, he was posted to the Kuwaiti embassy in New Delhi as first secretary and in 1998, he transferred to the embassy in Vienna as counsellor. In 2001, he became ambassador to Senegal, with non-residency responsibilities in Cape Verde as well. In 2004, he became ambassador to Malaysia and Brunei and three years later, he was named ambassador to Tunisia.

In 2009, he became ambassador to Hungary and four years later, returned to headquarters as assistant to the minister responsible for Arab World Affairs.

Mr. Alfailakawi is married and has five children.

Dato' Aminahtun Karim Shaharudin High Commissioner for Malaysia



High Commissioner Dato' Aminahtun is a career diplomat with more than 32 years experience. She's worked at various divisions of the ministry, namely the South-East Asia,

Western Europe, Africa and East Asian desks, ASEAN, and consular affairs.

This assignment brings her full circle, as her first foreign posting was to Canada in 1988. She has also served as counsellor at the Malaysian Embassy in Indonesia (1996 to 2001), ambassador to Ukraine (2004 to 2007), and ambassador to Croatia (2007 to 2011). Most recently, she held the position of senior director at the Institute of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations (IDFR), where she trained young diplomats, local and international. She was also instrumental in planning, co-ordinating and implementing a transformation plan for IDFR.

Dato' Aminahtun was awarded Croatia's Order of the Duke Branimir with Ribbon in 2011 and Malaysia's Kesatria Mangku Negara (KMN) in 2009.

Agustin García-López Ambassador of Mexico



Ambassador López has a bachelor's and master's degree in economics from Columbia University in New York and a French bachelor's degree in philosophy and literature from Vienna, Austria.

He joined the foreign ministry in 1986 as an economic adviser to the foreign minister and later became an economic and foreign policy officer at the embassy in Britain. He held several director-general positions at the foreign ministry between 1993 and 2000 and then became executive director for Mexico and the Dominican Republic to the Inter-American Development Bank and the Inter-American Investment Corporation from 2000 to 2007. He became permanent representative to the OECD in Paris (2007 to 2013) before becoming ambassador to France (2013-2015.)

He speaks Spanish, English, French and German. He is married to Katya Anaya de la Fuente. They have two children.

Daniel Mellsop High Commissioner for New Zealand



In addition to his position as New Zealand High Commissioner to Canada, Daniel Mellsop, a career diplomat, will be concurrently accredited to Jamaica.

Mellsop has held numerous positions in the New Zealand public service, covering a wide range of issues, from trade negotiations to counter-terrorism. Prior to being posted to Ottawa, he was a senior policy officer and head of the international branch at the ministry of defence.

For three years beginning in 2005, he was posted to the Netherlands as first secretary and between 2011 and 2012, he was deputy head of mission at the embassy in Korea.

Mellsop has a master's of management studies in economics from the University of Waikato and speaks English, Russian and Korean. He comes to Ottawa with his partner, Jane Hooker, and two children.

Anne Kari Hansen Ovind Ambassador of Norway



For the six years prior to this posting, Ambassador Ovind led the high north, polar affairs and resources section at the foreign ministry in Oslo where she helped implement Norway's Arctic policy.

Prior to this, she was assistant director general for environment and sustainable development and led Norway's delegation to the UN Commission for Sustainable Development in 2006, 2007 and 2008.

From 1998 to 2002, she worked on NATO affairs, first in Oslo and then for three years at Norway's delegation to NATO in Brussels.

The ambassador joined the foreign service in 1996, but started at the foreign ministry in 1993 as part of the negotiating team for Norwegian membership in the European Union.

She has a master's in economics and business, a master's in arts and a master's of science. She is married to Tom Oscar Ovind. They have two sons.

R. C. Wu
Representative, Taipei Economic and Cultural Office



Representative Wu's posting is new, and yet familiar: Prior to being appointed to his position in Ottawa, he was director general of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office (TECO)

in Toronto for one year.

