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Table of Contents

DIPLOMATICA |

Letters to the editor 14
Cartoons from around the world 15
Fen Hampson on former PM Brian Mulroney's growing legacy 20
Questions Asked: Armed conflict expert Simon Palamar 24
Good deeds: Korean cuisine raises funds for brain injuries 30
Diplomatic Agenda: Poland perseveres despite its neighbourhood. 32
Notes from the field: CAWST funds clean water worldwide 34
Trade Winds: Moldova, Paraguay and Switzerland 36

DISPATCHES |

The summer travel issue

15 great global destinations with sand, city and sun 40
Staying in Ottawa? 15 delightful day trips 50

Special report on water and sanitation

The world's water report: Where we stand right now 52
Empowering Indian women, making Madagascar more water secure and improving maternal and infant health in Tanzania 54

China's Arctic ambitions in North America 62
Introducing the IICA: North America's agri-watchdog 68
Column: Robert Rotberg on Ramaphosa's South Africa. 70
The B7: Business minds meet in advance of G7. 73

DELIGHTS |

Books: On North Korea's regime and Myanmar's Rohingyas 76
Entertaining: Four recipes for summer entertaining. 80
Larry Dickenson: Farewell to a friend and diplomat 83
Wine: Orange wine and its origins. 84
Residences: Slovakia's modern ambassadorial abode. 86
Envoy's Album 96
Photo Finish: Mike Beedell's orangutan mother and baby 112

DIGNITARIES |

New arrivals in the diplomatic corps 94

DIPLOMATIC LISTINGS 102

DESTINATIONS |

Italy: The world's No. 1 tourist destination 106

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Jennifer Campbell

Summer means travel time

There are some destinations that just seem to have it all: Beaches, hiking and biking paths and urban opportunities that offer a fast-paced social scene and plenty of culture. To me, that place is Barcelona, with its magnificent architecture, world-class galleries and its ideal location, perched on the Mediterranean. But Barcelona is already well known as a destination. For our annual travel edition, writer Wolfgang Depner chose 15 places that are a little less likely to be on your radar, but still offer the same fantastic list of things to do.

For those who are staying closer to home this summer, writer Patrick Langston came up with a bunch of day trips that can be done from Ottawa. His list of 15 features a quirky castle, serene cemeteries and a sculpture garden, to name a few.

We also thought the summer issue would be a good time to update our readers on water issues, namely how the world's poorest are faring when it comes to clean water and sanitation. To that end, four writers from WaterAid, a global organization that has offices in Ottawa, give us the low-down. In this special report, we learn that 844 million people around the world still don't have access to clean running water. And it's not just the poorest who are experiencing and will experience this strife — 50 per cent of humanity lives in areas of water stress. The crisis in sanitation and hygiene is even more pronounced — one in three people, or 2.3 billion, lack access to a decent household toilet. In addition to an overview of the situation, with those numbers and more, we also have full stories on the individual

situations in Tanzania, Madagascar and India.

Also in Dispatches, Lindsay Rodman discusses China's Arctic ambitions in North America. When the emerging superpower's Arctic policy was released earlier this year, the news cycle was fixated on its links to Russia and its plans for the Northern Sea Route, but China's ambitions run deeper — all the way to the North American Arctic, where its deep pockets may be useful. That usefulness, however, must be balanced with the security concerns that involving China could create.

Further, we have a feature on the Inter-American Institute for Co-operation on Agriculture, which has offices in Ottawa. Then, Africa columnist Robert Rotberg discusses his hope for South Africa's new leader, Cyril Ramaphosa; while trade columnist Perrin Beatty briefs readers on the B7, a meeting of business minds hosted by Canada's Chamber of Commerce in advance of the G7 in June.

In our Delights section, books columnist Janice Dickson discusses titles about North Korea's "hermit" regime, the Rohingya of Myanmar and music in the Middle East.

In this section, we also have a new face. Wine columnist Alex McMahon, sommelier at Ottawa's celebrated Riviera, will share his deep wine knowledge on our pages. He starts by discussing a personal passion — orange wines.

Food columnist Margaret Dickenson meanwhile is revisiting some of her favourite recipes. In this issue, we have a complete meal — a full four courses if you want to make them all — for a summer dinner party.

In residences, columnist Margo Roston and photographer Ashley Fraser spent some time with Slovakian Ambassador Andrej Droba and his wife, Daniela.

Finally, Italian Ambassador Claudio Taffuri takes us on his own tour of his beloved home country, which he notes is the third most well known country on the planet, as well as its most popular tourist destination.

Jennifer Campbell is editor of *Diplomat*.

Lindsay Rodman



Lindsay L. Rodman is the Council on Foreign Relations' International Affairs Fellow (Canada), working out of the University of Ottawa, and a fellow with the Canadian Global Affairs Institute.

She has previously served on active duty in the U.S. Marine Corps, the U.S. Department of Defense as a civilian, and on the National Security Council in the White House.

She is a national security law and defence policy expert, specializing in Arctic security.

Alex McMahon



Alex McMahon is the wine director at the Riviera restaurant in Ottawa and co-founder of the natural wine symposium "wines by nature."

McMahon discovered his love for wine while working as a busboy at Beckta dining & wine. Realizing this was a career path he wanted to follow, he quickly moved up the ranks at some of Ottawa's top restaurants, including Backlane Café and Fauna food + bar.

McMahon's passion for hospitality and organic, natural wines led him to Copenhagen's world-famous Noma restaurant in 2016. There he had an opportunity to work as an intern and hone his skills.

In 2017, he was recognized by the Ontario Hospitality Institute as one of the hospitality industry's top 30 under-30 in the province.

UP FRONT

Our annual travel edition this year features vacations that offer everything you'd ever want, including sun, surf, culture, city life and pastoral scenes. The package, which begins on page 41, also includes a story on day trips from the Ottawa area. Here, you'll find a sculpture garden, cemetery tours, a quirky castle in the Thousand Islands, and more.



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Letters to the editor

Re: Putin's predictable election, April 2018

I am writing in response to Derek Fraser's article. Below, in quotes, I've chosen key statements that I will respond to or enlarge upon.

Re: "His officials counted the ballots. What remained to be seen was the size of the turnout and the public reaction to the official results."

The recent presidential election in Russia focused on obtaining a high voter turnout, especially in Crimea, to justify its annexation. To minimize protests, the budget for policing was increased and a Putin National Guard was established.

Re: "Russia's aggressive foreign policy is dictated by external factors. Those include the conviction that the West is trespassing on Russia's traditional zone of influence and seeking to overthrow the established order in Russia itself, and the perception of a loss of Russia's great power status with the collapse of the Soviet Union."

Putin claims Russia was deceived because NATO pledged to then-secretary general Mikhail Gorbachev not to expand into the territories of the former Soviet Union. Putin used this to interfere brutally in the domestic affairs of Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova when each declared a European Union focus. He was never interested in the destiny of residents in Donetsk and Luhansk in Ukraine, the Transnistrian Moldovan Republic in Moldova, or Abkhazia and North Ossetia in Georgia.

These sham republics were created simply to prevent European integration. The separatist clashes took place with the direct support of Russia. In Moldova, it was the 14th Army; in Georgia, an invasion up to Tbilisi; in Ukraine, the direct annexation of Crimea and huge undercover support for the separatists.

As a component of hybrid warfare, Russian propaganda uses recognized worldwide revolutionary clichés — Russian Spring, for example, brings to mind the Arab Spring, but refers to spring of 2014 when Crimean residents voted in a sham referendum to join Russia. The

population of Donbas was deceived by an unofficial promise that they would follow Crimea in joining Russia.

Re: "Its geopolitical détente with China enables both countries better to resist pressure from the United States."

In global politics, Putin focuses on friendship with China, India and toxic Iran, but this is essentially a smokescreen as the economy of China is closely integrated with those of the U.S. and Europe. Rapprochement based on the common Communist past of Russia is insufficient today for the party-state in China.

India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi, despite his visits to Russia, publicly admits Moscow is not a key player militarily, saying nothing about its economy. Iran's regime realizes that Russia wants to use it as an irritant in geopolitical mischief with the United States, but even from a short-term perspective, this is problematic because Tehran is currently under economic sanctions and wants no additional ones.

Re: "Russia's intervention in the Syrian civil war in alliance with Iran and Hezbollah on the side of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad has, for the first time since the fall of the Soviet Union, made it a major player in the Middle East."

Becoming a "major player in the Middle East" was important, but the main purpose of Russian military support for Assad was to safeguard its Gazprom exports to Western Europe and Eastern Europe. Assad's fall would inevitably lead to an alternative Qatar-Syria-Turkey-Europe gas pipeline, seriously undermining Gazprom.

Re: "Russia's annexation of Crimea and its invasion of the Donbas in Eastern Ukraine have led to a crisis in relations with the Euro-Atlantic community."

Russian diplomats act through Italy's Silvio Berlusconi, the Czech Republic's Miloš Zeman, Hungary's Viktor Orban, France's Marine Le Pen and Germany's Gerhard Schröder, seeking to weaken economic sanctions.

Re: "By the time of Peter the Great... Russia had none of the limits on the powers of the monarch that existed even in absolutist monarchies at that time in Western Europe."

Until the annexation of Crimea in 2014

and with relatively good relations until then with the West, the Kremlin compared Putin with Peter the Great, who copied much from Europe, including the national flag. After Crimea, comparisons with Emperor Alexander I became more relevant. Today, Kremlin propaganda features the precedent of the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815), convened by Alexander I, to constitute an array of autonomous new nations, with the Astana Process chaired by Putin, meant to establish a post-war Syria. This foresees uniting 12 opposition rebel factions around Assad under guarantees from Russia, Turkey and Iran. During the Astana talks, pro-Kremlin mass media praised the victory of Putin over the inhumane ISIS forces as somehow akin to Alexander's defeat of Napoleon.

— Dmytro Pavel, dmytro_pavel@ukr.net

We are all immigrants

I was disappointed, but not surprised, to see from your editor's note in the Spring issue that you have succumbed to the politically correct school that promotes and exploits the wedge argument that the "Indigenous" people here are different from all the rest of us "migrants/settlers" and therefore entitled to be given special consideration in many forms. That seems to put you at odds with the article on p. 41 by Wolfgang Depner, who writes, "The story of humanity is the story of migration since the first humans left Africa...." He is, of course, correct. All of us in this country are immigrants or their descendants. The only difference is the timing of the migration.

There seems to be no generally agreed-upon definition of "Indigenous people." The first settlers of Canada were not born here, they came from elsewhere, as did your ancestors and mine.

There is no doubt that the first settlers suffered in many ways at the hands of later, more powerful ones, and not just Europeans, but that, again, is the history of humanity. It is past time that we accept the inconvenient truth that the history of migration to Canada has been part of the history of the population of the world.

