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SUBSCRIPTIONS: *Diplomat & International Canada*

is published four times a year. Rates: one year

\$39.80. For Cdn. orders, add 13% HST. U.S. orders, add \$15 for postage. All others, add \$25.

SUBMISSIONS: *Diplomat & International Canada*

welcomes submissions. Contact Jennifer Campbell at editor@diplomatonline.com or (613) 231-8476.

PRINTER: The Lowe-Martin Group

DIPLOMAT & INTERNATIONAL CANADA

P.O. Box 1173, Station B

Ottawa, Ontario Canada K1P 5R2

Phone: (613) 422-5262

E-mail: info@diplomatonline.com

www.diplomatonline.com

Published by Sparrow House

Enterprises Inc.



Volume 29, Number 1

Table of CONTENTS

DIPLOMATICA |

Cartoons from around the world 16
 Fen Hampson on the undoing of NAFTA 22
 Questions Asked: Trade Minister François-Philippe Champagne . . . 26
 Good Deeds: Italian embassy helps the Ottawa Symphony 32
 Notes from the field: Mercy Ships' mobile hospital 34
 Diplomatic Agenda: Trying times for Mexico and Canada 35
 Trade Winds: Jordan, Kuwait and Taiwan 38

DISPATCHES |

Seven Top-10 lists for the world in 2018 42
 Russia and Eurasia: Not much cause for optimism 44
 Europe: Brexit and breakaway regions 47
 The Arab World: Hope and despair in equal measures 50
 Asia: Economic hope and political turmoil 53
 The U.S. and Canada: The big story is trade 57
 Africa: Overpopulation, terrorism and poverty 62
 Latin America: Economic recovery in sight 65
 Emergency measures: Hotlines in nuclear war's hotbed 68
 Column: Perrin Beatty on CETA's formal ratification 72

DELIGHTS |

Books: On Vietnam, Lawrence of Arabia and Pol Pot 74
 Entertaining: Hungary's delicious dishes 78
 Wine: The funky goodness of natural wines 82
 Residences: Turkey's Rockcliffe mansion 86
 Envoy's Album: Events hosted by the diplomatic corps 96
 Photo Finish: Mike Beedell's Arctic wolf 112

DIGNITARIES |

New arrivals in the diplomatic corps 93

DIPLOMATIC LISTINGS 102

DESTINATIONS |

An armchair tour of enticing Indonesia 106

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Jennifer Campbell

2018: A look ahead

The new year always brings with it lots of predictions on what to expect in the coming year. With the number of people caught off guard by Brexit and the American election of Donald Trump — both in the second half of 2016 — it's safe to say that pollsters and average people alike can be wrong in those forecasts. With that caveat, we divided up the planet by region and present seven Top-10 lists of predictions for 2018.

Russia will see presidential elections in 2018, with President Vladimir Putin likely to return for another six years, according to writers Jeff Sadaheo and Mikhail Zherebtsov. He does have an interesting challenger, however, in TV anchor Ksenia Sobchak, whose father, Anatoly, was the first democratically elected mayor of St. Petersburg and a mentor and teacher of Putin. There will also be presidential elections in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

In Europe, Ferry de Kerckhove writes that topics abound with the continuing ramifications of Brexit and the potential ousting of British Prime Minister Theresa May, along with efforts by German Chancellor Angela Merkel and French President Emmanuel Macron to re-unify Europe and the regional separatism threatening Spain.

In the Middle East, writers Emily Wills and Nadia Abu-Zahra see more despair in Syria and Yemen; hard-fought, but ultimately meaningless elections in Egypt and Iraq and more mobility restrictions across the region, especially for Palestinians on the Gaza Strip as well as citizens of Lebanon and Libya. The writers also provide some welcome reasons for optimism,

however, particularly when it comes to democratic “openings” in some countries.

The southern part of Asia will see China providing most of the headlines, first with its corruption, economic and environmental problems. It will keep antagonizing Taiwan for electing President Tsai Ing-wen, who is less conciliatory than her predecessor. Next up is the Korean Peninsula, which will continue to make headlines, thanks to Trump's war of words with North Korean President Kim Jong-un. Japan will figure into this picture as well, as it builds up anti-missile defences.

In the U.S. and Canada, professor Melissa Haussman predicts we'll see the Republican majority remain in the U.S House of Representatives, though the Democrats could achieve a 50-50 split in the Senate if all goes well for them. U.S. gerrymandering will continue as will Trumpian rhetoric on the NAFTA renegotiation. Canada will emerge as a global trade leader.

In Africa, writes Robert I. Rotberg, terrorism, civil conflict and global warming will continue to pound the continent. And finally, Latin America will see migration problems persist, along with some welcome economic growth.

Up front, columnist Fen Hampson writes about how Trump is upending the entire continent with his demands at the NAFTA renegotiation table. We also have my interview with Trade Minister François-Philippe Champagne.

We also have a piece by Mexican Ambassador Dionisio Pérez-Jácome that details the strength of the Canada-Mexico relationship at a time when it is being tested as never before.

In our Delights section, books columnist George Fetherling brings us titles about Vietnam while food columnist Margaret Dickenson turns her attention to the cuisine of Hungary. Culture columnist Margo Roston and photographer Ashley Fraser visited the home of Turkish Ambassador Selçuk Ünal and his wife, Lerzan. Finally, Indonesian Ambassador Teuku Faizasyah takes us on an armchair tour of his captivating country.

Jennifer Campbell is editor of *Diplomat*.

Ferry de Kerckhove



Ferry de Kerckhove is a retired Canadian diplomat who served in Iran, NATO, Moscow, Islamabad, Jakarta and Cairo, the latter three as head of mission. At headquarters, over the span of his career, he dealt with Canada's relations with Eastern Europe and France, worked in the policy branch, on the adjustment to the original FTA as well as on relations with developing countries. While director-general for international organizations, he was the prime minister's sherpa for La Francophonie. Since his retirement, he has been teaching at the University of Ottawa and Glendon College in Toronto. He was on the board of WIND mobile for three years and a member of the board of the Conference of Defence Associations Institute. He is a fellow of the Canadian Global Affairs Institute.

Melissa Haussman



Melissa Haussman is a professor of political science at Carleton University. She teaches and publishes in the American, Canadian and comparative North American fields. She is the author, co-author and co-editor of five books, with a sixth forthcoming on health care and religion in Africa. She co-edits the *International Journal of Canadian Studies*. Her scholarship generally focuses on the interplay between domestic and regional politics in the U.S. and Canada and its effects on social groups' access to power.

UP FRONT

U.S. President Donald Trump appears on our cover for the first time ever. We chose his image because his name comes up in almost every story in our cover package. From Latin America and Europe to Eurasia and Asia, his foreign policy will have profound effects in 2018. Our cover package of seven stories starts on page 42.



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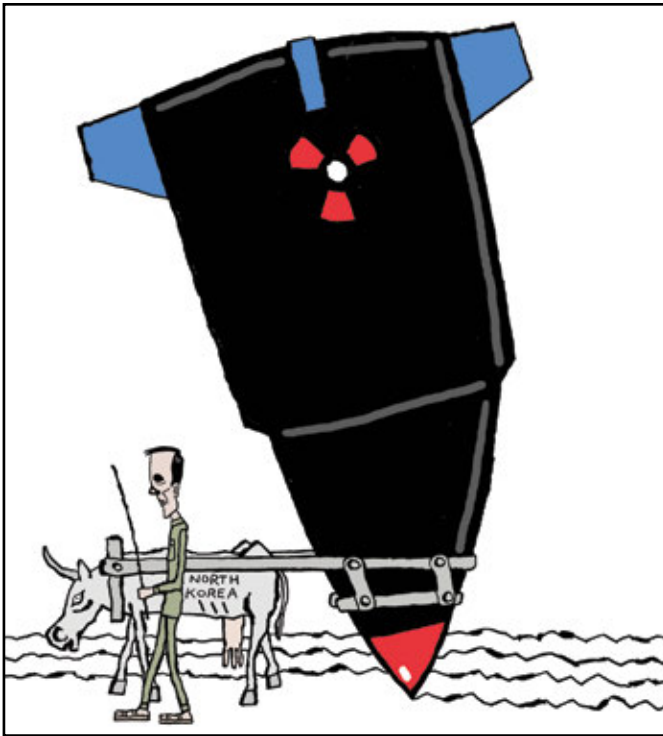
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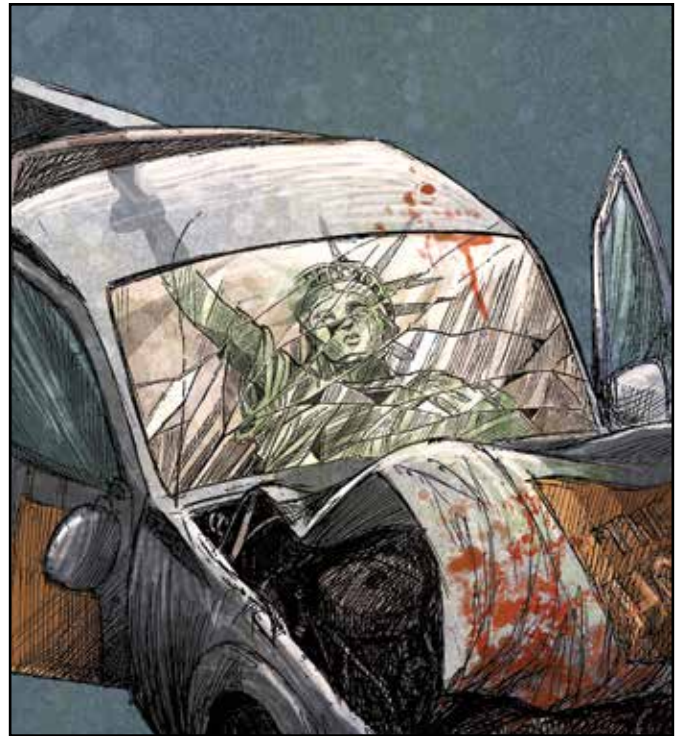
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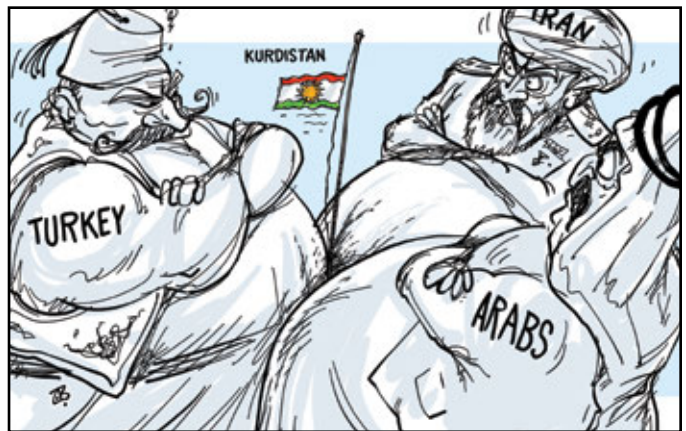
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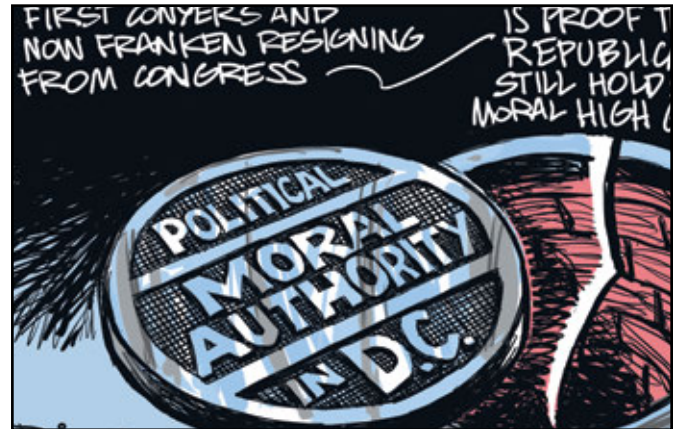
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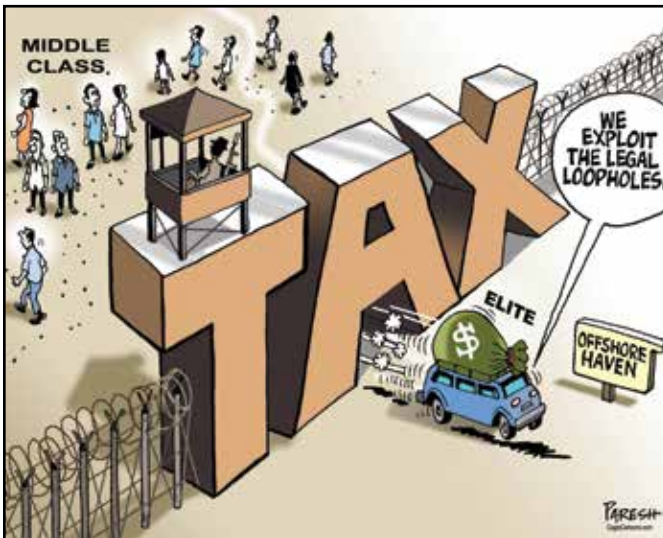
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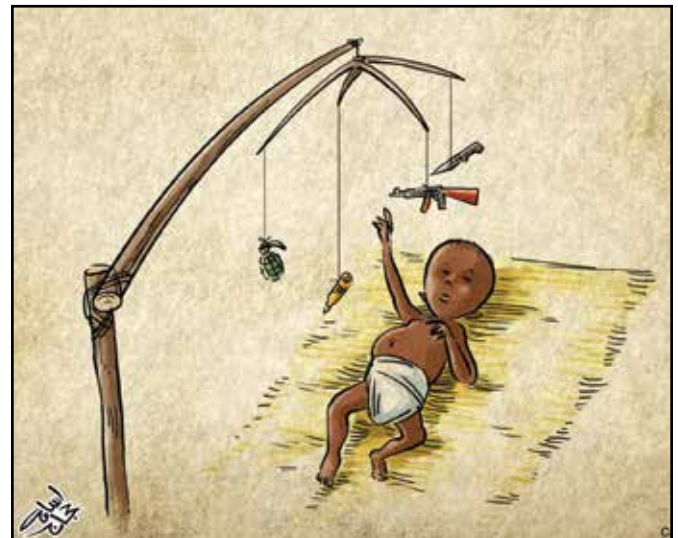
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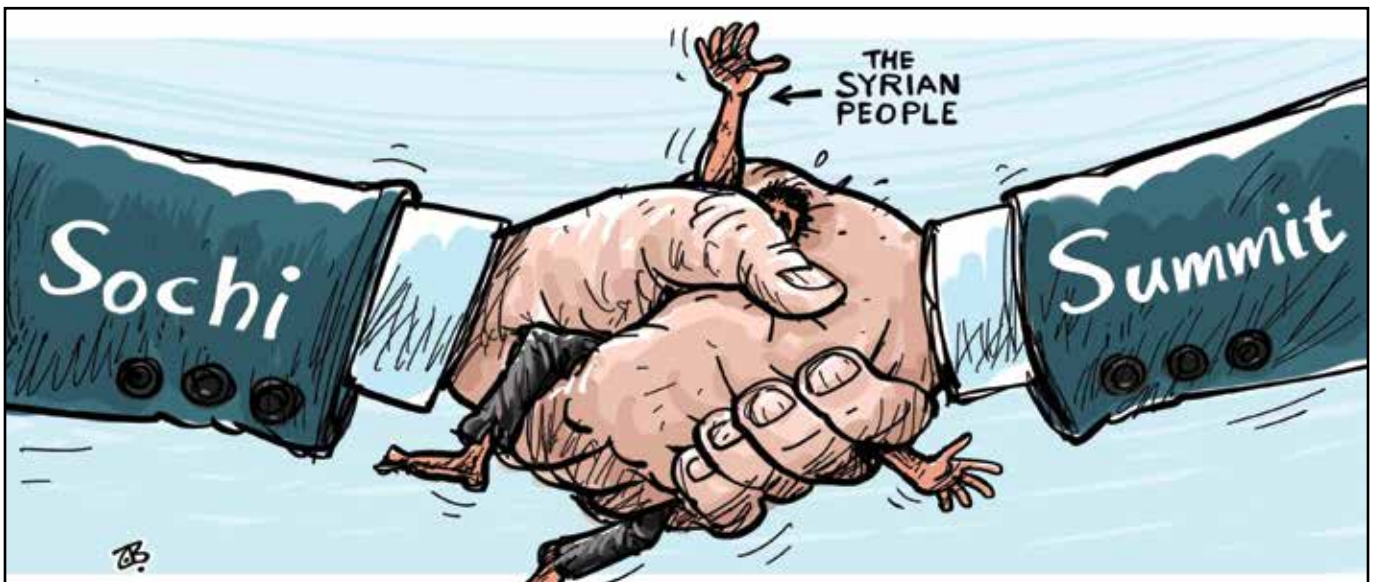
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North America upended



Fen Hampson: "U.S. President Donald Trump isn't just turning Washington upside down with his barrage of tweets, he's also upending North America with the renegotiation of NAFTA."



Fen
Hampson

It's not just Washington and the United States that President Donald Trump is turning upside down with his political antics and barrage of unending tweets. He's about to upend North America with the renegotiation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in his bid

to "make America great again."

Since NAFTA was signed in 1993, North America has become the world's economic juggernaut with a combined GDP in the three countries (Canada, Mexico and the United States) of more than \$20 trillion US. North America's population, which is just shy of half a billion people, is smaller than Europe's or China's, but its output is bigger than the 28 countries of the European Union and almost double that of China (\$11.2 billion US). Consumers and producers in the three countries have benefited enormously from the elimination of barriers to trade in goods and services and the greater mobility of peoples across their borders. From

1993 to 2015, trade quadrupled among the three countries from roughly \$300 billion to \$1.2 trillion. In the same period, U.S. exports to Canada and Mexico grew almost five-fold, from \$151 billion in 1993 to \$590 billion.

As Jean-François Perrault, senior vice-president and chief economist at Scotiabank, notes: "The integration of supply chains across NAFTA's countries has helped realize otherwise unattainable economies of scale and efficiencies that have made North American industry more globally competitive."

However, the fate of the world's juggernaut now hangs in the balance.

On Oct. 24, 2017, a strident Trump told

a group of Republican senators at a private luncheon on Capitol Hill that he was going to give Congress six months' notice that the United States would start the process of withdrawal from NAFTA. The president assured his skeptical and generally unreceptive audience that this was simply a bargaining tactic to force Canada and Mexico to make major concessions at the negotiating table. The president ended his remarks by adding that Congress should trust him to get a better deal, but did not specify what that might mean in concrete terms. One report about the meeting noted that the president specifically mentioned reducing the trade deficit with Mexico, and that his preoccupation with trade deficits borders on an obsession.

Many senators left the meeting more confused than ever about the president's ultimate game plan. One senator said he wouldn't be at all surprised if the president pulled out of the agreement, noting that the administration was "way off on [its] trade policy."

The president's threat to pull out of NAFTA came shortly after the fourth round of talks in Washington stalled when the Americans tabled a number of unacceptable demands that left their negotiating partners reeling. One was a rules-of-origin proposal for automobiles and automobile parts to raise U.S. domestic content to 50 per cent and the regional content from 62.5 per cent to 85 per cent. Such measures would effectively destroy North American supply chains in the automobile manufacturing sector while raising costs for the industry that invariably would be passed on to consumers and perhaps even push more U.S. production offshore.

The United States also signalled that it wants to gut Chapter 11 of the NAFTA agreement, which regulates the investor-state dispute settlement process and allows companies to sue governments when legislation has a negative impact on profits. And, it wants to simultaneously eliminate dispute settlement mechanisms in Chapter 19 and 20 of the agreement. Dispute settlement mechanisms were a make-or-break proposition in the original free-trade negotiations between Canada and the U.S. in the late 1980s. Canada refused to sign an agreement that did not include provisions to allow companies to fight anti-dumping duties.

In addition to demands to eliminate supply management in the dairy sector, which is directed primarily at Canadian producers, the United States has also insisted on a five-year sunset clause in



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's NAFTA renegotiation team has reportedly warned business leaders to "get ready to live without NAFTA."



Outgoing Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto and his country have much to lose if NAFTA renegotiations fail.

NAFTA that would terminate the agreement unless the parties decide to renegotiate it.

These "poison pills" that the Americans tabled have left Canadian and Mexican negotiators wondering whether Trump really wants a new NAFTA agreement or whether he is simply trying to get the U.S.'s partners to walk away from the table.

Canada's chief negotiator, Steve Verheul, is reported to have warned Canadian business leaders to "get ready to live without NAFTA."

The American business community is not very happy either. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce has rallied U.S. business leaders, urging them to pressure the administration "to stop and recalibrate its approach and listen to agriculture and business interests." The Chamber of Commerce has good reason to be worried. Already, Argentine wheat producers, Brazilian corn producers and Chilean apple producers are beginning to supply the Mexican market. Their market share would grow dramatically if NAFTA disappears and Americans would be the big losers.

The end of NAFTA would have severe consequences for all three countries, although Canada and Mexico would suffer most because of the relatively small size of their economies compared to the United States and their dependence on U.S. markets for their exports.

Dan Ciuriak, a former official in Canada's finance department, has been running computer models to assess the impact of the end of NAFTA as well as other U.S. trade deals. Some of his preliminary estimates, as reported in the media, suggest that the end of the free-trade agreement "would slice 2.5 per cent from the Canadian economy," though "the initial shock might be more severe." Already, NAFTA's uncertain future is hampering investment in Canada.

Although Mexican officials are trying to put on a brave face by saying Mexico could live without NAFTA because its economy is still competitive vis-à-vis the U.S. and duties would then revert to those set by the World Trade Organization, others aren't so sure. As *The New York Times* reported, some experts believe that "an American withdrawal from NAFTA would call into question the viability of Mexico as an outsourcing destination."

However, if Trump blows up NAFTA, the consequences will be far more broad than just higher prices for consumers, job losses and an erosion of North American



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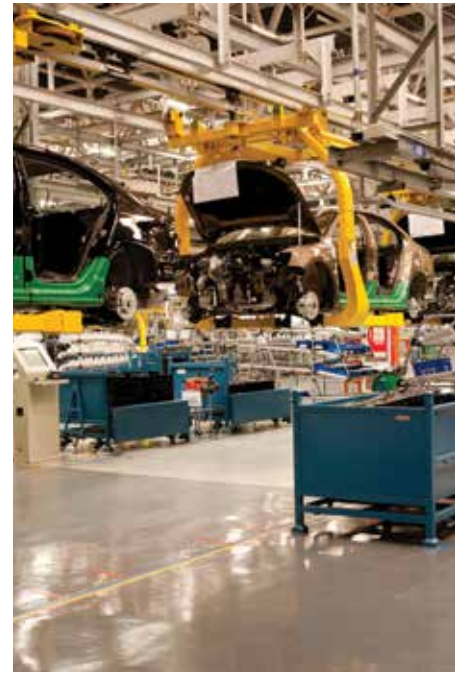
prosperity and global competitiveness.

The 2017 Mexico Peace Index (MPI), produced by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), provides the most comprehensive measure of peacefulness (measured in terms of homicides, violent crime, kidnappings, extortion, etc.) in Mexico. Although Mexico's peacefulness deteriorated by 4.3 per cent in 2016 (the 10-year anniversary of the declaration of the war on drugs), the report finds that this deterioration was relatively modest compared to Mexico's most violent year (2011). Further, according to the report, "Mexico remained nearly 14 per cent more peaceful in 2016 than in 2011, with improvements being recorded in 21 out of 32 states in 2016. The violent crime rate is at a 14-year low and the homicide rate is 16 per cent lower than in 2011. Organized crime-related offences reached a 10-year low, having returned to pre-drug-war levels. The rate of crimes committed with a firearm was 10 per cent lower than in 2011, although recent trends show an increase in the purchase of guns."

The general improvement in Mexico's overall domestic security situation is due to major judicial, policing and governance reforms that were introduced some years ago, but also the country's relatively stable economic growth rates compared to many other Latin American countries, especially in its northern tier states, where many NAFTA-based firms are concentrated.

If the Mexican economy takes a major hit — as it almost surely will if NAFTA dies — a deterioration in Mexico's security situation might well follow, spilling across the border into the United States. Cross-border crime and the drug trade are endemic problems for U.S. law and drug enforcement officials. But they could get a lot worse if the Mexican economy falters. U.S. officials may also find their Mexican counterparts to be much less co-operative than they are now when it comes to tackling transborder crime and other security concerns with the deterioration in political and economic relations between the two countries.

Some years ago, the New York-based Council on Foreign Relations undertook a major study of North America under the title *North America: Time for a New Focus*. It argued that "it is time for U.S. policymakers to put North America at the forefront of a strategy that recognizes that North America should be the 'continental base' for U.S. global policy." The study was co-chaired by Gen. David H. Petraeus and former U.S. trade representative and World Bank president Robert B. Zoellick.



One U.S. proposal for NAFTA would raise U.S. requirements for domestic content in the auto industry to 50 per cent and the regional content from 62.5 per cent to 85 per cent, a move that would destroy North American automotive supply chains.

The report argued for greater co-operation among the three North American partners on a wide range of issues, including trade, energy, the environment and security on the grounds that closer co-operation would only serve to "strengthen the United States at home and enhance its influence abroad." The report urged the U.S. government "to break old foreign policy patterns and recognize the importance of its own neighborhood" in order to extend the U.S.'s "global reach."

President Trump is certainly breaking the mould when it comes to the U.S.'s neighbourly relations, but doing so in ways that may prove to be destructive and damaging to U.S. national interests. There is also a real danger that if he destroys NAFTA, his successors won't be able to undo the damage. As Republican Senator Pat Roberts of Kansas recently opined, "to re-stitch that and put it all back together — it's like Humpty Dumpty. You push Mr. Humpty Dumpty trade off the wall and it's very hard to put him back together."

Fen Osler Hampson is director of the World Refugee Council. He is also a distinguished fellow and director of the global security and politics program at the Centre for International Governance Innovation and Chancellor's Professor at Carleton University.

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Publication Date: November 30, 2017

International Trade Minister François-Philippe Champagne

U.S.: 'The most protectionist administration since the world trade order was put in place'

François-Philippe Champagne, Canada's energetic trade minister, comes to politics from business. A lawyer by training, he worked for more than 20 years in large international engineering, technology and energy companies. He was vice-president and senior counsel of ABB Group, a technology company that operates in more than 100 countries, and later worked as strategic development director, counsel and chief ethics officer for energy giant AMEC. In 2009, when the World Economic Forum named him a young global leader, he told *The Globe and Mail* he was interested in one day returning to Canada and following in the footsteps of fellow Shawinigan native Jean Chrétien. Elected in October 2015, Champagne soon became parliamentary secretary to Finance Minister Bill Morneau. He was appointed trade minister in January 2017.

Diplomat magazine: When you took on the job of trade minister, what were your top priorities?

François-Philippe Champagne: The first thing that the PM asked me, which embodies our government, was to make trade real for people. That means providing jobs for the middle class, making sure consumers have better prices, making sure we provide opportunities for SMEs [small and medium-sized enterprises] to come into the global marketplace.

Trade is all about people. The first meeting I went to — I think it was at the WTO — I was the last person to speak and I don't think anyone had mentioned the word 'people' in their speeches. I said 'Why don't we have a WTO for the people? Why don't we start with the people, their needs and their aspirations and build from there?' Perhaps we'd find better solutions, more practical approaches to trade. For me, making trade about people is the embodiment of our vision of progressive trade, whether it's about labour, workers, the environment or gender.

I often say that trade is not a race to the

bottom, it's a march to the top. Canada is in a place now to always aim for higher standards and we saw that in the gender chapter [one that addresses issues relating to women in the workplace] we just did with Chile. We were the second country in the world to add a gender chapter to a trade agreement. The first one was between Paraguay and Chile; then Canada and Chile. I am so proud of it. When people are questioning me about what should be the next phase in these clauses, I say that three months ago, this wasn't even part of the agenda. Now we have countries looking at that and asking how far can we go? What's the next frontier in terms of progressive trade?

When I was younger, people often looked to Scandinavia in terms of progressive approaches, but now I think Canada is leading the way. We've obviously been promoting gender chapters in our trade agreements and we'll do a similar initiative at the WTO. I think we are a force for good in the world.

DM: Have those priorities changed?

FPC: I think we've achieved a lot. I look at CETA — the free-trade agreement we've struck with Europe — and people would say it's the right agreement at the right time; it's the gold standard. But I'm always reminding people that you have to look at trade in the long term, over decades. Those who were visionary more than a decade ago saw a world where Canada would have preferential access to Europe, that we'd have 9,000 tariff lines coming down to zero and that Canada would have preferential market access to more than half a billion people and \$3.3 trillion in public procurement, greater mobility, access to human capital in Europe. When you see that, it shows me that whatever decisions we take today will have the greatest impact for days to come.

My role is to see how I can position Canada in the best possible place to pro-





On Canada: "Canada is becoming a beacon of civility, predictability and rule of law — a very inclusive society."

vide opportunities for Canadians — for workers, consumers and SMEs. This is envisioning trade over the next few decades. Today [market access is] what really matters. In a world where you have more uncertainty, Canada is becoming a beacon of civility, predictability and rule of law — a very inclusive society that sees diversity as a source of strength.

I'm often called the chief marketing officer of Canada. When I promote Canada abroad, many nations tell me I don't need to do that. They say 'Where else would we invest in [2018] if not Canada?' We stand out as a beacon. People feel good about investing in Canada because of these key elements — and our human capital.

DM: In your mandate letter, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau asked you to modernize free-trade agreements with Chile and Israel. You mentioned Chile. How is Israel going?

FPC: We are progressing. We have discussions with our Israeli friends. I was just with the ambassador of Israel. I invited him to Shawinigan to discover a bit of Quebec. He came with the consul from Montreal. I think he'll remember that trip for a long time because it showed him the diversity of our country.

Trade is all about people. We have the benefit in Canada of having a lot of communities that have roots in other cultures. This gives us an edge when it comes to trade. We're moving forward with our Israeli friends.