Before his posting in Toronto, he was director general of international NGO affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Taiwan from 2010 to 2014. He served as representative in St. Kitts and Nevis beginning in 2008 and served as director general of TECO in Atlanta, Georgia, from 2003.

Wu's other assignments included serving as congressional liaison officer in the foreign ministry and chargé d'affaires at the embassy in Dominica. He began his career in the foreign service by serving in Jordan and Poland.

His first job was as a police chief and he later received his master's degree from the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.

Andriy Shevchenko
Ambassador of Ukraine



For a man of 39, Ambassador Shevchenko has had a long career in journalism and politics.

He began his career as Kyiv correspondent for Edmonton's *The Ukrainian News*. He helped found the Ukrainian 5th Channel, the first 24/7 Ukrainian news channel, and, in 2004, reported on the Orange Revolution.

In 2002, he became chairman of the Kyiv Independent Media Union and received the Reporters Without Borders Press Freedom Award in 2005.

Shevchenko was then elected to the Ukrainian Parliament three times (2006, 2007 and 2012). Between 2006 and 2012, he served as the youngest Ukrainian committee chairman, heading up the free speech committee. He was a participant in the 2013/14 Euromaidan protests and organized peaceful demonstrations.

Prior to this posting, he served as chief of party of the USAID-financed RADA (Responsible Accountable Democratic Assembly) Program.

Shevchenko is married to TV journalist Hanna Homonai. They have one daughter.

Non-heads of mission

Argentina Cecilia Ines Silberberg Second secretary	Xiang Xia Minister-counsellor Yuguang Guo First secretary	Lesotho Liteboho Kutloano Mahlakeng Counsellor	Maxim Zuev Second secretary
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Bangladesh Nayem Uddin Ahmed Counsellor	France Ramos Araujo, Marcelo Counsellor	Mali Cherif Mohamed Kanoute First counsellor	Abdullah Belal M. Alrubaian Attaché
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1. Rong-chuan Wu, representative of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office, was fêted at the Mandarin Ogilvie restaurant by the Ottawa Chinese community. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 2. The Embassy of Azerbaijan celebrated World Azerbaijani Solidarity Day with members of the diaspora from Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto at Ottawa City Hall. From left: Azerbaijani chargé d'affaires Ramil Huseynli, MPP Jack McLaren and Turkish Ambassador Selçuk Ünal. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. The same event featured dancer Sevda Azami, of Toronto's Tabriz Music and Dance Ensemble. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. German Ambassador Werner Wnendt and his wife, Eleanore, hosted a 25th anniversary celebration of German unity at the Canadian Museum of History. The Sharoun Ensemble of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra performed. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. German Ambassador Werner Wnendt and his wife, Eleanore, hosted an embassy chamber music concert in support of Friends of the National Arts Centre Orchestra. Shown here are Italian Ambassador Gian Lorenzo Cornado and his wife, Martine Laidin. (Photo: Lois Siegel) 6. Kazakhstani Ambassador Konstantin Zhigalov and his wife, Indira Zhigalova, hosted a reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier. (Photo: Ülle Baum)



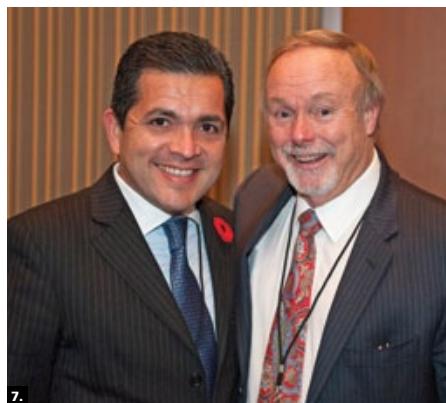
1. Israeli Ambassador Rafael Raul Barak attended the launch of the Loft Gala. The second gala takes place April 30 at Hilton Lac-Leamy. It will feature designs by Israeli designer Eyal Zimerman. The gala raises funds for the Ottawa Regional Cancer Foundation. From left, gala chairman Bruno Racine, co-owner of the Loft Urban Salon, singer Kellylee Evans and Barak. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. Cuban Ambassador Julio Antonio Garmendia Pena and his wife, Miraly Gonzalez, hosted a national day reception at Lansdowne Park. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. Convenor Larry Lederman and Russian Ambassador Alexander Darchiev, after the latter spoke at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs Speakers Series. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. The Embassy of Venezuela took part in the Latin American Art Exhibition at Saint Brigid's Centre for the Arts. Ambassador Wilmer Omar Barrientos Fernandez stands in front of art by Venezuelan Amneris Fernandez. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. Mohammed Saif Helal M. Alshehhi, ambassador of the United Arab Emirates, hosted a national day reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 6. The Taipei Economic and Cultural Office hosted a performance of The Sword of Wisdom at the National Arts Centre. (Photo: Sam Garcia)