— D. M. Macpherson

Political commentary from around the world



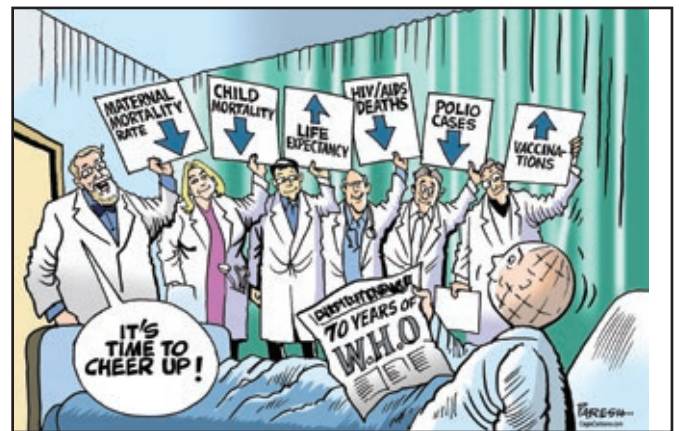
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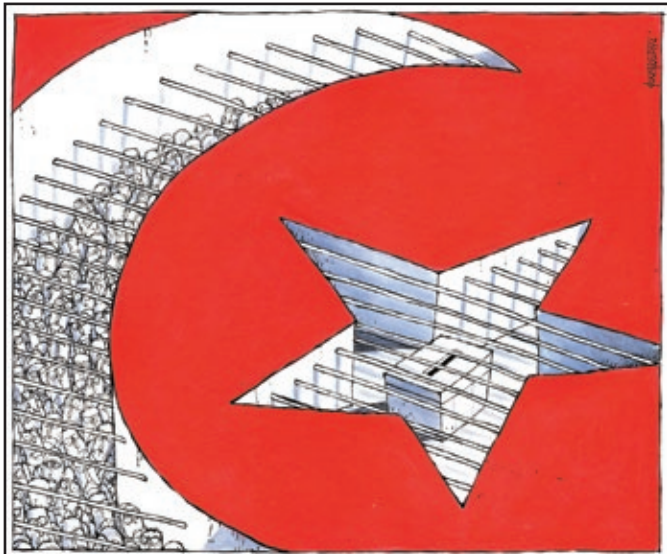
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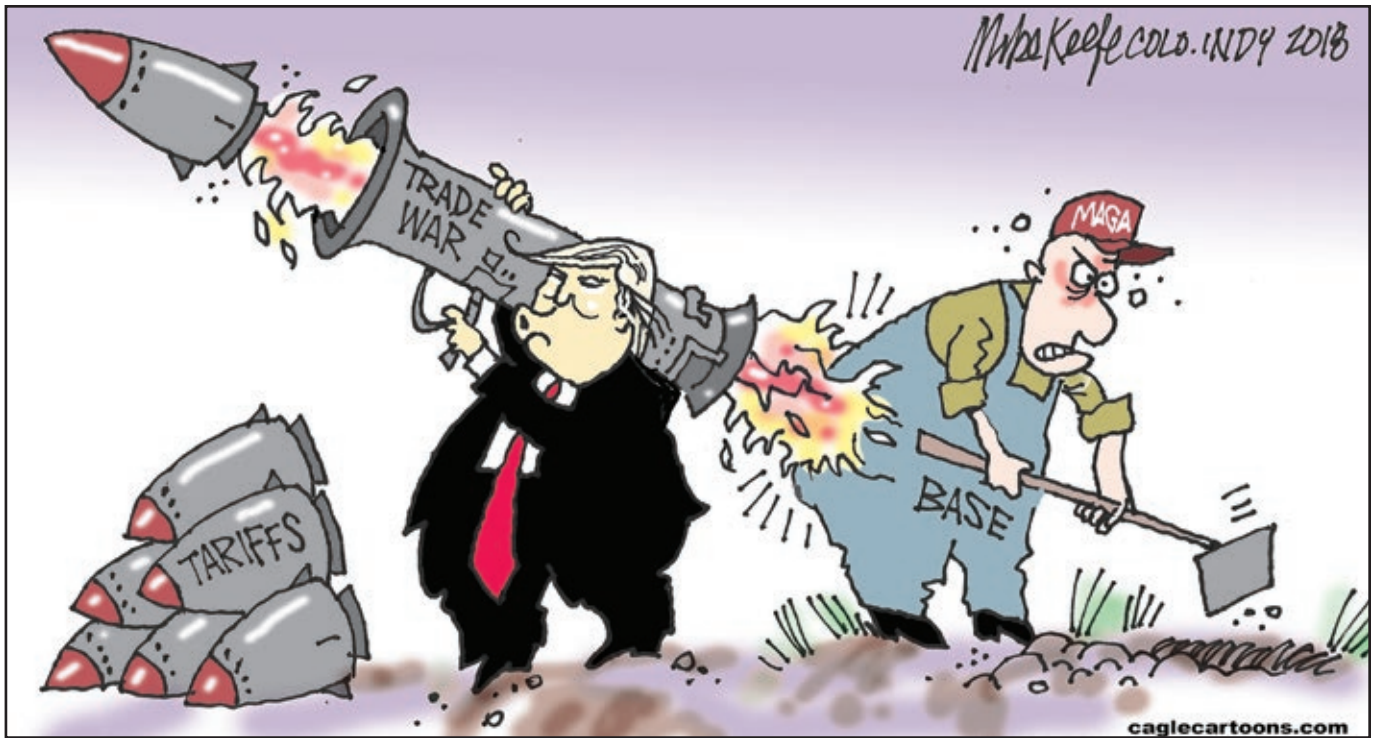
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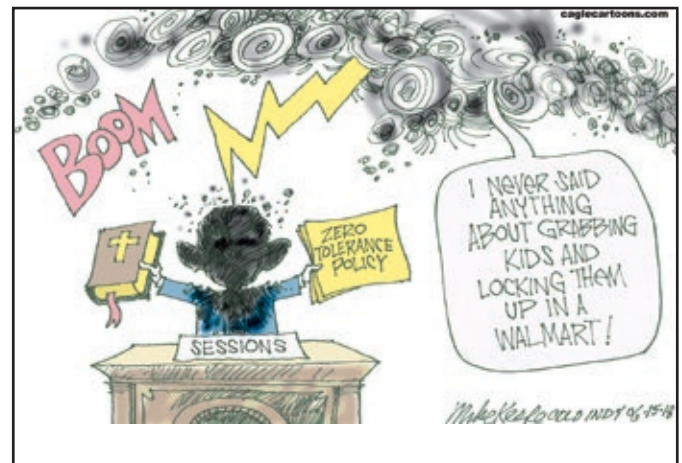
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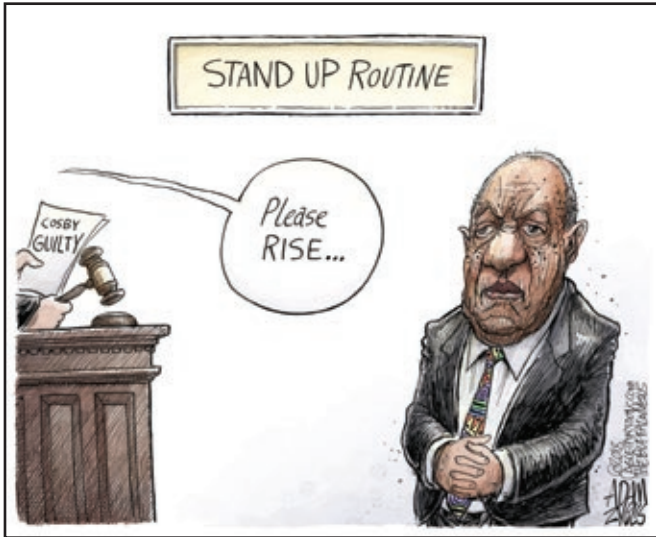
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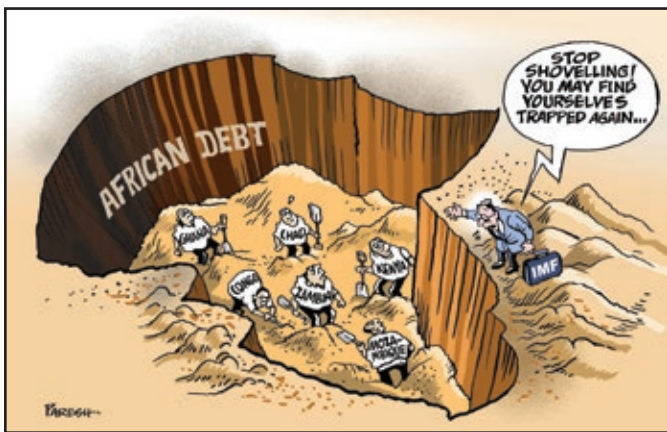
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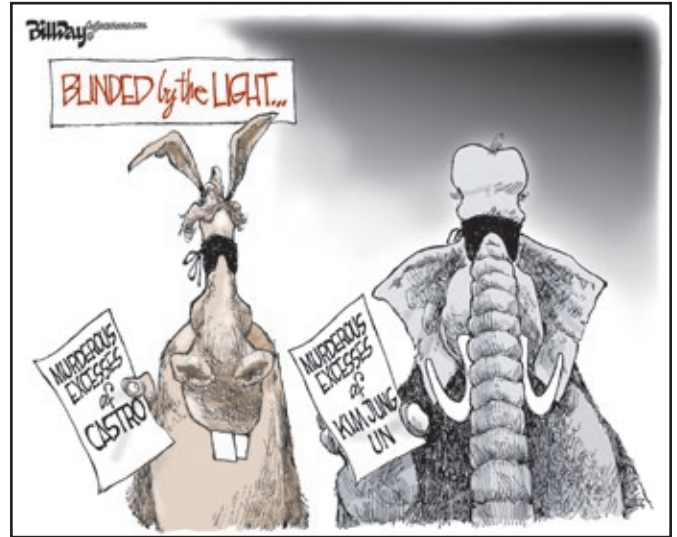


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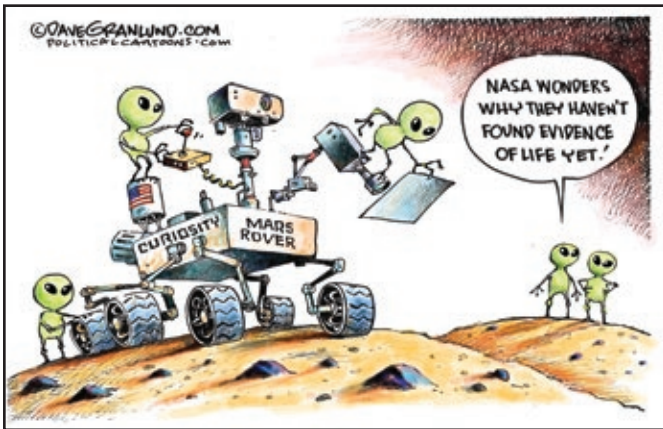
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Brian Mulroney's lasting international legacy



Fen
Hampson

During the 2015 election campaign, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau promised to “bring Canada back” into the world. There is little doubt that he and his foreign minister, Chrystia Freeland, are highly visible personalities on the world stage. If the number of selfies in which Trudeau has already appeared is any indication, he is already an international rock star. Rare for any Canadian, let alone a politician, Trudeau’s iconic status means that his every move is watched and scrutinized by the world’s paparazzi, especially when he takes to the stage to do an Indian Banghra dance.

With respect to foreign policy, Canada may be “back,” so to speak (though it never really left), but Trudeau’s government is playing defence. Its centre, mid-field position isn’t one of its own choosing, however. U.S. President Donald Trump’s threat to tear up the North American Free Trade Agreement has consumed the government’s energies and pretty much every waking hour of Freeland’s days.

As a consequence, there has been precious little time for the Trudeau government to make a bigger mark on the world stage. The G7 summit, which Trudeau hosted in June in Charlevoix, Que., underscored the old adage, “the best laid plans of mice and men often go awry.” In this case, the cat that ate the mice was Trump, who refused to sign the summit’s final communiqué and took great umbrage over Trudeau’s post-summit press briefing at which he remarked that Canada was not going to be “pushed around” and would retaliate against U.S. tariffs on Canadian steel and aluminum.

Comparisons between the younger Trudeau and his father are inevitable. Pierre Elliott Trudeau had his own spats with U.S. leaders. When president Richard Nixon took the U.S. off the gold standard by suspending the convertibility of the greenback and slapped a 10-per-cent surcharge on imports, Canada was caught in



When Brian Mulroney, shown at the United Nations with then-ambassador Stephen Lewis, was prime minister of Canada, he convinced the Commonwealth to impose sanctions against apartheid and securing future South African president Nelson Mandela’s release from prison.

the crosshairs and pleaded for an exemption, which it eventually received. Nevertheless, there was little love lost between Pierre Trudeau and Nixon. When Trudeau learned that the American president had referred to him as an “asshole,” he sardonically remarked, “I have been called worse things by better people.”

The Trudeau government still has time to save NAFTA and to do other things on the world stage where there is a scarcity of global leadership. The accomplishments of his predecessors were most marked, to paraphrase Thomas Carlyle, by a desire to achieve not much of anything. It is therefore not surprising that Canadians still look back with more than a little nostalgia to the era of Lester B. Pearson, though Pearson’s major international ac-

complishments, including his work to defuse the 1956 Suez Crisis for which he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, were carried out while he was foreign minister in prime minister Louis St-Laurent’s government and not as prime minister.

Alongside Pearson, however, there is another Canadian prime minister who merits greater attention than he has been given for his foreign policy legacy. His name is Brian Mulroney. As one of NAFTA’s chief architects, Mulroney is back in the political spotlight for the important role he is playing to help the Trudeau government rescue NAFTA from Trump’s protectionist maws.

NAFTA has generated unprecedented growth for the Canadian economy and North America. It took Canada 125 years

to generate a GDP of \$800 billion. Under free trade, it took only 25 years to double that. Today, the North American continent has a population of almost 500 million people and a combined GDP that tops \$21 trillion. Covering less than seven per cent of the world's population, NAFTA represents 28 per cent of the world's total GDP.

But that's not all. According to Global Affairs Canada, under NAFTA, "Canadian merchandise exports to the U.S. grew at an annualized rate of almost 4.6 per cent between 1993 and 2015. Canada's bilateral merchandise trade with Mexico nearly reached \$37.8 billion in 2015. [A full] 78 per cent of Canada's total merchandise exports were destined to our NAFTA partners in 2015. Total merchandise trade between Canada and the U.S. more than doubled between 1993 and 2015. Trade between Canada and Mexico... increased over eight-fold over the same period."

To a significant degree, Canada's prosperity and investor confidence hinge on a successful outcome to current talks, which, at the time of writing, appear to have stalled. As Mulroney recently said, NAFTA's fate "will be the challenge of this government, this parliament and this country. It's one for the history books."

Regardless of what Canadians think of Trump and his policies, Mulroney's advice to the Trudeau government has been to "keep our heads down, our mouths shut" and save what we should say for the negotiating table: "It's at the bargaining table where we can make our comments, caustic or otherwise." But perhaps Mulroney's most important piece of advice is that "we can say no. We're not some pushover country for someone to ambush. We're a \$2-trillion economy. We have the strength to say no." Clearly, Trudeau is heeding that advice as he refuses to accept an agreement that contains a five-year sunset clause and no dispute-settlement mechanism as the Americans are demanding.



NAFTA was another Mulroney accomplishment. He's now working with Trudeau (pictured here with Mulroney's wife, Mila) to secure a new deal.

The most enduring myth of the Mulroney era is that his relationship with two U.S. presidents was a subservient one based on weakness. It was a myth propagated by critics who were viscerally afraid of Canada getting too close to the United States. They feared Canadians could neither negotiate nor compete with the Americans. That fear was also tinged with an unhealthy dose of America envy. It's fair to say that many of the harshest critics of free trade and Mulroney's policies were also jealous of the more open, prosperous and competitive society that lay to the south of Canada's borders.

Needless to say, Canada did not merge with the United States under NAFTA. If anything, Canadians are now stronger, more prosperous, more competitive and more confident about themselves as a nation. The defensive, protectionist, nationalist sentiments of the 1960s and 1970s have yielded to a more self-assured, mature attitude towards our relations with the United States and the rest of the world.

It is often true that some politicians who were deeply unpopular at the end of their political tenure come to be remembered much more generously with time. Mulroney, who served as prime minister from 1984 to 1993, is one such political figure. Not only was he the architect of the Canada-U.S. free-trade agreement, which morphed into NAFTA with Mexico's accession, but his tenure was also marked by many other hallmark accomplishments. He stepped up with Canadian aid for Ethiopia during its disastrous famine in 1985. He fought to get the Commonwealth to impose sanctions against apartheid in South Africa and secure Nelson Mandela's release from prison. He made sure Canada was one of the first Western countries to provide aid and investment to post-Communist Eastern Europe. Under him, Canada was the first to recognize an independent Ukraine. He put climate change on the global political agenda of the G7; concluded an acid rain treaty with the United States; and made Canada a full-fledged member of the Organization of American States and la Francophonie (the latter of which only came into existence with Canada's decision to join).

Many leaders are merely aspirational because they end up promising a lot more than they deliver. Mulroney delivered and got the job done. He was a trusted adviser to not one, but two, American presidents on the major global geopolitical issues of the day. In every sense of the word, he was truly transformative and left a foreign policy legacy that was not only impressive for its ambition and scope, but also one of which Canadians can be proud.

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

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BOOK EXCERPT

Master of Persuasion: Brian Mulroney's Global Legacy
Locking horns with Margaret Thatcher

Although the bureaucratic tug of war continued behind the scenes, Mulroney pushed forward. Stephen Lewis marshalled his unmatched eloquence — both in public and in private at the UN — as Canada upped the political ante in joining the world's voices calling for an end to apartheid. A first round of Canadian sanctions levied against South Africa's government — mild, admittedly, but some with bite all the same — were announced by [then-secretary of state for external affairs Joe] Clark at a cabinet meeting in July of 1985 in Mulroney's hometown of Baie-Comeau. At a minimum, it is hard to argue that Canada had not changed its tone.

The timing of this announcement was significant because the eighteenth prime minister was just weeks away from his maiden Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM), scheduled to take place in Nassau in October. It was there, in the normally peaceful Caribbean, that Mulroney—like Diefenbaker before him in facing apartheid—faced his greatest Commonwealth obstacle on the file: the United Kingdom's prime minister. But while Diefenbaker had to deal with the gentle patrician that was Harold Macmillan, Mulroney had Margaret Thatcher, the Iron Lady, to contend with.

It is important to recall that by the time Commonwealth leaders met at Nassau in 1985, Thatcher had been prime minister for six years. Supremely self-confident and with her success in the Falklands War already a historical fact, she had little time for political “rookies” on the world summit scene, especially a young Canadian prime minister who was a neophyte. That view included her take on the new Canadian prime minister and his new Commonwealth supporters who were now calling on her to give her blessing to sanctions against South Africa. Decades later, in fact, in 2007, Thatcher revealed her views about leadership and experience to a visiting Canadian over tea at the House of Lords. “I recently met your new prime minister, Mr. Harper,” she said. “He’s awfully young and inexperienced.”

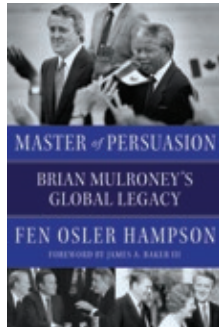
“Well,” the Canadian replied, “he’s older than Mr. Mulroney was when he became prime minister.”

“Yes, you have a point there,” she answered.

“And Prime Minister Harper is much older than Joe Clark was when he became prime minister.”

At this Thatcher laughed. “Yes,” she said grinning, “and we all know what happened to him.”