DM: Do you have a timeline on that?

FPC: I would say as soon as possible. I



On the job: "30 per cent of my job is about trade agreements, 70 per cent is about how I convert these trade agreements to create jobs."

come from the private sector and 'soon' when I was in business was yesterday. When I came to government, I was told it might be next month and when you deal internationally, on a multilateral basis, it might be next year.

[Call me ambitious,] but I'd like this to succeed because these things do make a difference. More and more, when you look at the international trade arena, it's no longer about tariffs, it's about market dynamics, it's about non-tariff trade barriers, it's about how we can facilitate commerce and the mobility of people and that is really the key with these agreements.

The nice thing about being in the job I have is that you have to look forward. You have to have the vision of where Canada needs to be and how these agreements can facilitate commerce for SMEs and those who've been underrepresented in trade. I think about women entrepreneurs, indigenous people, I think about youth. One of my objectives is to [host the first] indigenous trade mission [of Canada], which we're about to announce very soon.

DM: Where would you go on that trade mission?

FPC: We're consulting with the main stakeholders because it has to be meaningful. We have to go to markets where indigenous businesses can make a difference. Hopefully, [this will set] the stage and the tone for more trade between our indigenous communities and the rest of the world.

DM: Japan was also in your mandate letter. How are things going there?



On the U.S.: "The uniqueness of our relationship is that we don't sell to each other; we build things together."

FPC: The place I've spent most nights as trade minister, other than Canada, is Japan. Now, that's about three nights. Our relationship is great; Japan is a key ally. We are discussing how can we maintain trade in the Asia-Pacific [that is] open, rule-based and progressive. We are discussing a trade agreement for the region, which would help position Canada for the future.

DM: So it's a longer-term thing?

FPC: We'll have to see. As you know, there is the TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership), which was an agreement with a number of nations. Canada has remained at the table. We've been engaging with Japan closely on that. This is about setting the tone. Canada has this unique opportunity to set the terms of trade in that part of the world.

DM: Let's turn to the elephant in the room — NAFTA. Where do you think it will end up?

FPC: On NAFTA, I always start with the numbers because they speak for themselves. We exchange about \$2 billion in goods and services every day. We are the U.S.'s largest client and when I talk to someone [there], I always say 'You're lucky — you're talking to your largest customer.' We're their largest energy provider — whether it's oil, gas or electricity. We have about 48 states that have Canada as their primary and secondary export market and about nine million jobs in the U.S. depend on trade with Canada. The uniqueness of our relationship is that we don't [just] sell to each



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Photo by Bill Blackstone



U.S. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and Canadian Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland addressed reporters after a bilateral meeting on the occasion of the kickoff of NAFTA renegotiations.

other; we build things together. The big prize is how can we be more competitive in North America, how can we build more in North America and how can we export [more] to the rest of the world?

Every time our U.S. friends make a decision, I always remind them it has impact on both sides of the border because [we] have an economy that's so integrated. I'll give you an example: I was looking at a photo of landing gear for a plane. There was the city where the different parts are made and it looked like the United Nations of North America. There were parts from Canada, the U.S. and Mexico. And the parts would have crossed the border several times before [the landing gear] became a finished product. Our goal has been to really remind our U.S. friends, whether it's the prime minister, [Foreign] Minister [Chrystia] Freeland, provincial cabinet ministers or mayors, of the integrated nature of our economy. I was in Ohio recently and I was reminding stakeholders that 300,000 jobs in Ohio depend directly on trade with Canada. Then, I was with the vice-mayor of Cincinnati and, if my memory serves me well, 20 per cent of the economy of greater Cincinnati is dependent on Canada. When I was in Ohio, 40 per cent of all exports go to Canada.

For me, the big prize is [to be] more

competitive, build more in North America and sell to the world together.

DM: What are the major sticking points from your perspective?

FPC: Minister Freeland would be best placed to answer that, but what we're facing philosophically is probably the most protectionist administration since the world trade order was put in place. This is just a fact; this is not a rumour; this is what it is. I see it in the discourse going on between Canada and the U.S., but also on the world stage. I've spent a bit of time with Ambassador [Robert] Lighthizer, [the United States Trade Representative], and I realize the U.S. is questioning a lot of the trade order that was established — largely by the U.S. — and for which they've been one of the primary beneficiaries. Our role is to be a positive force of influence, to look at modernization of institutions, but also to keep what's good. I think we all benefit from trade that is open, principle-based and rule-based.

DM: What's the status of the \$218-million invest-in-Canada hub?

FPC: We are very committed. This, for me, is going to be a flagship initiative of our government. This is about creating a concierge service to attract investment,

to facilitate investment and retain investment in Canada. We know it's a very competitive world out there and we need to put our best foot forward.

It's about retention. I call it customer after-care — ensuring these investors have a place and people are following their investments and learning from that.

What's most in need today is human capital. You saw that the ABB group has selected Montreal as their e-mobility centre of excellence, for example. We are seeing a number of companies choosing Canada for its human capital. We'll be there to promote what we have best to offer. The other thing Canada does best is renewable energy. I often ask 'Why don't you think about green manufacturing?'

DM: What is the status of the Development Finance Institution? [In May 2017, the Trudeau government announced it would create a DFI — a specialized bank that supports private-sector investment in developing countries.]

FPC: For me, the DFI is another instrument in our foreign trade policy. I'll give you an example: We've been looking at how Canada, with a group of Canadian companies, can help in the reconstruction after the hurricanes in the Caribbean.

There's a part that's commercial and maybe there's part of it where we can use the DFI to help out there.

We're looking at [introducing] the DFI in the coming weeks. This is where Canada can really make a difference. In engineering procurement construction management, we have some of the best companies in the world. It's about green technologies, water filtration and solar energy. It's trying to put the best of Canada into a consortium.

DM: What keeps you up at night?

FPC: I sleep pretty well because we have really busy days. But what keeps me up is making sure that I don't miss an opportunity for Canadian companies. I'm always on the lookout for the next opportunity. I come to this job with the mind of an entrepreneur — 30 per cent of my job is about trade agreements; 70 per cent is about how I convert these trade agreements to create jobs and prosperity.

I'm always talking about seizing the moment.

DM: You were the trade minister when most of CETA came into force on Sept. 21, 2017. How significant do you think CETA will be for Canada and are you concerned

at all about final ratifications in European parliaments?

FPC: I think it's transformative. This is really a historic moment. This is the right agreement at the right time.

Economically, we've removed 9,000 tariff lines and Canada is the only country in the world that is not physically located in Europe, but has [enhanced] market access to Europe, whether in terms of tariff or labour mobility. When I was in London, they called me the lobster man on the BBC because I used lobster as an example. Canadian lobster, before Sept. 21, was coming into Europe at [up to] 20 per cent tariffs. These tariffs are coming down to zero gradually. Frozen shrimp were coming in at 12 per cent; they're coming down to zero. I see that as historic. I give credit to [CETA and now NAFTA negotiator] Steve Verheul, who is a superstar. I give credit to the visionaries [who came up with the idea].

I'm not at all concerned with the rest of the ratification. I think we've made the case for progressive trade. If you can't do progressive trade with Canada, who are you going to do it with? We're going to start seeing the benefits. People will realize that this is an example of what trade can be in the 21st Century, with a chapter

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on the environment, labour, a chapter that preserves the right of the state to regulate in their best interest and an improved dispute settlement mechanism.

DM: What's your take on the amount of taxpayer money that's subsidized Bombardier?

us at the forefront of the battle, defending our aerospace industry, you have to think that I'm standing there with my colleagues to defend these 200,000 workers in an industry that is offering great wages and great benefits and invests significantly in research and development in our country. We have developed, in



François-Philippe Champagne says that when he looks at Canada's Bombardier, he sees 200,000 employees who work in the country's aerospace sector and the 300 small- and medium-sized businesses that support the industry in Canada.

FPC: When I look at Bombardier, I never look at one company or one set of managers, or one set of shareholders. I look at the more than 200,000 employees who work in the aerospace sector in Canada and the 300 SMEs who support that industry in Canada. When you see

the C Series, an airplane that is the envy of the world. It's 30 per cent more fuel-efficient, less noisy — it's really the next generation of what a plane should be. You can see it from the resolve of Delta to continue with that purchase despite all the hurdles the Department of Commerce

is trying to put in their way.

I never look at one company, one set of employees or employers. When you see us at the forefront of the battle, I'm standing there with my colleagues to defend these employees. It's just natural for us to protect, defend and promote the aerospace industry in Canada.

I never think of Bombardier alone — I always think of it as at the centre of an ecosystem we've built. It's not just Montreal; I come from Shawinigan, and there are people there, and in Trois Rivières, and I'm sure I could go across the country and find small companies that supply pieces of equipment to Bombardier. This affects many communities in Canada and that's why we're fighting so hard to preserve it and protect the know-how we've developed in Canada, which is quite unique. We're the third-largest centre of aircraft manufacturing in the world. We've built that and we need to preserve it, defend it and promote it.

DM: How did you react to the sale of Bombardier's C Series program to France's Airbus?

FPC: The C Series leads the industry in design, efficiency and environmental standards. It is the benchmark for excellence in narrow-body aircraft and a cutting-edge Canadian innovation. It is no surprise that the C Series is attracting interest from all corners.

Proposed investments of this kind require the government to consider whether they are in the national interest. The Airbus deal, like all significant proposed investments in Canada by non-Canadians, is subject to the Investment Canada Act, which is overseen by the Minister of Innovation, Science and Economic Development. That review will look at whether this is a good deal for our aerospace sector and for Canadian jobs.

On the surface, Bombardier's proposed partnership with Airbus on this aircraft



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would help position the C Series for success by combining excellence in innovation with increased market access and an unrivalled global salesforce. Canada has a highly skilled workforce and a climate that fosters innovation. That's why our aerospace sector is strong, diverse and well-positioned to take advantage of the opportunities that could arise from this deal, including new pathways into global supply chains across all of the company's business lines and products.

In fact, we have already seen successes, including today's announcement by EgyptAir to procure 12+12 C Series aircraft.

With this proposed partnership, Airbus would commit to making Canada its fifth home country and the first outside Europe. Airbus already employs a Canadian workforce of 1,900 people across seven provinces and generates \$1.2 billion of Canadian supply chain spending. This presents further opportunity to grow our aerospace industry and create well-paying middle-class jobs across the country.

DM: What about the suggestion that Bombardier become a Crown corporation or some kind of government entity?

FPC: I never think that government is best

suited to run businesses. I think we have enough entrepreneurs, innovators and creative people in our country to take the

"I'M ALWAYS ON THE LOOK-OUT FOR THE NEXT OPPORTUNITY. I COME TO THIS JOB WITH THE MIND OF AN ENTREPRENEUR — 30 PER CENT OF MY JOB IS ABOUT TRADE AGREEMENTS; 70 PER CENT IS ABOUT HOW I CONVERT THESE TRADE AGREEMENTS TO CREATE JOBS AND PROSPERITY."

business risk that comes with forming a company and developing a sector. What we do is make sure we build a framework that favours investment, research and development and the attraction of human capital.

DM: How does government reconcile the bribery charges against Bombardier executives?

FPC: As trade minister, I expect companies to uphold the highest standard of ethics and corporate responsibility when they operate abroad. In my previous life, I was chief ethics officer of a large company. My message is clear to any Canadian business operating in Canada and abroad: We expect the best out of them, to respect all laws and regulations, to lead the way when it comes to corporate social responsibility and to uphold the highest ethical standards. We are following the events as they unfold. The courts are [addressing] this matter and we are looking at the process.

DM: On supply management, how do you square subsidies such as the five-year dairy farm investment program offering \$250,000 to licensed dairy farms to help offset CETA's effects?

FPC: I'm a firm believer in supply management; I'm a firm believer in our dairy producers. I'm a firm believer in the excellence of our products. As a government, we've put a framework in place to help our dairy producers to modernize and innovate. **D**



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'An Italian garden filled with flowers and music'

The Ottawa Symphony Orchestra's annual Fête Champêtre took place later than usual, but the weather could not have been better for a garden party, given Ottawa's late September heat wave.

"We're delighted that the annual Fête Champêtre is at the Italian ambassador's residence, particularly where there are two anniversaries — the 150th of Canada and the 70th of Canada-Italy," said Robert Peck, chairman of the orchestra's board of directors, who attended the event. "It's an annual tradition that goes back many years and it's important for the orchestra because it brings all the key supporters together."

He said the orchestra is "really on the ascendant" and is working hard to increase the number of concerts it presents.

"We also have some exciting new developments and we're hoping that, if luck goes our way, we'll be able to position the orchestra in a new venue in Ottawa," Peck said. "I can't say more, except we hope that we'll have a place that's more aligned with our orchestra and our brand."

He acknowledged that the orchestra, which currently holds its concerts at the National Arts Centre and therefore shares space with the NAC orchestra, continues to have a great relationship with the NAC.

Having an embassy host its major fundraiser is "a real boost," Peck said, and added: "Particularly one where the residence is gorgeous. And what can I say about the weather with the summer we've had? The gods were with us tonight."



The Ottawa Symphony Orchestra's Fête Champêtre took place at the residence of Italian Ambassador Claudio Taffuri. From left, Fabrizio Nava, minister-counsellor at the embassy of Italy, Maria Enrica Francesca Stajano and Kate Holmes, general manager of the symphony.

He said programming classical music is always a challenge.

"We have to fight for it and the support of an embassy that not only provides the food, but also the wine, allows us to use the proceeds [from ticket sales] to fund music," he said. "If we were to pay for food and beverages, it would be a huge expense for us."

The embassy served Prosecco and Pinot Grigio and Chianti — all Italian — and Italian-inspired canapés.

For their part, Ambassador Claudio Taffuri and his wife, Maria Enrica Francesca Stajano, were delighted to host, but were disappointed that Taffuri was called away to host a last-minute high-level visitor and couldn't attend the actual event.

"I liked the spirit of the person who asked us to host this," Stajano said. "I understand it is a very important event for the orchestra. Music is always wonderful — I love the idea of our garden filled with flowers and music." ▣





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Exporting medical care to Cameroon on land and sea

By JoJo Beattie



The *Africa Mercy*, a floating hospital, is docked in the coastal city of Douala, Cameroon, until June.

It was a historic day when *Africa Mercy*, a floating hospital, arrived in Cameroon for the first time in the organization's history in August 2017. During the 10-month field service, the *Africa Mercy* will be docked in the coastal city of Douala and serve Cameroon through various surgical programs that support the mission of Mercy Ships. Founded in 1978 by Don and Deyon Stephens, Mercy Ships provides hope and healing by using volunteer-driven hospital ships to provide free surgical care, medical training and capacity building to impoverished nations, primarily in West Africa.

Mercy Ships Canada also funded a hospital outpatient extension, known as the HOPE centre, a now-completed \$1.3-million facility built on land close to the vessel, to be used as a temporary residence for caregivers and patients who undergo surgery on board.

The ship itself is a 152-metre vessel equipped with five state-of-the-art operating rooms and is a fully modern hospital specializing in maxillofacial, reconstructive, plastics, orthopedic, ophthalmic, dental and obstetric fistula surgeries. Once discharged from the ship's hospital,

patients and their caregivers who live outside of Douala stay at the non-floating building known as the HOPE Centre as they continue to recover and receive followup care. For these patients, the centre provides a safe, secure and hygienic facility where patients can reside until they are able to return to their homes. Should any complications arise, the close proximity to the *Africa Mercy* ensures patients are treated quickly and efficiently. Importantly, the HOPE Centre also frees up precious bed space in the hospital wards on the ship and allows for better optimization of the ship's surgical capacity.

The ship is like a small town, and an international crew of more than 400 volunteers make up that community. Volunteers come from a range of professions — and from more than 40 nations. Some offer specialist medical, dental and nursing skills, while others have maritime and maintenance expertise that is essential to running the *Africa Mercy*.

During the *Africa Mercy's* stay in Douala, Mercy Ships plans to provide as many as 4,100 life-changing surgeries for adult and child patients, to treat more than 8,000 at a land-based dental clinic,

and to provide holistic health care training to Cameroonian professionals. Once the *Africa Mercy* departs, the renovated HOPE Centre building will be turned over to the ministry of health for its use as a health care facility. It will expand the capacity of medical services offered at the Nylon District Hospital and in the surrounding district. The expanded services will include hospital in-patient rooms and additional ward and laboratory space, plus consulting rooms for ophthalmology, orthodontics and dentistry and surgical specialties.

The life-changing work of Mercy Ships would not be possible without the support of Canadian donors and volunteers. A fundraiser hosted in Ottawa by Cameroon High Commissioner Anu'a-Gheyle Solomon Azoh-Mbi and board chairwoman of Mercy Ships Canada, Marilyn Collette, raised \$12,500 for 50 hospital beds in the HOPE Centre, and \$12,300 for additional projects. To learn more about Mercy Ships, visit www.mercyships.ca.

JoJo Beattie is the public relations and communications co-ordinator for Mercy Ships Canada.

Canada and Mexico at North America's crossroads



FIRST NAME: Dionisio
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CITIZENSHIP: Mexican
PRESENTED CREDENTIALS AS AMBASSADOR: June 22, 2017
PREVIOUS POSTINGS: Paris (OECD)

When he was in Mexico in October, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau re-affirmed the friendship between Canada and Mexico. “Canada and Mexico are not only strong partners — we are close friends who share common goals and work shoulder-to-shoulder to advance them. From fighting climate change to building economies that work for everyone, we are united in our desire for a better future,” he stated.

It is an honour for me to share some reflections on the extensive and close relationship that exists between Mexico and Canada. It is particularly relevant at the current crossroads for North America, where Canada and Mexico have clearly demonstrated a commitment to working together towards a new stage in our relationship. An example of this close collaboration is the visit to Canada of President Enrique Peña Nieto in June 2016, as well as the visit of Trudeau to Mexico in October 2017.

As Mexico’s ambassador to this great nation, which hosts the second-largest Mexican community abroad, it has been rewarding to witness from a front-row seat how Canada enjoys an impeccable reputation as an open, diverse, peaceful and tolerant nation, one that is setting an example for many around the world. Mexico and Canada are united by strong diplomatic, cultural, educational and commercial ties. This year, we celebrate 74 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two nations, 44 years of the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program, 24 years of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and 14 years of the Canada-Mexico Partnership.

This relationship continues to strengthen and enrich itself year after year, not only through dialogue at the highest level and between government agencies in each country, but also through day-to-day operations.

Interactions between entrepreneurs, investors, tourists, students, retirees, scientists and temporary workers have grown considerably. Our relationship has evolved from being good neighbours and business partners to forming a strategic partnership with a long-term vision and a common agenda. We exercise our leadership not only in North America, but in the hemisphere and throughout the world.

We share a common agenda in trade, energy, innovation and mobility, to name



Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, right, and Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto have been particularly strong allies since NAFTA renegotiations began.

a few areas. We have established various co-operation mechanisms to advance our shared priorities and we work together in the international arena from which both countries are committed to peace, democ-

racy, transparency, open trade, the promotion of human rights, gender equality, the protection of LGBTQI communities and the fight against climate change, among other important issues.

Regarding our trade relations, we are convinced that NAFTA has been beneficial to Mexico, Canada and the U.S. It has increased trade and investment across the region, stimulated integrated production and generated employment in all three countries. Since the entry into force of NAFTA, the commercial relationship between our countries has strengthened and become more competitive. In 2016, trade between the two countries had a nine-fold increase, totalling \$35 billion US, compared to the \$4 billion total in 1993. Mexico is the fourth-largest export market for Canadian products, importing approximately \$10 billion US. Our trade is extensive and competitive, strengthening regional value chains. We trade in high-tech and manufacturing products, as well as agricultural ones: As an example, 95 per cent of the avocados consumed in Canada come from Mexico, while 90 per cent of the canola that Mexico imports comes from Canada.

Roughly 4,000 companies with Canadian capital operate in Mexico, 20 of which are listed on the Mexican Stock Exchange. For 17 years, Canada’s foreign direct investment has been a key element in the integration of our economies, mainly in the mining, financial and automotive sectors, placing Canada as the fourth-largest foreign investor, with investments totalling \$29.7 billion US in Mexico.

Mexico and Canada have a close energy partnership that has intensified as a result of the deep reform undertaken by my country in this important sector. Canadian companies have increasingly participated in bidding processes on energy infrastructure projects and co-operation in research projects has increased. Collaboration in the production and use of biojet fuel to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions in the aviation sector and in the development of technologies for the measurement, reporting, verification and reduction of oil and gas emissions in order to combat climate change are just some examples.

With respect to the mobility of people, following the removal of the visa requirement in December 2016, the number of Mexican visitors to Canada has increased

by more than 50 per cent. Mexico has also grown to become the second most popular tourist destination for Canadians. The nearly two million Canadians who visit annually help to make Mexico the eighth-preferred destination for tourists worldwide. Visitors enjoy travelling around the fifth-most biodiverse country in the world, visiting the 34 sites inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List, and, of course, delighting their palates with a cuisine that has been declared an intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

But mobility is not only tourism: with 44 years of operation, the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program is considered a model of safe, orderly and circular migration, thanks to the ongoing dialogue between both countries and to the assistance and protection work carried out by the Mexican consular network in Canada. In 2016 alone, approximately 24,000 workers participated in this program, representing an annual growth of 10.9 per cent.

Exchanges and mobility of people are also evident in the educational field. Every year, we see an increased number of Mexican citizens studying in Canada. Just in 2016, approximately 6,000 Mexicans were admitted to the country on a student visa, 55 per cent more than the number

admitted in 2007. The Mexican government is actively working to increase this figure. We are confident that soon there will be 10,000 Mexican students studying in Canada, many of them thanks to the efforts and programs of the federal government. Likewise, we expect an increase in the number of Canadian students visiting Mexican institutions.

In recent years, we have worked diligently to reach agreements and achieve co-operation in innovation, technological entrepreneurship, competitiveness and connectivity, and we have laid the foundations for a stronger alliance capable of creating more jobs, promoting investment and strengthening our countries' competitiveness. Among various projects, Canada and Mexico are encouraging the mobility of researchers and highly qualified staff for the development of clean energy technologies, and have reiterated their commitment to continue collaborating in specific areas to promote the social and economic development of indigenous peoples and communities.

In terms of regional co-operation, and as a result of a letter of intent signed during Peña Nieto's visit in June 2016, Mexico and Canada have developed an action plan for carrying out specific joint actions

in Central America and the Caribbean. These actions touch upon a wide range of goals, including promoting health and the rights of women and girls in the region; combatting climate change; reducing disaster risk and preventing migration of unaccompanied children from El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, among others.

Beyond commercial and economic aspects, as proof of the strong friendship that unites us, Mexico and Canada have supported each other in the most pressing times, as evidenced by the 360 Mexican wildfire technicians and firefighters who went to British Columbia to assist with the historic fires that ravaged the province in 2017, and by a donation of \$100,000 to the Mexican Red Cross and 1,500 tents for affected communities provided by Canada's federal government to those affected by the two earthquakes that impacted several states of Mexico this past September.

Mexicans believe in building bridges, in dialogue, in mutual respect and understanding, beliefs that are also highly treasured and shared by Canadians. I am certain that the co-operation between our countries will continue to strengthen, as we collaborate on the vast common agenda for the benefit of our respective populations. ▣

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Jordan is primed and positioned for investment



By Rima Alaadeen

Since King Abdullah's 1999 ascension to the throne, Jordan has taken steps to encourage foreign investment and develop an outward-oriented market-based globally competitive economy.

In particular, banking, ICT, pharmaceuticals, tourism and services sectors have all seen key reforms in recent years. Foreign and domestic investment laws grant specific incentives to industry, agriculture, tourism, hospitals, transportation, energy and water distribution. Jordan is also uniquely positioned geopolitically to host large-scale investments focused on the reconstruction of Iraq and other regional markets.

Jordan provides a comprehensive range of incentives to potential investors, including an optimum climate for investments. The government has also taken numerous measures to enhance the economic and financial legal framework for investment. The new investment law streamlines processes thanks to a single starting point with the Jordan Investment Commission.

Beyond that, why invest in Jordan? First, it is located where Europe, Asia and Africa meet and it is a transportation hub for the Middle East, with access to the Red Sea through the Port of Aqaba and other ports in neighbouring countries. Companies looking for major reconstruction projects near Jordan can establish logistical and administrative hubs in Jordan, which is a safe and business-friendly environment.

Jordan also has a stable political environment with a monarchy supported by a democratically elected parliament. Freedom of belief, speech, press, association and private property are all in force and are accompanied by a commitment to a free market.

To attract businesses and investment



Jordan is a transportation hub for the Middle East, with access to the Red Sea through the Port of Aqaba, pictured here.

projects, Jordan has exempted investments from income and social services taxes by between 25 and 75 per cent, depending on the location of the project, for a 10-year period. Additionally, imported fixed assets are 100 per cent exempted from customs duties and taxes. Another exemption from customs duties and income tax is granted for the expansion, modernization or development of existing projects. Hotels and hospitals may purchase furniture and supplies without customs duties once every seven years for renewal purposes.

Two-way trade volumes between Canada and Jordan stood at \$173 million in 2016. Canada exported \$81.3 million worth of goods, including vehicles and equipment, machinery/mechanical products, vegetable products, wood, paper and chemicals. Jordan sent \$91.8 million worth of goods to Canada, including textiles, vegetables, precious metals/stones, chemical products, food products and mechanical/machinery products.

The Canada-Jordan Free Trade Agreement (FTA) entered into force in late 2012 and is Canada's first FTA with an Arab country. The agreement gives Canadians access to new markets, customers and partnerships, as well as creating stronger supply and production chains. It immediately eliminated tariffs, which ran as high as 30 per cent, on more than 99 per cent of current Canadian exports to Jordan and will eliminate tariffs on a small number of other products over the next three to five years.

The agreement opens doors widely for both parties to expand trade and investments. Jordan also enjoys duty- and

quota-free access to the U.S. market. Jordan has duty-free access to more than 10 Arab countries through the AFTA and has bilateral agreements and favourable protocols with more than 20 countries. Jordan is also an active member of the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA).

Jordan has world-class infrastructure. Its state telephone company operates on a commercial basis and is expected to privatize 40 per cent of the company in the near future. Royal Jordanian Airlines has direct flights to 47 major cities in Europe, the Middle East, the Far East, North Africa and North America. A modern highway network with major trucking lines ensures the movement of raw materials to and from the port of Aqaba as well as into and from ports of neighbouring countries.

Jordanians enjoy high living standards. Amenities are readily available and affordable. High-quality public and private education is available in Arabic, English and French. Jordan also prides itself on its quality affordable health services.

Finally, Jordan is a tourist destination for history and antiquity enthusiasts. The country is essentially an open-air museum with more than 26,000 archeological sites, many of which are UNESCO World Heritage Sites. The most renowned are Petra, the Seventh Wonder of the World; the Dead Sea, the lowest point on Earth; and the official baptism site of Jesus Christ, just to name a few.

Rima Alaadeen is the ambassador of Jordan. Email her at ottawa@fm.gov.jo or phone her at (613) 238-8090.

Kuwait is an investment hub for Canada



By *Abdulhamid Ali Alfaiakawi*

Kuwait is one of the richest countries in the world and a leading economic centre in the region. Despite its small size, the country has a number of natural resources that have enabled it to grow its economic strength. The economy depends on oil, with fixed oils reserves of about 102 billion barrels, or about 7.4 per cent of the world's crude reserves, and about 21.6 per cent of the Gulf Cooperation Council's crude reserves. Kuwait's current production level is about 2.3 million barrels per day.

Oil accounts for about 50 per cent of Kuwait's gross domestic product (GDP), 95 per cent of total export earnings and 80 per cent of government revenue.

Kuwait-Canada bilateral trade in merchandise amounted to \$192 million in 2015. Canada's exports were predominantly comprised of machinery and mechanical equipment, transportation equipment and agri-food products. In 2015, Kuwaiti foreign direct investment in Canada was estimated at \$180 million, while Canadian direct investment in Kuwait was estimated at \$2 million.

Canadian businesses will find commercial trade and service opportunities mainly in the petroleum, health, defence, security, agri-food and education sectors.

Kuwait-Canada commercial relations are currently witnessing vast new avenues of development in such petrochemical companies as Petrochemical Industries Company K.S.C. (PIC) of Kuwait, a subsidiary of Kuwait Petroleum Corporation, which has been operating in Alberta since 2004 through various investments, including those in the petrochemical industry.

In 2017, PIC entered into partnership with Pembina Pipeline Corporation, a Calgary-based corporation that owns and



Kuwait is a hub of trade in its region and a promising market for novice and veteran businesses.

operates pipelines that transport conventional and synthetic crude oil and natural gas liquids produced in Western Canada.

PIC and Pembina have formed joint-venture agreements and a new entity, Canada-Kuwait Petrochemical Corporation (CKPC). CKPC will proceed with activities for a front-end engineering design for the project, which is expected to produce in excess of 1.2 billion pounds per year of polypropylene that would then be transported to North American and global markets.

The preliminary capital cost estimate of the project is between \$3.8 billion and \$4.2 billion. It is expected to create about 2,500 construction jobs and more than 150 permanent jobs. Currently, KPC has \$2 billion worth of investment in Alberta and is planning to increase that to \$5 billion.

Furthermore, there are bilateral projects in a third country. In February 2016, a consortium made up of the Ontario Teachers' Pension Plan (OTPP), Borealis, AIMCo and Wren House — an infrastructure investment vehicle owned by Kuwait Investment Authority — have taken over London City Airport at a cost of about \$2.8 billion.

Kuwait has always been a hub of trade in its region and a promising market for novice and veteran businesses. Hence, I invite all types of businesses to consider investing in Kuwait, which has an open market and an open trade policy. Customs duties do not exceed five per cent for most goods imported from outside the customs union of the GCC and more than 400 goods are exempt from customs duties —

most of them foodstuffs.

Kuwait's major merchandise imports from Canada include industrial equipment, machinery and capital equipment, durable and semi-durable goods, food and beverages, special vehicles, transport equipment parts, non-durable goods and transportation. Imports are not subject to quotas.