1. Hungarian Ambassador Balint Odor hosted a film and wine event at the embassy, with a screening of the award-winning Hungarian movie *Liza, The Fox-Fairy*. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. In advance of the Viennese Winter Ball, which took place on Feb. 20, Austrian Ambassador Arno Riedel hosted a reception at his residence Jan. 21. From left: Julian Armour, artistic and executive director of Music and Beyond; Riedel; Liza Mrak, business development manager at Mark Motors and Grant J. McDonald, regional managing partner, KPMG Canada. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. Alpha Art Gallery presented a Valentine Gala fundraiser at the Museum of History in support of the CHEO Foundation. From left, Alpha Gallery director Edith Betkowski, her husband, artist Dominik Solokowski, and daughter, Emilia, 20, who has had several surgeries at CHEO. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. Polish Ambassador Marcin Bosacki attended the Valentine Gala with his two daughters, Maria, left and Zofia. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. In honour of 40 years of the European Union's official presence in Canada, EU Ambassador Marie-Anne Coninsx hosted a reception at the Rideau Club. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau joined the festivities. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 6. On the occasion of the Anniversary of the 68th Independence Day of Myanmar, Ambassador Hau Do Suan and his wife, Nwe Nwe Aye, hosted a reception at Ottawa City Hall. (Photo: Ülle Baum)



1. Armenian Ambassador Armen Yeganian, left, and his wife, Maria, right, presented an evening of songs of love at the embassy and featured award-winning Canadian Opera Company soprano Sasha Djihanian, centre, and renowned tenor Eli Berberian. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. French Ambassador Nicolas Chapuis hosted WaterAid's Auction of Nations at his residence. He's shown with honorary chairwoman Margaret Trudeau. The event aimed to raise \$40,000, enough money to bring clean drinking water to 1,600 people in the developing world. (Photo: Lois Siegel) 3. The embassy of Slovenia hosted a concert at the University of Ottawa's Academic Hall, featuring Slovenian accordion player Denis Novato. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. The Ottawa Art Gallery hosted On the Rocks, its annual Winterlude party, at Ottawa City Hall. From left, gallery director Alexandra Badzak shares a laugh with Haitian Ambassador Frantz Liautaud. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. Dominican Republic Ambassador Hector Virgilio Alcantara Mejia, and his wife, Eunice Brigida Lluberes, left, hosted a national day reception at the Château Laurier. They are shown with Argentine Ambassador Norma Nascimbene de Dumont. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 6. The community of the Dominican Republic celebrated its country's national day at Maison du Citoyen, Hôtel de Ville in Gatineau. (Photo: Sam Garcia)