In his 2015 study *Margaret Thatcher, the Authorized Biography: Volume Two: Everything She Wants*, British writer Charles Moore described his subject's attitude towards Commonwealth sanctions going into the Nassau meeting. “[The meeting] toxically combined all the things she disliked with the subject of South African sanctions,” Moore wrote, “She opposed the idea of a Commonwealth contact group for South Africa and, of course, resisted economic sanctions: ‘she had heard it all before,’ she told the Canadian prime minister Brian Mulroney on the first evening at Lyford Cay when he argued for new measures. Sanctions ‘would only damage industry which was in the lead in breaking down apartheid.’ Mulroney . . . tried to win Mrs. Thatcher over by telling her how a British initiative over South Africa would make Commonwealth members ‘all stand in line and salute.’



Mrs. Thatcher was not tempted, believing, on the contrary, that the Commonwealth liked to treat Britain as a target, not a guiding star.”

In a footnote, Moore offers further explanation of his subject's attitudes and her private views of them. “One fact,” he wrote, “that may have swayed Mrs. Thatcher towards high-handedness was her irritation at the pretensions of Commonwealth leaders less experienced than she. She regarded India's Rajiv Gandhi in particular as ‘posturing and shallow’ and believed that ‘He and Mulroney were obviously keen to cut a figure at the meeting, but did not really have the experience for their self-

appointed role.’” These comments on Thatcher's position, Moore reports, were made by her senior advisor Charles Powell.

Still, the Commonwealth did not split completely, and Mulroney, joined by Rajiv Gandhi of India, Bob Hawke of Australia, and others, soldiered on. Right after the Nassau meeting, Mulroney made his debut address before the UN General Assembly in New York City. Sources confirm that in the original speech Mulroney was supposed to deliver, Department of External Affairs officials had carefully removed any reference to the use of sanctions against South Africa. As Mulroney and Lewis sat outside the General Assembly Hall moments before he was to deliver his speech, they discussed whether Mulroney should reinsert the reference to sanctions. And, so he did. Mulroney's speech to the Assembly was electrifying. Delegates rose to their feet. They were stunned and exhilarated.

In a word, the speech transfixed not just the delegates in the General Assembly who had never heard a major Western leader speak so passionately against apartheid, but also many Canadians, even those who were still suspicious of Mulroney and his government's true commitment to the anti-apartheid cause. “My government has said to Canadians that if there are not fundamental changes in South Africa, we are prepared to invoke total sanctions against that country and its repressive regime,” Mulroney declared. “If there is no progress in the dismantling of apartheid, our relations with South Africa may have to be severed completely. Our purpose is not to punish or to penalize, but to hasten peaceful change. We do not aim at conflict but at reconciliation — within South Africa and between South Africa and its neighbours. The way of dialogue starts with the repudiation of apartheid. It ends with the full and equal participation of all South Africans in the governing of their country. It leads towards peace. If it is not accepted, the course of sanctions will surely be further pursued. More than that, if there is no progress in the dismantling of apartheid, relations with South Africa may have to be severed absolutely.”

It is doubtful that any other Canadian prime minister, up to Justin Trudeau and including Lester B. Pearson, has made such a clear and risky address to the UN and put Canada's reputation on the line before the world.

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Simon Palamar: Global politics and security expert at CIGI

'For a lot of people watching the Middle East, the escalation in tensions between Israel and Iran is very worrying.'

Photos by Trevor Hunsberger



Simon Palamar joined the Centre for International Governance Innovation in 2012 after completing a PhD from Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs. He manages CIGI's Constructive Powers Initiative, which brings together foreign policy planners and academic experts from a dozen countries to discuss sensitive, new and emerging global security issues.

His research interests include arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament, mediation and negotiation and armed conflict, to name a few. He spoke with *Diplomat's* editor, Jennifer Campbell, about those interests as they relate to international affairs.

Diplomat magazine: Having noted that armed conflict is one of your specialties, what can be done to end the war in Syria?

Simon Palamar: The data I'm seeing suggest that it certainly can end and it will end with victory for the government. At this point, the risks to escalation in Syria are more between Iran and Israel than between the government and rebel groups. The trajectory in [the latter] regard has been fairly clear for a couple of years now. Ever since Russian armed forces intervened decisively, the writing's more or less been on the wall. There simply isn't a cohesive or large enough opposition group to end the war in [the opposition's] favour.

All the data seem to indicate the government is slowly grinding down opposition forces. And most of the Syrian government's adversaries — whether the Turkish government or the United States, who quietly supported opposition forces throughout the ordeal — have come to accept in one way shape or form, explicitly or quietly, that there will be a role for Bashar al-Assad and the Ba'ath party in Syria and that's just what they have to accept [in order] to find a way to end it.

DM: It does seem as though they've decided that's the best path, even though

it's not perfect.

SP: A lot has changed since [the Arab Spring in] 2011, which was an optimistic time. [Many] had high hopes for what was happening in the north of Africa, what was happening in Egypt, but at this point, the change of the policy from the Turks and the Americans and the admission that Assad is part of the settlement process — that really sealed the fate of the Syrian revolution and whatever's left of it.

It's debatable and it's a highly polarizing issue to what extent the spirit that was around in 2011 is still there. The big difference was the begrudging acceptance of Assad by the Turks and the Americans.

DM: 2011 was the Arab Spring — it's hard to believe it was that long ago. And yet, when you think about it, so little has changed.

SP: Yes. The military government in Egypt, by some reports, is as strong as ever or stronger. Libya turned out in an extremely disappointing way for a lot of people. Hindsight is really 20/20 in this case in terms of how excessively optimistic everybody was, given the way politics have evolved in North Africa and the Middle East since then. It's rather sad. It's a sobering lesson to not get caught up in the moment and not get too swayed by what's happening right in front of you.

DM: What is your take on Iran's place in the world at the moment?

SP: Iran's place in the world right now is particularly interesting. For a lot of people watching the Middle East, the recent escalation in tensions between Israel and Iran — that tit for tat and Israeli airstrikes hitting Iranian bases in Syria — is very worrying.

To determine how Iran is faring in its efforts to secure its neighbourhood, it's worth looking at the recent past. A couple of years ago, people were wondering what Iran's endgame was in Syria. Even before the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPA) went into effect in 2015 and sanctions were lifted, the Iranians were sending money, material and people to Syria.



On Egypt: 'By some reports, the military government in Egypt is as strong as ever.'



On Syria: 'The data seem to indicate the government is grinding down opposition forces.'



On the Iran nuclear deal: 'As an arms-control agreement, it's a pretty good one.'

It looks as though this was costly. It was clear what Iran's interest was in Syria: Hezbollah in Lebanon is one of Iran's most important partners in the region. Hezbollah's ongoing conflict with Israel provides Tehran with a level of credibility in the Arab World that the Iranian government can't achieve on its own. Keeping the Syrian land bridge open to Hezbollah was critical, and Iran's level of commitment was tremendous. Meanwhile, it really did look as though the Syrian-Arab Army was disintegrating. Even if the government was holding its own in the war, it was doing so with pro-government militias that it didn't directly control. Tehran's interest was obvious, but how it was going to achieve it wasn't.

Now it seems clearer that the Iranian government knows that, one way or another, Bashar al-Assad will be in a weaker position after all of this. Whether he's ousted, or if he stays in office and the Syrian government wins, he'll be such a controversial figure, he'll be weakened to some extent. Iran needs to maintain its influence in Syria and it looks as though Iran expects a Lebanonization of Syria [meaning] further fracturing of Syrian politics along ethnic and religious lines. Iran's dedication to the regime, and past support for various pre-government militias, may now mean that whatever happens, they'll have clients in Syria.

It now looks as though that strategy worked to some extent and this has surprised and concerned the Israeli government. Instead of a decline in Iranian influence in Syria, you have the opposite, so now we see these military clashes between the Israelis and the Iranians in

Syria. That's very worrying, but this is all against the larger backdrop of the [JCPA].

The U.S. never really settled on its strategy for dealing with Iran in the long run. Barack Obama did a good job of selling the [JCPA] and as an arms-control agreement, it's a pretty good one. It really does allow an almost unprecedented level of monitoring of Iran's nuclear activities.

So, the [JCPA] temporarily froze Iran's nuclear activities and bought the U.S. time to figure out how to address Iran, but it didn't settle the fact that the American diplomatic and security communities remain divided about the challenge that Iran poses and what to do about it. Now that Donald Trump has pulled the U.S. out of the JCPA, Iran's position in the Middle East has certainly weakened, at least in the short run. It tells Iran's adversaries that the U.S. will tolerate more assertive action against Tehran. In the longer run though, the Iranian government, if clever, could exploit the gap between the U.S. and the parties — the EU, France, Germany, U.K. — who have remained in the JCPA.

DM: I have three countries to ask you about — Russia, China and North Korea. What are your biggest concerns about those nations separately and as a bloc?

SP: With Russia right now, it's hard to isolate a single concern, so I'll give you a two-part answer. One is that if Russia remains isolated from Western Europe, if the Russian economy doesn't recover like it needs to, [President Vladimir] Putin will find it increasingly beneficial and easier to double down on the sort of rhetoric that he's been using of late. You might recall that just before the last

election in Russia, Putin gave a state of the union address. Rather than talk about improving the economy and Russia's efforts to constructively deal with Western sanctions and oil prices, he showcased a whole range of new weapon systems, some of which may have been complete theatre.

His message was, 'the West cannot ignore us. We may not be the superpower we used to be, but we still have a veto in international politics. We can still be a spoiler and we can cause problems.' And there's no evidence of that message hurting at all. Of course, there are huge questions about the openness and fairness of the election in Russia, but there was no real opposition. The most compelling opposition thinker, Alexei Navalny, was prohibited from running. As socio-economic conditions stagnate in Russia, [Putin's United] Russia Party seems to find it easier to double down on the ballistic language. After a while, it becomes a huge risk that people start believing it — that it's not just political theatre. If elites start to take it more seriously, that's bad. That's very bad.

Regarding China, there was the debate in Canada about the construction firm Aecon being purchased by a state-owned Chinese construction company. The debate was about whether this was good for Canada. There were legitimate concerns, but were there national security implications here? I'm not sure there were, but nevertheless, a national security review went ahead [and Canada ultimately said no.] In Europe, we're seeing a similar pattern [in which] European governments are taking a closer look at takeovers by

Chinese state-sponsored firms.

The response from the Chinese government can be a little bit over-the-top. There have been accusations that Canada, for looking at this national security issue, is immoral, or that the Canadian government is driving a wedge between China and Canada. The rhetoric is overblown, but where we have a risk with China is in an effort to keep the relationship going as smoothly as possible, [so] we downplay any potential risk.

I don't really think the Chinese have any intention to harm. The fact is that a Chinese state-owned company will ultimately serve its political masters and China's national strategic interests come first. If that means they're purchasing companies to bring technology to China, or if it means they're doing it for anything other than a profit motive, it may not always be in the Canadian interest. But I think for right now, there's a desire to have a good relationship with China and there's a real benefit there. On the other hand, there are politicians, civil servants, business people in Canada who are worried about China and we risk getting into a very binary debate about whether China is an existential threat or whether it's a completely benign and perfect friend. The fact is that it's somewhere in between, but going one way or another, we risk getting the relationship completely wrong. We need to have an even-handed view.

Looking at Chinese state-owned companies taking over Canadian assets, we should be careful about it, take our time. We have to be careful that we don't mischaracterize the benefits or the challenges.

On North Korea, my biggest concern is that its diplomatic efforts might end up being phenomenally successful with South Korea and China and that they fall flat with the U.S. or vice-versa. That poses a number of challenges. South Korea is still obviously reliant on the U.S. to provide a lot of its national security needs, and the alliance gives the U.S. a long-term reason to keep itself in Northeast Asia and another way to influence Chinese foreign policy. They're really tied at the hip in Asia.

With the Donald Trump-Kim Jong-un summit, there were always 1,000 reasons it could go sideways or capsize. Earlier this year, the big risk to worry about was Seoul finding itself inadvertently out ahead of the U.S., eager to engage North Korea while the U.S. remained cool to the idea. The worst case here would have been a major breach in the South Korean-U.S. strategy towards the North,



Chrystia Freeland's foreign ministers' meeting on the stability of the Korean Peninsula in January was an example of the Trudeau government practising good foreign policy, Simon Palamar says.

which Pyongyang, or others, think they can then exploit to their own ends. I think [South Korean President] Moon Jae-in is a remarkably capable diplomat. He's been very good at pacing himself, talking with his allies and making sure they make their promises in public so it's easier to be held to account, but there's a risk that the North Koreans can convince the Chinese they're getting impatient, and that small political differences between Seoul and Washington are ready to be exploited. The Singapore surprise was that the risk of South Korean and U.S. policy diverging did increase, but because of Trump's eagerness to embrace the North. Trump's surprise announcement that the U.S. would be suspending joint field exercises with South Korea seemed to take Moon aback, as it did senior legislators and officials in Washington. It remains to be seen if Kim will exploit this to his own ends.

If we look at those three countries as a bloc, we have authoritarian leadership in all three and all three countries tend to play up a chauvinistic brand of politics. My concern is that pluralistic democratic societies end up acquiescing to authoritarian demands about the way international politics ought to be conducted. [It might be that democrats begin to accept] Russia's implicit argument that some countries in Eastern Europe, for example, shouldn't have the right to set their own foreign policy. Or with China, in the South China Sea, that some countries' legal rights aren't the same as China's, that China is a cut above in the hierarchy of the world. My concern is more with liberal democratic societies that acquiesce

to this behaviour and therefore embolden them when we should be continuing to hold them to treaties and agreements they agreed to follow in the past.

DM: In your co-authored paper on constraint with Russia, you advocate defending against Russian threats, penalizing Russian violations of global norms, waging a battle against Russian propaganda, supporting the aspirations of the Russian people and maintaining democratic unity. Has any of this been achieved, in your opinion?

SP: I think it's happened to varying degrees. On unity, the rallying around the U.K. government after what looks like the attempted murder of [former Russian spy] Sergei Skripal was important. There's a big principle that you shouldn't be having your government agents potentially executing nerve gas attacks in other countries.

On pushing back against the Russian narrative that they've been aggrieved by Western Europe — I don't think we've done a great job of that. I think sometimes efforts to push back risk falling into almost creating caricatures of Russia and the U.S.S.R. of the past, or of Putin as an omnipotent political mastermind genius. I don't think we've done a tremendously good job there.

For the most part, the sanctions regime against Russia has held together and that's good. There are some challenges. Germany, for example, has signed on to go ahead with a pipeline from Russia to Germany to carry Russian natural gas to bypass a lot of Eastern Europe. So, there

are some challenges there, but I think it's time to have some serious thinking about the long-term goals with Russia. I don't know that Vladimir Putin will acquiesce on matters such as Crimea or Ukraine's right to make its own foreign policy decisions. So what are the realistic long-term goals [with sanctions?] Is it to just prevent Russia from doing additional damage to Eastern Europe and make things no worse? Or is there some way to substantially improve relations between Western Europe and Russia in the next 10 years? I don't know what the answer is, but I think we're at the point now where Western resolve has been demonstrated. If these sanctions can remain in place, it's time to think of creative ways to engage Russia in some way. And if that engagement doesn't look like it's working, [we] can stop.