Kuwait's merchandise exports to Canada include petroleum, manufactured fertilizers, ethylene products, other manufactures and re-exported goods.

Under Kuwaiti investment rules, foreign investors can establish Kuwaiti companies with a foreign capital share of 100 per cent. Foreign investors may transfer ownership of their investment to another foreign or national investor. Foreign investors have the right to transfer profits and capital abroad. Additionally, foreign investors can enjoy the following advantages: Exemption from income tax and any other taxes for up to 10 years; full or partial exemption from customs duties on imports required by the project; allocation of land required by the project and employment of foreign workers needed by the project. In addition, any dispute between a foreign investor and another party may be referred to domestic or international arbitration. The "other party" here includes government bodies.

Abdulhamid Ali Alfaiakawi is the ambassador of Kuwait. Reach him by email at ambassadoroffice@kuwaitembassy.ca or by calling (613) 780-9999.

Formalize Taiwan ties to boost Canadian exports



By Chung-chen Kung

Taiwan and Canada have always enjoyed close, mutually beneficial economic and trade relations. In 2016, Taiwan's total value of imports from Canada reached \$1.2 billion US, while Canada imported \$3.8 billion US from Taiwan in the same year. Taiwan's top exports to Canada were mostly in the technology field and included such products as integrated electronic circuits, machinery components, auto parts, airplane and helicopter parts and electronic processors. Canada's top exports to Taiwan included mainly raw materials such as bituminous coal, nickel, lumber, pharmaceutical products and iron ores.

While the trading relationship between Taiwan and Canada is strong in traditional areas, such as commodities and raw materials, Canada stands to miss significant opportunities if it fails to broaden and formalize its ties with Taiwan. For instance, Canadian companies and products already benefit from Taiwan's strong commercialization capacity; however, Canada stands to gain even more from Taiwan. It is one of the leading investors in Asia and excels in building supply chains that use Asia's vast market and cost advantages while protecting intellectual property. Formalization and diversification of trade can benefit Taiwan as increased commercialization of Canadian companies allows it to take advantage of Canada's strength in the fields of information technology, energy, agri-food and service sectors.

Furthermore, Taiwan invites Canada to further expand R&D partnerships, such as with the Industrial Technology Research Institute, which could open a greater range of opportunities for Canada's high-tech startups. Taiwan also encourages Canadian companies' participation in its



Partnerships with Taiwan's Industrial Research Institute could open a greater range of opportunities for Canadian high-tech startups.

fast-growing energy market, especially concerning the area of renewable-energy technologies. Canada stands to benefit from more open and formalized trade in this potentially unlimited and fast-growing field. An investment agreement between Taiwan and Canada would bring mutual economic benefits and facilitate a more open and non-discriminatory investment environment for both sides. It also has the added advantage of protecting investors, creating job growth and upgrading industrial sectors in both countries.

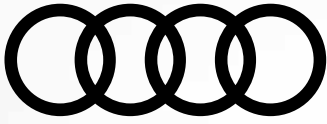
To facilitate this end, my government encourages Canada to recognize Taiwan's impressive commitment to regulatory reform and continued liberalization as a pathway to a comprehensive and progressive agreement for the Trans-Pacific Partnership. Taiwan also encourages high-level visits of Canadian federal and provincial economic ministers and entrepreneurs. While these would be important steps, others should be taken in the meantime, starting with the negotiation of a foreign investment promotion and protection agreement (FIPA). Because of Taiwan's and Canada's trade complementarity, increased trade and investment will unlock opportunities without imposing competition in sensitive areas. Canada has signed FIPA agreements with 43 countries and is currently in negotiations with nine other trading partners. Canada had FIPA agreements with China (2014) and Hong Kong (2016). Taiwan is the only country in the region that does not have or is not in negotiations for a FIPA with Canada. Our avoidance of double taxation agreement, which came into force on Jan. 1, 2017, has already laid a strong foundation for a

future FIPA agreement. Therefore, Taiwan strongly encourages the Canadian government to launch Taiwan-Canada FIPA negotiations as soon as possible.

This would benefit Canada greatly. A 2016 report by Export Development Canada pointed out that more Canadian enterprises are relying on outward investment and foreign affiliates to penetrate foreign markets. This approach allows them to increase production efficiency, capture consumption growth in emerging markets, tap trade networks among developing countries and overcome barriers to market access. Thus, a FIPA with Taiwan would strengthen Taiwan's and Canada's global trade advantage.

A FIPA would be mutually beneficial for both countries and it would augment recent developments in the ease of trade and friendly relations between Taiwan and Canada. Those developments include daily flights between Vancouver and Taipei, which started in the summer of 2017. In 2016, Taiwan was Canada's fifth-largest trading partner in Asia and 11th largest in the world. Canada's two-way trade with Taiwan exceeds its trade with Australia or Brazil. While this forms a bedrock for economic growth, both countries stand to benefit from a formalized and open trade and investment relationship. A Taiwan-Canada FIPA would go a long way in realizing the goal of building a competitive trade relationship for the 21st Century.

Chung-chen Kung is the representative for the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Ottawa. Reach him by email at teco@on.aibn.com or by phone at (613) 231-5080.



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 **NEW**





The USS Ronald Reagan aircraft carrier leads a mass formation of ships from Korea, Taiwan, Japan, Singapore, France, Canada, Australia and the United States, through the Pacific Ocean as part of RIMPAC, the world's largest international maritime exercise. RIMPAC's goal is to increase co-operation and enhance the tactical capabilities of participating nations in various aspects of operations at sea.

U.S. NAVY PHOTO BY MASS COMMUNICATION SPECIALIST SCOTT TAYLOR

From Russian President Vladimir Putin seeking another six-year term in his country's presidential election to British Prime Minister Theresa May possibly being turfed from her job, nine experts make their predictions on global developments this coming year.

The world in 2018

The year 2018 promises to be memorable — in ways both good and disturbing. To give readers a sense of what to expect, we assembled a group of nine regional specialists to write seven Top-10 lists detailing what to expect for the coming year. In short, climate change will continue to challenge governments and everyday people across the planet. We'll also see elections — some consequential and some near meaningless — as well as a continuing war of words between U.S. President Donald Trump and North Korean President Kim Jong-un, with the dire potential consequence of nuclear war. Grim indeed, but there are also signs of hope. Glimmers of democratic “openings” in the Middle East, for example, as well as Democrats potentially getting their wish for a rebalancing of the U.S. Senate. The package starts on page 44.

Russia and Eurasia: Limited advances in 2018



This woman stands in front of a blown-out building in Kurakhove, in Ukraine's Donetsk region. In 2018, the conflict with Russian-backed forces in Eastern Ukraine will drag on, with the Minsk negotiations at an impasse.

By *Jeff Sahadeo*
and *Mikhail Zherebtsov*

In 2018, Russia will retain its renewed prominent place on the world stage. Vladimir Putin's vision and military spending have made his country a major player in Syria and the Middle East. In Europe, involvement in Ukraine and the absorption of Crimea continue despite western sanctions, and, across the continent, Russian support fuels nationalist politicians who are intent on challenging the EU's liberal order. Successful meddling in the 2016 U.S. elections through the spreading of disinformation has opened another pathway to fulfil foreign policy goals by keeping the west off guard — most recently in evidence in the Catalonia crisis. This all comes as the economy stabilizes, but living standards for the average Russian remain far below those of their European neighbours.

1. Six more years of President Putin

Elections remain the most important event in the political life of Russia, even though their outcomes can be easily predicted. Putin is almost certain to seek re-election for another six-year term. His competition is unclear. Former contenders — communist leader Gennady Zyuganov and populist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy — are unlikely to attract significant support. Alexei Navalny — Putin's most prominent and vigorous critic — is, for now, barred from running due to a criminal conviction, which he claims is politically motivated. The main concern for the current administration is low voter turnout. Although it does not directly affect the results, it is an important symbolic and reputational factor. An effort to attract younger and even protest voters appears to have motivated the candidacy of Ksenia Sobchak, an opposition journalist, social media star and the daughter of former St. Petersburg mayor Anatoly Sobchak, Putin's former boss. Other popular

figures with insignificant political capital and experience may also run, even at the risk of vulgarizing the elections.

Our prediction is that Putin will win in the first round. The results will matter less than the political course the president will lay out for the new term. The main intrigue will be whether Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev will retain his post, or a new figure — perhaps a potential successor — will be appointed.

2. Ukraine amid crises

Ukraine faces crises on two fronts in 2018. First, public dissatisfaction over continued corruption has prompted renewed protests in Kyiv, even as the government takes steps to address grievances. Although the scale is far smaller than the Maidan demonstrations of 2013, suggestions of a coup, perhaps led by the once-president of Georgia, Mikhail Saakashvili, circulate. Second, the conflict with Russian-backed forces in Eastern Ukraine

drags on, with the Minsk negotiations at an impasse. All sides are now discussing international peacekeeping forces, but implementation, much less a political vision for Eastern Ukraine's future, remains elusive. The country, whose resilience has allowed it to survive a bloody conflict and virtual partition, remains low on the list of priorities for the European Union and western actors.

We predict Putin will offer various proposals and feints towards a political solution in the east, knowing full well that Ukraine lacks the resources or vision to reincorporate territories behind insurgent lines. Diplomatic manoeuvres will ensure the west does not send arms to Ukraine. Despite dissatisfaction, Ukrainians will lack the stomach for another Maidan.

3. Russia and the West: Same planet, different worlds

Insoluble disputes and continuities in political agendas in Europe, Russia and North America will keep the confrontation between the west and Putin's regime alive. The west will not accept Crimea's annexation, nor will Russia reverse it. Beyond this, allegations and evidence of Russia's interference in the elections and domestic politics of the United States continue to mount. Implicated are the inner circles of President Donald Trump and other leaders seen to benefit from cyberattacks, money or other "dirty tricks." In Europe, Russia's open support of ultraright candidates and parties substantially complicates already uneasy relations. The truce between government and rebel forces in Ukraine's Donetsk and Luhansk regions remains shaky and renewed violence could see tensions rise.

In 2018, we predict western and Russian leaders will continue to take irreconcilable positions towards major international issues, limiting the possibility for co-operation, despite Trump's warm feelings towards Putin. Even so, each side recognizes the other's importance in global affairs, and co-operation will continue, on a case-by-case basis.

4. Syria's now diplomatic war

Russia's military involvement in Syria is winding down, with the defeat of the Islamic State as a territorial entity. Diplomatic negotiations among world leaders concerning the future status of the country will now intensify. It is expected that the main stumbling block will involve the fate of Syria's current leader, Bashar al-Assad. Russia's recognition of the legitimacy of Assad's regime differs drastically from



In October, riot police attacked and detained protesters, many of them supporters of lawyer and activist Alexei Navalny, who is shown at the time of his own arrest in March 2017.

the position of other stakeholders. Putin is assuming a leading role in the status of Kurdish autonomy, which remains unresolved. As one of the winners, Russia will remain active in Syria diplomatically, and use its relationship with the regime to strengthen its geopolitical position in the Middle East.

Given the state of Russia-West relations and diametrically opposed views on the legitimacy of al-Assad, talks on Syria's future are expected to be long and low on achievements in 2018.

5. Russia's economy: Muddling along

Russia's social and economic development will be an important issue in the context of its presidential electoral campaign. Thus, 2018 will mark the fourth year of mutual sanctions between Russia and leading western countries. Operating alongside declining oil prices, sanctions substantially affected Russia's economy. The ruble's purchasing power was cut in half, the GDP fell by more than a third — from \$2.2 trillion in 2013 to \$1.2 trillion in 2016 — and Russia's growth stagnated. The Kremlin has freely raided its precious piggy bank — the stabilization fund — built during years of high energy prices. Yet, there are signs of stabilization. Moderately conservative forecasts for 2018 predict a steady, but low, GDP growth of between 1.1 and 1.8 per cent. The Russian Central Bank's strict monetary and regulatory policies satisfy the banking and

financial sectors. Russia remains nonetheless vulnerable to energy-price changes or potential further sanctions.

Economic scenarios for 2018 are gloomy, but far from disastrous. The Kremlin will do everything possible to keep the economic situation stable in an election year, so the status quo is likely in the near future.

6. Protests and dissatisfaction in Russia

Anti-regime demonstrations increased in number and intensity in 2017. An October protest on Putin's 65th birthday spread to 80 cities. Thousands of riot police attacked and detained demonstrators, many of whom are supporters of Alexei Navalny, who was arrested beforehand. The Kremlin has also had to deal with simmering tensions as Moscow city council prepares to eject tenants of downtown Khrushchev-era buildings to begin construction of new towers. Even as protests over seemingly unfettered presidential power, corruption and challenges to daily life grow, Putin remains undeniably

**IN 2018, WE PREDICT
WESTERN AND
RUSSIAN LEADERS
WILL CONTINUE TO
TAKE IRRECONCILABLE
POSITIONS TOWARDS
MAJOR INTERNATIONAL
ISSUES.**

popular and his message of Russian unity in the face of western opposition resonates. Living standards have decreased over the last few years, but Russians will say they have suffered through far worse. The Russian economy has stabilized, even as it trails western countries in delivering prosperity for citizens.

In 2018, vocal demonstrations will continue in large Russian cities, perhaps around the elections and inauguration, but their growth potential is limited. Putin enjoys support as a symbol of stability and strength, and he's able to point to such accomplishments as the annexation of Crimea.

7. World Cup '18: A coming-out party?

Eleven cities in Russia will host soccer's World Cup in June and July 2018, an event that dwarfs the Sochi Olympics for placing the country at the centre of the sporting universe. Optimists can point to plans for visa-free entry for visitors and Putin's desire to show Russian cities as global cultural and tourist destinations. A successful event might thaw relations with the west. Russian police have made progress in battling Islamist opposition, so the threat of terrorist attacks is small, though it can never be completely discounted. Racist and nationalist organizations have also fallen out of government favour in recent years. The potential for organized or spontaneous drunken brawls, however, which might sweep in innocent citizens, tourists or spectators, or racist chants emanating from the stands, is quite real. Putin is already talking about regulating alcohol sales to foreign visitors.

We expect the World Cup will showcase Russia's provincial cities, which will put on a great show for tourists. A visa-free regime with the west remains a distant hope, however, and Putin is likely to use the event to promote Russian greatness to a domestic audience instead of using it as a springboard to better foreign relations.

8. LGBTQ and Chechnya

Canada has accepted a number of gay refugees fleeing persecution in Chechnya, a Russian republic in the North Caucasus under the leadership of Ramzan Kadyrov. Ruling the region as a virtual fiefdom with Putin's blessing, Kadyrov initiated a campaign against homosexuality in 2017. Detention, torture and forced confessions proliferated, with potential targets fleeing the republic for elsewhere in Russia, and, for some, to Western Europe and Canada. Kadyrov has denied the campaign, insisting at times that there are no homosexuals in his republic. Putin has only said he would raise the matter with central government officials. The violence appears limited to Chechnya, with the Russian LGBTQ network offering transit out of the republic, but this will not assure their safety. A similar crackdown against gays is now being carried out in Azerbaijan.

We expect the 2017 campaign will have accomplished its goal of terrifying Chechnya's LGBTQ community, driving members away or deeper underground. The campaign's predicted success is just another sign that Putin will allow human rights to be violated with impunity, especially in the North Caucasus. It's unclear how far such a campaign will spread.

9. "Uzbek Spring"

Uzbek President Shavkat Mirziyoyev has undertaken initiatives that could lead to significant opening of Central Asia's most populous and geopolitically significant country. A border agreement with Kyrgyzstan and currency convertibility have been followed by still-tentative efforts to increase judicial independence, reduce child and forced labour in the cotton fields



Russian President Vladimir Putin, shown here with Chinese President Xi Jinping, is expected to seek another six-year term in March 2018.

and open the media. Certainly the Uzbek leadership is on a "charm offensive" with the west, and is seeking greater inclusion in the global community. Still, thousands of political activists remain imprisoned and civil society is weak.

Uzbek political decision-making remains opaque, and we can only guess at the relative strength of reformers versus conservatives at the top. The country faces enormous challenges, and instability in Afghanistan might act as a brake to reform. Still, this is the first time this century that a degree of optimism for a more open Uzbekistan is warranted.

Uzbekistan will proceed with great caution in 2018, in the hopes that engagement will boost economic performance.

Significant moves to a more democratic society will be postponed. The fallout from the New York City attacks by an Uzbek who pledged loyalty to ISIS is, as yet, unclear.

10. Two presidential elections

Geographical neighbours and political rivals, Armenia and Azerbaijan,

whose relationship has been spoiled by the unresolved territorial dispute over Nagorno-Karabakh, will both hold presidential elections in 2018. In Armenia, term-limited President Serzh Sargsyan will have to step down. Another leader will steer constitutional reform in Armenia towards a parliamentary republic, balance relations with its Russian patron and the west and continue to stall ne-

gotiations over Nagorno-Karabakh. In Azerbaijan, President Ilham Aliyev will no doubt win his fourth consecutive term. Reports of rampant government corruption have provoked outcries, but the regime of the oil-rich country has proven capable of cracking down on real or perceived opposition.

As the leader of the popular Republican Party of Armenia, Sargsyan will retain a crucial role in the country's political life in 2018. In Azerbaijan, political continuity is virtually assured, yet there remains the risk that nationalist rhetoric during the electoral campaigns will affect further dialogue between the two countries as violent incidents mount along the Nagorno-Karabakh border.

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Europe's outlook 2018: Anybody's guess



The trend towards separatism in Europe will continue, but only Catalonia, whose supporters are shown above, represents a real risk.

By *Ferry de Kerckhove*

There are two factors shaping Europe's outlook for the coming year: what comes out of the Trump world and what comes out of, or into, Europe. Which of the exogenous variables will be the most defining is anyone's guess. Migrants, Brexit and regional separatism will all play into the unfolding drama of 2018. To that end, 10 predictions follow.

1. The migrants

Europe will continue to endure the consequences of the refugee crisis stemming from the catastrophic 2011 decision by NATO to intervene in Libya and, while numbers may abate, intra-European co-operation will improve only slightly.

While the aftermath of the Arab Spring brought a steady flow of refugees to Europe, it was in 2014 that the increase in

arrivals from Libya started rupturing the unity of the European approach to managing the refugee crisis. This eventually led to an agreement with Turkey whereby the latter would be paid for keeping the bulk of refugees from the Middle East, thus allowing a selection process by individual European countries on some form of a quota system that was rejected by most Eastern European illiberal leaders. Germany, for its part, will continue to bravely absorb its million-plus newcomers, hoping for as few terrorist acts as possible. Thus, most efforts in 2018 will focus on establishing an integrated European immigration policy — a real Sisyphus rock. A return to stronger economic growth could, however, make a difference.

2. European political trends

The populist right is not going away and 2018 will see continuing waves of popu-

lism. While stopped in France by a political system with two rounds of voting and surprisingly so in the Netherlands by a brilliant campaign by the eventual winner, Mark Rutte, the right ate a big chunk of Angela Merkel's stature and it once again threatens Italy. It has smartly created an ugly parallel between the increase in migrant flows, terrorism, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and membership in the European Union. This is unlikely to change as long as European governments, despite their countries' diversities, continue to emphasize "assimilation" as opposed to "integration," thus creating resentment among immigrants who were violently uprooted from their historical environment and asked to renounce the past identities they carried with them on their perilous journey. On the other hand, assimilation policies seldom satisfy the far right either, which prefers no migrants to botched assimilation.

3. Brexit

The Brexit process will not achieve the aims set by Britain, but its impact risks deepening the various divides in Europe. The Brexit crisis has to be considered from two vantage points: its economic impact and its consequences for European unity. On the former, the OECD is as clear as it gets: GDP growth in Britain will barely reach 1.6 per cent in 2017 and will slip to just 1 per cent in 2018, with the unemployment rate climbing to 5.3 per cent. It also predicts that British government will fail to “secure a comprehensive free-trade agreement with the rest of the EU by 2019 in a development that would mean a destructive ‘cliff-edge’ Brexit for U.K.,” according to the OECD. But that is only part of the story. The harshness of EU authorities towards Britain in negotiations reflects their concern over the impact of separation on the economic stability and confidence of the amputated group as well as the long-term bearing it will have on the European unification process. Admittedly, Britain’s absence from the Eurozone makes the withdrawal less politically sensitive. But, despite the joint efforts and commitment to the European political project of French President Emmanuel Macron and Germany’s Merkel, supported feebly by the politically erratic Italian regime, Brexit has only deepened the divide between the original EU grouping — born of a “never again” mantra through a deep, abiding commitment to a political construct fostered by economic integration — and the Eastern European group, which chose the EU as the best alternative to the Soviet yoke. The latter, however, had no real concept or commitment towards the supranational concept, as they had just regained their national freedoms. Illiberalism is the consequence of this rejection and 2018 is very unlikely to change any of this.

4. Regional separatism

The trend towards separatism will endure, but only Catalonia represents a real risk. And even its separation is unlikely to happen. The segue to Brexit, of course, is the growing regional separatism that started with Scotland’s failed — for now — independence referendum. Catalonia is not a new phenomenon as evidenced by the extensive contact between various Catalan governments and Quebec, particularly when the Parti Québécois was in power.

There are several reasons underpinning these movements. Often the economic dimension is not the most important one, although in times of economic slowdown,



French President Emmanuel Macron, left, and German Chancellor Angela Merkel, right, take part in the G7 meeting in Taormina, Italy. Merkel will need Macron in 2018 as an EU ally.

it adds fuel to a cultural and identity crisis in the face of globalization. A growing climate of uncertainty then leads to questioning of the fundamental relationship

**THE SPECTRE OF EU
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between the rulers and the ruled and the former’s ability to provide answers to problems whose duration exceeds the length of an election. Will 2018 see at least a legitimate process for Catalonia, as Canada eventually implemented for Quebec? Right now, it is objectively clear that the referendum was neither legitimate nor an accurate reflection of the public will. But the way the central government of Madrid handles the crisis could either precipitate

a surge in the independence movement or it will ensure a smooth transition towards a solution that maintains the unity of the country with greater autonomy for the regions. European unity behind Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy will endure as long as the situation doesn’t become unduly violent, in a way reminiscent for many Spaniards of their horrific civil war. This seems unlikely as Spain considers a constitutional change that will allow for independence referendums — the Spanish version of our Clarity Law.

5. The “European idea” unravels

The spectre of EU disintegration appears to loom, but there are good reasons to believe the tide will be reversed. The key question is simple: Can the Macron-Merkel team reverse the tide? Beyond the immediate issue of forming a government after her reduced majority following the September elections, Merkel has partially ceded the leadership of Europe to her French partner, who, just two days after the German election, delivered a 90-minute speech at La Sorbonne dedicated to the European dream. *The Economist* summarized well the quandary for Macron: “Whether Mr. Macron can restore France to centre-stage in the EU after a decade in the chorus depends not just on his plans for Europe, but also on his success at home, reforming a country long seen as

unreformable.” This year will be critical for France and for Macron’s commitment to “force a new alignment along a different fault line, one that lies between those sympathetic to an open society and those tempted by nationalism, Euroscepticism and identity politics,” *The Economist* continues. One of the most telling comments on Macron came from a friend of his who told the French publication *l’Opinion* that Macron’s “roots are on the progressive centre-left” and they “reconciled themselves to the market economy.” The irony of the French is the existential contradiction between their embrace of capitalism and an unabashed dislike for the free market.

Were France and Germany to join forces on the key components of Macron’s massive program for a “sovereign, united and democratic Europe,” 2018 could be a better year despite all the issues alluded to above. But the more ambitious it is — European defence and security, fiscal and social convergence, expansion of the Erasmus program for studying and training abroad, innovation, sustainable development, creating a true economic and monetary power and more — the greater the risk of disillusionment.

6. 2018 Italian elections

The right is back and former prime minister Silvio Berlusconi is not dead. A general election is due early next year and the recent decisive victory of Gov. Nello Musumeci, a member of Berlusconi’s Forza Italia, underscores the continued popularity of Berlusconi and the renewed strength of the right in Italy. While Berlusconi will never again regain power — he was banned for life for tax fraud — his party will do well next year because he managed to bring together different streams of the right, thus possibly rekindling domination by the man known as “Il Cavaliere” in Italian politics. This makes it all the more likely that the other parties’ divisions are unlikely to heal in 2018.

7. Ukrainian stalemate

There will be no progress here as U.S. President Donald Trump will be increasingly preoccupied with retaining the presidency and Russian President Vladimir Putin will focus on his own re-election. As a frozen conflict in the heart of Eastern Europe, mainly manned by various mercenary forces in the pay of Russia, very little is happening. Negotiations resumed for a while; Putin allowed for UN Peacekeepers in Eastern Ukraine — a seemingly odd proposal that further internationalizes the

conflict, unless it was designed to diminish the role of the real player. Very rapidly things went “south” and there were talks of a break in diplomatic relations. Meanwhile, the west prides itself in achieving



Our writer predicts Polish President Andrzej Duda, shown here, will succeed in altering Jaroslaw Kaczynski’s Law and Justice Party’s illiberalist agenda.

NATO reinforcement and assurances in the Baltic region. Yet, as Washington-based national security analyst Anthony Cordesman of Chicago points out, “political masters do not seem ready to address the reality that today’s Russia is asserting itself in increasingly threatening ways.”

8. Poland’s prediction

A risky prediction for 2018: President Andrzej Duda will succeed in altering the Jaroslaw Kaczynski-led Law and Justice Party’s illiberalist agenda. Reforms proposed firing members of the Supreme Court and politicizing the justice system. Duda’s success in this will depend on the president ensuring a successful passing and implementation of the legislation countering the government’s power to remove and name judges at will.

9. Theresa May’s tenuous survival

There are strong possibilities that British Prime Minister Theresa May will be ousted before the end of 2018. *The Sunday Times* newspaper recently indicated that 40 Conservative MPs were ready to call for her resignation. This goes beyond the

Brexit negotiations. Resentment against her for having needlessly gambled on the elections, and Boris “aka Brutus” Johnson’s constant behind-the-scenes undermining of her moves, are but two of the many sources of a potential “palace coup” against her. Just eight more opposing MPs would put her into a minority situation and bring her down in a leadership challenge. With two ministers having recently resigned, her government is looking increasingly frail. May’s personal fragility, stemming from her failed gamble on Brexit, was underscored at the last Conservative Party conference. Despite earning the party’s support, her performance left attendees quizzical.

10. The Trump effect

Foreign policy uncertainty caused by Trump and occurring outside or on the margins of the European theatre could affect any progress in Europe’s integration. Four crisis points could be particularly significant: Trump’s bombast on North Korea does not play well in the major capitals of Europe. His non-certification of the Iranian nuclear deal and his commitment to impose further sanctions on Iran will be resisted by the Europeans as long as it does not affect its more than \$700 billion in trade with the U.S. To this double quandary, one should add the confusion and/or policy dearth on the part of the U.S. administration towards the Middle East, which is critical for Europe’s management of the refugee crisis and stability in the Mediterranean. The more the U.S. withdraws from the international stage, the more Europe is left alone in handling the complex relationship with Russia and the Ukraine crisis. The latter is unlikely to see much change.

With maybe too many uncertainties to swallow in one single scoop, it may be useful to restate strongly that, all in all, there are some real hopes (to put it in the words of Herman Van Rompuy, the first president of the European Council) of giving a place to all in the space created by the EU single market, but there’s also a real risk of seeing these hopes shattered, in part by excessive ambitions and needless or avoidable American-driven additional uncertainties.

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The Middle East: Some hope, much despair



Yemen, pictured above, will remain a tragic story of war and destruction in 2018. Assaulted by Saudi military equipment purchased from the U.S., 20.7 million people, including 11.3 million children, are in need of humanitarian assistance and protection.

By *Emily Regan Wills*
and *Nadia Abu-Zahra*

Who would have predicted a missing-in-action Lebanese prime minister, one of the deadliest earthquakes in the world and that Syria would lapget ahead of the U.S. in climate policy by joining the Paris Agreement? Change in the Middle East defies prediction. Political leadership has a tendency to swing from the tedious (such as the 42-year or 30-year leadership terms in Libya and Egypt) to the erratic (such as the execution of Yemen's former president, or the overnight deposing of Saudi royals and locking up of dissenters). In pulling together 10 predictions for the Middle East, we threw our bets behind people-centred trends. Those who suffer for decades — refugees, the impoverished and migrant workers — know that each New Year brings few surprises. But the people of the region are its heartbeat, and inspire us in our research — which is why we focus our predictions on the possibilities of a better life for all of them.

1. Privatization in the Middle East

Privatization will hit energy, water and transport, in a continuation of the trend toward selling off public goods and services. Privatization has already claimed billions of dollars in public assets across the Middle East. Between 1998 and 2008 in Egypt, \$15.7 billion worth of assets were privatized at below-market-value prices. The prediction for 2018 is that Saudi Aramco will go public, likely on the New York Stock Exchange. But more will hit the auction block across the Middle East, including schools, health care, tourism, telecommunications, banks, real estate, foods, steel and — yes — sports teams. Speculation has already begun on interested bidders, such as Tokyo's SoftBank. A long list of conventions and expos will help facilitate this new market that will ultimately build railways, boost entertainment and network banking and financial services. If traditional trade fairs aren't your thing, you could visit Beautyworld, Fitness Middle East (FITME! for short) or Middle East Film & Comic Con featuring "Manga, Comics, Collectibles and more."

2. Syria: A resolution-free endgame

As the Syrian civil war limps into its seventh year, the shape of its endgame is beginning to firm up.

Most regional players have reduced their direct involvement. Saudi Arabia is too focused on Yemen; Qatar has reverted to quiet diplomacy and Turkey is focused on its own territorial security and the Kurdish question.

Russia and Iran will continue to support Syrian President Bashar al-Assad and his local allies. The Islamic State and similar groups will continue to lose territory and traction and the popular opposition will continue to be politically and militarily marginalized.