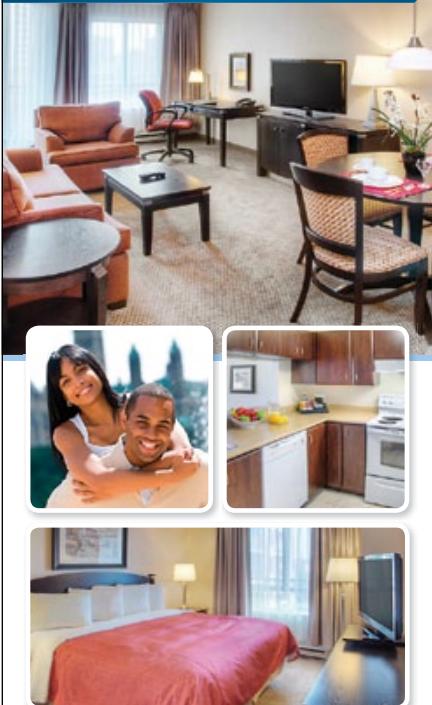


1. Outgoing New Zealand High Commissioner Simon Tucker, right, and Nepalese Ambassador Kali Prasad Pokhrel (not shown) hosted a luncheon in honour of Carleton University professor Jack Ives, left, who was presented with the Sir Edmund Hillary Mountain Legacy Medal for lifetime achievements in the conservation of culture and nature in mountainous regions. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. Qatari Ambassador Fahad Mohamed Y. Kafoud, left, shown with second secretary Mirdef Al-Qashouti, hosted a national day reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. Penny Tucker, wife of former New Zealand High Commissioner Simon Tucker, showed her appreciation to the International Women's Club of Ottawa by organizing a wine and cheese tasting. From left, Deborah Watkins, Tucker and Sue Roeterink. (Photo: Nermine Fahmy) 4. Eleonore Wnendt, wife of German Ambassador Werner Wnendt, with the International Women's Club of Ottawa, hosted an authentic evening of Inuit culture featuring dance, music, throat-singing and northern sports performed by 30 young students from Nunavut Sivuniksavut school. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. Latvian Ambassador Juris Audarins and his wife, Aija Audarina, hosted a national day reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 6. British High Commissioner Howard Drake, left, and his wife, Gillian (not shown), hosted a reception at Earnscliffe for the newly elected Canadian MPs as part of a two-day event organized by the initiative for parliamentary and diplomatic engagement at Carleton University. Drake is shown with André Plourde, dean of Carleton's faculty of public affairs. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 7. Costa Rican Ambassador Roberto Carlos Dormond Cantu took part in the Kanata tech park tour. He's shown here with tech mogul Terence Matthews. (Photo: Steve Cain)



1. Lithuania Ambassador Vytautas Žalys, left, and his wife, Jurate Zaliene, hosted a national day reception at the National Arts Centre. Georgian Ambassador Alexander Latsabidze, centre, attended. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 2. The Canada Korea Society held its annual general meeting and dinner at the Ottawa Hunt and Golf Club. Society president Young Hae Lee introduced Korean Ambassador DaeShik Jo. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 3. The Estonian ensemble Curly Strings, featuring Villu Talsi, Eeva Talsi, Jalmar Vabarna, and Taavet Niller, performed for a full house at SAW Gallery. From left, Villu and Eeva Talsi. (Photo: Ülle Baum)

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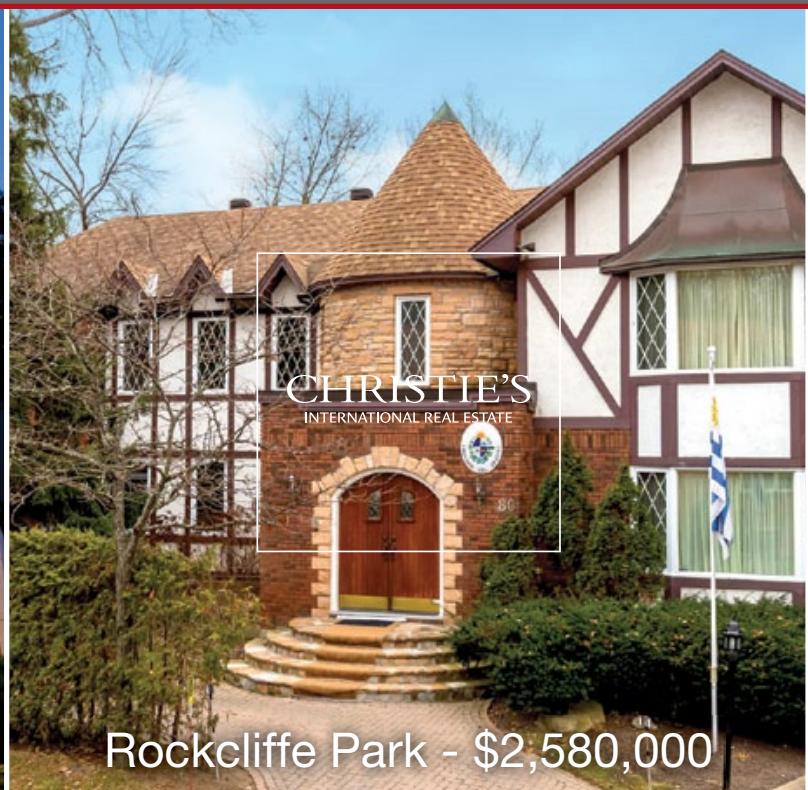
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TEL 234-1152 FAX 234-1179
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www.embangola-can.org