I think it's been not a bad year all together. The coalition against Russia has held together, they've demonstrated unity at times. It could have been much worse.

DM: On arms control, what are your suggestions for stopping North Korea?

SP: On North Korea, there are all sorts of reasons to be pessimistic and people have been [quick] to point out that the summit between Kim and Trump took a back-

wards route to come to fruition, since you don't typically have the leadership meet first and then work out the details. Ultimately, if you were looking for a detailed path forward, the Singapore summit was a disappointment. Worse yet, Trump arguably accepted North Korea's preferred formulation of "denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula," rather than unilateral, complete, verifiable and irreversible nuclear disarmament. Nevertheless, it did not go as badly as it could have, and it did not go so wrong that we are in a worse position than we were in a year ago.

The task now for the U.S. and its allies is to pick up where they were before the summit. Keep the sanctions coalition together. Make sure Chinese patience with sanctions is not wearing too thin — Beijing's co-operation being pivotal for sanctions enforcement. If the North Koreans seem willing to continue dialogue, then entertain the idea, ideally in a multilateral setting, where Pyongyang will have less wiggle room.

Is it possible that the North Koreans won't bargain in good faith? Absolutely. It's probably more likely than not. [But] I'm not one of those people who sees war as a realistic outcome regardless of what

happens, so the downsides really are limited. They have to be managed and you have to watch out for them, but the fact is that it looks very much like North Koreans have accomplished their mission to have functioning nuclear weapons. The horse has left the barn, so to speak.

So Singapore was certainly not a breakthrough, but whatever's going on between North Korea and the Americans, you may as well try it for what it's worth, keeping in mind that there is a broad coalition out there for the Americans to fall back on if or when talks fail.

DM: What are your top three worries in the world?

SP: I don't really worry that much, but I guess one would be what happens in the next recession in North America or, God forbid, another global recession. Since the financial crisis of 2008 and 2009, North America has been in a fairly steady economic expansion. Nevertheless, our politics have become quite polarized, first in the U.S. and recently in Mexico with this current election cycle. We've seen polarization in Europe and Russia, arguably, has it, too. So if we see this polarization during relatively good times, what happens when the next recession comes?

The advertisement features three property listings at the top, each with a main image and a collage of smaller images below it. The first listing is 'WAKEFIELD - WATERFRONT' priced at \$875,000, showing a large house and a waterfront view. The second is 'GATINEAU - LUXURIOUS' at \$1,090,000, featuring a large house and a swimming pool. The third is 'GATINEAU - EXECUTIVE' at \$899,900, showing a house with a pool and a modern interior. Below the listings is a photo of the 'Team Doucet' consisting of four people in business attire. To the right of the photo is the text 'Team Doucet 819-923-9993 www.jacquesdoucet.com' and the slogan 'Come visit us on the Quebec side!'. At the bottom right is the 'Jacques Doucet' logo with the tagline 'Nous, c'est l'immobilier' and the website '.com'. There are also small logos for 'ROYAL LEPAGE' and 'OUTAOUAIS' near the team photo.



U.S. President Donald Trump and South Korean President Moon Jae-in have had good success in getting North Korea to the table.

Another major worry I have would be what happens in Latin America. I'm thinking of the triangle of Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala. It's been easy for Canadians and Americans to ignore them for a long time. You have borderline failed states in all three countries. You have tremendous crime, corruption, violence. Occasionally, it spills over in the form of refugees travelling through Mexico and going to the United States and this creates huge bilateral problems. [In Canada,] we generally just put our heads in the sand. We say it's not our problem, but that derails trilateral relations.

Trilateral relations never really work between Canada, the U.S. and Mexico. Ultimately, anytime you see momentum on the three countries working together — whether it's competitiveness, or the narcotics trade and its effect on Mexican society — those efforts always get derailed by Canada and Mexico prioritizing relations with the United States. So as things go very poorly in Central America or in Venezuela, there's a chance Mexico bears the brunt of refugee claims there. It's another way to undermine North American relations.

If [Andrés Manuel López] Obrador [is to be] elected in Mexico this July, that really makes that an incredibly difficult proposition that will poison relations. Not that they're not already poisonous, but it's another poke in the eye.

I guess a third one would be that Iran does get a nuclear weapon. That would be horrifying, not because they would use it, but because of the Saudi reaction, for example. Or if Turkey becomes a single-party state — that would be another big

worry because that would have ramifications across Europe as well.

DM: What solutions can you offer to your three worries?

SP: The second one is easier than the first. Not that we can fix what's gone wrong in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. Those problems are generational, but we can [make changes], for example, to Canadian refugee policy. There's an argument to be made that Canada should prioritize Western hemisphere refugees to ultimately assist its own part of the world. Also, taking a very hard look at what's going on in this hemisphere would be wise. On Venezuela, we've seen the Lima Group [a multilateral body that seeks a peaceful end to the crisis in Venezuela] and Canada could take a good role there. It's a trackable problem, not fixable, but trackable.

On how we deal with polarized politics? That's above my pay grade. I hope someone smarter, or with more resources, weighs in on that one.

With Iran getting a nuclear weapon, it's the authoritarianism. Around the world, you see authoritarian governments that are doing relatively well. It's where they say, 'You give up your fundamental rights to freedom of speech and political expression and we'll provide security.' It's the social compact.

You've got elected governments in parts of Europe that are stripping away the powers of the judiciary. You get that democracy is an inevitable federal outcome for most societies, but freedom isn't, necessarily. Anything that I think feeds into that authoritarianism — the Iranian

government getting nuclear weapons that would probably prompt the Saudi royal family to fire one of their own, or Turkey going to one-party rule — creates reason to worry.

DM: If we turn our attention to trade, what are your thoughts on Trump's escalating trade war with China?

SP: I think overall the approach that the administration has taken is probably not going to work and some of the things they targeted are not worth targeting. Steel, for example, or manufactured goods — there are big technological trends that are pushing manufacturing in certain countries. Those are fairly obvious and have little to do with trade policy. It has more to do with technology and automation.

At the same time, China seems to be aggressive when it comes to acquiring patents for technology. Their rules for direct investment in China are still fairly strict and there have been well documented concerns about Chinese corporate espionage. So the idea that the Chinese government has an aggressive policy when it comes to acquiring technology through unfair means — there's some credence there. There are lots of governments that share that concern with the Americans. But the big issue here is that [the U.S. didn't engage like-minded] countries like Germany to go to China with the same demands.

I think there are some real issues that they're on the right track on, but the way they're going about it — bilaterally and bragging about a trade war — suggests that it's not a serious effort.

DM: With respect to your Canadian foreign policy specialization, what do you think Canada should be doing now in terms of pro-active foreign policy?

SP: Rather than blue sky, I'll give a couple of examples of things they're doing [well.] Chrystia Freeland's decision to convene the [foreign ministers' meeting on security and stability on the Korean Peninsula in Vancouver in January] with [then-U.S. secretary of state] Rex Tillerson was the right move. A lot of people called it a return to the days of Canada as a bridge-builder. I don't know if that's true or if it was ever that true, but it was good because the Americans felt the need for a little coalition-making so [that] everyone agrees on how to proceed. I think the meeting was very much the right move.

Seeing the foreign minister talk about the Rohingyas was also good. It's not clear

Canada alone has the ability to persuade anyone to get involved, but putting it on the G7 and the foreign ministers' meeting is the kind of thing to be doing. Will it solve everything? No, but if you can make inroads with the Americans, Germans and Europeans and then turn to the Japanese to tell their allies in Myanmar that something needs to be done here, that's better than simply expressing disgust at the situation. I also like Canada's involvement in the Lima Group to manage the situation in Venezuela. These are hard issues and there's no big win on any of these, but Canada's little moves are good.

I think taking a principled stance on relations with Russia, standing by our European allies, has made our position clear there. I think being consistent, looking for little ways Canada can nudge our partners in a certain way, that's all very good.

DM: What is your take on North American relations at the moment?

SP: I think the real thing to talk about there is NAFTA and I'll admit I was mystified by the media cycle on the NAFTA negotiations. After every round, someone tosses a couple of hints to a reporter, and then we talk about how things are getting worse. Ultimately what's getting

leaked is what people want to get leaked. We're oscillating through talks of breakthroughs and collapses.

Right now, no one wants to be going through this. But so far, it does seem as though most issues are moving forward (albeit slowly). As we get closer to [the U.S. mid-terms], things do seem to be falling in line, with some caveats. The outburst from Trump, [and his advisers Peter] Navarro, and [Larry] Kudlow after the G7 was ugly, but when you combine the over-the-top language with the ever-shifting American rationale for steel and aluminum tariffs — first it was a national security matter, next it was to convince Canada to revisit supply management in the dairy industry — the overall impression is that it was directed at a domestic (American) audience, to reassure protectionist voters that their agenda is still intact. American insistence on a five-year sunset clause is troubling (since they must know this is basically undoable) and the steel and aluminum tariffs don't improve matters, but it's not clear that they fundamentally change the parameters of the NAFTA negotiations.

All this being said, I've seen little to no evidence that Congress will be interested in relinquishing its control over foreign

affairs and international commerce, including its constitutional powers and its ability to grant trade promotion authority. There's been a lot of talk about Trump being unpredictable, and how he follows his gut, but there's a whole process [for the U.S. to pull out of NAFTA] and I've seen little to no evidence that that would happen. You wouldn't have a Congress that would acquiesce to that. I remain fairly optimistic about NAFTA. That doesn't mean the Trump Administration, in a fit of frustration, [won't] actually send the withdrawal letter to its counterparts, but that also doesn't mean it's actually withdrawing from NAFTA. There's an entire process. The short answer is that this feels like a lot of theatre. The more rational predictions about how this might fall out seem to be coming true so far.

I think Trump may come out with a slightly different agreement than he entered into negotiations with and that may be enough. He can hold it up and say 'Look, I got some changes.' Whether it's slight modifications of automobile content or a slight change to the trilateral dispute-settlement process, that can end up looking like a win for him. I think we'll probably come out of this more or less intact. ▣



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Korean cuisine for a good cause

South Korean Ambassador Shin Maeng-ho recently combined his wish to help the community in which he's posted with his desire to expose Canadians to Korean culture. The result? Two successful fundraising dinners held at his residence.

He offered the first dinner — for 19 guests — as an auction item to support the Ottawa Korean-Canadian Scholarship Foundation.

“When I heard about their activities when I arrived last year, I offered to have a fundraising dinner at my residence,” Shin says. “Koreans and the Korean government put the biggest importance on education because Korea has no natural resources. We have just human resources, so we invest a lot in them.”

Shin said he was pleased to offer support to Korean-Canadian students who are studying in Canada. Once he made the offer, members of the foundation sold tickets and each person paid \$100 to attend, ultimately raising \$1,900 toward the annual scholarship fund.

Chung Su Broussard, who helped organize the event on behalf of the foundation, said the money went directly into the fund for next year's awards. Often the foundation gives three awards of \$1,000 each to students of Korean descent.

“This dinner was a great help,” she said. “We hope to make it an annual event.”

The second dinner was in support of the University of Ottawa's Brain and Mind Research Institute. The ambassador



South Korean Ambassador Shin Maeng-ho is happy to share his culture's cuisine for a good cause. He's shown here (fourth from the left, second row) with guests at a dinner in support of the University of Ottawa's Brain and Mind Research Institute.

attended the institute's golf fundraiser and was approached by a board member to donate a prize for the auction. He offered a dinner for 10 at his residence.

Daniel Fernandes, chairman of the Bruyère Foundation's board, bought the dinner and filled the table with colleagues, raising upwards of \$1,000 in the process.

“My purpose is to always let Canadians know about Korean cuisine,” Shin said. “As a diplomat, I always try to have more contact with Canadians. It's nice to meet these people who are working for medical science.”

During the dinner, Shin told the group about a science, technology and innovation agreement between Canada and Korea, which came into effect in May 2017.

Young-Hae Lee, who is on the board of the research institute and the long-time president of the Canada Korea Society, attended the dinner and told the ambassador she was “greatly appreciative of [his] unconditional support in promoting deeper bilateral understanding, friendship and co-operation” between Canada and Korea.

She thanked the ambassador for far exceeding their expectations with the dinner, which she called “a truly special evening.”

Broussard said she's been to a state dinner between Canada and Korea and the one the ambassador hosted for the scholarship fund was on par with that high-level occasion. ▣

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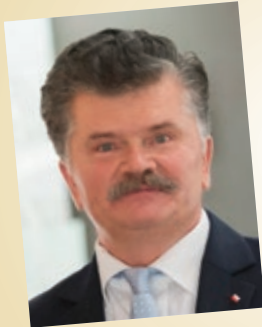
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In 1791, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth adopted a modern constitution, making it the first constitutional democracy in Europe and the second in the world, after the United States of America.

The constitution was an expression of the liberal political and philosophical ideas of Europe's Enlightenment, which gave primacy to reason, law and freedom. It adopted Montesquieu's tripartite division of powers into executive, legislative and judicial. It was, at the time, a groundbreaking model of state governance and constitutional liberty and justice for all, regardless of ethnic background and religious affiliation.

The year 2018 is a special one for Poland. We celebrate the 100th anniversary of our country regaining independence after 123 years of bondage. In 1918, a new chapter was opened up in our sometimes very dramatic history, which began more than 1,050 years ago when Poland joined the community of Christian nations.

Rebirth of the state was an outstanding achievement of Polish soldiers, politicians and also diplomats. It was made possible because, through our constitution, we preserved our national identity and values such as freedom and equality that we respect to this day.

We shall never forget that Canada also played an important role in this story. During the First World War, Canada set up Camp Kościuszko in Niagara-on-the-Lake at which Polish soldiers were prepared to fight in Europe for the freedom of Poland. Not only did these soldiers help win Polish independence, they also protected Western civilization by defeating the Bolshevik army at the outskirts

of Warsaw. Unfortunately, Poles could not cherish their freedom for very long.

Soon the Second World War erupted and the country once again lost its sovereignty. To survive and prosper in our corner of Europe, a nation has to

be determined. Our geographical location poses many difficulties, but it also offers unique opportunities to strengthen Poland's international position.

Poland's foreign policy challenges

The fundamental premise of Polish foreign policy is political realism. Poland recognizes all too well that, in this second decade of the 21st Century, the world has once again become less stable and less predictable. Not since the Second World War has the European political landscape seen

such a level of open hostilities, aggression against sovereign neighbours and violation of territorial integrity.

There are various reasons for this. One of them is certainly Russia's effort to change the paradigm of international relations and go back to the 19th-Century model of the concert of great powers. It transpires through an aggressive drive for domination over ex-Soviet territories as well as through a deliberate policy aimed at destabilizing the eastern and southern neighbourhoods of the European Union. Moreover, Moscow is making a deliberate attempt to weaken the EU and its individual member states. Moscow considers the EU and NATO its strategic rivals.

The broad principles of democratic nations should serve as the bedrock for modern-day relations between states. In their basic form, such principles are enumerated in the founding documents of the United Nations', the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and the European Union. As a member of these organizations and a signatory to all of their most important documents, Poland is active on this front.



Poland doesn't want to isolate Russia, but as part of its NATO obligations, it must also prepare for the worst. Here, NATO's battle group in Poland holds interoperability exercises.