Eventually, the al-Assad government will rule over a Syria whose population, infrastructure and social fabric have been destroyed, not least by its own forces. But neither militant groups nor the advocates for democracy and open civil society will be satisfied by this conclusion, so the fundamental conditions that launched the war will remain and provide the seeds of future conflict.

3. Hard-fought intense elections

Libya, Bahrain and Lebanon are due for parliamentary elections. There are presidential elections in Egypt and general elections in Iraq in 2018. Each state is dealing with various forms of instability that may come to the forefront in these races. But don't expect these elections to tell you everything you need to know about politics in those countries. Because of the limited space for parliaments to act in most Arab countries, the actual composition of the parliament doesn't matter very much when it comes to what actions the government takes. Political elites will fight hard against each other for slightly bigger pieces of the pie, but executive powers will continue to dominate, within the constraints of the military and security infrastructures. Meanwhile, most citizens will be focused on livelihood issues and personal freedoms. The real elections worth watching are at the municipal level, which can be surprisingly good tests of political sentiment, such as 2017's Beirut Madinati slate of nonpartisan, technocratic candidates, which nearly beat the establishment in the Beirut municipal elections.

4. Mobility restrictions

This is one prediction we wish would not come true for 2018, but is the most likely of all. Have you ever applied for an "exit" visa? If not, you have yet to experience a key limitation faced by millions across the Middle East. Israel, for example, controls the free movement of 4.8 million Palestinians, including nearly 2 million in the Gaza Strip, most of whom may never be allowed to leave the 365-square-kilometre zone. But Israel is not alone in restricting movement: Lebanon is infamous for its internal checkpoints, particularly for refugees, and most states in the region impose exit visas on citizens and visitors. The costs of these restrictions are mounting. In 2017 in Libya alone, more than 400 bodies have been recovered from among those trying to reach Europe by sea because they had no legal means of migrating.

5. Entrepreneurship on the rise

It's been a rough few years for social change in the Middle East. Social movements have lost momentum and exhaustion is pervasive. For disillusioned university graduates who want change, entrepreneurship seems like a way to make a difference (and a living). With an emphasis on disruption, responsiveness and novelty, clusters such as the Beirut Digital District, Le15 in Tunis, Flat6Labs in Cairo and 212 Limited in Istanbul are sup-



In Beirut, Syrian artist Hello Psychaleppo works in the electro-tarab genre, mixing traditional Arab instruments with pounding club backbeats. Indie music will remain major part of the economic and social life in the Middle East and across the Arab world.

porting a flurry of new ventures in tech and other sectors. Social entrepreneurship is particularly hot, including ventures such as marketing traditional crafts to urban hipsters (Cairo's GebRaa), recycling waste into hip furniture (Beirut's 2B Design), or offering traditional agricultural products and heirloom seeds together with contemporary design (Beit Sakhir's El Beir Art and Seeds). Within the bounds of profit incentives and government constraints, entrepreneurship provides opportunities for social engagement while ducking some of the political challenges facing social change.

6. "Ripped from the headlines"

The peak television season in the Middle East is Ramadan, when channels run 30-part series, one episode per evening. (The rest of the year is reruns and reality TV, for the most part.) *Musalsalat* (a genre often translated as "soap opera," but which includes what westerners might think of as prestige drama, as well as comedy-drama) are the prime players in this race, and each channel wants to get the biggest stars, the most elaborate premise and the most viewers. It's a safe bet that 2018's crop of *musalsalat* will focus on political relevance and topical drama. Last year's hits included the second round of *El Gama'a*, about the history of the Muslim

Brotherhood, and *Al Haiba*, which focused on smuggling along the Lebanon-Syria border. Next year? Who knows, but it will definitely be relevant, and it will keep people talking long after Eid.

7. Indie music goes back to its roots

Everyone knows the shiny spectacle of the Middle Eastern culture industry: Film industries, amusement parks, opera houses, stadiums, racetracks for cars and camels alike and thousands of other entertainment options have been a focus of state and private investment and are a major part of the economic and social life of the region. But so is a flourishing indie music scene, with performers working in genres from heavy metal to hip-hop. The trend in indie music has traditional musical roots. In Beirut, Syrian artist Hello Psychaleppo works in the "electro-tarab" genre, mixing traditional Arab instruments with pounding club backbeats in the interest of inspiring *tarab*, a climactic feeling of musical ecstasy. Meanwhile, in Istanbul, BaBa ZuLa mixes psychedelia with ancient rhythms and instruments to celebrate the country's pre-Islamic, pre-Christian heritage. Can't get to the club scene to check it out live? Try Mideast Tunes, a platform featuring dozens of bands in dozens of genres from all over the region, to find a new favourite.



Money is flowing in the Middle East, with companies such as Quebec's Bombardier scoring a \$1.1-billion deal selling C Series jetliners to Egypt.

8. Hungry and homeless

Across the Middle East, the situation is particularly dire for those subject to ongoing military repression. In Yemen, assaulted by Saudi military equipment purchased from the U.S. to the tune of \$100 billion yearly, 20.7 million people (including 11.3 million children) are in need of humanitarian assistance and protection.

A second wave of cholera/acute watery diarrhea, with more than 660,000 cases, covers the country, killing thousands, more than half of whom are children.

Famine, too, has gripped the country, and more than 68,500 children have been treated for malnutrition. More than three million children and pregnant or lactating women with acute malnutrition risk starving to death. In Iraq, 4.2 million are internally displaced, about a quarter in camps and emergency sites. Will 2018 bring solace or survival?

In Palestinian territories, Israeli forces have demolished hundreds of homes and blocked the rebuilding of many previously demolished, causing tens of thousands to be homeless or displaced; 6,200 Palestinians languish as political prisoners, including nearly 300 children.

Mass killings by Israeli forces have been the pattern since September 2000 — accounting for nine in every 10 people killed, and totalling 9,524 Palestinians, including 2,167 children — with almost random events as triggers. The forecasted

shift of the United States embassy to Jerusalem could be one such trigger in 2018.

9. Trading investment for support

The company's tag line reads, "By 2018, Siemens and Egypt will have advanced history." Replace the company and country names, and that could be the true for most any country across the Middle East.

Money is flowing. Military exports from Canada to Egypt jumped 182,873 per cent after the 2013 coup, from less than \$4,000 to more than \$7.2 million (still a fraction of total exports, which were last reported at \$428 million).

Quebec's Bombardier just inked a \$1.1-billion deal to sell jet airliners to Egypt; and another \$4 billion may be on the table for a metro line. Boeing sold \$42 billion in planes to two United Arab Emirates airlines and its defence ministry.

And, taking it with the grains of salt that American journalists have compiled, the claim that Saudi Arabia plans to invest \$110 billion in American arms remains big news for the coming year.

What are the returns on investment? Planes, trains and automobiles, and a gold star from certain Twitter accounts.

10. Openings for democratic action

With so much upheaval and so many displaced people, one of the biggest signs of hope in the region is that, the more open and democratic a country is, the more

likely it is to be welcoming and hospitable to newcomers. Turkey's fragile but hotly contested democracy hosts millions of Syrians and others, who, contrary to common practice in most of the world, are given near equal status with citizens, with freedom of movement and, crucially, freedom of employment. Lebanon's political system may fall short of ideal democracy, but Lebanese and the more than two million Syrian and Palestinian refugees they share their country with have access to a vibrant civil society. Refugees in Tunisia — which had one million at one point — have access to education, health care, language training and employment assistance. Whenever we see openings for civil society action, dialogue and autonomy, we see that citizens and refugees are more able to survive and work together. We may not be able to predict what the progress (or backward movement) for democracy might be this year, but we can hope that openness, free debate and hospitality will become only more common, for both those at home and those displaced.

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Asia: Economic growth; political flux



President Rodrigo R. Duterte, third from left, shown here with other Asian heads of state on the second day of the ASEAN Summit in Laos in 2016, hosted the summit in 2017. U.S. President Donald Trump offered to host talks about tensions in the South China Sea. His offer wasn't accepted.

By Robert D'A. Henderson

In the fall of 2017, there were two events in Asia that will set regional patterns into 2018 and beyond.

First, Chinese President Xi Jinping's secretary-general speech to the 19th Chinese Communist Party Congress in October contained his declaration that he would continue to work toward the "Chinese Dream" of becoming a developed country and that China was "ready to become a leading global power by the mid-21st Century." He further pointed out that China will "always be assertive and strong" while safeguarding its sovereignty, territorial integrity and core interests "because there is no room for compromise."

Second, U.S. President Donald Trump's first trip to Asia in November was a marathon tour covering five countries, including Japan, South Korea, China, Vietnam and the Philippines. He also attended three major regional conferences. Throughout the tour, he called for his "America First" agenda to define the new

geopolitical view of Asia from the Trump White House. Trump has continued to call for bilateral economic agreements from a U.S. position of strength rather than multilateral trading pacts, and for continued security alliances only with his Asia allies paying more for stationed U.S. military forces and increased purchase of U.S. armaments.

1. China: party, economy, environment

The 19th party congress added "Xi Jinping thoughts on socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era" to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) constitution. As *The Economist* editorialized, "his ideological authority is now uncontested. That could make governing smoother, but it increases the chances of bad policymaking and complicates succession."

Even so, there is likely to be a continuing anti-corruption campaign to reduce ongoing state, party and military corruption as well as to purge political critics and possible future internal opposition to his strongman rule. Similarly, People's Liberation Army (the Chinese armed forces)

commanders have pledged their loyalty to and protection of Xi as the chairman of the powerful Central Military Commission. Xi has already declared that the restructuring and modernization of the army, navy, air force and the strategic rocket forces is a primary party and government objective.

Even though its economic growth has slowed compared to the previous two decades, China's economy still needs to pursue technological input while combating its heavy pollution problems. The Chinese government's ambitious "Made in China 2025" plan is intended to achieve global domination in cutting-edge technologies such as super-computers and artificial intelligence within a decade, but this well-funded approach to control emerging "technologies of tomorrow" has worried industrialized countries, including the United States and Japan.

At present, China is dependent on coal-fired plants for 70 per cent of its electricity generation, even as it tries to decrease dependence in an effort to curb pollution. This conflict will have major impacts on its industrial (especially iron

and steel) production and manufacturing and on employment numbers as steel and coal employees are laid off thanks to an increasing shift toward renewable energy sources.

2. China and cross-strait relations

In his speech to the 19th CCP congress, Xi stated that the CCP had “the resolve, confidence and ability to defeat separatist attempts for ‘Taiwan independence’ ... [CCP] will never allow anyone, any organization, or any political party, at any time or in any form, to separate any part of Chinese territory from China.” He later added that the CCP is “ready to share development opportunities on the mainland with our Taiwan compatriots.”

Then, during Trump’s visit to Beijing, Xi stated that Taiwan was the most important and sensitive issue in Sino-U.S. relations. As such, many Taiwanese observers have expressed concern that Trump may use Taiwan as a “bargaining chip” in an overarching Henry Kissinger-inspired “grand bargain” to gain Chinese support in dealing with the North Korean nuclear-missile threat. Trump is also seeking to gain Chinese agreement on concessions to commercially benefit American business in China as well as to reduce the U.S. trade deficit with China.

Direct cross-strait contact at the ministerial level has been cut since President Tsai Ing-wen’s DDP government took power in May 2016, with China constantly attempting to block Taiwan’s participation in international organizations and forums. But recently there was a report of cross-strait co-operation on detecting earthquakes for mutual benefit.

3. Trump’s Indo-Pacific strategy

Prior to Trump’s two-week tour of Asia, H.R. McMaster, his national security adviser, stated that Trump’s trip would focus on three regional goals: “First, strengthening international resolve to denuclearize North Korea; second, [promoting] a free and open Indo-Pacific region; third, [advancing] American prosperity through fair and reciprocal trade and economic practices.”

This reflected the Trump White House’s security and economic concerns in Asia. Upending former president Barack Obama’s “Pivot to Asia” policy, Trump’s “America First” agenda appears to be changing the United States’ strategy to focus on a broader Indo-Pacific view from Obama’s Asia-Pacific one. This change has meant reviving the quadrilateral security dialogue grouping of Australia, India, Ja-



China is pursuing technological advances and economic liberalization while combating pollution and other environmental problems.

pan and the United States to more closely co-ordinate their security and economic planning in the Asian region. Some observers see it as a regional financial and infrastructure counter to China’s One Belt, One Road development initiative in Asia.

4. War on the Korean Peninsula?

Trump, with his unscripted public statements and his Twitter account, and North Korean President Kim Jung-un’s public insults via the KCNA state media will

**NORTH KOREA WILL
CONTINUE TO STALL
FOR TIME TO FURTHER
DEVELOP AN EFFECTIVE
LONG-RANGE BALLISTIC
MISSILE CAPACITY.**

continue a “war of words” into 2018. But is there a risk of war breaking out? Trump has declared that the U.S. is not at war with North Korea, despite the latter’s nuclear weapons and ballistic missile tests.

It has been suggested that there are three possible sparks for a conflict to break out between the United States and North Korea. First would be a declaration of war by North Korea and/or the launch of

ballistic missiles at American territories, forces or allies, or even an artillery attack against South Korea. Second is a North Korean detonation of a nuclear device into the atmosphere or from a missile launch into the Western Pacific. But, rather than being against international laws of war, this would be against international laws on the global environment with the resultant radioactive fallout pollution. The third possibility is the shooting down of a U.S. aircraft in international airspace (beyond the 12-nautical-mile territorial sea area) as happened in 1969 when North Korea shot down an American reconnaissance aircraft. There was no American counter-strike due to concerns about Chinese and then-Soviet communist reactions.

Despite increasingly harsh political and economic sanctions, North Korea will continue to stall for time to further develop an effective long-range ballistic missile capacity and re-entry nuclear warheads — basically becoming a nuclear weapons state with a nuclear deterrent to the perceived threat from the United States. The security tensions that North Korea is creating will carry long-term consequences for the Asian region into 2018 and beyond. Its missile and nuclear weapons threat could push South Korea and Japan to seek to acquire nuclear weapons as national protection against a potential attack from the North. But South Korea’s new president, Moon Jae-in, has said his country would not seek nuclear weapons nor would it recognize North Korea as a nuclear-weapons state. In February 2018, the International Winter Olympics will be held in Pyeongchang (South Korea) just 80 kilometres south of the demilitarized zone between North and South Korea. This could be an instance for another North Korean provocation.

During Trump’s November visit to South Korea, three U.S. Nimitz nuclear carrier groups worked with Japanese self-defence and South Korean naval ships in the Sea of Japan — allied preparedness exercises that Kim has called American preparations for an invasion of the North. At the same time, members of the U.S. Congress have called for hearings into Trump’s mental stability and authority to order pre-emptive military action including nuclear strikes against North Korea under the current War Powers Act.

5. South China Sea tensions

As Xi stated at the 19th party congress, China would “never allow ... [others to] separate any part of Chinese territory from China.” This national policy has been

applied to the islands, reefs and shoals in the South China Sea claimed by China. Since late 2013, China has pursued extensive land reclamation and military base construction on a number of these sea outcrops. While there are counter claims for many of the outcrops, China has been able to quiet many regional complaints with sizable investment deals and arms sales. In addition, ASEAN and China have announced that talks on completing a code of conduct in the South China Sea will start in 2018.

Perhaps not surprising, China has unveiled a new dredging ship with enhanced capabilities to create further new islands in the contested waters. The dredging ship has been described as a “magical island-maker,” suggesting extensive further island building in the future — something that the Trump White House has opposed verbally and with naval “freedom of navigation” sail-bys. China is also constructing a series of floating nuclear power reactors for deployment near South China Sea islets for electricity generating, desalination plants and defence facilities.

At the November ASEAN summit, Xi downplayed concerns over China’s military buildup on South China Sea outposts as well as the prospects of conflict in the contested waters. For his part, Trump offered to mediate in the South China Sea disputes — perhaps on the model of U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt’s mediation of the 1905 Russo-Japanese War, resulting in the Treaty of Portsmouth. There were no reports of regional interest in his mediation offer.

6. Japan building anti-missile defences

In his first policy speech since his landslide victory in the snap Japanese election in October, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe announced plans to further build up the country’s military capabilities and to amend its pacifist constitution. He said his government would “strengthen Japanese defence power, including missile defence capabilities, in order to protect the people’s lives and peace.” In his parliamentary Diet speech, Abe promised concrete action to respond to the “escalating provocations” by North Korea’s nuclear weapons testing and its ballistic missile tests in the Northeast Asian region. He pointed to North Korea’s sixth nuclear test earlier in the year as well as two ballistic missile launches that flew over Japan, which he had described as “a national crisis.”

As local tensions have increased along the western areas of Honshu and Hokkaido islands, the Japanese authorities

instituted civil alarm exercises for the possibility of a missile hit. On the night of Nov. 22, reports of a “blue light in the sky” (a burning-up meteorite) yielded many local calls to an emergency security hotline.

Japan’s military spending has increased steadily since Abe took office in 2012. During his November state visit to Japan, Trump urged Abe to buy additional American weapons systems, particularly

7. South Korea: hotlines and defences

South Korean President Moon Jae-in has openly stated that he will continue to seek direct communications with North Korea — with a particular wish to reopen the North-South hotline. But he has also indicated he would not accept a United States-North Korea rapprochement if South Korea is excluded or only dictated to by Trump. He has accepted — and paid



The security tensions that North Korea is creating will carry long-term consequences for the Asian region into 2018 and beyond.

anti-ballistic missile defences, as well as to shoulder a greater portion of the costs of maintaining the U.S. military forces based in the country, as part of their defence alliance. But this has also led to speculation that Trump was pushing for foreign weapons sales to boost American manufacturing jobs and reducing the United States’ trade deficit.

Abe’s ruling coalition secured a two-thirds supermajority in both houses of parliament. This victory will make it easier for him to achieve approval for his defence build-up. He has also said he intends to push forward with changes to the post-war pacifist constitution, but to keep its Article 9 clause, which prevents Japan from waging an offensive war. At present, Japan cannot launch offensive military actions in its own defence. In addition, parliamentary moves to revise the pacifist constitution could trigger hostility from China, North Korea and South Korea given Japan’s history of military aggression during the Second World War in the Asian region.

for — the deployment of U.S. THAAD anti-ballistic missile batteries in response to the continuing missile testing by the North, and will likely buy additional American weapons systems in the future. At the same time, the United States and South Korea have agreed to lift the war-head weight restrictions on South Korean missiles for defence of the South.

For his part, Trump has expressed his desire to sell more weapons systems for South Korea’s self-defence and he’s called upon South Korea to pay more for the U.S. troops stationed there. He has also pushed for a renegotiation of their bilateral free-trade agreement, which he has declared unfavourable to the U.S.

8. Regional economic integration

At the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation forum meeting in Vietnam in November, Trump argued for his “America First” policy for “mutually beneficial commerce” through bilateral trade agreements while condemning multilateral accords in favour of what he called “free and fair” trade for

the U.S. At the same forum, Xi gave a contrasting speech supporting multilateralism and called globalization an “irreversible historical trend.” He went on to state that China would continue to work toward a free-trade area in the Asia-Pacific region. Since the U.S., China and Japan are the three largest economies in the world, Trump’s “America First” trade policy is likely to significantly shift the economic dynamics between the three countries. As a first step, Trump will likely push for India’s inclusion in APEC.

9. China’s regional economic plans

In January 2017, Xi told the World Economic Forum that China should “guide economic globalization.”

Despite Trump’s claims of a successful tour of Asia, many U.S. regional allies remain doubtful about the U.S.’s commitment to security and economic relations. Faced with an American retreat from multilateral economic relations, China has begun filling the void with a number of regional economic initiatives. Its One Belt, One Road Initiative is a development strategy to establish commercial connectivity and co-operation between China, Eurasia and countries along the Indian Ocean — in effect creating an enlarged “Silk Road” trading network between China and Europe. In addition, China has created the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), a development bank for financial lending for infrastructure projects in these regions. China is the single largest stakeholder with 26 per cent of voting rights. Canada joined the AIIB in its second call for member investors. Both of these economic initiatives will continue to advance with regional and country projects in 2018.

China is also pursuing the conclusion of a regional free-trade area in Asia that does not include the United States. It created the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) to link the 10 ASEAN countries with the six countries (China, South Korea, Japan, India, Australia and New Zealand) that have FTAs with ASEAN. Although the RCEP has missed two deadlines for the completion of its negotiations, Trump’s withdrawal of the United States from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) — to which China is not a party — has given new impetus to it being concluded in 2018. The RCEP and the TPP are not mutually exclusive, with many countries being involved in both trade deals. With the United States withdrawing from the TPP, the remaining 11 countries, led by Japan, have been negotiating the



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau was invited by Philippines President Rodrigo Duterte, shown here, to attend the East Asian Summit in Manila.

so-called TPP-11 agreement to improve market access between member countries as well as to follow agreed-to regulatory standards. On the sidelines of the ASEAN summit in Manila, an agreement was reached on the principal clauses, however several issues remain before the pact can be signed. Canada has pushed for the continuing inclusion of human, labour and intellectual property rights.

After Japan, Canada has the largest economy in the TPP-11 grouping. Notably, the Chinese government is closely watching the outcome of the TPP-11 negotiations, perhaps with a view to joining at some point. Similarly, a TPP-11 agreement is likely to provide Canada and Mexico with greater leverage with the United States in the Trump-inspired renegotiation of the trilateral North American Free Trade Agreement that will be ongoing well into mid- or late-2018.

10. Canada’s future voice in Asia

While at the ASEAN Summit in Manila, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau was able to secure an invitation from host Philippines President Rodrigo Duterte to attend and address the East Asian Summit, which takes place on the sidelines of the ASEAN Summit. The East Asian Summit is a larger ASEAN grouping, focused on security concerns. It brings together national leaders from 18 countries, including the United States, China and Russia.

In his speech, Trudeau declared that “Canada is deeply committed to multilateral institutions and fora, and the East Asia Summit is an important one in an extremely compelling and growing region of the world.” Later, he said the East Asia Summit “has become the central place for discussing Pacific issues.” But it will

remain to be seen if Canada will receive a future invitation to attend the 2018 summit meeting when it is hosted by Singapore — or even to become a forum member state.

In pursuit of his Asia strategy, Trudeau visited Beijing in late 2017 to discuss launching talks on a free-trade agreement between Canada and China. But, according to media reports, agreement could not be reached on the Canadian insistence for labour and environmental safety rights to be included and no date was set for the start of talks.

The Trudeau government has been making major efforts to raise Canada’s international profile and demonstrate it can make significant contributions to help solve the complicated problems in the world today. Many observers have suggested that this is part of a wider campaign by his Liberal government within the international community to obtain one of the 10 non-permanent, two-year seats on the United Nations Security Council. Elected by UN General Assembly members, Canada last held a non-permanent Security Council seat in 2000.

In November, Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland announced that Canada and the U.S. would co-host an international conference on North Korea. Intended to find a non-military solution to the crisis on the Korean Peninsula, the meeting — to be attended by an estimated 20 nuclear powers and regional countries — is being planned for early 2018 in Canada.

Before retiring, Robert D’A. Henderson taught international relations at several universities. He currently does international assessments and international elections monitoring.

Canada and the U.S.: Trade tremours



In his ongoing efforts to “make America great again,” U.S. President Donald Trump will continue to attack particular sections of NAFTA.

By *Melissa Haussman*

Looking ahead at what to expect from the U.S. and Canada in 2018 means thinking about the concepts of “disconnect” and attempts to make connections. For the U.S., a disconnect is likely to continue between political institutions and constituents. That disconnect will also continue with Canada bilaterally and with many countries — thanks to American isolationism — multilaterally. Canada will likely offer a counterpoint to the disconnect theme through the federal government’s attempts to connect the political dots domestically, bilaterally and multilaterally.

1. Status quo for U.S. House

The U.S. House of Representatives will stay majority Republican after the November 2018 mid-term elections. The current House is made up of 241 Republicans and 194 Democrats. It would be a superhuman feat for Democrats to capture 47 more seats in the mid-terms. Such large-scale changes in the House membership

rarely happen, though they’re not unheard of. The mid-term 1974 elections after Watergate saw the Democrats pick up 49 seats and, in 1994, the Republicans picked up 54 seats. What makes the 1994 results relevant and portend difficulty for “flipping” the House to Democratic control in 2018 is that the Republican success in 1994 was based on converting 19 “Solid South” (read Democratic) seats to their column. They have held those seats ever since.

2. Senate changes coming

Democrats will pick up seats in the Senate. In 2018, the Democrats will be defending 23 Senate seats (plus the two independent seats held by Bernie Sanders of Vermont and Angus King of Maine, who caucus with the Democrats) versus eight for the Republicans. Two of the eight seats are now “open seat” contests due to retirements by senators Robert Corker of Tennessee and Jeff Flake of Arizona. It is also likely that if Roy Moore wins the Alabama seat, the Senate will expel him, as it has already promised to do. Current Arizona House member Kyrsten Sinema is run-

ning for Flake’s seat. Another vulnerable Republican is Dean Heller from Nevada, so the Democrats could potentially make the Senate a 50-50 match after the 2018 elections.

3. Gerrymandering won’t go away

Gerrymandering has a storied history in the U.S., with early contentious examples coming from the efforts of constitutional founding father Elbridge Gerry to retain his position as governor of Massachusetts after he was first elected in 1810.

When former Massachusetts congressman and U.S. House speaker Thomas “Tip” O’Neill stated that “all politics are local,” he was confirming constitutional reality. Strangely, in the world of long-standing democracies, the U.S. gives the state legislatures the power to decide the “times, places and manner of holding elections for (national) senators and representatives.”

The unbreakable tie between state- and regional-level politicians and their national counterparts in Congress is furthered by the fact that U.S. House

representation is counted in the electoral college formula relating to presidential elections. Senate representation is also included, but U.S. Senate “districts” are simply the states. Since the party system is integrated in the U.S. (state parties are part of the national party and attend the presidential conventions every four years) another rigid tie between the politics of the local, regional and national is formed. Finally, the U.S. House has been fixed at 435 elected representatives. This makes the redistricting process a zero-sum game, in which certain regions/states lose House members (and thus clout in the electoral college) and others gain. All of these factors combine to institutionalize the hyper-partisan and local nature of U.S. politics.

The fundamental questions around gerrymandering continue to preoccupy state and federal court justices and legislators. They include the question of “one man one vote” (brought to the Supreme Court’s attention in the 1946 *Colegrove v. Green* case), based on the issue of whether legislative districts are drawn to be as equal in population as possible. In this case, the Supreme Court held that questions of legislative district size were not open to court review, but rather belonged in the political branch, the state legislature. A progeny of Supreme Court cases, mainly from the South, followed in the 1960s to show that districts were drawn with the specific intent of disenfranchising the African-American population. In the 1962 landmark case, *Baker v. Carr*, the Supreme Court agreed that the Tennessee legislature’s electoral map was discriminatory, violating the 14th Amendment’s promise that “no State shall... deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.” The current four liberal justices on the Supreme Court continue to view voting rights in the mode of equal protection.

The gerrymandering issue will be of political interest and will have staying power through the 2022 U.S. elections — the first House elections after the next redistricting. Unfortunately, questions about race-based districts have not gone away. They have become more complex, given their intertwined nature with partisan politics, whereby Democratic-leaning districts are often viewed as more minority-friendly, while suburban and rural districts are more often those favouring Republicans.

The case of *Whitford v. Gill*, in which Wisconsin Democrats argue the Republican legislature has unfairly drawn the districts to reward incumbents such as

U.S. House Speaker Paul Ryan, is currently before the Supreme Court. Unlike the liberal justices, the four conservative justices typically deny that the courts should be involved in the “politics” of redrawing electoral districts. The swing vote, as usual, is that of Anthony Kennedy. He usually views cases through the lens of First Amendment protections of free speech. Knowing this, the Whitford challengers have resurrected an argument from an earlier case about partisan gerrymandering — the 2004 case *Vieth v. Jubelirer* — in which Kennedy supported a “limited and precise rationale to correct an established violation of the Constitution in some redistricting cases.” The *Vieth* case was brought by Pennsylvania Democrats against the Republican Party, but the Supreme Court did not find that example of gerrymandering so “egregious” that it needed to tell Pennsylvania to come up with a different solution.

Thus, on partisan gerrymandering, nobody currently knows what the limits are. If challengers in Whitford are successful, they will have to do so by convincing Kennedy that the Wisconsin example is egregious enough for the Supreme Court to rule on it. Since Kennedy does not tend to favour equal protection reasoning to the same extent as the liberal justices, he would have to be persuaded on the grounds that Democrats do not have the same degree of “free speech” in their electoral processes in Wisconsin as Republicans. Lest we think that is a completely irrelevant point, we need to remember that all cases on campaign finance in the U.S. since the 1970s have turned on the allowable degree of curtailment of “free speech” by limits on spending money. The Supreme Court, most recently in *Citizens’ United* (2010), has viewed most limits as unconstitutional abridgements of free speech.

4. Where *Whitford v. Gill* will end up

It is unlikely that Kennedy will be persuaded that the Wisconsin scheme is any worse at favouring Republicans than the Pennsylvania one was. One piece of evidence to suggest this is that he was the fifth vote (joining the conservative bloc) to strike down part of the most comprehensive equal protection for minority voters, the 1965 *Voting Rights Act*, in the 2013 *Shelby County v. Holder* case reaching the Supreme Court from Alabama. The act required nine states included in its “coverage” formula, which had historically excessively low minority registration rates, to submit any potential changes in

its voting procedures to the federal government (either the Department of Justice or a federal court) before it implemented them. The pre-clearance requirement applied to any such changes, ranging from moving a polling place to redrawing electoral districts. The preclearance language of Section 4 (b) of the Voting Rights Act applied to Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia and municipal and county elections in other states, including New York. In the Shelby County case, the five-member majority agreed with the state of Alabama that the state by state requirement of pre-clearing all voting administration changes was too onerous and relied on “outdated data.” Thus, given Kennedy’s agreement that equal protection in voting rights imposed too high a burden on states, it seems unlikely that he will favour the Democratic challenge to the Wisconsin voting laws in the Whitford case.