ARGENTINA

Her Ex. Norma Nascimbene de Dumont
Embassy of the Argentine Republic
81 Metcalfe Street 7th Floor
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6K7
TEL 236-2351 FAX 235-2659
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www.ecana.mrecic.gov.ar

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Embassy of the Republic of Armenia
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TEL 234-3710 FAX 234-3444
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www.armembassycanada.ca

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Australian High Commission
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TEL 236-0841 FAX 786-7621
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ottawa-ob@bmeia.gv.at

AZERBAIJAN

Mr. Ramil Huseynli
Chargé d'Affaires
Embassy of the Republic of Azerbaijan
275 Slater Street, Suite 1203
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H9
TEL 288-0497 FAX 230-8089
azerbaijan@azembassy.ca
www.azembassy.ca

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His Ex. Calsey Johnson
Bahamas High Commission
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High Commission for Barbados
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TEL 236-9517 FAX 230-4362
ottawa@foreign.gov.bb

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130 Albert Street, Suite 600
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL 233-9994 FAX 233-8500
belamb@igs.net

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Embassy of Belgium
360 Albert Street, Suite 820
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TEL 236-7267 FAX 236-7882
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www.diplomatie.be/ottawa

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Embassy of the Republic of Benin
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Ottawa, Ontario K1S 2C3
TEL 233-4429 FAX 233-8952
ambaben@benin.ca

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Embassy of the Republic of Bolivia
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bolivianembassy@bellnet.ca
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Her Ex. Koviljka Špirić
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TEL 236-0028 FAX 236-1139
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His Excellency Pedro Bretas Bastos
Embassy of the Federative Republic of Brazil
450 Wilbrod Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6M8
TEL 237-1090 FAX 237-6144
mailbox@brasembottawa.org

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His Ex. Pg Kamal Bashah Pg Ahmad
High Commission for Brunei Darussalam
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Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6R4
TEL 234-5656 FAX 234-4397
bhco@bellnet.ca

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Embassy of the Republic of Bulgaria
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Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6K5
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BURKINA FASO

His Ex. Amadou Adrien Koné
Embassy of Burkina Faso
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His Ex. Solomon Azoh-Mbi Anu'a-Gheyle
High Commission for the Republic of Cameroon
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Embassy of the Italian Republic
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TEL. 232-2401 FAX 233-1484
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www.ambottawa.esteri.it

JAMAICA

Her Ex. Janice Miller
Jamaican High Commission
151 Slater Street, Suite 1000
Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 5H3
TEL. 233-9311 FAX 233-0611
executiveassistant@jhcottawa.ca

JAPAN

His Ex. Kenjiro Monji
Embassy of Japan
255 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 9E6
TEL. 241-8541 FAX 241-2232
infocul@ot.mofa.go.jp
www.ca.emb-japan.go.jp

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His Ex. Basheer Fawwaz Zoubi
Embassy of the Hashemite Kingdom
of Jordan
100 Bronson Avenue, Suite 701
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 6G8
TEL. 238-8090 FAX 232-3341
www.embassyofjordan.ca
ottawa@fm.gov.jo (embassy)
ottawa-consular@fm.gov.jo (consular)