Military strength has to complement the rule-based international order and is a vital tool for pursuing Polish foreign policy goals. In parallel with developing its own military potential, Poland continues to reinforce the Allied military presence along NATO's eastern borders. The measures include political and diplomatic steps to fully implement decisions taken at the Newport and Warsaw summits, an example of which is establishing battle groups in NATO's eastern flank.

Poland maintains the size and structure of its military budget in line with Allied commitments. The sustainable growth of the European defence industry should lead to a qualitative improvement in the defence capabilities of EU countries.

Provocation at NATO's eastern flank

At the NATO Summit in Warsaw in July 2016, Allied leaders reiterated their concerns about Russia's destabilizing actions and policies, which go beyond Ukraine and include provocative military activities near NATO's borders stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea.

Eastern Europe will continue to be a source of some of the greatest challenges to Poland's foreign policy in the years to come.

Russia plays a detrimental role in this regard, as it seeks to influence and control other actors. However, it is unable to offer its neighbours either an attractive model of socio-political development or of international co-operation. Russia seeks to make up for this deficiency by adapting a hybrid warfare method, from creating disinformation and spreading hate propaganda among ethnic groups, to applying more or less overt political and economic pressure.

When these instruments fail, Russia resorts to military force, as in the case of the wars in Georgia and Ukraine. More-

over, Eastern European stability has been negatively affected by Russia's annexation of Crimea.

NATO and Russia have profound and persistent disagreements; however, the alliance does not seek confrontation and poses no threat to Russia.

It is justified for NATO to adapt its military capabilities to a deteriorating environment. Working together with our neighbours that share the Polish view of Eastern European challenges plays a prominent role in shaping Poland's se-

**EASTERN EUROPE
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TO COME.**

curity policy. Poland co-operates in this regard with its closest NATO allies, such as the Visegrad Group countries, Romania and the Baltic States.

Transatlantic relations within NATO are certainly of vital importance to the security of Central and Eastern Europe. The United States and Canada are reliable allies demonstrating steadfast commitment to joint defence and increasing their military presence in Poland and elsewhere in the region. We maintain outstanding co-operation with the Canadian Armed Forces in Latvia.

Isolating Russia is not Poland's policy goal. We support the idea of maintaining regular channels of dialogue with Russia. Poland maintains good cultural and people-to-people relations with Russia. Thousands of Russian citizens visit Poland every year, hundreds of young Poles study the Russian language and Russian culture at universities across Poland.

However, the development of bilateral relations is limited by Moscow's anti-Western stand. The normalization of EU-Russia relations cannot be based on premises that accept the logic of the Yalta system and mentality that sacrificed Poland and gave it up into the Soviet sphere of influence. Dialogue with Russia should serve to communicate a coherent and clear message that leaves no doubt as to the West's priorities and its assessment of Russian actions.

The EU and NATO members should clearly reject foreign political and economic influence and should not allow Russia's use of natural resources as a weapon pointed at our democratic institutions. The Kremlin, for example, uses the state-owned Gazprom as a foreign-policy tool instead of allowing it to operate as a free-market company. This was proven at a Stockholm tribunal earlier this year, which handed down a \$4.6-billion US ruling in Ukraine's favour. Further, it should not allow limiting the growth of the EU and the global energy sector by letting Gazprom use its monopoly power to undermine free-market activities based on price-driven mechanisms.

The transatlantic community must continue to defend and promote freedom and democracy, rules-based commerce, pluralist and multi-ethnic societies based on tradition, historical context and universal human values. In the current environment, an active policy for democratic countries is a must. ▣



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Water education for generations

By Ana Hoepfner

Lack of clean water is a daily reality for an alarming number of people: Three in 10 people lack access to safe, readily available water at home, and six in 10 lack safely managed sanitation. Water and sanitation services are essential foundations of development. They affect health, nutrition, education, income and gender equality.

Stakeholders around the world are collaborating towards the solution, articulated in the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goal No. 6, which promises clean water and safely managed sanitation for everyone by 2030. The Centre for Affordable Water and Sanitation Technology (CAWST), a Canadian charity, teaches people how to implement simple, affordable household solutions. To reach as many people as possible, as quickly as possible, CAWST trains trainers, policy-makers, implementers and community leaders so they can take action. Then its educators, researchers and engineers support clients by supplementing training and educational material with consulting support. From anywhere in the world, anyone can access CAWST's online knowledge bases and free, open-content resources. The goal is to make its contribution toward that sustainable development goal. But what does achieving that solution look like?

At the community level, one can see what the solution looks like in the story of Luis Pushaina, a young Biosand filter technician from Colombia. For the past two years, CAWST's global water, sanitation and hygiene adviser, Eva Manzano, has trained and coached Pushaina to deliver and promote effective water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) training and also taught him how to install the Biosand filter. Now Pushaina is helping his rural settlement in La Guajira by conducting a needs assessment and identifying safe drinking water as his remote community's main need. Through his work, women in the region, which has a matrilineal culture, are learning how to access safe water for their families.

At a regional level, we see it in the recognition in Latin America that conventional sewered and piped systems are not the only solution for providing quality, affordable water and sanitation services. Non-sewered sanitation systems and



Teaching children to wash their hands well with soap helps maintain their health and prevents the spread of disease.

household water treatment can complement traditional community systems.

In Colombia, for example, there is new legislation regarding universal access to basic water, sanitation and hygiene services. It recognizes that to reach full coverage for the most vulnerable populations in rural and dispersed areas, traditional implementation approaches are not sufficient. Colombia is paving the way for other countries in Latin America that face similar challenges in reaching everyone. The progress achieved in Colombia can demonstrate to other governments and international institutions the feasibility of implementing non-networked solutions at scale.

To learn from Colombia's experience, share with and learn from other partners, and jointly advance the water safety agenda in the region, the Latin American water, sanitation and hygiene sector gathered in May in Bogota. The WHO/UNICEF International Network on Household Water Treatment and Safe Storage hosted the first Latin America regional workshop, titled "advancing the water safety agenda." The government of Colombia, the Pan-American Health Organization, WHO and UNICEF, with the support of Eva Manzano and other members of the network, led a workshop that engaged close to 100 stakeholders from Canada, the U.S., Ireland, Switzerland and a dozen Latin American countries.

The problem is complex, and so is the solution. There has been a tendency to focus on hardware, such as wells and latrines. But without parallel investments in capacity development, hardware projects are likely to fail. The Rural Water Supply Network found in 2007 that an average of 36 per cent of hand pumps across 21 countries in Africa were non-functioning. That represented a total investment of between \$1.2 billion and \$1.5 billion US over 20 years. Clearly, infrastructure is only part of the solution. Systems for long-term operation and maintenance are essential. Legions of skilled water and sanitation practitioners are needed. Moreover, change in the behaviour of billions of individuals in their daily water and sanitation practices is vital for results that are sustainable across generations.

Ultimately, CAWST sees a world where people have the opportunity to succeed because their basic water and sanitation needs have been met. This is its vision and contributing to that vision is its mandate.

From Colombia to Nepal to Zambia, CAWST's capacity-building approach is working. Since 2001, CAWST's network of clients and WET centres has reached 1 million people better water or sanitation. Visit cawst.org to learn more.

Ana Hoepfner is CAWST's marketing and communications adviser.

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Minister Winston Chitando with
Ambassador Florence Z Chideya
in Toronto.

Zimbabwe's mining industry is positively open for business judging by the 155 participants who attended at the inaugural "Zimbabwe is Mining" seminar on June 6 in Toronto - the world's mining finance capital.

In his address, the Hon. Winston Chitando, Minister of Mines and Mining Development for the Republic of Zimbabwe, led a delegation of senior government officials and business leaders from the Chamber of Mines to Toronto to make the case for Zimbabwe's attractiveness as a mining investment destination.

The Minister invited the Canadian companies to capitalize on the existence of the more than 60 minerals in Zimbabwe which remain largely underexploited, and highlighted the obvious sectors, among them gold, chrome, platinum, lithium, etc. His discussion was complemented by interactive sessions as well as input from the Chamber of Mines and the Geological Survey including capital for mining projects, risk overview, and updates by Canadian mining companies active in Zimbabwe.

The sleeping giant is awakening!

Moldova: An emerging market in Europe



By Ala Beleavtschi

Moldova is a country in south-east Europe that borders the European Union with which it has increasing co-operation thanks, in part, to its proximity. Signed in 2014, an association agreement established a new legal framework for ensuring Moldova's political association and economic integration with the EU, based on common values and close links. A full and effective implementation of the association agreement is largely viewed as the only path for securing Moldova's future membership in the EU.

Today, Moldova's trade with the EU accounts for around 66 per cent of its overall trade, which underlines the point that exported goods largely comply with EU norms and standards.

Having shown steady economic growth of more than four per cent over the past two years, the Moldovan economy is the newest emerging investment destination. In fact, it ranked sixth in the 2017 IBM list of top-ranking countries by estimated jobs per million inhabitants.

With a skilled and multilingual workforce and the lowest labour costs in the region, the most dynamic sectors of the Moldovan economy are automotive, agriculture and wine, manufacturing, textiles and apparel. In 2017, Moldova launched an IT park to foster more growth in its rapidly developing information and communications technology sector. The park offers IT companies a single uniform tax of seven per cent for investors.

With some big investors already producing and outsourcing to the country, there is a large range of opportunities for companies seeking new production opportunities and investments. These are provided by the seven free economic



Moldova's automotive sector represents more than \$400 million US in exports for the country.

zones and eight industrial parks that offer a variety of incentives, including a corporate tax of six per cent and total exemption from VAT and custom duties.

As one of the fastest-growing industries in Moldova, the automotive sector boasts more than 12,500 jobs created so far and represents more than \$400 million US in exports. At 20 per cent of total Moldovan exports, the automotive sector is increasingly attracting foreign investors.

Overall, 15 companies from countries such as the United States, Germany, Japan, Austria and Italy invested in the automotive sector. Among the biggest manufacturers present today in Moldova are: German Dräxlmaier AG, which has three plants and approximately \$75 million US in investments; the U.S.'s Lear Corporation, the fourth biggest exporter from Moldova; Austrian cable and wire manufacturer Gebauer & Griller, whose investments for the construction of its second recently opened factory in Moldova exceeded \$23.8 million US with 600 new jobs; Japan's Fujikura Automotive, with

\$3.8 million US in investments and more than 1,200 new jobs with a target of 3,000 jobs generated by 2020; Japanese-German Sumitomo Electric Bordnetze, which has \$35.8 million US in investments, 500 employees and a target of 2,500 new jobs in the next few years.

All of this investment adds to Moldova's growing image as a reliable partner for businesses looking to expand and invest. According to the latest World Bank annual ratings, in 2017, Moldova ranked 44th among 190 economies in the ease of doing business.

Also, trade with Canada has seen an upward tick over the last few years. Moldovan exports to Canada in 2017 accounted for about \$4.8 million US (almost twice as much as in 2016), primarily thanks to wine products (which represented 57 per cent of the total Moldovan exports to Canada, or \$2.8 million US.) Meanwhile, imports of Canadian products into the Moldovan market accounted for \$6.3 million US, primarily based on chemical products, machinery and mechanical appliances and animal products. In 2017, about 60 Moldovan businesses exported their goods to the Canadian market, mainly in the agricultural sector, followed by textiles, apparel, footwear and leather goods, electrical equipment, machinery and furniture.

Bordered by Romania to the west and Ukraine to the east — countries that already enjoy a free-trade regime with Canada — Moldova's free movement of goods to the European market, its growing economic integration with the EU, as well as the recent signing, in Ottawa, of a foreign investment promotion and protection agreement with Canada, provide a solid basis for boosting bilateral trade and investments between our countries.

Today, when the world is confronted with increasingly protectionist policies and growing trade barriers, Canada is rightfully looking to stretch its presence in Europe. With the CETA being implemented, it is time to gain the momentum and explore the potential of Europe's emerging markets.

Ala Beleavtschi is the ambassador of Moldova. Reach her at ottawa@mfa.md or phone her at (613) 695-6167.

Paraguay: For investment and renewable energy



By Ines Martinez Valinotti

Paraguay's economy is an open one that has, over the past decade, grown at a rate of nearly five per cent, a GDP growth that has beaten the regional average since 2013.

This growth has been mainly due to the country's heavy reliance on natural resources, including energy, which comes from the hydroelectric bi-national entities — Itaipú and Yacyretá — along with soy and livestock production. Together, these represented more than 70 per cent of all Paraguayan exports in 2016.

Hydropower accounts for nearly all electricity in Paraguay and 90 per cent of the energy generated is exported to neighbouring countries.

Over the past decade, the country has made significant macroeconomic progress after introducing reforms that emphasize fiscal responsibility and inflation control. The country sustains its success with an investment-friendly climate and strong fiscal discipline.

Trade with Canada is small, but the impending negotiation of a free-trade agreement between Canada and the MERCOSUR trading bloc is a positive sign. Enhanced trade relations between Canada and Paraguay can also lead to knowledge-sharing. Collaboration in hydroelectric power generation would be one example.

Bilateral merchandise trade between Canada and Paraguay totalled approximately \$32.7 million in 2017. Paraguay exported \$11.8 million to Canada, with the bulk of those exports being sugar, oilseeds and wood products. Canada exported \$20.9 million to Paraguay, including machinery, pharmaceutical products, paper articles, printed books and newspapers.

Manitoba Hydro International (MHI) is involved in a project with Paraguay's Na-



The Itaipu Dam is a hydroelectric power source located between Paraguay and Brazil. Hydroelectric power is one of Paraguay's main exports.

tional Electricity Administration related to transmission lines and administration. MHI, through an agreement with the Itaipú Technological Park in Paraguay, is also participating in a project to transfer knowledge and enhance the technical capabilities of the 12 Paraguayan professionals working in that office, including three graduates from the University of Manitoba.

Quebec's experience as the largest generator of hydroelectricity in North America represents a starting point in the involvement of Canadian companies in the energy sector, comprising co-operation agreements and investments. Paraguay also offers opportunities for investments in mining exploration; a gold mine project is underway.

Regarding the legal framework for investments, Paraguay has signed many bilateral and international investment protection treaties and specifically recognizes international arbitration. In fact, foreign investment law grants foreigners the same guarantees, rights and obligations enjoyed by Paraguayan investors.

The Law 60/90 is the most important foreign investment incentive. It grants tax incentives for investments that may be in the form of capital (including loans, etc.), equipment, trademarks and technology transfers. Through it, all government fees for registering companies are waived, there's a total exemption from customs duties, an exemption from withholding tax on repayment of loans exceeding \$5

million US and a total exemption from taxes on profits and dividends for 10 years for investments exceeding \$5 million US.

Generally, incentives under Law 60/90 are approved within 45 days of the application.

Paraguay's Maquila program allows a local entity to sign a contract with a foreign entity to produce goods or provide services for export only. The system allows for the duty-free import of raw materials and a complete tax exemption, except for a one-per-cent fixed tax on turnover.

By sector, Paraguay offers foreign investors opportunities in infrastructure, transportation and energy. There are also private and public projects in road construction, railroad transportation and river ports, among others. There are advantages to producing in Paraguay for MERCOSUR markets in various sectors including plastics, textiles, metalwork and others. Further, Paraguay has a young workforce (66 per cent of the population is younger than 35 years of age), quality and low-cost materials, macroeconomic stability, inexpensive clean power, sustainable economic growth and access to other markets.