5. No favours for Democrats

In related fashion, the partisan composition of state legislatures and governorships will not change in enough time to make gerrymandering favour the Democrats in 2022. Republicans currently control both legislatures in 26 states, while Democrats control both legislatures in six states. Based on the 2016 election, all Southern state legislatures are Republican-controlled for the first time in U.S. history. Thirty-three governorships are held by Republicans, while 16 states have Democratic governors. There simply is not enough time for Democrats to undo the Republican trajectory of decades past to change the state legislative (and thus U.S. House) map for 2022.

6. Anti-trade rhetoric continues

President Donald Trump will continue his anti-free-trade rhetoric with Canada and Mexico when it comes to NAFTA and with several multilateral players, many of them in Asia, on the TPP. Voters in Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, who voted overwhelmingly for Trump in 2016, were engaging in an extraordinary denial of the facts. As a recent Statistics Canada report noted, “if Michigan were a country, it would be Canada’s second-largest trading partner (ahead of China).” Similarly, Michigan has been Canada’s top trading partner in the U.S. since 1990.

Illinois is the second-top trading state with Canada. While auto trade (based on the Auto Pact of 1965) was strong pre-NAFTA, the auto industries of the

U.S. (including Michigan and Ohio) were further integrated with that of Canada and Mexico under NAFTA. The Statistics Canada report also stated that Canadian imports from the U.S. increased 56 per cent between 1992 and 1995.

While candidate Trump talked about job losses “under NAFTA,” most informed accounts point to the fact that manufacturing in the bulk of OECD countries had been surpassed by service sector jobs by the 1980s. The OECD data show that more than 60 per cent of economic activity is accounted for by the service sector in the majority of its countries. It has also been pointed out that some auto jobs have been lost to off-shoring and automation, neither of which is related to NAFTA.

7. NAFTA sections remain under threat

In 2018, Trump will continue his NAFTA-bashing with respect to particular sections. He does not like the NAFTA Chapter 19 “extraordinary challenges” procedure, since, under this framework, decisions in softwood lumber cases have come down along national lines, with the Canadian majority on the committee finding that the U.S. Commerce Department had discriminated against the softwood industry by imposing countervailing duties on Canadian softwood lumber imports.

Similarly, Trump, consistent with prior history, has hoped to get Canada to dismantle the supply management system of its dairy industry and its high tariffs against U.S.-produced milk. However, as Scott Gordon notes in a WisCONTEXT article, nearly one third of Wisconsin’s exports are to Canada, its single-highest market abroad. While dairy is a large component of Wisconsin’s exports to Canada, it is complemented by items such as paper products and chemicals, according to Gordon. Like other states, the Wisconsin vote for Trump seems to have been a counterfactual exercise.

8. Canada-U.S. trade spats

In 2018, Canada is likely to win the Bombardier-Boeing dispute at the U.S.-based International Trade Commission. Related to the Trump administration’s aggressive launching of an unprecedented number of anti-dumping and countervailing duty Commerce Department investigations (65 in total between January and September — a 48-per-cent increase) were the Commerce Department’s October actions against Bombardier. These included 80-per-cent anti-dumping duties and 220-per-cent countervailing duties. Under WTO rules, Boeing has strangely claimed

“material injury” from the planned sale of C Series Bombardier jets to Delta Airlines, despite the fact that Boeing has no direct competitor to this plane. As Delta stated, Boeing stopped making the 717 jet — the C Series’ closest competitor — more than a decade ago, and “could only offer Delta

wood ones with Canada.

10. The great wall of Trump

As with most campaign pledges, current and historical realities are more complicated and more wall-building seems unlikely in 2018. The truth is the U.S. has



Under NAFTA’s Chapter 19 “extraordinary challenges” procedures, decisions on softwood lumber cases have favoured Canada, whose legal team argued that the U.S. Commerce Department has discriminated against Canada’s softwood lumber industry by imposing countervailing duties.

used Embraer jets from Brazil,” according to Bloomberg. In the meantime, Brazil has filed a WTO claim against Bombardier on behalf of Embraer, likely hoping to make the Bombardier option more expensive than the used Embraer jets, which could be sold to Delta Airlines.

9. Canada: A trade leader

The Canadian government will continue to exert pressure against bullying trade practices by the U.S. Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau have tied Canada’s potential purchase of F-18 fighter jets from Boeing to a removal of the high tariffs against Bombardier’s C Series sale to Delta. Similarly, since Trump has withdrawn the U.S. from TPP negotiations and gave a highly selective view of its future participation in APEC at the November 2017 summit, it seems that Canada is poised to become the North American leader in the TPP and at APEC. It is also anticipated that the U.S. will try to trade dairy concessions for soft-

been beefing up this border wall since 1994. Early efforts, supported by Bill Clinton and his Republican-dominated Congress, called for increasing border patrol units and border fencing. This continued, most notably through the 2006 Secure Fence Act, passed by a Republican Congress, but supported by several Democratic senators, including Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama. The act directed Homeland Security to build two-layered fencing along 1,370 kilometres. The 1,125 fenced kilometres, built before cost-savings edicts kicked in, mean that one third of the border is already fenced. Congress authorized no new money in its most recent budget and the vast majority of Americans, when asked, favour increased human border patrols, not walls.

Melissa Haussman is a professor of political science at Carleton University. She is the author of *Reproductive Rights and the State* (2013) and is co-editor of the *International Journal of Canadian Studies*.

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Africa: Not much reason for optimism



Civil war will continue to rage in South Sudan, from which this warrior hails, as well as the Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo and Libya. South Sudan is only a seven-year-old republic and has been consumed by conflict between its politicians about oil revenues.

Robert I. Rotberg

Terrorism, civil conflict, global warming, population growth, urbanization, education, economic sustainability, managing China, strengthening leadership and improving governance are Africa's 10 most pressing problems as 2018 unfolds. None of these acute challenges is new, but 2018 will see each of them become more central to Africa's ability to improve the standards of living and social outcomes of its myriad citizens.

1. Terrorism

Gripped tightly by the vise of al-Qaeda in the Maghreb (AQIM), Boko Haram, al-Shabaab and the Islamic State (ISIS), Africa will continue in 2018 to battle fundamentalist Muslim insurgencies that seem resistant for many reasons to the vigorous attempts by local militaries, American, British and French counter-terror efforts; and the United Nations' and the African Union's peacekeeping and peace-imposing forces, to reduce the territories

they control and the mayhem they inflict, mostly on civilians.

Originally, each of these movements of terror may have been inspired ideologically by Salafist and other fundamentalist Islamic doctrines and clerics. Boko Haram began, for example, as a backward-looking opponent of western (i.e., modern) education, and as a nihilistic critic of virtually all other conventional secular practices in the Muslim states of northern Nigeria.

Shabaab emerged out of the defeated shell of Somalia's Organisation of Islamic Courts (OIC), an umbrella grouping of a patchwork of local sharia courts that had sprung-up, willy nilly, in the absence of any national law-enforcing mechanisms. When invading Ethiopian troops destroyed the vigilante troops of the OIC, the radicalized militant youth wing of the sharia movement (Shabaab means "youngsters") gradually regrouped in southern Somalia. It subsequently became a formidable and well-armed instrument of terror. Some now have links to ISIS.

AQIM grew in the Sahel — the swath

of very loosely governed savannah at the southern edge of the great Sahara Desert that extends from Mauritania to the Sudan — out of an amalgam of disaffected Algerian, Malian and Nigerian local movements that unified under the globalist al-Qaeda banner (sometimes allied also to ISIS) and turned to al-Qaeda central for financial support. Ideological adherence to al-Qaeda's Islamist preachings came later.

Followers of ISIS also menace sections of Libya and Tunisia and attack Egypt in the Sinai Peninsula.

Each of these movements morphed rapidly from being ideologically driven to being primarily motivated by profiteering. All turned to kidnapping for ransom, smuggling and narcotics trafficking. Whatever real Islamist leanings their founders may have had were soon overtaken, and consumed, by rather straightforward attempts to first control the charcoal trade of Somalia to Saudi Arabia and then Yemen (al-Shabaab), and then to become the foremost transshipper of heroin from Afghanistan and India to Europe (al-Shabaab).

AQIM first kidnapped and sought ransoms, and then exerted control over narcotics trafficking (primarily cocaine) across the Sahara, from Timbuktu to Tunis and Algiers, and then to Europe. Hence came the bitter battles for Timbuktu, Gao and Kidal in northern Mali and raids by AQIM into Burkina Faso and Niger. Boko Haram kidnapped, too, and gained territorial control in Nigeria's Borno State in order to extort taxes and foodstuffs in kind and now trafficks heroin, cocaine and meth northward to AQIM and Europe.

These are mercenary efforts that employ suicide bombers, trucks filled with explosives, attacks on refuge

es and refugee camps and sorties against convoys and army patrols to protect trading monopolies and extend loci of power. They intimidate civilians, bribe border patrols and officials, purchase weapons from international purveyors of guns and ammunition (al-Shabaab has acquired drones) and manage for the most part to thrive despite the anti-insurgency efforts of American, British and French special forces; the Nigerian army and AMISOM (the Kenyan-led African Union Mission in Somalia).

In 2018, al-Shabaab is poised to continue bombing Mogadishu, Somalia's beleaguered capital; Boko Haram is capable of resisting Nigerian-Cameroonian-Chadian military actions; and AQIM is able to remain potent despite French and American counter-attacks. Each has the advantage of guerrilla tactics and, hence, the ability to evade direct assaults, drone surveillance and the military penetration of their redoubts. Only applying a tight tourniquet to their profiteering will weaken them; those efforts are unlikely to be successful short of the legalization of drugs in Europe.

2. Civil wars

Civil wars also strike terror into the hearts of civilians, especially in the South Sudan, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Libya. Those seemingly interminable conflicts will continue into 2018 despite United Nations and African Union attempts to intervene.

In South Sudan, a seven-year-old republic that has been consumed for most of its young life by a conflict between President Salva Kiir and his sometime vice-president, Riek Machar, the contest is over spoils from the country's only revenue source — oil. Secondarily, it is an ethnic battle between the dominant Dinka (Kiir's people) and the next most prominent Nuer (Machar's affiliation). Rape, murder

and massacre have been the usual weapons of a vicious war (with many aborted ceasefires and peace agreements) that the UN Mission in South Sudan and African Union negotiators have failed over and over to contain.

Central Africa's civil war is between the Muslim Séléka, from the nation's north, and the Anti-balaka (i.e. anti-AK-47), a Christian/Animist resistance movement from the south and centre of the republic.



This UN peacekeeper serves in the Central African Republic where efforts to quell civil war continue in vain.

After Central Africa's regular government collapsed in 2013, the Séléka took over peacefully. But they persecuted Christians, who rose up to protect themselves. With French military assistance in 2014, the Anti-balaka ousted Séléka, but the civil war continues despite attempts by the UN mission in the Central African Republic to reduce hostilities.

The internal conflicts in the Congo are many. In eastern Congo, especially in North and South Kivu provinces, several local warlord armies battle the national army of Congo under the eyes of the UN Stabilization Mission to the Congo, a large, but so far mostly ineffectual, peacekeeping force. In central Congo, especially in the two Kasai provinces, there is another internal war between local warlords and the central government. Each of these, and other minor Congo conflicts, are struggles to control the exploitation of such mineral resources as gold, diamonds and coltan, a metallic compound needed for the manufacture of such electronics as cellphones and computers.

Libya harbours not one or two, but several conflicts between coastal mini-city-states, some affiliated with ISIS and al-Qaeda, some linked to the official (but locally disregarded) national government and

some tied to a warlord with power in the eastern region. Ultimately, these civil wars are about profits from onshore petroleum deposits, but they are interminably about imposing local taxes and other kinds of extortion.

In all four nations, 2018 will see continuing conflict, much of it brutal.

3. Global warming

The Arctic and Antarctic ice sheets are shrinking, glaciers on Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Kenya in eastern Africa are soon to vanish and the monsoons and intertropical convergence rains that supplied much of Africa's rain-fed agriculture are either receding or becoming impossibly erratic. South Africa's Western Cape Province is running out of water, with rationing imposed. Other parts of the continent are either impossibly dry (the Sahel and the northeast) or impossibly wet.

The consistency on which farming smallholders long relied is gone. Elsewhere, along the western low-lying coasts, rising sea levels are about to inundate major cities such as Conakry, Freetown, Lagos and Port Harcourt. All of these climatically induced problems will continue inexorably into 2018. Africa will suffer the consequences without being able to exert any control over the causes of global warming. Only changes in China and the United States, which will not take place in 2018, can slow the rise in methane and carbon dioxide-induced temperatures.

4. Population growth

Just as global warming is gradual and inexorable in its consequences, so is Africa's dramatic population surge almost too late to arrest. By 2050, the continent's population will double to 2 billion and keep growing throughout the century to 3.6 billion. Africa will follow only Asia.

Within that immense growth, Nigeria will move from the seventh to the third-largest nation on Earth (a forecasted 730 million strong) and Tanzania will become the fifth-largest country (after the United States' 420 million). The Democratic Republic of Congo will become the seventh most populous place after Pakistan and Indonesia.

These unprecedented proliferations of peoples are based on fertility among the poor and least well educated. Poverty alleviation (through the provision of jobs) and the education of girls could still slow these population rises, but probably not substantially before the end of the century.

Such swellings of populations — but not in prosperous and better educated

places such as Botswana, Mauritius, and South Africa — will have severe consequences in 2018 and beyond: Youth bulges, unemployment, crime, pressure on social services, potential food shortages combined with climate changes, shortages of potable water and likely political protests.

5. Urbanization

As population totals rise, more and more rural Africans will move into already congested cities, putting pressure on over-taxed municipal water and sewerage systems. Lagos and Kinshasa will become larger than Cairo.

Urban transport, inadequate in 2018, will become even more of a bottleneck to development. Safety and security in the cities, fragile in 2018, will become more and more problematic as median ages of approximately 28 will remain for much of the century. Furthermore, in 2018, there are too few formal sector jobs to absorb population rises and the outflow into the economy of partially educated or badly educated young people. This explains the continuing massive migration of desperate people from inner Africa across the Sahara to Libya — which already struggles to cope — and Europe. Such problems will engulf 2018 and beyond unless Europe can somehow stem people smugglers or help to create meaningful employment opportunities farther south.

6. Education

Given the fact that about half of all Africans for the next 50 years will be under age 34, educating them well is the best route to greater economic self-sufficiency for all. Educational attainments also exert the biggest impact on birth numbers. But, in 2018, most of Africa will still be spending less than it might on educating its young. There will still be insufficient numbers completing secondary school, especially girls, and too few available post-secondary institutions and places for secondary-school graduates. At present, only 30 per cent of African girls complete secondary school. There are places in university on the continent for only six per cent of all eligible secondary school graduates. Africa's educational crisis, in other words, will remain dire throughout 2018 and well after.

7. Economic development

Since education is one of the key stepping stones to improved national economic performance, it is no wonder Africa's individual national GDPs will continue

to grow more slowly than they must if they ever intend to match or exceed rates of population growth. Economists suggest that economies need to rise by six per cent or so annually if they wish to reduce unemployment. Instead, they are, in most cases, growing at three per cent or so per year. South Africa and Egypt are barely rising. Ethiopia, Rwanda and a few other fortunate polities are reaching seven or more per cent annually. But nearly everywhere, nations and citizens play permanent catch-up and fall farther and farther behind. Breaking out of this low-level poverty trap is one of Africa's critical 2018 challenges and will continue to be indefinitely.

8. Managing China

Managing China is one of the keys to maintaining and possibly improving African GDPs per capita. China's own economic performance is critical to African development. Unless China continues to purchase African raw materials in abundance, Africa cannot grow. So it is Africa's fate to export petroleum and minerals to China. In return, China builds roads, railways, pipelines, ports, hospitals, African Union and various political party headquarters, stadiums, military facilities and other important contributions to national infrastructures. It gives soft loans and sometimes forgives big borrowings. As long as the Afro-Chinese partnership flourishes, Africa can grow. But, a challenge for 2018 and beyond is how to prepare for the time when China cannot or will not continue to purchase African raw materials with the same alacrity. World commodity prices could fall, too. Diversification away from exporting unprocessed products and going in the direction of partial refining and processing, and some greater industrialization, are steps that have eluded African politicians.

9. Strengthening leadership

Coping effectively with all of these difficult challenges will require much more responsible political leadership than African nations have so far enjoyed. Too many heads of state and heads of government are transactional rather than transformational in their approach to governing. That is, they think often about how best to enrich themselves and their families, and how to uplift their own lineages, clans, sub-clans and ethnic groups.

Transformational political leaders are visionaries concerned with benefiting all citizens, regardless of ethnicity or linguistic affiliation. They are people of integrity,

genuinely concerned with improving the lives of their fellow citizens. Transactional leaders mostly care about being re-elected and about satisfying the needs of the groups to which they are most closely affiliated. The war in South Sudan, for example, has resulted from impoverished leadership. So has the dire situation in the Congo and, originally, in such difficult spaces as Somalia.

Political leaders who are repressive represent a special category of problem, both to their citizens and to world order. Egypt, Eritrea and Zimbabwe (even after president Robert Mugabe's enforced resignation) are egregious examples of this malaise, with conditions in Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Equatorial Guinea, the Sudan, Togo and Uganda also of serious concern.

If the 54 nations of Africa are going to begin to surmount their many challenges in 2018 and later, consummate broad-based, Mandela-like political leaders will be essential.

10. Improved governance

Only nationally minded political leaders of honesty and ability can deliver better services to their citizens. Providing such results means improved governmental performance, or "good governance." Those essential services range from keeping citizens safe and secure to providing substantial rules of law; political participation; platforms for economic sustainability; and such human development prerequisites as schools, hospitals, clean water, roads and access to broadband and mobile telephone networks. Only 10 or so African countries are well-governed today. The remaining 40-plus need the urgent care and attention that only better political leadership can provide.

What almost all of Africa requires is reductions in corruption — a painful problem for nearly all of the continent — attention to judicial independence, better crime prevention, infrastructural upgrades and more macro-economic deregulation. If more African countries can make progress in 2018, especially in combating corruption and other problems, Africans will benefit and 2018 will be a less painful year for the growing continent than is forecast.

Robert I. Rotberg's most recent book is *The Corruption Cure: How Leaders and Citizens Can Combat Graft* (Princeton University Press, 2017). He also edited the most recent special issue of the *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*. It is devoted to Canadian corruption.

Latin America: An economic recovery in sight



Latin America currently exports mainly natural resources and people. Mexicans, such as those pictured here, sent home remittances of \$42 billion in 2016. U.S. President Donald Trump is determined to reduce the number of Mexicans illegally entering the U.S.

By Pablo Heidrich

Latin America will enter 2018 on the path to economic recovery from a long recession after the end of the commodities boom of the early 2000s. The region is still smarting under pressures brought to bear by U.S. President Donald Trump on undocumented migrants and especially on Mexico, thanks to his stated aim to renegotiate or cancel NAFTA.

While the regional economic recovery will have a more significant impact in South America, Trump's policies will negatively influence Central America and Mexico most markedly. In the elections scheduled for late 2017 — Chile's, which concluded after press time, and Colombia's, which take place in May — the possible election of right-wing governments might continue the trend of replacing left-of-centre ones across the region. However, Mexico or Brazil are more likely to buck that trend. Possible wins for leftist candidates, such as Andrés Manuel López Obrador in Mexico or Lula da Silva in Brazil, could partially rebalance the politics of the

region. Venezuela, in its terrifying slide towards authoritarianism and economic collapse, will probably re-elect Nicolas Maduro in fraudulent elections, while the Cuban regime will complete its post-Castro leadership transition without any possibility of democratization.

Ongoing regional challenges, such as violence related to drug trafficking and extreme income inequality, will remain and will tax the possibilities for sustained economic and democratic development. Latin America's 650 million inhabitants, a mere nine per cent of humanity, accounted for a third of all murders, kidnappings and violent robberies, according to the United Nations Agency for the Study of Violence and Public Security in 2016. The most afflicted countries, such as Honduras, Venezuela and El Salvador, have higher murder rates than countries such as Iraq or Afghanistan, which are immersed in massive political conflict. Underequipped and corrupt police forces and judicial systems are part of the problem, as is the production and trade of illicit drugs, giving rise to well-funded and organized criminal

gangs. Much of this will continue in 2018.

Nonetheless, extreme inequality and lack of possibilities for decent work and social mobility remain the less immediate, but more powerful, drivers of public violence. In that regard, two opposite trends will grow in 2018. The first is increasing social protests and marked voting preferences for candidates with platforms focused on fighting corruption. Politicians promising to clean up corruption have done well between 2015 and 2017 in Argentina and Peru, for example, and are likely to do well in Colombia in 2018. The other trend is the continued political success of leaders promising militarization of internal security and an iron hand to prosecute violent crime, as demonstrated in the current presidential campaigns of Chile and Honduras. In both instances, more detailed coverage below provides further examples.

1. Migration

Latin America currently exports mainly natural resources and people. From the 40 million Latin Americans who have

mainly migrated to the United States and Europe in the past few decades, the region received \$120 billion in 2016 in the form of remittances. In Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, these migrants represent a full quarter of their working population and perhaps half of high school and university graduates. They send in remittances totalling as much as those countries receive from exports. In Mexico, the numbers are lower, but not insignificant — consider \$42 billion received as remittances in 2016, for example.

For 2018, Trump's policies to increase apprehension of undocumented migrants in the United States will continue, or intensify, given the context of mid-term elections there. More than 12 million undocumented individuals, including 9 million Mexicans and Central Americans, are his ultimate target. If he carries out these policies and builds a wall at the U.S. border with Mexico, flows will be further reduced, gradually closing an essential valve to release social pressures caused by the implementation of neoliberal policies in Mexico and Central America. Trump's anti-immigration drive will therefore further destabilize the closed oligarchies running governments in Guatemala and Honduras, for example, and increase the likelihood that a populist anti-establishment leader is elected in Mexico.

2. Economy

Apart from exporting people, natural-resource commodities have constituted the lifeline for most Latin American economies. The fall in international prices between 2013 and 2016 caused a reduction in exports of up to 50 per cent in most South American countries, tilting almost all of them into recession and political upheaval. Meanwhile, oil-importing nations, such as those in Central America and the Caribbean, saw a drastic improvement in their trade balance and state finances as their energy bills fell. As well, 2017 marked the beginning of a new trend, with mineral and agricultural prices rising again, while oil is doing the same, though much more slowly. That will contribute to economic growth in South America, notably for Argentina, Brazil and the Andean nations. In relation to that, China will continue to be a growing trade partner and investor for Latin America, while trade with, and investments from, the United States will suffer, given the fears about protectionist policies unleashed by the Trump administration on Mexico and the rest of Latin America.

3. Climate change

Latin Americans are, according to global opinion polls done by the Pew Research Center and Gallup, the most concerned about climate change and the most enthusiastic supporters of public policies to address it. This is not surprising, given the extensive damage suffered by the region's



Haitians gather at a flooded market after hurricanes ravaged Ouanaminthe in northeast Haiti in 2017. Climate change is an even more serious concern in Latin America.

farmers and coastal populations thanks to recent hurricanes and droughts. Partially in response to this, several governments have undertaken ambitious programs to switch their national energy supply to alternative sources. Costa Rica and Chile, two of the more developed (and oil-poor) countries in the region, have advanced the most in the 2010-17 period. However, Nicaragua, one of the least developed, has also managed to source more than a third of its electrical supply from alternative sources in 2017. For 2018, Argentina, Brazil and Mexico will start construction of global-scale solar and wind plants, using funding from China and the World Bank, as well as local private investments.

4. Argentina

Fresh from a victory in the 2017 mid-term elections, the right-wing administration of Mauricio Macri will persevere in its gradual movement to pro-market policies. Economic growth will continue, slowly undoing the rise in inflation, poverty and unemployment created by his initial poli-

cies, beginning in 2015. Argentina will still carry heavy fiscal and trade deficits, as well as currency overvaluation into 2018. Labour laws will be modified to reduce labour costs and taxes on most industries in 2018, while reforms to pensions and social transfers will proceed very slowly, seeking to reduce the fiscal deficit without trig-

gering too many social protests. Nonetheless, given how socially regressive those reforms will be, strikes and labour unrest are likely. As the opposition remains fractured and more leaders of the former administration and labour movement are jailed or investigated for past instances of corruption, the ongoing struggles might give birth to a new generation of political and union leaders.

5. Brazil

The largest economy and country in the region begins 2018 with a major unknown — namely, what government shall be elected at the end of the year. The main candidates, so far, are João Doria, a neoliberal businessman who is now mayor of Sao Paulo city; Jair Bolsonaro, a far-right law-and-order candidate from Rio de Janeiro; and Lula da Silva, former president and candidate for the leftist Workers Party, now embattled by corruption allegations about many of the party's leaders and even himself. While Lula now leads in the polls, Doria and Bolsonaro

could still catch up with help from media conglomerates and Evangelical churches, sworn enemies of the progressive government agenda fostered by Lula and his designated successor, Dilma Rousseff, in the early 21st Century. Furthermore, Lula could still be disqualified as a candidate by the Supreme Court over his corruption charges. Whoever wins will face an impatient public, angered at massive political corruption, squeezed by fiscal austerity and economic crisis and tired of public insecurity. Thus, a tentative 2018 prediction is that Brazil will continue to endure instability if not growing political upheaval, which will slow down an already tepid economic recovery.

6. Chile

Chilean election results from late 2017 (after press time) might give Sebastian Piñera, a right-leaning former president, another victory. His return, if confirmed in the second round, would be a testimony to the staying appeal of a corrupt but able leader. If the centre-left candidate, Alejandro Guillier, unexpectedly wins, the reform policies attempted between 2014 and 2018 under Michelle Bachelet will be given a renewed and more radical mandate. Guillier's victory could only come with the full support of the leftist voters of Beatriz Sanchez, a more impatient and demanding faction than the traditional supporters of previous progressive governments. The difficult paradox will reside in either a government led by a seasoned politician (and billionaire) such as Piñera, seeking to turn the clock back on reforms, or an inexperienced one such as Guillier with a weak coalition of his own, pushing them forward. For both, Chile in 2018 and onwards will thus look even more typically Latin American than before, with regular mass protests from students, indigenous peoples and other disaffected groups, while economic power remains in the hands of very few families, supported by media conglomerates and foreign capital. Watch for a growing violent insurgency by Mapuche Indigenous Peoples in the South, now expanding across the border into Argentina.

7. Colombia

After the long tenure of two-time president Juan Manuel Santos, this country will hold elections in 2018 in which new candidates might compete, including the former military leader of the FARC, a now-pacified guerrilla group. Having already signed a peace agreement, Colombia is trying to move ahead on issues



Former Brazilian president Lula da Silva now leads in the polls, despite corruption allegations.

such as corruption, agrarian reform and whether to extend the same conditions to another, smaller guerrilla group, the ELN. Still, strong opposition to the conditions attached to the internal peace deals lingers, and the right-wing, led by former president Álvaro Uribe, will attempt to gain power, thus pre-empting chances for Colombia to move on and undertake the social and economic reforms required for lasting peace.

8. Cuba

President Raul Castro has announced he will retire in 2018 and a less gerontocratic generation will take over. Miguel Díaz-Canel, a hardliner with little confidence in the pro-market reforms done so far and much skepticism about former U.S. president Barack Obama's reopening of relations with Cuba, is the likely successor. The bizarre sonic attacks allegedly suffered by American and Canadian diplomats in Havana in 2017 have cooled relations with the U.S., which will reduce tourism and remittances to Cuba in 2018 and onwards. Given new drastic limits on energy as Venezuelan subsidized oil is no longer coming in the same amounts, decreases in tourism and remittances portend a difficult year for regular Cubans. Combined with the transition to a younger, but harder-line, generation, the new Cuban government will give its armed forces further room to involve themselves in the parcelling out of the economy. It will become the dominant factor in joint ventures with foreign capital in agriculture as much as it has come to dominate tourism, medical services and energy.

9. Guatemala

Political instability and popular protests that began in 2016 will continue into 2018, with protesters demanding an end to government corruption and the impunity granted to the economic elite. The main confrontation is between the United Nations-supported CICIG (International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala) and the government of Guatemala because the former has accused the latter's president, Jimmy Morales, of illegally funding his political campaign. Congress has so far defended him and lowered punishments for crimes of corruption, but popular protests in 2018 could eventually force an end to his impunity and that of most parliamentarians as well as the economic elites that fund and benefit from them. This monumental change of mood in a country once tightly controlled by a few families of oligarchs might spill over to Honduras and El Salvador, two neighbouring countries with similar problems of political corruption and impunity.

10. Mexico

Mexico will start 2018 as the Latin country with the most uncertainty, after Brazil. That is due, in large part, to its northern neighbour, which is bent on reducing its number of undocumented immigrants and getting more favourable conditions in a NAFTA renegotiation. Both will affect Mexicans greatly. Fewer will be able to move north to seek work, but it also means the growing number of Central Americans who go through Mexico en route to the U.S. will end up competing with locals for unskilled jobs in Mexico. NAFTA might not survive, as Trump might see more benefit in eschewing the agreement in an election year, clearing his way to more arbitrary, but spectacular trade measures. Domestic Mexican politics will culminate in presidential elections, in which a series of independent candidates and a leftist populist, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, will compete for the title. As in other parts of Latin America, Mexico's traditional parties are under great pressure to survive, beset by corruption investigations and lack of credible policies and candidates. It's likely two of its more established parties, one from the right, one from the left, will form an electoral alliance, chiefly to delay their own demise.

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Asian nations' hotlines with China

By Robert D'A. Henderson



This South Korean vessel patrols the water outside the country. Threats against South Korea, as well as other countries from North Korea, will remain a dominant story in 2018.