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His Ex. Konstantin Zhigalov
Embassy of the Republic of
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150 Metcalfe Street, Suite 1603-1604
Ottawa, Ontario, K2P 1P1
TEL. 695-8055 FAX 695-8755
Email: kazakhembassy@gmail.com
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His Ex. John Lepi Lanyasunya
High Commission for the Republic
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415 Laurier Avenue East
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6R4
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 150 Botel Street
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 TEL. 244-5010 FAX 244-5034
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www.ottawa.mfa.gov.lv

LEBANON
 Embassy of Lebanon
 640 Lyon Street
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 TEL. 236-5825 FAX 232-1609
info@lebanonembassy.ca
www.lebanonembassy.ca

LESOTHO
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 High Commission for the Kingdom of Lesotho
 130 Albert Street, Suite 1820
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lesotho.ottawa@bellnet.ca

LIBYA
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 Embassy of Libya
 Suite 1000, 81 Metcalfe Street
 Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 6K7
 TEL. 842-7519 FAX: 842-8627
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<http://www.libyanembassy.ca>

LITHUANIA
 His Ex. Vytautas Zalys
 Embassy of the Republic of Lithuania
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www.lithuanianembassy.ca

MACEDONIA (REPUBLIC OF)
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 Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia
 130 Albert Street, Suite 1006
 Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
 TEL. 234-3882 FAX 233-1852
ottawa@mfa.gov.mk

MADAGASCAR
 Embassy of the Republic of Madagascar
 3 Raymond Street
 Ottawa, Ontario K1R 1A3
 TEL: 567-0505 FAX 567-2882
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www.madagascar-embassy.ca

MALAYSIA
 Her Ex. Dato' Aminahutun Hj A Karim
 High Commission for Malaysia
 60 Botel Street
 Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8Y7
 TEL. 241-5182 FAX 241-5214
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 Embassy of the Republic of Mali
 50 Goulburn Avenue
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ambassadeumali@rogers.com
www.ambamalicanada.org

MEXICO
 His Ex. Agustin García-López
 Embassy of the United Mexican States
 45 O'Connor Street, Suite 1000
 Ottawa, Ontario K1P 1A4
 TEL. 233-8988 FAX 235-9123
infocan@sre.gob.mx
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MOLDOVA
 Her Ex. Ala Belevaşchi
 Embassy of the Republic of Moldova
 275 Slater Street, Suite 801
 Ottawa, ON K1P 5H9
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ottawa@mfa.md
www.canada.mfa.md

MONGOLIA
 His Ex. Altangarel Radnaabazar
 Embassy of Mongolia
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 TEL. 569-3830 FAX 569-3916

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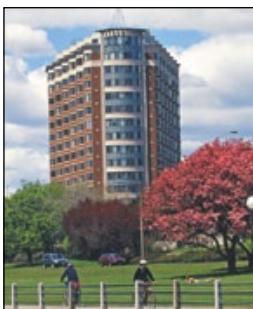
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Celebration time

A listing of the national and independence days marked by countries

April		
4	Senegal	Independence Day
16	Denmark	Birthday of Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II
17	Syria	National Day
18	Zimbabwe	Independence Day
19	Holy See	Election of the Pope
26	Tanzania	Union Day
27	Sierra Leone	Republic Day
27	South Africa	Freedom Day
27	Togo	National Day
27	Netherlands	King's Day
May		
1	Marshall Islands	National Day
3	Poland	National Day
9	European Union	Schuman Day
12	Israel	National Day
17	Norway	Constitution Day
20	Cameroon	National Day
22	Yemen	National Day
24	Eritrea	Independence Day
25	Argentina	May Revolution
25	Jordan	National Day
26	Georgia	Independence Day
28	Azerbaijan	Republic Day
28	Ethiopia	Downfall of the Dergue
June		
1	Samoa	Independence Day
2	Italy	Anniversary of the Foundation of the Republic
4	Tonga	Independence Day
6	Sweden	National Day
10	Portugal	National Day
12	Philippines	National Day
12	Russia	National Day
14	United Kingdom	Her Majesty the Queen's Birthday
17	Iceland	Proclamation of the Republic
18	Of Eastern Caribbean States	OECS Day
18	Seychelles	Constitution Day
23	Luxembourg	Official Celebration of the Birthday of His Royal Highness Grand Duke Henri
25	Croatia	National Day
25	Slovenia	National Day
25	Mozambique	Independence Day
26	Madagascar	Independence Day
27	Djibouti	National Day
29	Holy See	National Day
30	Congo, Democratic Republic	Independence Day