In short, Paraguay boasts the best investment climate in the region, along with a stable, solvent, predictable and reliable economy.

Ines Martinez Valinotti is the ambassador of Paraguay. Reach her by email at imartinez@mre.gov.py or by phone at (613) 567-1283.

Switzerland: A world leader in innovation



By Beat Nobs

In January of this year, Switzerland and Canada signed a joint statement on science, technology and innovation on the margins of the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos, affirming a mutual interest in deepening co-operation in those fields. This should not come as a surprise because the two countries are natural partners.

According to the *WIPO's Global Innovation Index*, Switzerland is an innovation powerhouse, taking the top spot for the seventh year in a row. Switzerland's recipe for success involves a number of factors. For one, our dual-education system offers hands-on vocational training in combination with academic excellence (we have seven universities that rank among the world's top 160.)

Second, Swiss companies — large multinationals and small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) alike — invest much more in research and development than their counterparts in most other countries. In fact, the private sector is responsible for more than 80 per cent of R&D expenditures in applied research, which is reflected in our world-leading position in patent applications (884 per million inhabitants).

Also, Swiss authorities and businesses work together to further and promote innovation. Successful examples of such collaboration include CERN in Geneva, which has produced breakthroughs in physics, or the Innovation Park INNOVAARE, which is one of the world's leading centres for quickly turning innovations in such fields as accelerator technology, advanced materials and processes, human health and energy into marketable products and solutions. Furthermore, Switzerland hugely profits from its system



The Rolex Learning Centre in Lausanne is one example of the widespread innovation in Switzerland.

of competitive federalism, which stems from the strong constitutional position of the cantons (our version of provinces). Combined with long-term political stability, low unemployment and steady growth, this results in a safe environment for investors looking to support innovative technologies.

With a GDP of more than \$853 billion (or \$102,000 per capita), our economy belongs to the world's top 20. Given the size of its population, at 8.4 million, Switzerland has a highly diversified and internationally integrated economy that includes such fields as high-tech, finance, life sciences and tourism. This is reflected in a well-balanced and universal investment and trade policy, which includes Swiss membership in the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), a free-trade agreement with the European Union and an additional 28 FTAs with 38 partners worldwide.

The EFTA countries and Canada signed their free-trade agreement in 2008 and we believe it would be in both parties' interest to upgrade it as soon as possible. In fact, bilateral trade has increased over the past decade, making Switzerland Canada's 12th-largest trading partner. Canada is our second-largest trading partner in the Americas and therefore an important market for Swiss companies and investors.

Switzerland consistently ranks among the top 10 foreign direct investors in Canada, providing jobs for more than 32,000 Canadians in total. Large, well-known Swiss companies in Canada include ABB (technology), Barry Callebaut, Lindt and Nestlé (food), Novartis and Roche (life sciences), UBS and Zurich (financial services) and Glencore (mining). Apart from the many well-known brands, an increasing

number of Swiss SMEs discover Canada as an ideal place to expand and grow their international business. They are supported by Switzerland Global Enterprise and Swiss Business Hub Canada, with its office in Montreal. Both organizations are dedicated to promoting and connecting Swiss companies in Canada as well as attracting Canadian businesses and investments to Switzerland.

We also put more emphasis on the market potential that Switzerland represents for Canadian companies. Canadian exports to Switzerland have shown a positive development over the last few years. A shining Canadian example for Swiss market entry is Bombardier. The purchase of 30 units of CSeries 100 aircraft by launch customer Swiss Global Airlines led to a record 80-per-cent increase in exports over the past two years.

In conclusion, Switzerland and Canada share a broad and highly diversified economic relationship. This relationship is based on shared values, trust and free trade. It is also built on many personal relationships between Swiss and Canadians. There is room for this relationship to grow further, both with respect to geography (Western Canada) and new sectors (cleantech).

Due to its excellent education system, competitive federalism, cultural diversity, political and economic stability and high quality of life, Switzerland continues to be a perfect breeding ground for innovative technologies and thus offers Canadian corporations and investors a great location to investigate.

Beat Nobs is the ambassador of Switzerland. You can reach him by email at ott.vertretung@eda.admin.ch or by phone at (613) 235-1837.



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Myrtle Beach in South Carolina offers sand and sun, but also many seafood restaurants and even wildlife tours where cormorants and alligators await.



Sun, sand, surf, city life and so much more

Wolfgang Depner gives us his Top-15 summer destinations based on a list of criteria that include the requisite beach, some urban nightlife and culture and nature-rich opportunities for exercise, such as hiking and biking trails.

It may seem audacious to choose 15 vacation spots that check off all the items on a traveller's list, but we see it as a something-for-everyone approach. Or put another way, you can spare one person from inevitable sunburn and beach boredom and another from tedious shopping and historical sites, while another escapes long hot walks on interminable trails.

We provide all three for a high-variety visit. The Top-15 we chose offer all of the following elements:

1. A top-notch beach suitable for various maritime activities, such as swimming, scuba diving and paddle boarding.
2. Terrestrial activities, such as hiking and biking.
3. Urban activities that appeal to travellers who might be looking for cultural enrichment with museum visits and galleries, shopping or simply a fun night out on the town. And, oh yeah, it has to be relatively affordable.

So how did we choose? Our starting spot was the Amsterdam, Netherlands-based Travel Bird, which produces

an annual *Beach Price Index*. From there, it was a matter of finding places in or near large enough communities to promise something unique in terms of urban entertainment and away-from-the-beach recreation.

We also considered regional balance, among other issues, including accessibility from North America, and safety issues. In short, making this list was difficult, and certainly involved some subjective ranking.

What the list does not do is simply rank the largest cities with passable beaches and decent outdoor activities. Size, in this case, does not matter.

Vietnam's Hoi An is significantly smaller than Australia's Sydney, but it offers something more unique by virtue of its well-preserved architecture. We also "discriminated" against affordable beach locations that might easily fit our criteria, but might also be too "familiar" to readers. (Sorry, Barcelona.)

This said, we cannot assume that readers have not already heard of these places and, in any case, this list aims mostly to be inspirational. Happy travels.



The Hotel del Coronado in San Diego sits on a sandy beach that stretches for miles.

1. Coronado Beach, San Diego, United States

Coronado means the “crowned one” in Spanish and the beach near San Diego bearing this name is truly fit to be at the very top of our list.

The sand beach (one of several on Coronado Island) stretches for miles and draws fewer visitors than San Diego’s other major beaches — Mission and Pacific.

This more peaceful atmosphere also makes it more attractive and amenable for families eager to escape the SoCal crowds.

While the beach lacks a bustling boardwalk, it compensates with other rewards. They include warm, calm water, perfect for swimming and the Hotel del Coronado, a historic landmark that has hosted Hollywood legends, royalty and at least 11 U.S. presidents since the late 1880s amidst late-Victorian splendour. This beach also boasts the scenery of San Diego Bay, which visitors can experience from a number of vantage points, be it on foot, Segway, bike, paddleboard or kayak.

Downtown San Diego lies just on the other side of a stunning bridge and offers a wide range of attractions, including specialty shopping and dining befitting an urban centre of 1.4 million. The city’s zoo is world famous.

Students of history and politics will also get their fill. San Diego serves as the principal home port of the U.S. Pacific Fleet and boasts two major naval museums.

2. Hoi An, Vietnam

This city of 130,000 on Vietnam’s central coast served as a major trading centre between the 15th and 19th Centuries, thanks to its river location that connects Southeast Asia with the rest of the world.

In the 21st Century, it has emerged as an “it” destination for discriminating travellers from distant shores who appreciate authenticity and accessibility, without packed hotels.

Hoi An’s well-preserved architecture, a fusion of Vietnamese and foreign influences, speaks to this point, and has earned the city a spot on the list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites.

Surfers flock to Hoi An because of its high waves and low costs, an aspect that has also increasingly attracted families and other budget travellers in search of a summer holiday less ordinary.

While tourism has become an undeniable part of Hoi An’s economy, travellers do not have to go far to get a taste of how locals live.

The city is pedestrian-friendly and visitors can easily access the surrounding countryside with the help of local tour operators.

This sense of authenticity is one of the reasons then-U.S. president Barack Obama received a recommendation to visit the city during his 2016 visit to Vietnam. He did not, lunching instead in Hanoi with the late celebrity chef Anthony Bourdain.



Hoi An is a great destination for travellers who look for authenticity and accessibility without the crowds.

It might well be worth finding out what he missed.

3. Playas Las Terrenas, Dominican Republic

Playas Las Terrenas easily combines European and Caribbean cultures to create a kind of tropical cosmopolitanism that readily appeals to travellers who are looking to venture off the usual paths.

Located on the northern shores of the Samaná Peninsula, the “gnarled finger” of the Dominican Republic — as noted by *The New York Times* — is the centre of a region that bears little actual resemblance to a malformed digit.

The rolling hills of the peninsula’s interior (among the most remote locations of the Dominican Republic) have a lush, green hue. Groves of palm trees also provide shade to a series of sandy beaches. Playas Las Terrenas is perhaps the most familiar, but it faces fierce competition from Playa Cosón and Playa Bonita for the



Playas Las Terrenas in Dominican Republic offers tropical cosmopolitanism for adventure-seekers looking to avoid tourist traps.



Split, the second-largest city in Croatia, definitely has it all, with Bacvice Beach on the Adriatic, UNESCO World Heritage sites and ravine-rich coastlines.

favour of visitors.

Those who do go are also likely to see the many expats, mainly from France and Italy, but also the United States, who have settled on these shores.

They run French bakeries and restaurants, such as the iconic El Lugar (The Place), which combines a laid-back atmosphere with highly rated seafood dishes.

While visitors might spot the French or Italian expats by their fashions, the boundaries between these outsiders and locals are blurry and have produced a distinct social scene that blends elegance with a relaxed attitude, as evidenced by the nearly rule-free traffic.

4. Split, Croatia

The second-largest city in Croatia offers opportunities for a range of tastes.

Clinging to the Dalmatian coast, Split was first the site of a Greek colony, then a Roman regional hub during the rule of Diocletian, who erected a large palatial complex.

Its remaining ruins rest in the city core, mere minutes away from Bacvice Beach,

the largest of four city beaches and one of several in Split's metropolitan area, where the population is about 350,000.

The azure-coloured waters of the Adriatic Sea draw an increasingly diverse group of travellers who have given Split an international flair and vibrant nightlife.

Those eager to escape the hustle and bustle have plenty of options. They can visit the nearby city of Trogir (which, like Split's core, is a UNESCO World Heritage Site), rent kayaks to explore the ravine-rich coastline with its many small islands and hidden bays, or disappear into the mountains, starting with Mosor Mountain, which rewards visitors with stunning views at the cost of a public bus ticket.

North of Split, less than four hours by bus, lies Paklenica National Park, where more than 150 hiking trails await more adventurous travellers.

Finally, no discussion of Croatia would be complete without mentioning Plivice Lakes National Park, three hours to the northeast of Split. The park consists of 16 lakes connected by waterfalls. Its Karst topography, where underground drainage

produces sinkholes and caves, has made UNESCO's list of World Heritage sites.

5. Wasaga Beach, Ontario, Canada

Wasaga Beach is more than just the world's largest freshwater beach, with 14 kilometres of sandy shoreline along the southern shores of Georgian Bay. It represents a good starting point for any vacation.

As a Blue Flag Beach (www.blueflag-global.com), Wasaga Beach balances water quality and environmental sustainability with general accessibility. While this "inland" Canadian beach fronts Lake Huron, its look evokes more southern latitudes without the artifice apparent in mass touristy strongholds such as Miami, where unceasing walls of concrete looming over teeming beaches crowd out any sense of contemplation.

To be fair, Wasaga Beach is not without its masses, but offers plenty of escape points. An extensive set of hiking and cycling trails totalling 100 kilometres surrounds the community. This network



Wasaga Beach is Canada's only entry in our Top-15 list. Its surrounding community has access to sand dunes and the remains of a glacial lake that covered the area 10,000 years ago.

offers, among other attractions, access to a series of sand dunes and the remains of a glacial lake that covered the area 10,000 years ago. Contemporary dune denizens now include more than 200 species of birds and 700 different types of plants.

Those looking for more distant scenery can check out the Georgian Trail, which follows the old railway line that once connected Collingwood and Meaford. It combines easy hiking with lake scenery and plenty of roadside attractions and rustic ambience. And if this sounds all too serene, Downtown Toronto lies just two to three hours away.

6. Algarve, Portugal

The 150-plus beaches of the Algarve coast in southern Portugal have graced the pages of countless travel magazines — for good reason.

Wind and water have chopped sections of the coastal limestone into a jagged symphony of stacks and spires that pierce a perpetually blue sky from every imaginable angle. Visitors can pass underneath majestic arches as they stroll along sandy beaches or surf the reliable break coming off the Atlantic.

But the region — whose southern tip lies three hours south of Lisbon — is more than just a geological fantasy and inspirational playground for beach-bum



The Algarve region, whose southern tip lies three hours south of Lisbon, also offers dolphin-watching. The town square is shown here.

philosophers.

Families can choose from a list of children-friendly beaches and activities that include dolphin-watching and sand-

sculpting. Boat and kayak tours of the craggy coastline are also popular with families.

A popular science centre in Faro and an adventure park in Lagoa also cater to children. Adults also have plenty of options beyond the sea, thanks to a series of trails leading to natural and cultural attractions. The Seven Hanging Valley Trails hug the panoramic coastline, offering some of the best views, while the Paderne Castle Trail leads through the rural countryside towards the ruins of a Moorish castle from the 12th Century. The affordable cuisine of the region has a reputation far beyond its borders and Lisbon (about three hours north) and Seville (about three hours east in Spain) cater to more urban tastes.

7. Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, United States

A large Ferris wheel — the SkyWheel — spins year-round over the oceanfront boardwalk in Myrtle Beach, the urban heart of the Grand Strand, a 100-kilometre-long stretch of white sand beaches that visitors can walk almost entirely without leaving the water's edge.

Nearly 60 metres (or 20 storeys) in



Bondi Beach, seven kilometres from downtown Sydney, Australia, has attracted visitors since the mid-19th Century. The first tramway reached the area in 1884 and today, the beach draws 2.5 million people a year.



Myrtle Beach, in South Carolina, will give you an all-American vacation, complete with a SkyWheel, golf and seafood by the water.

height, the SkyWheel is the sixth-largest of its kind in the United States and speaks to the ambition of the region, which has become a golfing mecca over the decades.

The golf passion even extends to a themed mini-golf industry for family fun.

While golfing might attract an older crowd, the region caters to all ages, from university students on spring break to families looking for an affordable vacation that includes plenty of sun, sand and surf.

This combination constitutes the core of the region's appeal, but other attractions await.

They include a bevy of restaurants featuring local seafood and a number of gardens and wildlife preserves that showcase southern flora and fauna, including the historic Brookgreen Gardens near Murrell Inlet, a small village just south of Myrtle Beach.

If this sounds too sedate, visitors can always stoke their adrenaline levels by booking a tour through marshes teeming with local wildlife, from cormorants to alligators.

8. Bondi Beach, Australia (near Sydney)

Sydney is not exactly easy on your wallet. According to the international travel agency, Flight Centre, Sydney is the most expensive destination Down Under.