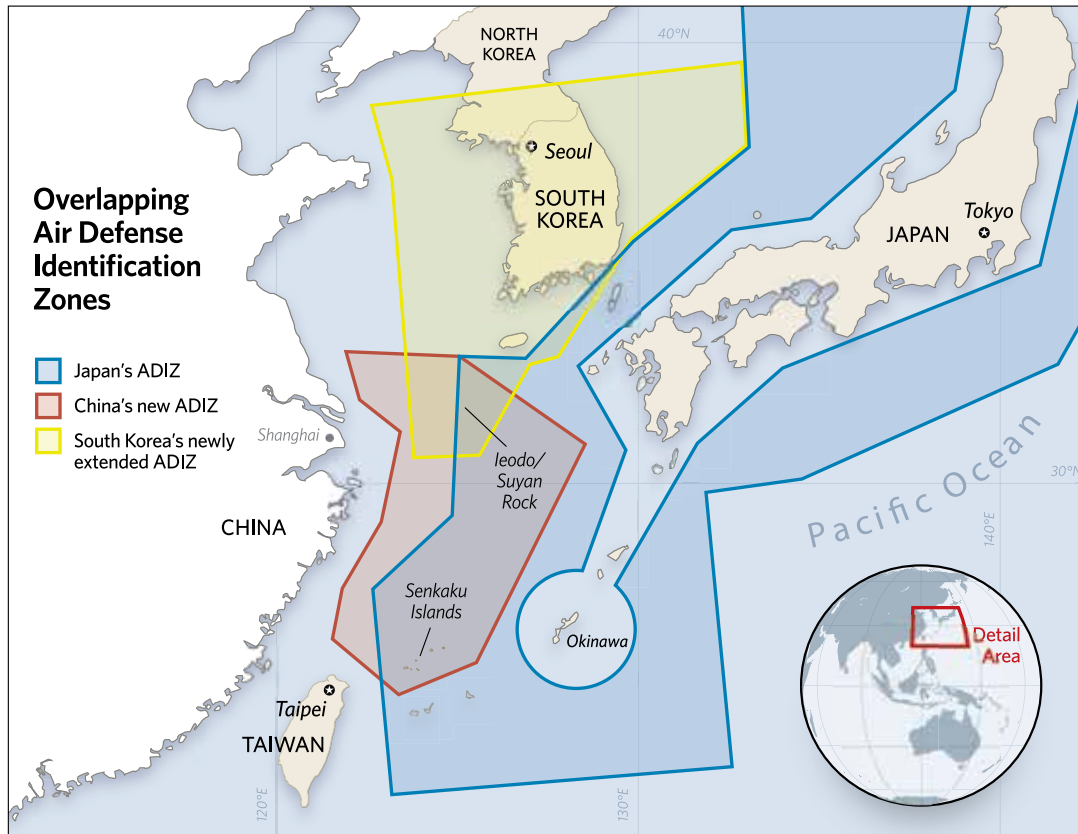
In December 2015, China and South Korea established a telephone hotline between their national defence ministries. Mainland China and South Korea share a maritime border in the Yellow Sea as well as bordering Air Defence Identification Zones. While there are some maritime and fisheries issues between them, the two countries enjoy generally peaceful relations. According to the South Korean defence ministry, it expects to “proactively capitalize on the hotline to improve mutual understanding and trust

and to reinforce high strategic communications.”

Yet, in January 2017, when China dispatched a training flight of 10 Xian H-6 strategic bombers that flew through the South Korean-designated Air Defence Identification Zone (ADIZ), the South Korean military reportedly found that the bilateral hotline was not initially functioning. There was a subsequent response on the Chinese end of the hotline more than 15 minutes later — a long period of flying time for a jet bomber formation.

While no reason for the slow response was given by the Chinese side, the incident points out the limitation of depending on hotlines for confidence-building. If one side does not pick up the confidential phone call or answer the secure fax, there is unlikely to be inter-state trust.

More recently, confidential bilateral hotline discussions took place over several months after Chinese complaints about the U.S.-supplied THAAD missile shield system being deployed in South Korea in the face of further North Korean missile



Source: Mark J. Valencia, "Troubled Skies: China's New Air Zone and the East China Sea Disputes," *Global Asia*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Winter 2013), <http://www.globalasia.org/article/troubled-skies-chinas-new-air-zone-and-the-east-china-sea-disputes/> (accessed January 5, 2015).

In January 2017, when China dispatched a training flight of 10 strategic bombers that flew through South Korea's Air Defence Identification Zone (ADIZ), the hotline wasn't initially functioning.

tests. Chung Eui-yong, the head of the National Security Office at South Korea's presidential office and Yang Jiechi, senior diplomat and councillor for foreign affairs in the State Council in Beijing, reportedly narrowed their differences gradually to enable the two sides to issue a joint statement of understanding on national sovereignty.

North Korea also borders the Yellow Sea and regularly disputes the West Sea Maritime Boundary between its waters and those of South Korea. In fact, there have been hostile engagements between the North and the South in the area. In March 2010, South Korea's ROKS Cheonan corvette was torpedoed under disputed circumstances. South Korea claimed that it had been sunk by a North Korean midget submarine, while the North denied the charge. Then, in November the same year, the North Korean People's Army launched an artillery bombardment of the South Korean island of Yeonpyeong near the maritime border. Currently, even with increased North

Korean nuclear tests and ballistic missile launches, the North-South hotlines on the Korean Peninsula are not working, having been disconnected by North Korean authorities since February 2016.

Confidence building in East Asia

What are known in the media as "hotlines" or communications mechanisms, are called Direct Communications Links (DCLs) by foreign governments. Usually encrypted, these diplomatic or military hotlines permit high-level direct communications between different national authorities at times of tension or crisis. They are supposed to be a confidence-building measure for tension reduction. While states often maintain diplomatic presences, the ability to directly address national authorities and senior decision-makers can head off crisis situations.

In recent years, more hotlines have been established in the East Asian region, with others under discussion. Currently, the administration of U.S. President Donald Trump is reviewing its policy with

Asia and is moving away from former president Barack Obama's pivot to Asia. In this emerging situation, with Trump's unpredictability being a key factor, such high-level hotlines may prove essential to containing and dampening down rising tensions and emerging crises in East Asia.

At the June 2017 Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore, the Asian region's premier security forum, Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull said in his keynote address that "we [as neighbouring countries] have to take responsibility for our own security and prosperity, while recognizing we are stronger when sharing the burden of collective leadership with trusted partners and friends." Within this regional perspective, more countries, especially China, are creating diplomatic and military hotlines to encourage trust, and to reduce political and security tensions.

According to a January 2017 white paper on China's policies on Asia-Pacific security co-operation, the Beijing government is seeking a more expansive security role in the region. The paper states that

“China will shoulder greater responsibilities for regional and global security and provide more public security services to the Asia-Pacific region and the world at large.”

This language is similar to the declared role of the United States in supporting regional and international security and stability — at least until the end of Trump’s presidency.



Cross-strait relations between China and Taiwan have been chillier since the election of Tsai Ing-wen, pictured above. She refuses to acknowledge the “1992 consensus,” which states that there is only one China and both sides are free to interpret what that means.

In an August 2017 speech marking the 90th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Liberation Army, Chinese President Xi Jinping issued a tough line on national sovereignty. Faced with a number of territorial disputes with his country’s neighbours — over the East China Sea, the South China Sea, the island of Taiwan and the borderlines in the Himalayas — he declared China would never permit the loss of “any piece” of its land to outsiders and added that “no one should expect us to swallow the bitter fruit of damage to our sovereignty, security and development interests.”

A China-Japan hotline

Mainland China currently has disputed claims over a group of small islets — referred to as the Diaoyutai Islands by China and the Senkaku Islands by Japan and controlled by Japan — in the East China Sea. While the islets are uninhabited, they do enable Japan’s access to an exclusive economic zone for valuable fisheries and potential sub-ocean gas and oil deposits.

Surprisingly, while China and Japan have reached a working accord on the joint development of the sub-ocean deposits, China antagonizes Japan with continuous tension-producing naval operations and aerial flights near and over these islets.

China has regularly dispatched People’s Liberation Army aircraft formations to fly through the international air strip over the Miyako Strait between the Japanese southwestern islands of Okinawa and Miyako to conduct training operations across the “First Island Chain” defence line of islands in the Western Pacific. China has also flown operations around the island of Taiwan, though outside its ADIZ, and passing through the Bashi Channel, which lies between southern Taiwan and the Philippines. All of these training flights necessitate an aerial interception response by the Japanese or Taiwanese air forces respectively.

Over the past five years, Chinese and Japanese officials have held on-again-off-again consultations on maritime affairs between their two countries. The main focus of these discussions is the implementation of a “maritime and aerial communication mechanism,” namely a hotline between their senior defence officials to prevent possible accidental clashes in the East China Sea where Chinese forces are testing the sovereignty of three small Japanese-controlled uninhabited islets. Though the two countries have yet to agree on an operational defence hotline, the *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper reported in early December that “an agreement in principle” at been reached.

China-Taiwan hotline unused

In December 2015, China’s government, under Xi, and then-Taiwanese president Ma Ying-jeou established an operational, encrypted telephone hotline between the two countries as a tension-reducing measure across the Taiwan Strait. This direct hotline connected China’s Taiwan Affairs Office with Taiwan’s Mainland Affairs Council — both state cabinet-level ministers — though previously there were existing “hotlines” connecting cross-strait agencies’ deputy directors and the semi-official organizations that negotiated cross-strait agreements due to the absence of formal relations.

During Ma’s term of office, Taipei and Beijing signed 23 agreements to promote smoother commercial, civil, criminal and transport relations across the strait. But cross-strait ties have cooled since President Tsai Ing-wen took office in May 2016, mainly due to her refusal to heed China’s

demands to accept the “1992 consensus” as the sole political foundation for political and societal interactions between Taiwan and China. The “1992 consensus” refers to a tacit understanding reached between the mainland Communist government and Taiwan, under the then-Kuomintang government, that there is only one China with both sides free to interpret what that means.

Since Tsai assumed office in May, meetings between mid-level mainland and Taiwanese government officials have been repeatedly delayed or cancelled — and the much-publicized ministerial hotline has gone “dead,” with the Chinese Communist side not answering.

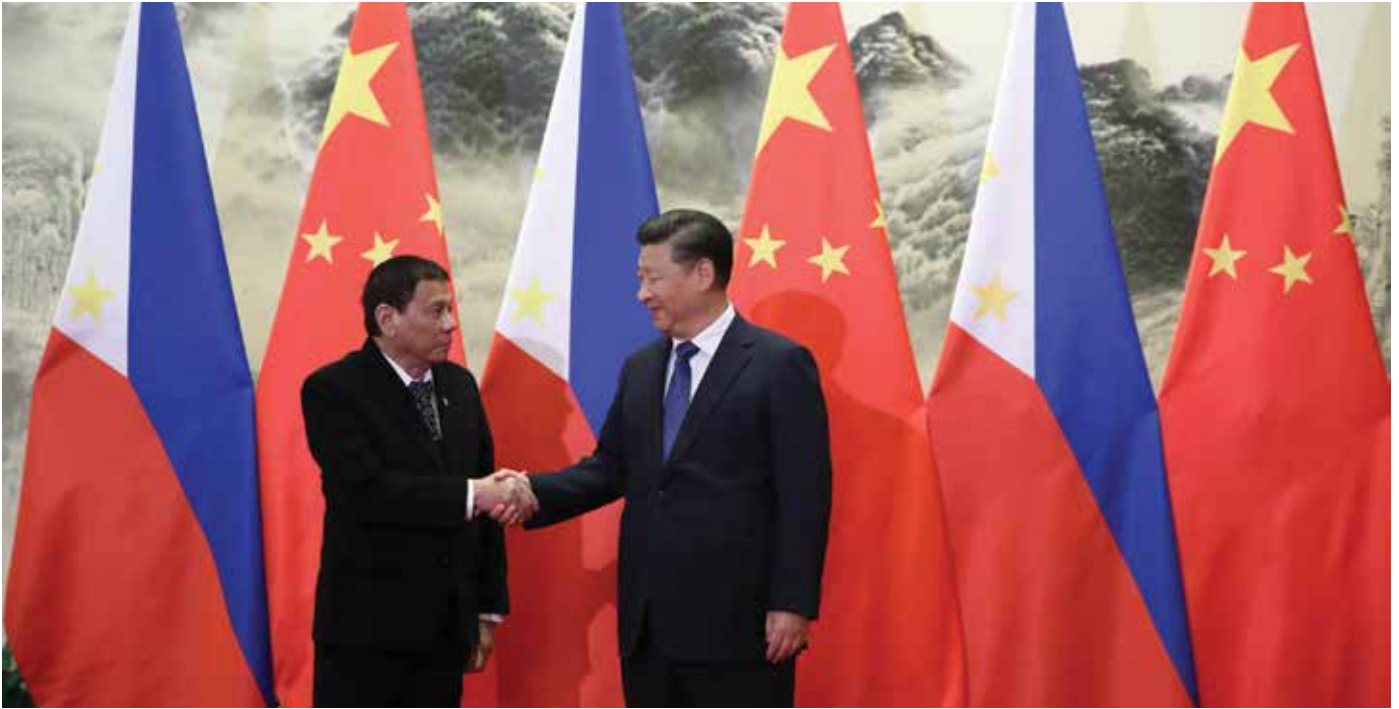
While lower-level commercial, health and policing officials still meet to discuss priority issues and exchange necessary information, high-ranking Taiwanese officials are restricted by the Chinese government from attending meetings on the mainland. There are work-around opportunities through which discussions could be held on the sidelines of international gatherings, when Chinese officials have permitted such interactions. Nevertheless, it is still possible for a senior Taiwanese official to pickup the confidential telephone or use the secure fax to contact his or her counterpart across the Taiwan Strait. Where the problem arises is if the counterpart chooses not to answer the call.

A China-Philippines hotline

In January 2013, the Philippines began formal arbitration proceedings against China’s “nine dash” line claim regarding the Spratly Islands, also known as the Nansha Islands, in the South China Sea. In its July 2016 ruling, the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague decided that China’s “nine dash” line map was not historical proof of sovereignty and that its claim on South China Sea islands did not give China sovereign authority and therefore no claim to a 200-nautical-mile Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). But the Chinese government has refused to recognize the tribunal’s authority under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea or its 2016 ruling.

Nevertheless, since taking office in June 2016, current Philippines President Rodrigo Duterte has sought to mend relations with China — as, according to his foreign minister Alan Peter Cayetano, “no mechanism exists to legally enforce any deal” under the tribunal’s judgment.

The Chinese government, for its part, prefers quiet diplomacy — as long as it does not lose face in the region — and has



Since taking office in June 2016, Philippines President Rodrigo Duterte has sought to mend relations with China. He's shown here, at left, with Chinese President Xi Jinping.

negotiated a number of sizable economic investment deals with the Philippines.

In addition, Filipino fishermen have been allowed back onto their traditional fishing grounds, where earlier they had been harassed by larger Chinese coast guard vessels. And, in February 2017, a hotline mechanism between the Philippine coast guard and the Chinese coast guard was established to provide a direct communication link and “point of contact” on enforcement issues and unlawful acts at sea. It has greatly assisted “open sea” working relations.

China-ASEAN hotlines

The South China Sea is one of the primary international maritime routes as the main waterway between the Indian and Pacific Oceans. An estimated \$5 trillion US in trade moves through this waterway each year. In addition, the waters are a major fishing ground and food source for the coastal countries, as well as a prime area for drilling for oil and gas reserves.

But the sovereignty over the islands, reefs and shoals in the South China Sea — particularly the Spratly archipelago and the Paracels archipelago — are disputed by China and various Southeast Asian nations, including Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan and Vietnam. Notwithstanding the tribunal judgment against its ownership of the majority of the South China Sea, China has conducted

expansive land reclamation by dredging sand up from the sea bottom onto seven of these islands or islets, enlarging their area, creating new harbours, installing military facilities including airstrips, anti-ship and anti-aircraft missile sites and other support units.

In September 2016, China and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) agreed to establish a hotline mechanism to contact the ministries of foreign affairs of China and the 10 ASEAN countries. It was tested in March of this year and it was deemed successfully operational to defuse tensions between these countries in the South China Sea.

And in October 2017, the ASEAN countries launched the ASEAN direct communications infrastructure — a direct hotline between the defence ministers of all the ASEAN countries. These top-level ministerial hotlines could prove essential for security and stability in the region, as the Southeast Asian countries appear to be moving into a balancing position between the orbits of Trump’s United States and Xi’s China in 2018.

Hotlines and Asian security into 2018

Over the past few years, the number of top-level confidential hotlines has increased, with a goal of dealing with inter-state issues and defusing possible emerging crises in East Asia. And it seems likely there will be even greater reliance

placed upon such communications to boost confidence in the Trump era.

Despite his November state visit to five Asian countries, including Japan, South Korea, China, Vietnam and the Philippines, Trump’s ongoing “combative rhetoric” continues to alarm many American allies in the region — and possibly even China and North Korea, as well. This worrying view could encourage greater use of regional hotlines in the Asian region.

At the same time, it could strengthen security interlinks and exercises and trade relations with an expansive China. It is expected that the Chinese Communist government in Beijing will continue to project outward sovereignty assertiveness. This will be justified as being designed to protect against self-declared threats to its national “core interests” in the East China Sea, the South China Sea as well as in the Western Pacific in general and the Indian Ocean.

Nevertheless, China’s inclusion — perhaps even at the centre of the growing regional hotline web — can help ensure that regional air and naval security can be maintained, and could even prevent potential armed confrontations.

Before retiring, Robert D’A. Henderson taught international relations at several universities. He currently does international assessments and international elections monitoring.

CETA: Getting to 'yes'



Canada's International Trade Minister François-Philippe Champagne shakes hands with European Union Trade Commissioner Cecilia Malmström prior to a meeting in March 2017 in Ottawa. CETA was provisionally implemented in September 2017, but several European parliaments must still ratify it.



Perrin
Beatty

In the summer of 2016, the world watched in awe as Britain voted to exit the European Union. An isolationist fever gripped the European continent, throwing it into uncertainty and threatening the future of the most modern trade agreement in the world — the Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA).

Today, much of that fever seems to

have abated. This past September, the agreement was provisionally implemented across Europe and already, several of the EU's 28 members have ratified CETA locally. However, there is still a great deal of work to do before we reach a unanimous "yes" on the agreement's permanent implementation. If we can get there, we should expect no shortage of benefits from an agreement that is broad and ambitious.

Europe is Canada's second-largest market, behind only the U.S. CETA will give Canadian businesses access to Europe's massive market of more than 500 million people. A 2011 joint study by the European Commission and the government of Canada estimated the deal will inject more than \$12 billion in new revenue into the Canadian economy. The study, titled

Assessing the costs and benefits of a closer EU-Canada economic partnership, forecasted that CETA will boost bilateral trade by 20 per cent.

We aren't the only country that stands to benefit. CETA will provide Europe with access to Canada's services market, allow firms to bid for lucrative federal and provincial contracts and enable companies to purchase cheaper Canadian parts for manufacturing their own products.

CETA's main advantage is the elimination or reduction of tariffs, but the agreement also addresses a range of other trade barriers, such as temporary travel restrictions and foreign investor risks. Improved regulatory co-operation, freer trade in services and new digital trade rules will benefit businesses on both sides of the Atlantic — from the Spanish fruit farmer in

Cartagena to the app developer in Guelph.

Initially, it may be challenging for some companies to realize these rewards. One divisive element within CETA is the Investor State Dispute Settlement (ISDS). When travelling to Europe, one often hears a concern that this mechanism will open governments up to liability and bullying from foreign corporations. We should remember that Europe and Canada are advanced democratic societies with shared values. As with any contentious issue in policy, what reduces fear is time and familiarity.

Every trade agreement creates unease because it brings change. Governments should not pretend there will not be challenges for businesses in all of our countries. Instead, they should provide companies with the services and assistance they need to overcome any temporary disruptions.

During the initial NAFTA negotiations 25 years ago, there was significant anxiety among many businesses in Canada. One of the most discussed of all the sectors was the Canadian wine industry. The prevailing wisdom was that the Canadian wine market would be wiped out by the deal.

Instead of writing off the industry, the government provided it with a transition fund, which was rather modest at the time. Through that support and their own ingenuity, Canadian vintners relaunched themselves, planted better grapes, revolutionized their marketing and ended up with a higher value product for a higher profit. Trade agreements can accelerate economic growth, even if the disruption they cause seems frightening at first.

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to the ratification of CETA and of other trade agreements is the lingering anti-trade sentiment in pockets across the globe. In a little more than a year, we witnessed the dismaying cost of Brexit, the brief rise of France's Front National and the frequent protectionist promises of U.S. President Donald Trump.

With a provisional agreement now in place, the European nations now face the process for permanent ratification. Canada's role is not to look on passively, but to make an impassioned case for what is the most forward-looking trade agreement in the world. No other agreement incorporates the future complexities of international business, such as digital trade and the mobility of skilled professionals. Canada needs to get our European partners to "yes."

Getting some governments to embrace trade with Canada will require effort

on our part. There is no simple way to achieve this goal; our government and business leaders will have to make their way from legislative assembly to legislative assembly, outlining the agreement's advantages.

This is compounded by uncertainty about where the agreement goes once the Britain leaves. For Canada, the loss of Britain from the agreement was a terrible disappointment. Some experts had estimated up to 40 per cent of CETA's benefit would come from that country. Is our hard work to be done all over again in a new Canada-Britain trade agreement? The answer may not be clear yet, but we should seek as seamless as possible a treatment of

**WE KNOW THAT
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ARGUMENTS.**

the Britain under CETA.

Our relationship with Germany, the proverbial locomotive of the EU economy, will be of particular importance. Its economic strength confers upon it an unofficial status as leader, but like any leader, it is questioned and challenged. Will a re-elected Chancellor Angela Merkel risk upsetting a delicate balance for the sake of Canada? Now that she has safely been re-elected, the likely answer is that she will. Meetings between the German chancellor and Canada's prime minister have not only been warm, but the two share a common stance on key issues beyond trade, such as NATO and the refugee crisis. This year, Chancellor Merkel acknowledged there would be benefits in CETA for both countries.

The situation seems wholly different in Belgium, where the regional government of Wallonia has already expressed reticence about ratifying the agreement. Despite the recent change of that particu-

lar regional government, the risk remains that without approval from all regional governments of Belgium, the federal government's hands will be tied.

Last time this situation arose, it was as the European Parliament was preparing to ratify CETA and it led to a deadlock. Only through then-trade minister Chrystia Freeland's impassioned plea and willingness to walk away, as well as a last-ditch, Hail-Mary rewording of some of the clauses, were we able to move Wallonia to a neutral position. Will the same kind of play work this time around? More important, given that the legislative assemblies of Latvia, Denmark, Croatia and Spain have already ratified the full agreement, is that clause-rewriting option still on the table, or are we placing the sub-national governments in a "take-it-or-leave-it" situation?

Even though our French-speaking cousins in Wallonia seem cooler to trade with Canada, French President Emmanuel Macron's government is an important ally. While the rookie G7 president had to promise a full evaluation of CETA during his electoral campaign, since his election he has been a champion of trade, open borders and progressive values. These are all reflected in CETA, making it the perfect agreement for Macron to get behind for the advancement of the French economy.

We know that the prosperity of countries depends on trade. As advocates, we can make CETA a living rebuttal to these anti-trade arguments. There would be nothing more influential than to show our deal is working, our prosperity is rising and our relations are peaceful. The ratification of CETA has the power not only to signal a major economic achievement, but also to provide a united message to the world.

Here in Canada, we will continue to do our part, even if we have been understandably distracted by the disorder south of the border. It's regrettable that a historic trade opportunity such as CETA has not been our only priority.

Despite being forced to divide our attention, we have two very important advantages. The first is the skill of our diplomats. The second is knowing that this agreement can be a very powerful spur to businesses, employees, economies, communities and the environment on both sides of the Atlantic.

Let's reap those rewards by securing a resounding "yes" from our European partners.

Perrin Beatty is the president and CEO of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce.

Vietnam 'snow job,' Lawrence of Arabia and Pol Pot



George Fetherling

About the midway point between Pearl Harbor and the collapse of the Twin Towers, the United States was the victim of another giant surprise attack. The pummeling assault on Hué, the old imperial capital of Vietnam, close to the sea, south of the Demilitarized Zone, was the work of communist Viet Cong guerrillas and regular North Vietnamese troops.

They struck on the first day of the Tet, or lunar New Year, when Vietnamese families pray for their dead, appeal to the Kitchen God for peace and prosperity and perhaps visit the tombs of the Nguyen emperors. In previous years, a ceasefire had been observed during the holiday season. That understanding was broken on Jan. 31, 1968, when a communist army flooded in from the north, joining two regiments that had already sneaked into the city and dispersed, waiting for a signal to be given. Thus began what became known as the Tet Offensive, which included attacks on a great many other cities and towns. At one point, the Viet Cong shot their way into the U.S. embassy in Saigon — briefly.

Hué was and is an attractive city on the Huong River ("the Perfume River") and it had been built with military matters in mind. The majority of the citizens lived in the Citadel, the old city that slept behind kilometres of high stone walls, protected by moats. It was the home of a South Vietnamese garrison, but also a place that, until this time, had been largely left alone by the communists. Aside from some diplomats and the like, the American presence was limited to a small group of military advisers on the opposite side of the river. But once a rocket barrage announced the start of the attack, orders were given for U.S. soldiers and Marines to pour into the scene and lay siege. So began a 28-day fight that is often called the bloodiest battle of the Vietnam War, though there are many rivals for that title. Documentaries about the war often show footage of



Black smoke covers areas of Saigon while fire trucks rush to the scene of fires set during attacks by the Viet Cong during the Tet holiday period in 1968.

American troops huddled behind a wall, so badly pinned down that they can't show themselves or look at the enemy, but must simply raise their automatic weapons over the top and fire wildly.

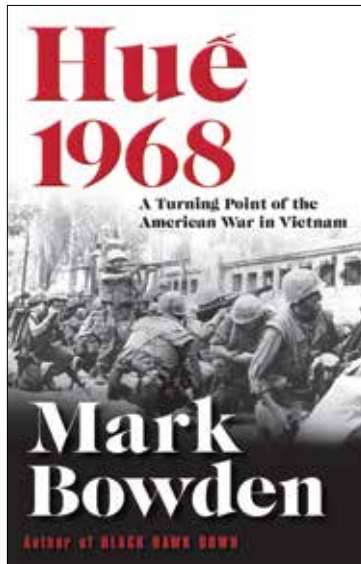
The above is the subject of *Hué 1968: A Turning Point of the American War in Vietnam* (Grove Atlantic, US\$30). Author Mark Bowden is best known for having written *Black Hawk Down*, which Ridley Scott made into a film of the same name. Bowden uses his familiar technique of telling the story painstakingly by recreating

the actions and words of a mixed bag of survivors from both sides, following them day by day, even minute by minute. The book is somewhat like those old black-and-white Hollywood war movies that are sure to feature a young soldier who's shell shocked, another who went to Harvard and a third who is nostalgic for his home in Brooklyn and pronounces *these, them* and *those* as *dees, dem* and *doz*. Here we have, for example, Marine Sgt. Alfredo Gonzalez, known as Freddie, who wins the Congressional Medal of Honor, and

Big Ernie Cheatham, a former lineman with the Baltimore Colts and the Pittsburgh Steelers.

A game of winners and losers

The book's women are vastly more interesting. For instance, Catherine Leroy, a French photographer, first followed the Americans, but later found the other side, known collectively as the National Liberation Front, to be better subjects. The character in the book who stands out



most vividly is Che Thi Mung, by trade a maker of those conical straw hats called *non-la*. She was one of a group of teenaged girls, known as the Huong River Squad, who infiltrated the city under the cover of youth to reconnoitre. Bowden has chosen the right time to write this work as it's the 50th anniversary of these events and enough survivors are still alive.

The most important figure in the story was likewise one of the most famous Americans of his day. Walter Cronkite, the anchor of *CBS News*, hurried off to Vietnam to see the retaking of Hué in person, and what he reported shook the fillings in the U.S.'s teeth. The North Vietnamese considered the capture of Hué a victory, but were driven out. The Americans, too, claimed to be the winner, though they were made to look foolish for not having known what was going to take place. Such situations often happen in wartime. Antietam, one of the key battles of the American Civil War, was a draw, though each side labelled the other as the loser.

There had been a similar situation in Vietnam only 10 days before the surprise attack on Hué, when a spot near the border with Laos was besieged by the com-

munists. The place was called Khe Sanh, where U.S. advisers had been stationed since 1962. The Marine outpost there was considered especially important because it was so close to the Ho Chi Minh Trail in neighbouring Laos, the route by which the North Vietnamese supplied their fighters in the south. At the time, the U.S. was considering a full-scale invasion of Laos and U.S. president Lyndon Johnson demanded that the chiefs of staff promise in writing that Khe Sanh would never be allowed to fall. It didn't, but only because 6,000 Americans and South Vietnamese somehow managed to withstand a siege until their enemy withdrew in early April. The U.S. suffered more than 200 fatalities. The overall American commander, Gen. William Westmoreland, claimed that the North Vietnamese lost 10,000. Or maybe 20,000. The general was well known for his unique military arithmetic.

Again, who won and who lost? Sometimes an event must have seemed pointless to both sides, but neither would admit it. In May 1969, the U.S. made an airborne assault on the Laos border, at a spot shown on maps as High 937, but actually named Apa Bia. There, the North Vietnamese, well entrenched on the peak, beat back four American and South Vietnamese battalions for 10 days, only to give up and move on. *Life* magazine outraged half its readers by running photographs of each individual American killed in the battle. Public opinion in the other half of the population had begun to shift when Cronkite, returning from Hué, told listeners that the Tet Offensive was proof that the tide was turning, that Americans were not going to win the war.

Certainly the offensive's consequences were real. The events showed that Westmoreland was being "out-generaled" (he was replaced). In April, Johnson announced that he would not run for a second term. U.S. strategy shifted to what was called Vietnamization, the policy of getting South Vietnamese to do more of the fighting. Chaos was everywhere.

The Vietnamese in both camps were the direct descendants of Viets who resisted their Chinese adversaries for 1,000 years — literally, on our calendar from the 8th Century to the 18th. In various ways, they struggled with the French for almost 100 years, from the French invasion of 1858 to the final French defeat at Diên Biên Phu in 1954.