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Photo by Bill Blackstone

Panama: Much more than a canal



The islands of Bocas del Toro feature many beautiful beaches and attractions.



*By Alberto Aristides Arosemena Medina
Ambassador of Panama*

Panama has been called many things: "A path between the seas," "the Dubai of the Americas," "bridge to the world," "heart of the uni-

verse" and, most recently, one of the best places to retire in the world.

The government of Panama has put in place several strategies aimed at attracting Canadians to our country. We offer some of the world's best retiree visa programs and business investor visas and we offer visa exemptions to Canadians. Many of our visitors to the embassy in Ottawa just want to visit Panama for a week, but end up moving there.

Whether you are retirees, young families, entrepreneurs or single adventurers, there is something for everyone. Spectacular highrise buildings, a world-class fi-

nancial district, UNESCO World Heritage Sites, virgin rainforests, fabulous beaches, surfing, stunning golf courses and shopping are just a few of the things Panama offers. Canadians can now fly direct to Panama on several charter and commercial flights from Montreal and Toronto.

Those who enjoy water sports will find top-notch surfing. On the Pacific side, there is Playa Venao Beach, located in the province of Los Santos, the small rural town of Santa Catalina off the coast of the Province of Veraguas, and La Barqueta in the Province of Chiriquí. On the Atlantic side, it's hard to beat Isla Grande off the



Casco Antiguo or San Felipe is the historic district of Panama City.

province of Colón or one of the many beaches on the islands of Bocas del Toro.

Speaking of the province of Colón and Bocas del Toro, it is impossible to mention these two places without including their cuisine. This area of Panama is well known for its multiculturalism, which comes to life in the kitchen with dishes such as sautéed octopus in coconut curry sauce with a side of fried plantain, fresh fish ceviche or sautéed shrimp in Creole-style sauce with coconut rice. And that is just on the Atlantic side. There, visitors will be amazed by the unique variety of flavours from Michelin-starred local chefs, where you can get home-cooked tamales, hojaldras (our version of the Beaver-Tail), sancocho (a delicious chicken soup with root vegetables) or arroz con pollo (chicken with rice, a national favourite).

The adventures in Panama are not just culinary, however. If you had just a few days to visit, I would put the Guna Yala, formerly known as San Blas, as No. 1 on



These women are dressed in traditional festival costumes, including handmade skirts known as polleras.

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Adventure and relaxation await travellers who make the trip to Panama.

your list. This spectacular conglomerate of more than 300 tiny islands on the Atlantic side of Panama, is a one-of-a-kind experience, marked by white sand beaches, turquoise waters and the Guna people, a native indigenous tribe known for unique handmade molas. Molas are colourful fabrics sewn together by the Guna women in beautiful fauna and flora patterns that make great souvenirs.

A few days in Panama City, a bustling metropolis packed with cultural activities, shopping, food and history, is also a must. The city has two UNESCO World Heritage Sites: The archeological site of Panama Viejo and the historic district of Casco Viejo. Panama Viejo was founded in 1519 by Spanish conquistador Pedrarías Dávila, making it the oldest European settlement on the Pacific coast of the Americas, and Casco Viejo is a charming historic district from the 17th Century that has preserved its original street plan and architecture. It is a fantastic mixture of Spanish, French

and early American styles. Casco Viejo has delightful souvenir shops and restaurants, all within walking distance of one another.