Other rankings paint a similar picture. According to the Intelligence Unit of *The Economist*, Sydney is now the 10th-most expensive destination in the world, cracking the Top-10 for the first time in history, ahead of New York and London.

Tourists stay for a good time, not a long time, but the high cost of everything can quickly blow some big budget holes.

Deals are available, and those looking for a beach holiday in a major metropolis that offers a wide range of cultural activities cannot go wrong with Bondi Beach.

Located seven kilometres from downtown Sydney, Bondi Beach has drawn visitors since the middle of the 19th Century. Its popularity increased when the first tramway reached the area in 1884 and Bondi Beach draws 2.5 million people a year.

While undeniably busy, Bondi Beach nonetheless promises some excellent swimming and surfing. Visitors can also enjoy the beach's spectacular scenery while hiking a system of nearby trails or check out the multicultural neighbourhood that has sprung up around the beach.

Above all, a visit to Bondi Beach prom-



Puerto Villamil, on the Galapagos Islands in Ecuador, boasts beaches that stretch for three kilometres and nearby salt ponds that attract flamingos.

ises perhaps nothing less than a chance to feel the pulse of a nation at play.

9. Puerto Villamil, Galapagos Islands, Ecuador

A visit to Puerto Villamil, 1,000 kilometres off the Ecuadorian coast in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, is like a journey to the end of the world.

Located in Isabela, Puerto Villamil is the largest city in the largest (by area) in the 19 islands that make up the Galapagos. City is, however, a relative term, since it is really the only major settlement on the island, and home to most of its 2,000-plus residents. Puerto Ayora, the largest city of all of the Galapagos islands, with 12,000 people, lies on Santa Cruz, the second-largest island.

Puerto Villamil's sand beach stretches for three kilometres past a series of restaurants and accommodations that range from the affordable to the luxurious. A nearby pier draws yachts and customers from around the world. But this cosmopolitan touch is, of course, only a secondary attraction. As UNESCO notes, the Galapagos Islands serve as a "living museum and showcase of evolution."

The crossroads location at the conflu-

ence of three ocean currents has blessed this archipelago of former and active volcanoes with an immense biodiversity that inspired Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection and evolution.

This variety awaits visitors. Salt ponds near the main beach attract pink flamingos and a breeding centre for the islands' world-famous giant tortoises lies just one kilometre from the city centre. Iguanas lounge everywhere.

Or, as *Lonely Planet* puts it: The Galapagos Islands may just inspire you to think differently about the world. The creatures that call the islands home, many found nowhere else in the world, act as if humans are nothing more than slightly annoying paparazzi.

10. Lima, Peru

With a coastline that runs more than 2,400 kilometres and waves on par with those of Hawaii, the third-largest Latin American country has become an emerging destination for surfers and others who enjoy the ocean.

Part of the charm lies in the visual contrast that defines the Peruvian coast. Much of it qualifies as a desert thanks to the Pacific's Humboldt current that carries cold, dry air to the central and southern sections

of the coast. This combination means the Peruvian coast receives little to no rainfall for nine months, creating a stunning clash between the vast Pacific Coast and the coastal desert just beyond the shore.

While Peru's prettiest beaches lie several hours to the north and south of the capital, Lima's Miraflores neighbourhood offers no fewer than four popular beaches.

Several more are within an hour's drive outside the city.

The appeal of Lima, of course, lies in its country and cosmopolitan combination. Visitors can take trips to the beach and they can also tour the city's well-preserved historic core founded by Spanish conqueror Francisco Pizarro in 1535.

Or they can sample Lima's burgeoning culinary scene following an afternoon of people-watching on El Malecon, a seaside promenade that stretches for five kilometres. A collection of museums, galleries, clubs and some of the world's best restaurants gives Lima a rich cultural life.

Not so long ago, Lima carried the moniker "Lima the Ugly" because of its population's size (almost 10 million residents or one third of Peru's population) and traffic chaos. But recent improvements have warranted a revision.



Lima, Peru, whose Plaza des Armas, shown here, is the birthplace of the city, has four popular beaches, a vibrant culinary scene and many cultural gems.



Greece's Zakynthos is the country's 10th-largest island and offers quintessential Mediterranean vacation opportunities including breathtaking views of the Ionian Sea.

11. Zakynthos, Greece

Greece's 10th-largest island by area and its eponymously named city have everything visitors might come to expect from a summer beach vacation to the Mediterranean.

First, it can look back on a long, varied human history that runs from the Mycenaean period in Ancient Greece's late Bronze Age (approximately 1600–1100 BC) to modern-day Greece.

Physical reminders of the various powers that have ruled Zakynthos over the millenniums dot the island, offering nothing less than a crash course in past and more recent civilizations.

Zakynthos also looms large in literary history, as the birthplace of Dionysios Solomos, Greek's national poet, one of only several writers who were born and worked on the island.

Its inspirational elements are readily apparent. Sun-drenched rocky features offer sweeping views of the Ionian Sea and its surrounding islands, some inhabited, others not. Zakynthos' grottos offer a rhapsody of romantic blues shimmering in the sun. The undeniably key attraction of the area, though, is the rusting hulk of the freightliner, *MV Panagiotis*.

Stranded on Zakynthos since Oct. 1,

1980, its skeletal remains draw thousands of visitors each year to Navagio Beach, a small, confined cove.

Only boats can access this last resting place of what some suspect was a smuggling ship. Flanked by towering white cliffs standing guard, the wreck evokes Shelley's *Ozymendias*. "Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare, the lone and level sands stretch far away."

12. Ambergris Caye, Belize

Ambergris Caye is a cliché and a revelation. The "undisputed superstar of Belize's tourism industry," as described by *Lonely Planet*, Ambergris Caye features all of the idealized traits of a tropical island: pristine beaches, palm trees and perpetual sunshine.

Temptation Island, a reality television show on Fox, used it as its backdrop during its first season.

This perceived perfection has carried a price, though — that of mass tourism. San Pedro, the island's largest community of 12,000, relies almost exclusively on souvenir shops and other similar businesses for its economic survival, and resorts have sprung up around the island, a narrow

strip of land, about 40 kilometres in length and no more than eight kilometres wide.

Yet, despite its accessibility, the island remains rich in locations where visitors can tune out the rest of the world, or alternatively, disappear underneath the waves, as Belize boasts the finest system of reefs outside Australia's Great Barrier Reef.

The Great Blue Hole, a large underwater sinkhole measuring 300 metres across and 125 metres deep, is readily accessible from San Pedro, either by boat as part of a day-long diving trip, or better yet, as the highlight of a scenic flyover.

13. Jaco, Costa Rica

Located two hours south of the capital of San Jose, Jaco is a Pacific resort that draws tourists for all sorts of reasons.

While many come for the surfing, non-surfers can choose among several beaches for swimming and relaxing under a tropical sun.

Other activities also beckon. They include boat tours on the nearby Rio Tarcoles, offering close-but-not-too-close encounters with local crocodiles, or ATV tours into the nearby mountains.

Jaco also lies near two national parks

— Carara and Manuel Antonio — whose well-maintained trails offer excellent hiking opportunities.

Both, but Carara National Park more so, showcase the ecological wealth of



Many go to Jaco, Costa Rica, for the surfing, but others enjoy the beaches and nearby boat and ATV tours.

Costa Rica, which has gone to great lengths to preserve its natural environment, in part because of its economic importance as a tourism driver.

Lovers of wildlife, especially bird-watchers, will likely marvel at the sights and sounds that await them once they enter these preserves of (near) ecological pristineness.

True, in the minds of some, Jaco has become too accessible, too popular. For a community of 10,000, it has an active, even bustling nightlife. But what is wrong with that?

14. Tulum Beach, Mexico

Tulum Beach melds the mystical with the modern. While no spot along Mexico's Mayan Riviera qualifies as secluded, its location two hours' drive south of Cancun gives Tulum Beach a measure of privacy long missing from mass tourism hubs, such as Playa del Carmen.

Like other parts of the region, Tulum Beach boasts its fair share of family-friendly beaches and Mayan ruins. But what separates this community of 20,000 people (minus the tourists) is the combination. Tulum's ruins rest on an ocean-facing cliff and visitors can see one of the best-preserved buildings in the entire complex — El Castillo — from the beach that lies just beneath it with a trail connecting both.

Such points of connection, be they physical or spiritual, also exist elsewhere in the region. The area is home to several wellness resorts that specialize in yoga,



Ambergris Caye in Belize is the "undisputed superstar" of Belize's tourism industry, according to the *Lonely Planet* travel guide.

TRAVEL BIRD RANKS 310 BEACHES BASED ON THE PRICE OF A TYPICAL DAY ON THEIR SHORES. THESE BEACHES ALSO APPEAR ON OUR LIST.

	Sunscreen	Water	Beer	Ice cream	Lunch	Total
Bondi Beach, Australia	\$9	\$2.34	\$5.34	\$2.85	\$24.53	\$44.06
Wasaga Beach, Ontario, Canada	\$9.15	\$1.70	\$3.59	\$3.38	\$19.08	\$36.90
Praia Grande Lagoa, Algarve, Portugal	\$9.54	\$1.05	\$2.28	\$1.70	\$20.14	\$34.71
Half Moon Caye, Lighthouse Reef, Belize	\$14.74	\$2.34	\$2.68	\$1	\$8.33	\$29.09
Playa Manuel Antonio, Quepos, Costa Rica	\$11.79	\$1.34	\$2.85	\$2.02	\$8.81	\$26.81
Playas Las Terrenas, Dominican Republic	\$7.76	\$0.68	\$2.18	\$1.64	\$8.63	\$20.89
Patong, Phuket, Thailand	\$7.78	\$0.34	\$2.45	\$0.90	\$8.90	\$20.37

[HTTPS://TRAVELBIRD.NL/BEACH-PRICE-INDEX-2017/](https://travelbird.nl/beach-price-index-2017/)



Tulum Beach's Temple of the Wind God graces its shores.

meditation and other contemplative techniques designed to cleanse the mind from the confusion of modernity.

But the region also offers more physical activities, with cave diving as one of the major attractions. Local restaurants feature cosmopolitan fare — anyone for Thai-Mexican fusion? — and visitors with a taste for nightlife can always check out Cancun.

15. Patong, Phuket, Thailand

Fair warning: the nightlife around Patong Beach on the Thai island of Phuket is brash and boisterous. Its epicentre is Bangla Road, a strip of clubs and cabarets.

Closed to traffic once the sun has set, Bangla Road serves as the neon-coloured spine from which several side streets radiate like ribs.

Each side street (*soi*) offers unique attractions and visitors may encounter sights that require a high degree of liber-

alism. Think plenty of alcohol, skin and elaborate shows featuring one of Thailand's biggest and most infamous late-night attractions — "lady boys," who are either transgender women or men in drag.

Visitors also do not have to travel far to experience another sort of jungle, as several operators offer trekking tours into the nearby mountains on the backs of elephants.

Those looking for sleeker and speedier transportation options to explore the countryside can rent one of the ubiquitous small motorbikes that whiz and whirl up and down the island.

Of course, Patong is only one among several beaches that have made Phuket one of the most popular vacation destinations in the world and visitors who want some quiet time before thrusting themselves back into the frenzy that is Patong can check out Mai Khao Beach on the northwestern coast of the island.

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The nightlife around Patong Beach, Thailand, can be brash and boisterous, but the beaches can't be beat and several operators offer tours into the nearby mountains on the backs of elephants.

Day-trip dreamin'

By *Patrick Langston*

Admit it: You need a micro-vacation. A few hours away from the grinding routine and a chance to savour new places, things and faces without the expense and trouble of a full-blown holiday.

A couple of day trips may be a perfect solution. We've rounded up some of what's available. The websites will tell you about costs, as well as when you can visit, although some spots never close.

So, what are you waiting for?

Marché Ste-Anne

Founded in 1703 at the western end of Montreal Island, the village of Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue boasts not just a pretty waterfront, generous green space and fine old buildings in the pitched-roof Quebec style, but also Marché Ste-Anne, a bustling Saturday outdoor market overlooking the St. Lawrence River. A couple of dozen vendors sell everything from cheese, fruit and vegetables to specialties such as pasture-raised guinea fowl and artisanal pasta. The emphasis is local and organic, and free samples abound. marchesainte-anne.ca

Tip: Café T.W.I.G.S. on Ste.-Anne Street makes great sandwiches using local ingredients. The Morgan Arboretum, just north of Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue, is an oasis of quiet after the busy market.

Pretty Perth

Heritage buildings, including the 1840 Matheson House, also known as the Perth Museum, the free Stewart Park Music Festival in mid-July and the paved, 18-kilometre Tay Shore Trail through wetlands, forests and villages: They're all tantalizing reasons to make the one-hour drive southwest to Perth. perth.ca

Want to turn it into a two-day jaunt? Stay overnight in Perth and tack on a half-hour side trip to Sharbot Lake Provincial Park for swimming, fishing and hiking.

Catch your breath!

Not for the faint of heart, the Great Canadian Bungee lays claim to being the highest jump in North America — straight off a platform and 60 metres (200 feet) down to a limestone quarry lagoon. Not enough for your thrill-hungry spirit?



Boldt Castle on the Thousand Islands was built by U.S. millionaire George C. Boldt for his wife, Louise. When she died suddenly in her early 40s, he abandoned the project and never returned.

Try the zipline over the lagoon, with an average speed of 85 kilometres per hour. bungee.ca

Since the bungee jump is in Chelsea, Que., you could add a hike in Gatineau Park, a trip to Nordik Spa-Nature, or an evening of live music at The Blacksheep Inn in nearby Wakefield.

Love interrupted

In 1900, U.S. millionaire George C. Boldt commissioned the construction of a 120-room Rhineland castle in the Thousand Islands as a gift for his wife, Louise. When she died suddenly in 1904 in her early 40s, the project was abandoned and Boldt never returned to his property.

A two-hour stopover at this monument to tragic love is part of a longer tour of the islands by Gananoque Boat Line (ganboatline.com).

Other treats in leafy Gananoque, about 90 minutes from Ottawa, include the

waterfront Thousand Islands Playhouse, featuring professional live theatre.

Serving time

The historic L'Original Old Jail, 45 minutes east of Orléans on picturesque Prescott and Russell County Road 17, is a cogent reminder of how brutal criminal justice can be. Housed in a 19th-Century neo-classical building, the bleak, cramped institution was Canada's second oldest functioning jail when it closed in 1998. Don't be surprised if your visit incites empathy as you imagine the lives and dreams and dashed hopes of the incarcerated. loriginalprison.com

L'Original also features a walking tour of historic buildings and a public beach, while nearby Vankleek Hill boasts good tastes and tours at Beau's Brewery.

Arts in Almonte

From Rosemary Leach's unexpected paint-

ings of sinks and wrenches to exquisite pieces at Kehla Jewellery Design Studio, Almonte has long been a haven for artists. Curious? Visit almonte.com to find out more.

About 30 minutes from Kanata and with the Mississippi River anchoring it, historic Almonte also features boutique shopping, including L.G. Lee & Sons, a spin-off of Lee Valley Tools with specialty home, garden and workshop items such as Danish dough whisks and Canadian-designed hatchets.

Tip: The annual autumn Crown and Pumpkin Tour is another chance to see what artists as well as chocolate-makers and others create in the Almonte and Clayton area. Visit crownandpumpkin.com to explore in more detail.