The North Vietnamese lost about 2,500 troops, killed in the fighting at Hué and massacred or otherwise executed, and at least as many civilians. As for the French



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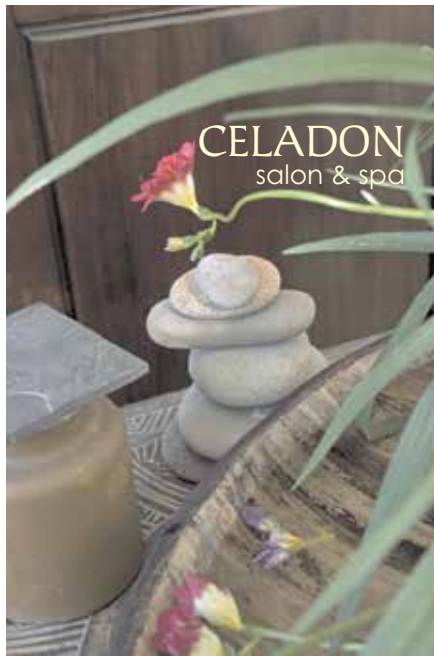
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war against the Vietnamese, French president Charles de Gaulle summed it up by saying “C’était une entreprise sale des deux côtés.” (“It was a dirty business on both sides.”) Let us leave it at that.

Forgotten tales

Except for giving some material support to the government in Saigon, Canada, fortunately, stayed out of the Vietnam War. That being the case, it is remarkable that Professor Robert McGill, of the University of Toronto, has been able to write a book as long as *War Is Here: The Vietnam War and Canadian Literature* (McGill-Queen’s Uni-



Robert McGill, author of *War Is Here: The Vietnam War and Canadian Literature*

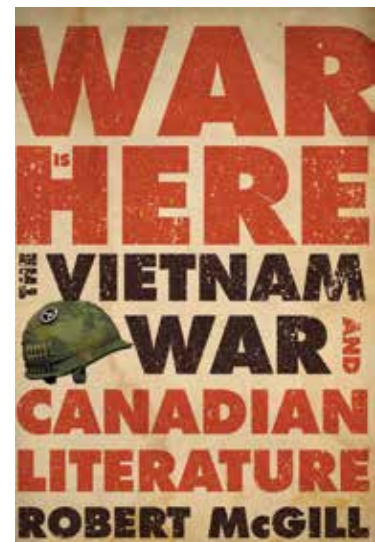
versity Press, \$35.95 paperback). True, a large number of Canadian poets did write anti-war verse during the Vietnam period. He mentions many of them, but skips the most surprising instance — an anti-war screed by, of all people, Raymond Souster, who was otherwise a writer of nostalgic lyrics and gentle urban fantasies.

By contrast, hardly any Canadian novelists made hay out of the war directly. So McGill must fall back on that period’s intense nationalism and anti-Americanism. “Even today,” he writes, “ideas about what being Canadian means, or should mean, show the Vietnam War’s influence.” He does, however, find a number of the relatively recent Canadian novels about war resisters who came to Canada.

The newest such book appeared too late to be included: *The Salvation Army Tales* by Nancy Naglin (Creative Space Publishing, US\$19 paper). After graduating from McGill University, Naglin, now a cultural journalist in the U.S., went to Vancouver to

study the American exiles there. That was in 1972. She set the finished manuscript aside until this past autumn.

War Is Here is most useful in its treatment of political writing. I was surprised, however, that the author mentions Charles Taylor, the Montreal philosopher, but not the Charles Taylor who reported the war for the *Globe and Mail* and then wrote *Snow Job: Canada, the United States and Vietnam (1954 to 1973)*. When Vietnam was split into two countries following Diên Biên Phu, Canada became part of the International Control Commission and remained neutral, unlike the other members, India and Poland, which favoured the North. This first commission was supplanted by another: the International Commission of



Control and Supervision, with Indonesia taking over from India. In time, it became apparent that North Vietnam would not abide by the accords on which it had signed off. So Canada stepped aside and Iran took its place. It’s not a happy story, but Taylor’s is one of the keenest works on Canadian diplomacy.

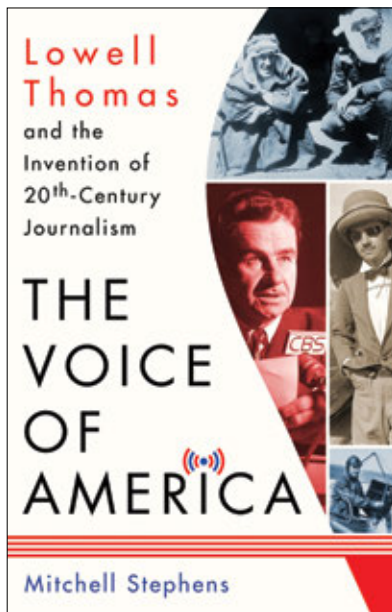
The man who invented Lawrence of Arabia
Mitchell Stephens begins his beautifully written book, *The Voice of America: Lowell Thomas and the Invention of 20th-Century Journalism* (St. Martin’s Press, \$37.99) by pointing out that hardly anyone these days remembers who its subject was. Well, that’s easily fixed. Thomas (1892-1981) was a newspaper reporter, author, broadcaster, movie-maker, traveller extraordinaire, and, most important, a showman of sorts. He became famous for his stage presentations about exotic places. They were lectures il-

lustrated with still photos, audio and film and they drew millions of patrons around



Mitchell Stephens, author of *The Voice of America: Lowell Thomas and the Invention of 20th-Century Journalism*

the globe. He wrote many books, but only one is commonly read now: *With Lawrence in Arabia* (1924). Interest in T.E. Lawrence has always been high. It's even more so now because the map of the Middle East that he helped to draft has been, and is still being, redrawn. He was, indeed, a re-



markable person. He was also five feet two inches tall and resembled Stan Laurel of *Laurel and Hardy* far more than he did Peter O'Toole, who portrayed him in David Lean's film, *Lawrence of Arabia*.

Thomas first glimpsed Lawrence in

Jerusalem in February 1918 when the First World War still had nine months to go. The still-obscure British officer had just taken part in the battle for Tafila (Jordan) and was rallying his ragtag Arab fighters for an assault on Deraa (Syria). He was almost 30 and was conspicuous only in the limited context of the military sidebar that was the British campaign against the Turks. But Thomas, who was only 25, gradually realized the potential of Lawrence's tale, however true or untrue it might be. As Stephens writes, Thomas "recognized that an Englishman [at the head of] a group of Arabs on camels in successful desert raids against one of Britain and America's enemies was news." A year after their first meeting, Thomas had created "a show combining narration and music with slides and documentary film footage." He considered it "a wholly new and spectacular form of entertainment." At one point, he needed more photos of himself and Lawrence together. So they secretly met in London where Lawrence posed in his robe and keffiyeh.

The last, but certainly not the least...

At the latest count, Christopher G. Moore of Vancouver and Bangkok had published 27 crime novels, most of them set in the countries of Southeast Asia — cultures he knows intimately. But increasingly in recent years, this keen student of George Orwell's life and work has turned his hand to serious political non-fiction as well, and he has endowed an annual international prize for the year's best English-language book on human rights or free speech. In his latest work, *Memory Manifesto: A Walking Meditation through Cambodia* (Heaven Lake Press, US\$14), he revisits the crimes of Pol Pot, who ruled Cambodia from 1963 to 1997, killing a quarter of the population. It is one of those rare books that is best reviewed by quotation. "In this book," Moore writes, "I explore questions about the forces of memory annihilation. Who were (and are) they? How did they gain authority? What have their bankrupt ideologies, broken dreams and failed social experiments left behind? The meaning of absolute power over others is that you may use whatever means available to destroy, eradicate and erase [...] the whole lot of existing memories and replace them with your chosen memory content. That impulse to power has always represented the greatest threat to human freedom and liberty."

George Fetherling's new novel is *The Carpenter from Montreal*.

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Hungary's richly spiced international cuisine

Photos by Larry Dickenson



Margaret Dickenson

Understanding the cuisine of Hungary, a landlocked country in central Europe, requires a look back at its history. Although it's been the territory of the Romans, Celts, Vandals, Huns and Avars at one time or another over the centuries, the first true inhabitants of present-day Hungary where the Magyars — nomads who presumably originated east of the Ural Mountains and, over four centuries — gradually moved south and west, ultimately arriving in about AD 800 in what we call Hungary today.

Food cooked in *bogracs*, cast-iron cauldrons hung over an open fire, was an important feature of the lifestyle of these nomads because the food could be conveniently transported in its pot and consumed over several days. Travelling with sun-dried cooked meat and a sun-dried pasta (of which today's *tarhunya* is believed to be a descendant) as well as dried milk, the Magyars boiled water and added it to their dried food to make robust stews and soups similar to today's *gulyas* (known in Canada as goulash.) It is widely believed that the predominance of meat and soup in Hungarian cuisine, as well as the continued popularity of *bogracs* as a cooking utensil, date back to Magyar traditional cooking.

At the end of the 9th Century, when the Magyars finally put down roots in the Carpathian Basin, they began raising pigs, thus adding pork to their diet. A dramatic culinary shift occurred in the 15th Century, when King Matthias, through his Neopolitan wife, Beatrice, introduced Italian cuisine, raising Hungarian cooking to a fine art. New ingredients and techniques included pasta, onions, garlic, mace, nutmeg and the use of fruits in stuffings or cooked with meat — all elements essential in present-day Hungarian recipes.

In 1526, the Turks invaded Hungary and a mere 15 years later, Hungary was



Margaret Dickenson's Sour Cherry Chilled Soup (Meggyleves)

divided into three parts. The Turks ruled the central area, the Hapsburgs the west and Hungarians the south. During their 150-year occupation and rule, the Turks introduced tomatoes, sour cherries, white nougat, quince sweets, Turkish delight, rice dishes such as pilafs, eggplant used in salads, asparagus, stuffed peppers and cabbage, phyllo pastry and a sort of strudel as well as *langos* (a type of fried bread). However, the greatest gastronomical contribution the Turks made to Hungary has to be paprika, considered Hungary's national spice. Initially, the upper class grew the peppers for their decorative value, while peasants used them for cooking; but in time, black pepper became very costly, which persuaded many to opt for paprika, referred to as *torok bors*, or Turkish pepper.

Some sources believe that grinding red peppers to become what is referred to as paprika was a Hungarian invention. As

well, the Turks astonishingly changed part of the local culture by acquainting Hungarians with coffee, resulting in more than 500 coffee houses in Budapest alone by the end of the 1800s. Ambassador Bálint Ódor confirms, "These proved to be important gathering venues for writers, intellectuals and the politically astute, which assisted in launching the 40-plus years of what the Hungarians refer to as their Golden Age."

Meanwhile, Austrian and German cooking styles began to influence Hungarian cuisine when Austria's Hapsburg monarchy secured control of Hungary from the 17th to the 20th centuries. Hungary became famous for its cakes and pastries, plus the use of red and white wine in meat and fish dishes, which added complexity and subtlety to Hungarian cooking. Middle-class Hungarians incorporated Austrian dishes such as schnitzel, sausages and vegetable stews, thickened



A stall at the “Great Market Hall” in downtown Budapest, selling the peppers used to make Hungary’s world-famous spice, paprika.

with flour and lard (one of which is *fozelek*, a traditional favourite dish today), into everyday meals. Upper-class Hungarians and Austrian aristocrats embraced the French fashion of cooking, probably initiating an ongoing love of goose liver to this day.

A melting pot

All told, Hungarian cuisine may be defined as a melting pot of its past with a culinary foundation based on its own original Magyar cuisine. Hungarians remain passionate about soups, stews, meat, pastries and paprika — the quintessential spice and pepper featured conspicuously in the country’s culinary makeup.

A long-standing culinary tradition has been to mix different meats. Pork and beef and, at times, mutton are used together not only in a Hungarian mixed grill (*fatanyeros*) but also in *gulyas*, a rich spicy soup, and cabbage rolls and stuffed peppers. Hungary’s national dish, *gulyas* (translated as “herdsman’s meal”) is prepared with meat, paprika, onions, cubes of potato or small bits of dough (*csipetke*) and other vegetables and spices such as carrots, parsley root and caraway seeds. This dish, developed by local herdsmen,

originated in the northern part of the Great Plain and is said to be best when prepared with Hungarian Grey cattle. It should be noted that *gulyas* in Hungary is entirely different from what people outside the country refer to as *gulyas*, although paprika stands out as a common key ingredient. Among Hungarian *gulyas* dishes is *porkolt*, which resembles more of a stew with extra onions and a thick, heavy gravy. It comes in many versions, including an elegant fish and white meat paprikash featuring sour cream; a more complex *tokany* with meat cut into strips, not cubes, plus additions of bacon, sausages or mushroom; and a unique *szekely gulyas* that combines sauerkraut, paprika and sour cream.

Paprika and traditional flavourings

Hungarian food can be spicy due to the ubiquitous use of hot paprika; however, sweet (mild) paprika is equally popular. Actually, two types of peppers are grown in Hungary: one variety (green, yellow and red in colour) is for eating raw and in salads or for use in myriad Hungarian dishes; and the other, the spicy variety, is allowed to “red-ripen” and is then dried and pulverized into paprika. The classifi-

cation and quality of the paprika depends on the variety of pepper.

Many recipes also call for fresh green peppers and tomatoes. A culinary favourite, *lecsó*, combines three of Hungary’s most-used ingredients — green peppers, tomatoes and paprika — sautéed and served as a main course or as a base for other dishes, such as meat stew. When fresh green peppers and tomatoes are not available, a preserved mixture is on hand. A second combination, that of paprika, lard and onions, has a strong presence in the nation’s cuisine. Here, lard not only enhances the fragrance of fried onions, but preserves the natural colour of the paprika. Also, goose fat, like lard, continues to be an important ingredient in achieving the extraordinary flavours of many soups and meatless dishes, among them long-simmered red cabbage and vegetable stews. Certainly, the beloved onion alone contributes a gamut of flavour options, be they raw, sweated, seared, browned or caramelized.

Hungarians use sour cream (*tejföl*) to lend richness to dishes such as chicken paprikash and to balance flavours, sometimes mixing it half and half with heavy cream to produce a more refined flavour

while still maintaining a piquant dimension. Herbs and spices such as dill, horseradish, bay leaf, marjoram, caraway and pepper seeds, in addition to vinegar and vanilla, appear repeatedly in Hungarian dishes.

The Hungarian pantry

Besides paprika, peppers, tomatoes, onions, sour and heavy cream, other primary staples include meat, soups, seasonal vegetables and fruits, sausages and cheese.

Hungarians eat a lot of beef, chicken and duck. Ambassador Ódor points out that “the best pork comes from the prized Hungarian breed of domestic pig called mangalica, which has a thick woolly coat like a sheep.”

Lamb, mutton, goose and game bring appealing variety to Hungary’s culinary landscape. In old-style recipes, such as the *pulkamell*, which uses turkey breast, fruit such as plums and apricots are cooked with meat in spicy sauces or in fillings for game, roasts and other cuts.

Hungarians have a long tradition of stuffing cabbage and peppers with ground meat, rice and spices (including *toltott paprika*), burying hard-cooked eggs down the middle of meatloaf (*stefania szelet*) to give a decorative effect of white and yellow circles once cut and of filling savoury crepes with veal stew and veal paprikash. Many meat and chicken recipes call for dipping in breadcrumbs and then baking or frying. Hungarians very often eat pork that way (*Becsi szelet*) or they eat it cooked with peppers, or as thin pork steaks served either with cabbage or on a platter of Hungarian mixed grill. Cured pork and bacon maintain their omnipresent popularity. As for fish, the Danube and Tisza rivers and the largest lake, Balaton, provide an abundant supply. With serious regional rivalry — “particularly between the cities of Baja and Szeged,” the ambassador says — the Hungarian hot fish soup known as *halaszle*, is prepared differently on the banks of those two rivers. The Lake Balaton area can lay claim to two well-loved specialties — catfish with a type of noodle/dumpling referred to as *galuska* and bream (varieties of freshwater fish) in cream — while the region around Lake Tisza remains particularly renowned for its not-for-the-faint-of-heart lamb stew from Karcag, where virtually every part of the animal, from head to foot, is cooked over a large open fire.

Hungarian cuisine makes use of a wide range of cheeses, but most predominately turo (a type of quark), cream, sheep and several Hungarian cheeses, plus Edam

and Emmental. As an integral part of their cuisine, Hungarians can boast of the many different kinds of fabulous sausages — from spicy and/or smoked *kolbosz* to their world-famous Hungarian salamis. For side dishes, various types of dumplings with different fillings, noodles, potatoes and rice have always been the most common. Vegetables primarily consist of root varieties, which can be stored through the winter.

As a nation intensely devoted to soups, any proper Sunday meal must include a fine chicken soup. But the types of soups extend far beyond chicken. There’s also the renowned *halaszle* fish soup — another national dish in which the addition of paprika drives quite a punch — and Hungary’s famous sour-cherry, apricot and peach chilled soups. And don’t forget the soups whose main ingredients include either beans, lentils, vegetables with pinched dumplings, liver meatballs, potatoes, or even wine and caraway.

Throughout the world, Hungary has become well known, not only for its *gulyas*, but also its elegant cakes and pastries such as the *dobos* sponge cake, layered with a chocolate buttercream filling and crowned with a crust or thin slices of shiny hard caramel, and *kurtos kalacs*, a hollow tubular honey cake commonly referred to as chimney cake. Phyllo, the flaky pastry dough introduced by the Turks in the 17th Century, is used to make strudel, the best-known Hungarian dessert, with apple, cherry or poppyseed fillings. *Palacsinta*, pancakes or crêpes filled with ground walnuts and flambéed in dark chocolate sauce, rank as another outstanding dessert. As a summer treat, Hungarians love ice cream, which is known as *fagyolat*. In addition to the regular flavours of cinnamon, poppyseed and rice, fruit flavours of ice cream coincide with the fruits of the season, starting with strawberry and cherry in the summer and pear and plum as fall approaches.

Please enjoy a little taste of Hungary with my tamed-down version of the country’s famous, and tart, sour-cherry chilled soup. Having originated in Hungary, it has become a summer delicacy in several European cuisines. Traditionally, one serves it at dinner as an appetizer, often with dollops of sour cream, or as a dessert with vanilla ice cream. Bon Appétit! *Jo Etvagyat!*

Sour Cherry Chilled Soup (*Meggyleves*)

Makes about 10-12 small servings

1 jar (28 fl oz or 796 mL) sour cherries,



pitted, in light syrup
 2 small cinnamon sticks
 1 slice fresh orange (thickness: 1/3 inch or 0.8 cm)
 5 cloves
 1/4 tsp (1 mL) salt
 ½ cup (125 mL) sour cream (14 per cent fat)
 3 tbsp (45 mL) heavy cream (35 per cent fat)
 1/4 cup (60 mL) maple syrup
 ½ cup (125 mL) vanilla yogurt (2.9 per cent fat)

1. Place cherries with their juice in a medium-sized saucepan over medium-low heat. Add cinnamon sticks, cloves and salt; bring to a boil. Immediately reduce heat and gently simmer for 5 minutes.
2. Place a large sieve over a medium-sized bowl and drain cherries, reserving the liquid. Transfer cherries to a dinner plate; remove cinnamon sticks, orange slice and cloves and discard. Allow to cool.
3. In a medium-sized bowl, whisk together sour cream and 1/4 cup (60 mL) of cherry liquid. Continue to gradually add the remaining cherry liquid, whisking well between additions.
4. Whisk in heavy cream, then maple syrup and finally yogurt. Add cherries and refrigerate the soup at least overnight or for 24 hours to allow flavours to develop and blend. Serve chilled in 1/3 cup (80 mL) portions. (Note: this soup freezes well.)

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

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Natural wines: A growing 'crush' of many wine lovers



Pieter
Van den Weghe

Many of us share a growing interest in knowing where our food comes from and what happens to it along the way. Not surprisingly, this same curiosity has carried over to wine. Recently, natural wines have become less the secret buzz of sommeliers, and more the new crush of many wine drinkers.

Whether natural or conventional, good winemakers are non-interventionist in principle. Their intent is to stay out of the way of the wine and let it define itself — to work with nature, not against it.

However, winemakers make many decisions about where and when to step in to either protect the wine from develop-

ing faults, or make sure it expresses in a certain way. Along the way, much wine production can end up being quite manipulated. It can be useful to consider the whole of wine production as a spectrum. Wines that are chemically adjusted or physically manipulated are on one end, and wines resulting from the simplest fermentation of grapes are on the other. The more intervention, the more conventional the production is. What sees little or no intervention is natural wine.

Unlike organic and biodynamic wines, which require certification, there is no accreditation for natural wines. Anybody can claim to be a producer. That said, most natural wines are made in small quantities from organically or biodynamically grown grapes that are hand-harvested from low-yielding vineyards. In the winery, vintners neither add nor adjust anything: no sugars, foreign yeasts, acidity or enzymes. There will be no micro-oxygenation or reverse-osmosis. Most natural wines are neither filtered nor fined, and many see no addition of sulphur. If it is added, it's only

in small quantities at the time of bottling.

Wine production is already hard work. Natural winemaking is riskier, more demanding and the monetary reward is typically low. So, why go through it all? Natural winemaking provides a stronger, purer and more honest expression of a vineyard's and vintage's potential.

However, some aspects of many low-intervention wines (such as cloudiness or oxidative notes) are perceived as faults by those who usually drink more conventional wines. For fans, though, those same characteristics are often seen as qualities that are part of the vibrant and compelling personality of natural wines. And, besides tasting better, proponents also feel that natural wine, with its sustainable agriculture and lack of chemical additives, is better for the environment and the consumer.

Southbrook Vineyards was Canada's first biodynamic winery and a pioneer for sustainable winemaking practices in Niagara. Its 2016 skin-fermented Vidal is an orange wine that is also natural. Made from biodynamically farmed grapes, this wine saw 25 days of indigenous yeast fermentation of juice, skins and stems. There was no filtration or additives of any kind. The wine is intensely aromatic, with generous expression of flowers, tea and citrus. Rich and dry, with tannic structure, it is complex and versatile with food. This fascinating Vidal is only available directly from the winery for \$29.75 a bottle.

Pâcina is a small 2,000-case producer in Tuscany. Located in Castenuovo Berardenga, it is situated in the Chianti region, but in 2009, it removed its wines from the appellation, as it didn't like the commercial decisions of the Chianti Consorzio (consortium). Pâcina's non-interventionist methodology means an absence of stainless steel in the cellar and no modern temperature control. Its 2012 Pâcina is a beastly, structured and complex Sangiovese-dominant red. It sees six weeks of fermentation in glazed concrete tanks and 14 months of aging in oak barrels. Only a very small amount of sulphur was added during bottling. Dense and incredibly savoury, this wine will easily provide years of drinking pleasure. It is only available only through The Vine consignment wine agency for \$41.95.

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

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An elegant Turkish mansion in Rockcliffe

Photos by Ashley Fraser



The home of Turkish Ambassador Selçuk Ünal and his wife, Lerzan, is a mansion on a leafy street in Rockcliffe Park.



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When you live in a Rockcliffe mansion with multiple receiving rooms, three guest rooms, 11 bathrooms, a spacious patio, expansive

gardens and an address that is known to be elite, the best way to make it feel like home is to move in with some of your favourite art and pieces of memorabilia.

That's just what Turkish Ambassador Selçuk Ünal and his wife, Lerzan, did when they came to Canada three years ago with their five-year-old daughter, Irmak. Prints, paintings and *objets d'arts* from Turkey and collections from Canada make the formal rooms in the residence seem more like home for the family.

The centre façade of the fabulous brick Georgian Revival house is still much like

it was when it was built in 1928. It has a fine pedigree. It was originally designed by well-known Toronto architect Ferdinand Marani for Hugh McBean Hughson, son of lumber baron W.C. Hughson on luxe Crescent Road, which houses several upscale homes and embassies. Previously the property of the New Zealand High Commission, the house was purchased by the Turkish government in 1999 as part of a property exchange for the Canadian chancery in Ankara. Turkey then expanded the residence by one third, adding two large wings on either side, with



When they moved to Canada, the couple brought some of their favourite art and memorabilia from home.



The home features many fireplaces, including this one, which is located in one of several sitting areas.



The home features an office for work from home, or a place for residence-based meetings when necessary.



The north wing of the house boasts a spacious dining room, complete with a podium at the end, for large gatherings.



These playful elephants, made of silver, were a gift to the Ünal family.



When they leave Canada, the ambassadorial couple will take a 28-year-old Mediterranean-style piano they bought on Kijiji for their daughter.

reception rooms and an expansive dining room, a large commercial kitchen and a private suite for the ambassador and his family on the second floor. To maintain the integrity of the house, the Turkish government worked with local architects and the village of Rockcliffe Park. Specially designed bricks were used to match the original façade.

The first things to notice in the sunny front foyer are two bright panels created from handmade ceramic tiles, one of pomegranates, the other of tulips, both recognizable symbols of Turkey. And just inside the door is a Nazar, a blue eye, one of several in the house, hung there by Lerzan. The eye-shaped amulets are good luck charms, believed to protect against the evil eye.

"This a beautiful house," says the ambassador, who counts stints at the United Nations, Qatar, Geneva and Ireland among his other postings. The couple entertain in the south wing, a long, window-lined cream and white reception room, covered with a collection of Turkish silk and wool rugs. While the furniture covering is mostly turquoise and cream, Lerzan prefers a collection of comfortable red velvet and wood furniture from the 1950s that she retrieved from the embassy on Wurtemberg Street. Several elegant handmade pieces of ceramic and glass from a well-known Turkish company, Pasabahçe, hold places of honour in the room.

"We brought them with us," Lerzan says, "but they will stay here." What will go home with them will be a charming



This ceramic work is from a special collection of a famous Turkish company called Pasabahçe.

28-year-old Mediterranean-style piano they bought on Kijiji for their daughter, along with two antique metronomes, one that is 100 years old, the other 60.

"I like to collect vintage," she says, showing off her collection of blue Wedg-

wood. Along with their favourite paintings of Istanbul and a moody view of the Black Sea coast that are part of the embassy collection, they have added a charming, more modern piece of their own by Turkish painter Yalçın Gökçebağ. Above

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the reception area is the family's private quarters, which includes a bedroom and bathroom along with a sitting room. Their daughter was young when they arrived in Canada, so they turned the neighbouring sitting room into her bedroom.

The north wing of the house boasts a spacious dining room with a podium at the end for large gatherings. The wing includes a full commercial kitchen where a Turkish chef produces the country's specialties, always a feature of ambassadorial entertaining. Lunch on a recent day included lentil soup, a staple of Turkish menus, a celery dish with olive oil in an orange sauce, softened eggplant with lamb and a dessert of shredded dough, milk and walnuts. The chef also often makes baklava, of course.

The house requires at least five staff to keep it ship-shape, but for large crowds, the diplomatic couple often hires more. With a national day at the end of October, when it's a bit cold to host a garden event, and crowds of close to 700 invited every year, the ambassador decided last year to move the party to Lansdowne Park's Horticulture Building, where the embassy could cater its own food. That said, the couple has opened the residence to many local charities, including CHEO, Reach



This sunny foyer is at the front of the residence.

Canada and the Snowflake Ball.

Just off the front hall are the couple's favourite rooms, the original library and Wedgwood blue and white dining room, where they entertain friends and groups. Here they have a few more small treasures, including memorabilia from the Royal Newfoundland Regiment that fought at Gallipoli in the First World War, exquisite pink and gold embroidery from antique Turkish wedding dresses and three large poppy paintings by well known Turkish painter Hikmet Çetinkaya, who often spends his summers in Canada and whose work is included in the Canadian War Museum's collection.

This past summer, the garden apparently produced a bumper crop of fruit and Lerzan planted some magnolias, which made her very happy, she says. Although this posting is probably nearing its end, the couple expect that as a matter of fairness, the next one may well be a hardship post.

But that's not a problem, wherever they go. "The people give love to the house and that makes the house lovely. That's what I believe," Lerzan says with a big smile.

Longtime journalist Margo Roston is *Diplomat's* culture columnist.



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For the love of the salmon

By Donna Jacobs

Photos Martin Silverstone/Atlantic Salmon Federation

In the Rideau Club's windowed room overlooking Parliament Hill, a sold-out crowd of 150, from business people and sports fishermen to ambassadors, ate mounds of land-based farmed smoked salmon, enjoyed fine dining and were captivated by the comically effective auctioneering skills of Rock Fournier.

The Atlantic Salmon Federation's 21st Annual Fall Run Dinner and fundraiser on Oct. 11 grossed \$63,000 for salmon research and conservation to counter the collapse of many salmon populations in Canadian and U.S. rivers and oceans.

Restaurant gift cards, sporting equipment, jewelry, art and clothes were on offer at the silent auction. Live auction items included fishing trips, scotch-tasting and two home-game Senators tickets, donated by Ottawa Senators captain Erik Karlsson, for the 2017-18 season, along with a locker room meet-the-players opportunity.

A dinner for six with Slovakian Ambassador Andrej Droba and his wife, Daniela, at their residence drew lively bidding.

Chung-chen Kung, representative of the Republic of China (Taiwan), and his wife, Triffie, were gladly taken up on their offer for a golf game and dinner for two at The Royal Ottawa Golf Club.

Russian Ambassador Alexander N. Darchiev and Kirill Kalinin, the embassy's press secretary, attended. As Russia has Atlantic and Pacific salmon populations, the ambassador humorously referred to his participation as "salmon diplomacy."

Bill Taylor, president and CEO of the Atlantic Salmon Federation, outlined a few scientific and political initiatives in a brief keynote address.

"We are working towards a new conservation agreement with Greenland's commercial salmon fishermen; we are working closely with Fisheries and Oceans Canada to expand our smolt and adult tracking research to Labrador and Greenland. And we're preparing to go back to court in Newfoundland thanks to the Newfoundland and Labrador government's appeal of our legal victory forcing an environmental assessment of the largest salmon aquaculture proposal in Canadian history," he said.