After spending the morning strolling through these unique sites, I recommend heading over to the Miraflores Visitors' Centre, a true expression of the permanent commitment of the Panama Canal Authority to strengthen the public's understanding of the canal. The centre is located on the east side of the Miraflores Locks and allows visitors to observe moving vessels and learn about the canal's history, construction and importance to the world. Finish off your day in Panama City by visiting the Biodiversity Museum, the only Frank Gehry-designed structure in Latin America, and learn about how Panama's biodiversity changed the world.

Travellers on a more leisurely schedule can take advantage of Panama's scenery and off-the-beaten-path destinations that most guides will not tell you about. Coiba National Park, off the coast of the Veraguas province, is not only another one of our UNESCO World Heritage sites, but also an ecological wonder. Used for many years as a high security prison, this pristine set of islands is the last refuge for many threatened species of animals, including the crested eagle. It is also an essential habitat for hundreds of species of cetaceans, sharks, sea turtles and pelagic fish species. The Coiba Prison, which, at its peak held 3,000 prisoners, was shut down in 2004, but a few reformed prisoners remain as volunteers to look after the island. On Coiba, you can take a 5 a.m. boat ride and see more than 500 macaws gather for breakfast, or you can scuba dive around the 38 small islands that make up this marine park.

Another hidden treasure is Bahía Piñas in the province of Darién. This remote bay, surrounded by virgin rainforests, is home



Toucans are one of the many kinds of tropical birds found in Panama.



Adventure travel is on offer across Panama.

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The best thing about Panama is that no matter what you like, we have something for you. Some people just want to lounge on a beach for a few days and relax, or sip coffee on a cool mountain surrounded by birds and trees. The Pacific beaches of Gorgona, Coronado, Punta Barco, Rio Ma, Santa Clara, Farallon and Playa Blanca in Rio Hato, offer kilometres of beaches and warm ocean water, ideal for swimming, kayaking, wind surfing or just relaxing.

If you prefer ponchos to flip flops, Boquete, Cerro Punta and Volcan in the province of Chiriqui, are all crowd-pleasers

given their superior restaurants, scenery, coffee and climate. These small villages, all easily accessible by car, boast temperatures between 12C and 24C year round and are known for their breathtaking mountains, hiking trails, bird watching, and Geisha Coffee, which is among the world's finest. Another cool climate village is El Valle in the province of Coclé. Only two hours away from Panama City, this small town is famous for its Sunday farmers market, the endangered Panamanian golden frog, bird watching, hiking and mild temperatures. A day on a hammock in El Valle listening to the sound of the rain and the chirping of birds is all it takes to unwind.

People often get scared of travelling to



The presidential palace of Panama is a sight not to miss.

remote, unknown places, but in Panama, the only thing you need to worry about is never leaving. We are one of the safest countries in the region for tourists, have the best roads in Central America and outstanding health care. Travelling within Panama is easy — there are buses to anywhere in the country for less than \$15 and local flights to Rio Hato, Chiriqui, Bocas del Toro and Colón. Since 2013, Canadians have been able to fly direct from Montreal and Toronto to Panama City in fewer than six hours, and there are several direct charter flights to Rio Hato and Panama City.

Anyone wishing to learn more about Panama, or to prepare for a visit, is welcome to call our embassy in Ottawa or visit embassyofpanama.ca, where we are dedicated to offering personalized service and information. Bienvenidos!

Alberto Aristides Arosemena Medina is ambassador of Panama to Canada.

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After many exhausting hours of stream crossings, beating through bamboo thickets and trekking in heavy undergrowth in the Bwindi Impenetrable National Park of Uganda, we met this young gorilla nibbling leaves and fruit. This species' habitat is usually between 1,100 and 4,500 metres above sea level. The adult version of this herbivore will weigh between 136 and 193 kilograms at maturity. Conservation efforts to save the critically endangered species, which lives in an area of extinct volcanoes bordering the Congo, Rwanda and Uganda, have brought the population from 620 in 1989 to approximately 880 today. Deforestation, upheaval from the long war in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the spread of human populations into gorilla habitat have all contributed to their decline.



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