Only a few weeks afterwards, John Volpe, associate professor at the University of Victoria's School of Environmental Studies, described aquaculture's devastating effects on wild salmon in an article in the *Victoria Times Colonist*. "Over the years, public outrages associated with this industry have unfolded like so many layers of a rotten onion: sea lice, viruses, organic pollution, 10 times the carcinogens in the flesh of farmed salmon versus wild, legal shooting of seal and sea lion 'pests,' whales entangled in nets and anchor lines — and the list goes on. This is all unfolding against a backdrop of vehement objections from First Nations."

Like so many fundraisers — and stay tuned for next October's dinner — people can do a whole lot of good while having a whole lot of fun.



Bill Taylor, president and CEO of the Atlantic Salmon Federation, left, shared a chat and a photo with Slovakian Ambassador Andrej Droba and his wife, Daniela, before the couple's Dining with the Ambassador dinner-for-six at their residence drew animated bidding for the unique experience.



Representative of the Republic of China (Taiwan) Chung-chen Kung and his wife, Triffie, will be joined by winning bidders for a golf game and dinner at The Royal Ottawa Golf Club.



Kirill Kalinin, press secretary at the Russian embassy, left, with Russian Ambassador Alexander N. Darchiev, Pierre Tipple, chairman of the Ottawa dinner committee, and his father-in-law, Mark Ellis, both with RBC Wealth in Ottawa.

New arrivals

Anthanase Boudo
Ambassador of Burkina Faso



Ambassador Boudo began his career as a collections agent for the directorate of treasury and public finances and the directorate of co-operation, where he worked from 1996 to 2001. Between 2003 and 2004, he worked with the standing secretariat for the National Council on Population. The following year, he was head of co-ordination, monitoring and evaluation programs for the same secretariat.

In May 2010, he became a member of the National Assembly and vice-chairman of the commission on finances and budgets, after which he joined the division of financial programs monitoring within the directorate of co-operation. He then joined the national department of education and literacy before returning to the directorate of treasury and public finances.

He has a master's in economics, with specialization in micro-economics, from the Université de Ouagadougou. He is a Knight of the Order of Burkinabé Merit.

Tania Molina Avalos
Ambassador of El Salvador



Ambassador Molina Avalos has a bachelor's degree in international relations and a master's in political management from the Polytechnic University of Madrid, Spain. She joined the foreign ministry in 2009 and began her service as chief of cabinet during the first tenure of Hugo Martinez. In 2014, she became an adviser of the Central America Integration System (SICA) for three years. She also served as an ambassador at the special mission for Central American Integration Affairs at SICA. Ambassador Molina Avalos is a member of the Central America Leadership Initiative and the Aspen Global Institute.

She has represented the foreign ministry as a member of the board of directors of El Salvador's tourism ministry and of the Conference and Convention Center. She has two sons.

Dimitrios Azemopoulos
Ambassador of Greece



Ambassador Azemopoulos has a master's degree in law from the London School of Economics and another in international and European studies from the University of Athens. He is a PhD candidate in international and European studies.

He began his diplomatic career in 1992 as third secretary and was promoted to second secretary within the first three years. In 1995, he posted to Poland, after which he was promoted to first secretary. He soon became second and then first counsellor and worked for several years at the foreign ministry in Athens.

In 2007, he was sent to Norway with concurrent responsibilities in Iceland. Two years later, he was named consul general in Toronto. He returned to headquarters from 2014 to 2016 in the department for European countries and later as director of studies at the Diplomatic Academy and then became head of personnel. Canada is his first ambassadorial appointment.

Pétur Ásgeirsson
Ambassador of Iceland



Ambassador Ásgeirsson studied economics at the University of Stirling in Scotland after having studied law and philosophy at the University of Iceland.

He began his career in 1987 in the monetary policy division of the Central Bank of Iceland, after which he worked for TOK Computer Services and then Apple Iceland as head of the educational division. In 1993, he joined the ministry of science, education and culture, first as a political adviser, then as a specialist in the finance division and finally as head of the division for planning and development.

In 1999, he joined the foreign ministry as deputy director of administration. In 2006, he became the director, and subsequently director-general, for administration and consular affairs. In 2013, he became consul general in Nuuk, Greenland.

The ambassador is married to lawyer Jóhanna Gunnarsdóttir and has two sons.


Kimhiro Ishikane
Ambassador of Japan



Ambassador Ishikane has a bachelor's degree in law from Tokyo University. After completing his degree in 1981, he joined the foreign ministry.

He became first secretary at the embassy in France in 1996 and was then promoted to counsellor in 1998. A year later, he returned to headquarters as director of the first Africa division. In 2001, he became secretary to the chief cabinet secretary and in 2003, director of the loan aid division.

In 2004, he became counsellor at the embassy in the U.S. and was promoted to minister one year later. He then returned to headquarters until 2012, when he became ambassador to ASEAN. In 2014, he became director-general of the international co-operation bureau and then the Asian and Oceanian affairs bureau. In 2016, he became deputy vice-minister for foreign policy before taking up his new posting in Canada.


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Maurizio Carlo Alberto Gelli
Ambassador of Nicaragua



Ambassador Gelli comes to diplomacy from a varied career that spans everything from car sales to newspaper work.

He began his career as a special correspondent for the daily newspaper *IL Piave*, after which, in 1996, he became a client services officer at the Credit Bank of Lugano. He also worked in Brazil, in the division of agriculture and cattle at the ministry of finance.

Until 2003, he was an official representative for Daimler Chrysler in the province of Arezzo, after which he spent some time as a real estate executive. He then became the official representative for Mercedes Benz and Smart cars, also in Arezzo province in 2006. Finally, he served as official representative for Honda in the same region in 2008.

In 2009, he was sent to Nicaragua's embassy in Uruguay as minister-counsellor. He was soon named ambassador at the same posting.

Adeyinka Olatokunbo Asekun
High Commissioner for Nigeria



High Commissioner Asekun has more than 30 years of experience in marketing and sales. Prior to his posting to Canada, he served as chairman of the board of WEMA Bank and

founder and CEO of Hebron Ltd, a training and consulting firm.

He began his career at the multinational SC Johnson & Son (U.S) in 1983. He has since worked in managerial positions abroad and in Nigeria. He worked at the International Merchant Bank and was head of retail banking at Oceanic Bank. He was head of the national sales force and head of retail credit products at United Bank of Africa, and acting managing director of Oceanic Homes.

Asekun is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin, where he obtained a bachelor of business administration, majoring in marketing. He also has an MBA from California State University.

Martin Alberto Vizcarra Cornejo
Ambassador of Peru



Ambassador Vizcarra Cornejo comes to the world of diplomacy from business and politics. He began his career as executive director and manager of a construction project

in the Pasto Grande region of Peru from 1988 to 1991.

He then joined CyM Vizcarra SAC, an engineering and architectural firm, where he worked from 1992 to 2010.

From 2011 to 2014, he was president of the regional government of Moquegua. In 2016, he became first vice-president of Peru and was minister of transport and communications from August 2016 to May 2017.

The ambassador studied civil engineering at the National University of Engineering between 1979 and 1984. He is a promoter of dialogue to help resolve social conflicts and wrote a book on the subject for the UN Development Program.

Mohamed Imed Torjemane
Ambassador of Tunisia



After completing a bachelor's degree in translation, Ambassador Torjemane spent the first five years of his career, between 1984 and 1989, working as a freelance

translator in Paris. In 1989, he began studies at the diplomatic institute of Tunisia's foreign ministry.

He joined the information division of the foreign ministry in 1991 and was named deputy-consul to Hamburg in 1993. He returned to headquarters in 1998 as head of the Europe division before being posted as consul in Naples in 2003.

In 2008, he returned to headquarters to become deputy director of relations with the European Union and was then sent to Hamburg again, this time as consul, between 2010 and 2015.

From 2016 until his Ottawa posting, he worked at headquarters as director of bilateral relations with African countries.

The ambassador is married and a father of two children.

Kelly Craft
Ambassador of the United States



Ambassador Craft is an entrepreneur and philanthropist. She has served on the boards of the Kentucky Arts Council, the Lexington Philharmonic, YMCA of Central Kentucky

and the United Way of The Bluegrass. In addition, she has served on the board of trustees of the University of Kentucky and co-founded the Morehead State University Craft Academy for Excellence in Science and Mathematics, which nurtures the academic talents of young Kentuckians.

In the private sector, she founded Kelly G. Knight LLC, a marketing and business advisory firm that provides leadership advice to businesses. In 2007, president George W. Bush appointed her an alternate delegate to the UN General Assembly.

Craft is a graduate of the University of Kentucky and holds an honorary doctorate from Morehead State University. She is married to American businessman Joe Craft.

Felix Nicholas Mfula
High Commissioner for Zambia



High Commissioner Mfula spent much of his career — 1975 to 2007 — working for the Bank of Zambia. From 1995 to 2002, he served as regional director of the Bank of

Zambia for four provinces. In 2002, he became deputy governor of the Bank of Zambia, a position he held for five years.

When he left the bank, he became chief operating officer and owner of Prifex Enterprises Ltd. and Prifex Hotels Ltd., a professional cleaning service and landscaping company and a 78-room hotel.

Politically, he has served as the northern province's chairman for the Patriotic Front, Zambia's ruling party, since 2014.

He studied economics in Zambia, banking in Washington and Zambia and "financial engineering" in New York. He has a master's of business administration from Delft University in the Netherlands.

Non-heads of mission

Algeria

Abdenacer Kateb
Counsellor

Benin

Patricia Akouavi Quenum
Attaché

Brazil

Daniel Santos Nogueira Arneiro
Attaché

Fabio Benvenuti Castro
Military attaché

Burkina Faso

Yacouba Damoue
Counsellor

Marcelline Damoue Zombra
Attaché

Djibouti

Ismail Mohamed Djama
Counsellor

Ethiopia

Legesse Geremew Haile
Deputy head of mission

Ghana

Abubakari Abudu Yidana
Counsellor

Greece

Sophia Tsamicha
Minister

Iraq

Mahdi Abdullah Mahal
First secretary

Kauther Safaa Ahmed Al-Nadawi
Third secretary

Italy

Spartaco Caldararo
Counsellor

Fabrizio Martinelli
Attaché

Libya

Tarek M.A. Alnajeh
Counsellor

Fateh .M.A. Benelhaj
Counsellor

Mexico

Manuel Julio Dominguez Arana
Counsellor

Morocco

M Hammel Derouich
Minister

New Zealand

Marta Mager
Counsellor

Nigeria

Muhammed Ismaila
Counsellor

Romania

Dumitru-Nicanor Teculescu
Minister

Russia

Evgeny Khudynin
Third secretary

Alexander Karmanov
Counsellor

Alexey Kuchuk
Assistant military attaché

Saudi Arabia

Hassan Abdullah Hassan Al Shahrani
Attaché

Abdulmajeed Mohammed A. Al Humrah
Attaché

Sudan

Tamim Ali Tamim Fartak
First secretary

United Kingdom

Andrew Lamb Silander
Second secretary

United States of America

Leonard Martin Johnston
Assistant attaché

Renee Ann Garcia
Second secretary

Latifa Bousaidi Taylor
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1. Borden Ladner Gervais LLP and Chinese Law Firm Panawell hosted a talk on intellectual property protection. From left: Paul Fortin, of BLG, and William Yang, partner at Panawell. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. A program to inaugurate the National Holocaust Monument took place at Library and Archives Canada. From left: Mathieu Schuster, political counsellor at the French embassy; Polish Ambassador Andrzej Kurnicki; Mina Cohn, director of the centre for Holocaust education and scholarship at Carleton University's Zelikovitz Centre for Jewish Studies; and Urs Obrist, from Swiss embassy. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. The Beijing government and the Chinese embassy hosted Beijing Week at Lansdowne Park's Horticulture Building. These dancers performed at the opening ceremony. The event introduced plans for the 2019 Beijing International Horticultural Exposition and 2022 Beijing Olympic Winter Games. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. In celebration of the 68th Anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Ambassador Shaye Lu hosted a reception at the embassy. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. To celebrate Canada's 150th anniversary and in honour of the visit of Barbadian Prime Minister Freundel Stuart, High Commissioner Yvonne V. Walkes hosted a reception at Lansdowne Park's Horticulture Building. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 6. Spanish Ambassador Enrique Ruiz Molero and his wife, Leticia Herberg Carrera, hosted a national day celebration at Lansdowne Park's Horticulture Building. (Photo: Ülle Baum)



1. Finnish Ambassador Vesa Lehtonen and his wife, Pirjetta Manninen, hosted a reception after the Lapland Chamber Orchestra performed at the National Arts Centre. From left: Manninen, Lehtonen, Sari Musta-White and Senator Vernon White. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. Israeli Ambassador Nimrod Barkan greets U.S. Ambassador Kelly Craft at his Maccabees to Jubilees event at the Rideau Club. The event celebrated the start of Hanukkah as well as the 120th anniversary of the First Zionist Congress, the 100th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, the 70th anniversary of UN resolution 181 and the 50th anniversary of the Six-Day War and reunification of Jerusalem. (Photo: Howard Sandler) 3. Malu Dreyer, president of Germany's Bundesrat and minister president of the state of Rhineland-Palatinate, held a press conference at Impact Hub Ottawa. Shown are Dreyer, left, and German Ambassador Sabine Sparwasser. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. On the occasion of the 61st anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, Hungarian Ambassador Bálint Ódor hosted a reception at his Centretown residence. From left: MP Harold Albrecht and Ódor. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. Indonesian Ambassador Teuku Faizasyah and his wife, Andis Erawan Faizasyah, hosted a reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier in honour of Indonesia's 72 years of independence. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. This dancer took part in a cultural performance to celebrate Indonesia's independence day. (Photo: Ülke Baum)

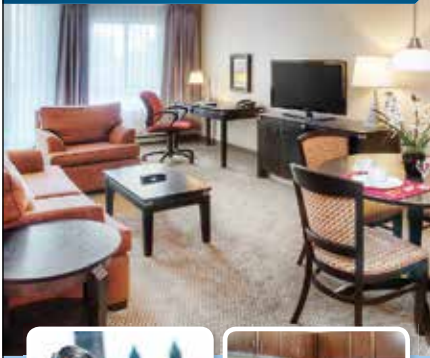


1. Italian Ambassador Claudio Taffuri hosted a dinner at his home to celebrate the International Week of Italian Cuisine. From left: Beverley McLachlin, her husband, Frank McArdle, Maria Enrica Francesca Stajano and Taffuri. 2. The Fairmont Château Laurier hosted a 20th anniversary Trees of Hope for CHEO event and silent auction. From left: Bill Malhotra, CEO of Claridge Homes; Cindy Sezlik, of Royal LePage Realty (Sezlik.com); and Wendy Sewell, assistant defence attaché at the embassy of Netherlands. Sezlik's Christmas tree was deemed the most beautifully decorated. 3. Punta Cana and San Miguel de Allende, a colonial-area city in Mexico's central highlands, were both promoted at Montreal's international tourism and travel show. These dancers from the Ballet Folklórico Xcaret performed. 4. Nepalese Ambassador Kali Prasad Pokhrel and his wife, Karmal, hosted a national day reception at Ottawa City Hall. 5. Chung-chen Kung, head of mission at the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office, hosted a reception to mark the 106th National Day of Taiwan at the Fairmont Château Laurier. 6. The 32nd European Union Film Festival Opening Gala took place at the National Gallery of Canada. From left: Estonian Ambassador Gita Kalmet and Tom McSorley, executive director of the Canadian Film Institute. An Estonian action-comedy titled *The Dissidents* was screened. (All photos by Ülle Baum)



1. The Al-Arz Lebanese Art Group, a North American Lebanese dance group, participated at Ottawa Welcomes the World festivities during the Lebanese national day reception at Lansdowne Park's Horticulture Building. Dancers are shown with Tony Yazbek, founder and leader of the group. 2. Lebanese chargé d'affaires Sami Haddad and his wife, Nadia, hosted a national day reception at Lansdowne Park's Horticulture Building. 3. Latvian Ambassador Karlis Eihenbaums and his wife, Inara Eihenbauma, hosted a 99th independence day reception at Ottawa City Hall. 4. The Senegalese Agency for Tourism Promotion and the embassy of Senegal participated at the International Tourism and Travel Show in Montreal. From left: Badiene Arseneault of New Brunswick, and Ramatoulaye Ba, partnership co-ordinator for the Senegalese Agency for Tourism Promotion. 5. To commemorate the 60th Anniversary of Malaysia-Canada relations, Malaysian High Commissioner Aminah Binti Hj A Karim, and her husband, A.G. Shaharudin, hosted a Taste of Malaysia event at Cadieux Auditorium, Global Affairs Canada. Dancer Isfarisha Sakina, of Singapore's Sri Warisan group, performed. (All photos by Ülle Baum)

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1. An exhibit of works by artist Mirana Zuger was presented at the embassy of Croatia. From left: Croatian Ambassador Marica Matkovic; Zuger; her husband, Alejandro Salgado Cendales; and Sanjeev Sivarulrasa, director of the Sivarulrasa Gallery. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. House of Commons Speaker Geoff Regan and EU Ambassador Peteris Ustubs hosted an awards ceremony in Parliament in honour of the EU-Canada Young Journalist Fellowship. From left: Regan, Ustubs, and Marie-Danielle Smith, one of three winners. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. Hungarian month took place at the National Capital Commission's International Pavilion. From left: István Ijgyártó, minister of state for cultural and science diplomacy in Hungary, Mark Kristmanson, CEO of the NCC, and Hungarian Ambassador Bálint Ódor. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. To mark Korea's national and armed forces days, Ambassador Shin Maengho and his wife, Lee Dongmin, with Senator Yonah Martin, hosted a reception. From left: Michael Wernick, clerk of the Privy Council; Senator Joseph A. Day; Shin and Lee. (Photo: Ülle Baum)



1. Cameroonian High Commissioner Anu'a Gheyle Solomon Azoh-Mbi and Marilyn Collette, chairwoman of the board of Mercy Ships Canada, hosted a reception to celebrate the arrival of the *Africa Mercy*, the world's largest non-governmental hospital ship, to the port of Douala. From left: Mercy Enow Egbe Epshe Azoh Mbi, her husband, Anu'a Gheyle Azoh-Mbi, and Collette. 2. Saudi Arabia's national day took place at Lansdowne Park. From left: Ambassador Naif Alsudairy, Ottawa Mayor Jim Watson and Abdulaziz bin Salamah, adviser to the Saudi minister of culture and information. 3. A cultural exchange delegation from Xinjiang, China, held a round table at the Courtyard Marriott Hotel. From left: Alimujiang Yasheng, deputy director of the Xinjiang Autonomous Region Development and Reform Commission; Zuo Feng, deputy director general of the state council information office; and Yang Yundong, counsellor at the Chinese Embassy. 4. To mark Austria's national day, Ambassador Stefan Pehringer and his wife, Debra Jean, hosted a Viennese chamber recital and reception. Here, renowned Austrian cellist Friedrich Kleinhapl plays. He was accompanied by Andreas Woyke on piano. 5. South African High Commissioner Sibongiseni Dlamini-Mntambo, left, presented a lecture at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs' Ambassadors Speaker Series. She's shown with André Plourde, dean of Carleton's public affairs faculty. 6. Outgoing Japanese Ambassador Kenjiro Monji and his wife, Etsuko, received more than 8,000 guests at a Japanese festival they hosted at Lansdowne Park. (All photos by Ulle Baum)



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Indonesia: A world of wonder waiting for you



Indonesian women dance during a Balinese Melasti procession, a purification ceremony leading to the Nyepi holy day.



By *Teuku Faizasyah*

When you work hard, you need to play harder. So why not recharge your batteries by travel-

ling to Indonesia? It's a place to relax your mind, reset your psyche and reconnect with your inner self.

Indonesia is the biggest archipelago in the world; it will take you 37 years if you visit one island a day. It is home to myriad arrays of flora and fauna, boasting cultures of people from more than 300 ethnic groups and an astonishing variety of landscapes — mountains and volcanoes, undulating hills, primeval rainforests, sandy beaches and serpentine rivers.

Here, I will give you a glimpse of places

to visit in Indonesia and some insights on what to expect and do.

For nature lovers

Indonesia's coastline of 54,716 kilometres is the second-longest in the world after Canada's. An extensive length of the Indonesian coastline is laced with exquisite beaches in white, pink, cream and even black sand. The choices between mirror-like ocean waters or high waves will suit everyone, including extreme surfers.

Because Bali's beaches are a magnet for

tourists, Lombok, an island a 30-minute flight away from Bali, is my favourite beach destination. You may also have heard of the Gili Islands, a group of islets near Senggigi Beach. These gems are just off the west coast of Lombok and consist of the three picturesque islets of Gili Trawangan, Gili Meno and Gili Air. They will soothe your eyes with glistening sands, festive coral reefs and turquoise water. Each has its own reputation: Gili Trawangan is dubbed the party island; Gili Meno, with its tranquil and romantic flair, makes it a haven for couples; and Gili Air is known for its developed local community.

At the Gili Islands, snorkelling and diving are highly recommended; however, lying on the beach or sunbathing is also rewarding. Because there are no cars or motorcycles to disturb the peace, it is easy to enjoy the serenity.

Meanwhile, if you go inland on Lombok, you'll have the chance to hike up to Rinjani Mountain, which will give you a breathtaking view from its 3,726-metre elevation. Rinjani is the second-highest volcano in Indonesia after Gunung Kerinci in West Sumatra. There are options to lengthen or shorten your trek. A half-day hike will take you to two gorgeous waterfalls, and a two-day hike will take you up to the Rinjani crater, known as Segara Anak.

For thrill-seekers, hiking an active volcano is also an option. The island of Anak Krakatau, located in the Sunda Straits between the islands of Java and Sumatra, is accessible to the public. It dates back to 1927 when it emerged from the caldera of the renowned Krakatoa Volcano that erupted in August 1883.

Taking the trip to Anak Krakatau requires some preparation. You must first book a fast boat in advance and stay two days at Carita Beach, a two-hour drive from Jakarta, Indonesia's capital city.

My family made this trip. We started early, taking a speed boat for a two-hour ride to reach the Anak Krakatau. Climbing the volcano looked easy as it was not very high, but our eyes fooled us. The thick black sand that covered the volcano made the hike slow and challenging. However, when we reached the top, near the volcano's smoking crater, we had a spectacular view of the Sunda Strait. Some at the top put a positive spin on it by sand boarding and BMX bike riding down the volcano.

The Sunda Strait is an excellent spot for fishing. Boarding a wooden traditional boat or speedboat from Labuan, you can try droplining for wahoo, grouper and



The latest tourist draw for eastern Indonesia is the Raja Ampat in West Papua. Dotted with cones of jungle-covered islands, it is known for its beaches and coral reefs.



A gudeg meal, pictured here, is the ultimate Yogya delicacy and usually ends with hot sweet tea.



This Buddha statue is one of 72 that sit around the circular platforms of the Borobudur Temple. The temple was built between the 8th and 9th Centuries AD during the Syailendra Dynasty. The Borobudur was listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1991.



A traditional horse cart, known as an *andong*, transports passengers who are enjoying the view of Parangtritis Beach, Yogyakarta.

mahi-mahi. The usual main attraction is trolling for black marlin. The journey can be more lively if your aquatic friends, the dolphins, are in a playful mood.

From Carita Beach, the active Anak Krakatau sometimes emits sparks of red lava that compete with twinkling stars. If you catch it, it's a worthwhile experience.

Ujung Kulon National Park, which stretches across parts of Java, Krakatoa, Peucang and the Panaitan islands, was listed as a UNESCO Natural Heritage site in February 1992. The national park is home to endangered one-horned Javan rhinoceros, Javan gibbons, Javan leaf monkeys, more than 270 species of birds and many species of endangered plants.

For the culture enthusiast

Indonesia is blessed by many ethnic groups, each with its own distinct culture. You can visit ancient kingdoms and historic temples and witness rituals and ceremonies. Bali Island and Yogyakarta are the most visited places for their unique cultures. Few will find a ceremony that is as rare as Pasola in Sumba Island, East Nusa Tenggara. Pasola is a competition that features spear throwers riding bare-back on horses.

Yogyakarta is a province in Java born of an ancient kingdom. It is the only province in Indonesia led by a sultan. Yogya, for short, is a place where you can marvel at the art and culture of Java.

You can experience life in a palace at Kraton, the sultan's home. Here, you'll see the important ceremonies and cultural functions of the court. In the inner pavilion, you can see traditional dance performances, hear a gamelan orchestra, made up mostly of percussive instruments, and watch puppet shows and Javanese poetry readings.

Street food can be found in the evening along Malioboro Street, in the heart of Yogyakarta. The typical food from this area is *gudeg*, a Yogya dish made of young jackfruit simmered in coconut milk and spices and cooked for several hours.

Nearby, in Yogyakarta, you can visit both the Hindu temple of Prambanan and the world's largest Buddhist temple, Borobudur, a UNESCO cultural heritage site. Borobudur was built in the 9th Century, during the Syailendra dynasty. It is decorated with 2,672 relief panels and 504 Buddha statues. The central dome is surrounded by 72 Buddha statues, caged inside perforated stupas or mound-shaped structures. The bas-reliefs depict the journey of Sidharta Gautama in search of enlightenment.

The Hindu temple, known as Candi

Prambanan or Candi Rara Jonggrang, on the other hand, was dedicated to the three gods in Hindu cosmology: Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. Do not miss the Ramayana Ballet performance under the full moon while you are here.

Your journey is not complete without a visit to the capital city of Jakarta. More than skyscrapers and glamorous malls, it is the epitome of modern Indonesia. Spend a night or two in one of several five-star hotels on the historic Hotel Indonesia's roundabout known as Bundaran HI. Seen as the heart of Jakarta, this area is the economic and government centre during weekdays and the social and community axis on weekends. Jakarta holds an annual jazz festival in March. Java Jazz is the biggest festival in the southern hemisphere, featuring local and international jazz stars.

Indonesia has so much more to share with travellers of the world, namely food. Two of our dishes — Rendang and Nasi goreng — are ranked No. 1 and 2 in *CNN's* 50 best foods in the world. Rendang is a slow-cooked meat dish made with coconut milk and seasoned with such spices as chili, ginger and turmeric. Nasi goreng (fried rice) is made with meat, shrimp, eggs and chicken and flavoured with sweet soy sauce, garlic, shallots, tamarind, shrimp paste and chili.

Surf the waves of Nias beaches in North Sumatra. Encounter the Komodo dragon on Komodo Island and climb the Kelimutu to be amazed by the enigmatic tricolour crater lakes in East Nusa Tenggara. Cruise along the rivers in the heart of the tropical rainforest of Central Kalimantan to greet the gentle orangutan.

Finally, it's an Indonesian custom to bring *oleh-oleh* or a gift to family and friends back home. There are unique choices of souvenirs, including silver arts and crafts, wooden or leather puppets, miniature angklung (bamboo musical instruments) and Batik textiles. In fact, Batik was named an intangible heritage treasure by UNESCO in 2009. Nonetheless, the most precious gift to take home is your memories of your unforgettable trip to Indonesia.

The rich and famous have been moved by my country. Singer David Bowie, actress Julia Roberts, actor Charlie Chaplin and German artist Walter Spies have all claimed to love Indonesia for all the above reasons and its warmth and wonder. The magic will still be here waiting to welcome you.

Teuku Faizasyah is the Indonesian ambassador to Canada.



An aerial view of the Bundaran Hotel Indonesia, in Jakarta. At the centre of the roundabout, surrounded by a water fountain, is the *Selamat Datang* "welcome" Monument. Every Sunday morning during Car-Free Days, the roundabout fills with people jogging, cycling and walking.



Artisans make Batik designs using wax and dye. Designated by UNESCO as a Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, Batik is an honoured legacy of Indonesia.



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4	Sri Lanka	National Day
6	New Zealand	National Day
7	Grenada	Independence Day
11	Iran	National Day
15	Serbia	National Day
16	Lithuania	Independence Day
17	Kosovo	Independence Day
18	Gambia	Independence Day
22	Saint Lucia	Independence Day
23	Brunei Darussalam	National Day
23	Guyana	Republic Day
24	Estonia	Independence Day
25	Kuwait	National Day
27	Dominican Republic	Independence Day
March		
3	Bulgaria	National Day
6	Ghana	National Day
12	Mauritius	National Day
17	Ireland	St. Patrick's Day
20	Tunisia	Proclamation of Independence
23	Pakistan	Pakistan Day
25	Greece	Independence Day
26	Bangladesh	National Day
April		
4	Senegal	Independence Day
16	Denmark	Birthday of Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II
17	Syria	National Day
18	Zimbabwe	Independence Day
18	Israel	Independence Day
19	Holy See	Election Day of Pope
26	Tanzania	Union Day
27	Sierra Leone	Republic Day
27	South Africa	Freedom Day
27	Togo	National Day
27	Netherlands	King's Day

PERSPECTIVE

WITH ALISON SMITH

SUNDAYS

10:30 AM, 12 PM AND 8 PM ET

With contributions from the field and expert analysis, each week we provide a Canadian perspective on international affairs. Take a closer look at how Canada sees the world, and how the world sees us.



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MIKE BEDELL WWW.MIKEBEDELLPHOTO.CA

Photographer Mike Beedell: "I met this Arctic wolf on Ellesmere Island in Quttinirpaaq National Park. Known as *Canis lupus arctos*, these are some of the most northerly existing wolves in the world. They have little fear of humans because they have not been hunted for centuries. Consequently, they are curious and playful. Once, I had a young male come to my tent, grab one of my hiking boots and run off with it as a play toy. Fortunately, he dropped his novelty nearby and I was able to keep hiking. The major diet of these wolves is muskox, Peary caribou and Arctic hare. They range in size from 1.3 to 1.8 metres, including tail. Males generally weigh up to 46 kilograms and females up to 38 kilograms. They sometimes hunt seals on sea ice and hunting is no playful matter. A pack of Arctic wolves will pull down a large muskox in an awesome display of power, pack collaboration and tenacity."



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