The serenity of cemeteries

We do ourselves a disservice by not visiting graveyards, especially small, rural ones. A few hours reading old gravestones, some so old they're barely legible, induces serenity and a connection with those who preceded us. Check roadsidethoughts.com/on/ottawa-cemeteries.htm for local spots. Don't neglect MacLaren Cemetery in Wakefield. Buried at this unassuming hilltop site is former prime minister Lester B. Pearson, who clearly understood that death is the great leveller.

A fresh take on wine

YogiWino. Yes, you got that right. You practice yoga while sipping wine. And you do it at the vineyard, in this case Domaine Perrault (domaineperrault.ca) in Navan, a short drive from downtown. It's another sign that area wineries are thriving and that a day trip to sample their wares is a day well spent. Google will point you to more local vineyards, including Smokie Ridge Vineyard (smokiesgrapes.com) in Mountain, south of Ottawa.

Fries, a forest, a museum and music

First, head west to Arnprior on Hwy. 417, including a pit stop at the incomparable Wes' Chips stand at the east end of town and a visit to Gillies Grove old-growth forest (arnprior.ca). Next, drive south on County Road 2 for 15 minutes to White Lake, where the Waba Cottage Museum & Gardens revisits the 19th Century in occasionally eccentric fashion (mcnabbareside.com). Finish up with a 10-minute drive on County Road 52 for live music and wood-fired pizza at Burnstown's Neat Coffee Shop (neatmusicandcoffee.ca). A full and satisfying day.

Woodland sculptures

Still a largely undiscovered gem, the nine-acre Humanics Sanctuary and Sculpture Park just outside the Village of Cumberland features dozens of sculptures representing international faiths in a forested, nine-acre setting. The spot — a balm for the weary, 21st-Century soul — was created to promote non-violence, justice and



Former Canadian prime minister Lester B. Pearson is buried at MacLaren Cemetery in Wakefield.

peace in the world. humanicsinstitute.org

While in Cumberland, don't forget about the scrumptious treats at Black Walnut Bakery and the Cumberland Heritage Village Museum, where restored buildings showcase early 20th-Century village life.

Prime ministerial ruins

William Lyon Mackenzie King, Canada's longest-serving prime minister, liked ruins so much he built his own. Salvaging stones from the Canadian Parliament buildings destroyed by fire in 1916 and fragments from elsewhere in Ottawa and Britain, he built the Abbey Ruins and other idiosyncratic structures to beautify his beloved estate, now known as the Mackenzie King Estate, in Gatineau Park. The ruins, cottages, gardens and tea room are open to the public. ncc-ccn.gc.ca

Indigenous perspectives

This one won't occupy an entire day — in fact, just a couple of hours — and you needn't go far to do it, but the Indigenous Walks guided tour is an eye-opener. It explores monuments, architecture, art and landscapes in downtown Ottawa through an Indigenous lens. Offerings include the Basic Tour, Parliament Hill Tour, Indigenous Women's Tour and the Very Scary

Tour. indigenouswalks.com

Tip: You're downtown for the walk, so why not stop by those places you keep meaning to visit, including the Bytown Museum at the canal locks, the Ottawa Art Gallery in its brand-new building and ever-restful Major's Hill Park.

So good, it repeats

The Madawaska Valley Studio Tour, which runs in July and September, features painters, potters, glass artists and more. They include landscape artist Kathy Haycock, iconographer Janusz Charczuk and metal worker Mike Desrochers, who creates pieces using materials from abandoned farms and former industries in the upper Ottawa Valley. It's a bit of a hike to places such as Combermere and Wilno, but the scenery — lakes, forests, old farmsteads — make it a memorable drive. madawaskastudiotour.com

Historic delights and sausage rolls

About 50 minutes south of Ottawa, the 19th-Century village of Merrickville always merits a visit. Highlights include the stone Blockhouse Museum, which was built in 1832 to defend the Rideau Canal locks in the event of a U.S. invasion of Upper Canada, and now houses an admirable collection of local artifacts. The highly walkable village has boutique shopping, The Village Bean on St. Lawrence Street serves dependable coffee and light fare, and the decidedly unpretentious The Chip Witch on Main Street East rivals Arnprior's Wes' Chips for flavourful fries. realmerrickville.ca

Tip: Return home via Kemptville so you can stop at Grahame's Bakery on Clothier Street East for terrific sausage rolls and more.

Strictly for the birds

The 9,000-hectare Upper Canada Migratory Bird Sanctuary on the St. Lawrence River near Ingleside, Ont., includes a mature upland forest, wetlands and open water. Little wonder 200 waterfowl, raptors and other species call the place home, even if only while migrating. With more than eight kilometres of self-guided nature trails, the sanctuary is a natural treasure.

Interested in an overnighter? Book a stay at Robin's Roost Treehouse with its wrap-around deck and room for six. stlawrenceparks.com

Patrick Langston is an Ottawa writer who loves few things more than pointing his car down a road and seeing where it takes him.

Wanting water and sanitation for all

By Nicole Hurtubise



At Government Higher Primary School in Puchhaldini Village in Raichur, India, children practise handwashing every day.

Turning on a tap: It was probably the first thing you did this morning. However, for 844 million people around the world, this everyday essential — this human right, no less — is out of reach.

Earlier this year, Cape Town hit the headlines in the lead-up to what its mayor dubbed “Day Zero,” the day on which the city taps would run dry.

It was a wake-up call for anyone who, until then, had been privileged enough to take clean water for granted.

A global crisis

The water crisis is no longer just a problem for remote African villages or crowded Asian slums. It’s everyone’s problem now. Already, more than 60 per cent of humanity lives in areas of water stress — places where the supply of water cannot or will not continue to meet demand. There’s also a considerable crisis in sanitation and hygiene — almost one in three people in the world, or 2.3 billion total, do not have a decent household toilet. The resulting diarrheal diseases kill 289,000 children

under five every year.

Women and girls are most affected, as they typically carry the burden of water collection. Combined, they spend up to 200 million hours a day collecting water. The World Health Organization recommends a daily minimum of 50 litres of water per person. To collect this much water for a family of four, from 15 minutes away using a 20-litre jerry can, takes a mother five hours each and every day. And, filled, that can weigh 20 kilograms — a crushing load that women and girls often carry on their heads.

This has a devastating effect on people’s economic well-being and security. The losses from dirty water, inadequate sanitation and poor hygiene in middle- and low-income countries are estimated to be \$260 billion US annually.

Ground zero for the problem

Where clean water is already difficult to find, additional pressure on resources takes the situation to breaking point. In Eritrea, just 19 per cent of the population has clean water close to home, with increased demand from the many refugees now passing through. The figure is 37 per cent in Papua New Guinea — second lowest in the world — and the impacts of climate change appear to make things worse. Uganda is close behind at 38 per cent. While the country has made progress since its civil war, conflict in neighbouring South Sudan has contributed to it becoming host to the largest number of refugees in Africa.

All 10 of the world’s worst countries for access to basic sanitation are in sub-Saharan Africa. Here, on average, only 28 per cent of the population has somewhere decent to go to the toilet and children are 15 times more likely to die before they reach the age of five than in developed regions. In Ethiopia, only seven per cent of the population has access to acceptable sanitation. This means more than 46 million women and girls in Ethiopia have nowhere safe to go to the toilet — a number that’s higher than the entire population of Canada.

The stories behind the stats

What these statistics hide, however, are the human stories. I have worked in international development and humanitarian assistance for 20 years, and have seen for myself the damage caused by the lack of access to these human rights.

Last year, I travelled to Madagascar, an island nation ranked 158th of 188 countries listed on the *UN Human Development Index*. Nearly half of Malagasy people have no clean water, and approximately nine of 10 have no decent toilet. Without water, it’s difficult for people to make hygiene a priority. Deadly diarrheal diseases are common.

I visited a small rural community health centre and was shown two rudimentary rooms where women came to give birth. When I asked where the midwives fetched their water, I had to walk 500 metres down a steep path to look into a dirty hole in the muddy ground. This was the water used to wash women after they gave birth and to bathe their newborn babies.

Sustainable Development Goals

In 2000, the Millennium Development Goals aimed to halve the proportion of the population without sustainable access to clean water and decent toilets. And this was achieved. Between 1990 and 2015, 2.6 billion people were finally able to access clean water and 2.1 billion secured sanitation.

In 2015, world leaders stepped up their ambitions with the Sustainable Development Goals, including goal No. 6 — to “ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all.”

This summer, the UN will meet to review progress. Three years in, it’s not looking good. Some countries remain years off track to meet their commitments and obligations. For others, it’s decades. If we continue with business as usual, we won’t see universal access to safely managed clean water services until 2064. And we’ll have to wait until 2107 for everyone to have an acceptable level of sanitation services. Across Africa and South Asia, there are vast discrepancies between richest and poorest. And globally, almost a billion people are still defecating in the open.

The way forward

There has been progress, and that progress continues. In 2015, there were 686,000 fewer child deaths from diarrheal diseases than in 2000. Countries such as Mozambique, Mali and Cambodia are showing remarkable improvements in access to clean water and sanitation. And under the political leadership of India’s government, a “Clean India” campaign has been launched and has been instrumental in installing millions of toilets across the country.

Over the past 35 years, WaterAid has reached 25 million people with clean water and the same number with decent toilets. Millions of lives have been saved and transformed. But the scale of the problem is so huge, we alone can’t solve it with a tap-by-tap, toilet-by-toilet approach. We’re working to bring NGOs, governments, businesses and citizens together to make a bigger difference.

This is a crisis that can be fixed. By sharing our experiences, co-ordinating our efforts and strengthening our systems to deliver sustainable, environmentally responsible services, we can achieve this ambitious goal — a world where clean water, decent toilets and good hygiene are the norm for everyone, everywhere. A day when “Day Zero” is consigned to history.

Nicole Hurtubise is the CEO of WaterAid.

The Top-10 countries with lowest access to water - by per cent
*denotes 2015 rating

Rank	Country	At least basic per cent access
1	Eritrea	19
2	Papua New Guinea*	37
3	Uganda	38
4	Ethiopia*	39
5	Dem Rep of the Congo*	39
6	Somalia	40
7	Angola*	41
8	Chad*	43
9	Niger	46
10	Mozambique*	47

The Top-10 countries most improved in providing water access — by number, since 2000

Rank	Country	Number of people reached
1	China	334,263,785
2	India	300,788,777
3	Indonesia	72,843,098
4	Nigeria	66,085,442
5	Pakistan	44,328,750
6	Brazil	37,923,597
7	Mexico	33,052,687
8	Bangladesh	32,439,869
9	Ethiopia	27,766,769
10	Philippines	24,046,112

SOURCE OF TABLE INFORMATION: WATERAID, THE WATER GAP - STATE OF THE WORLD'S WATER | WASH MATTERS

From veil to victory

By Ishita Rampal



Dulari and Sushma, two sanitation and hygiene group members collect garbage from each house in ward 14, a semi-urban slum of Durg district in Chhattisgarh.

Along with India's varied culture and diversity, there's also an overwhelming reality — a distinct lack of basics such as clean water to drink, accessible toilets and good hygiene practices. Compounding that is the country's tremendous population of more than 1.3 billion people, or 17.7 per cent of the world's total population.

As I travel to some of the most remote rural communities and navigate the lanes of urban slum dwellings in fast-growing towns, I see this blatant reality everywhere. Yet even though the growing population and the lack of basic resources present an unimaginable daily struggle,

there are individuals and indeed entire communities of people who are rising to the challenge.

Having operated in India for the past 32 years, WaterAid recognizes that informed and active communities committed to creating change in their own lives are at the very heart of sustainable development. We see our role as being one of catalyst and enabler. Working alongside communities, we help them secure lasting clean water supplies and decent toilets, thereby alleviating daily hardships and helping to unleash the full measure of their inhabitants' potential.

I'd like to share the story of Meena Pali-

wal, the *sarpanch* (elected head of village government) of Bakheda Kurmi village in the Ichawar block of Madhya Pradesh state.

When I spoke with Paliwal, I was struck by her quiet confidence. As one of the very few female *sarpanch* in her state, she leads initiatives for the betterment and development of her village. A mother of two children, living with her husband and in-laws, she recalls the journey of finding her voice, knowing her mind and mobilizing men, women and children to make their village "open defecation-free" and much more.

"When I first addressed a gathering

of more than 100 villagers, I was very scared, Paliwal told me. “I wanted to be sure of what I was going to say and not just come across as a woman leader who is only the face of the *panchayat* [village council] while the men make all the important decisions. In my village, which is home to more than 1,500 residents, it is not very easy for a woman to raise her voice. During the initial days of my tenure as a *sarpanch*, I was told to take a back seat and, for the benefit of the village, let my husband deal with all the major issues.

“But I’m glad that my husband and my

a huge achievement at that time. It was good to see that with our consistent efforts and regular discussions, the villagers began to think about the ill-effects of open defecation and were open to change. Soon enough, thoughts turned into actions, and through steady efforts, the village became open defecation-free.

“While the government was already working towards the construction of toilets as part of its Swachh Bharat Mission [Clean India Campaign] launched in 2014, WaterAid India and its partners supported us in ensuring usage of the toilets. With

ers. Last year, after continued efforts, our village attained the [desired] status. Now, we are working towards installing taps in every household so that there is a regular piped water supply. I am also interacting with government bodies and decision-makers to allocate a budget for installing water tanks in the village.

“I am happy to contribute to my village in this way, and also to share my experiences with others. My greatest desire is to equip my village with basic necessities, such as a regular clean water supply, functional toilets and a healthy environment to live in. It is motivating to see that a lot of other villages in the district, as well as other states, are aiming to implement similar practices and initiate change.

“I am fortunate that all my efforts have been acknowledged. It has been very rewarding to be honoured by the chief minister of Madhya Pradesh for my efforts. A few days ago, I also received an invitation by the Uttarakhand government to address six districts and talk about the work done in my village. Such invitations and speeches do not scare me anymore.”

Paliwal’s is one of the few voices that represent a larger change. Folks such as Paliwal become catalysts to the government’s flagship campaign, where approximately 350,000 villages across the country have been declared open defecation-free.

According to the latest independent survey conducted by National Annual Rural Sanitation, 77 per cent of rural households have toilets and more than 93 per cent of rural households that have access to toilets use them. Though the survey clearly demonstrates the progress made by India in terms of providing access to toilets as well as using them, we’re not done yet.

With the combined efforts of government, community leaders and members and partner organizations, WaterAid India reached 1.1 million people with clean water, sanitation and/or hygiene promotion last year. Awareness campaigns and technical support by WaterAid have motivated the communities and local leaders to take ownership of improving the overall water, sanitation and hygiene condition of their areas. A common feature observed in the communities is the will to work together as one entity towards a common goal. We need to continue to work hard as a country to ensure sustained use of toilets, thus reaching the desired impact and making clean India a reality.

Ishita Rampal is the content officer for WaterAid India.



Meena Paliwal, one of the very few female *sarpanch* (elected head of government) in Sehore leads water and sanitation initiatives for the betterment of her village.

family did not interfere and supported my decision to take the lead in working for my village,” Paliwal told me. “My first step was to stand up for myself and share my vision. Acceptance from the villagers was definitely a concern, but I never stopped trying. From conducting regular meetings and addressing issues, even under a veil, to working side by side with other local leaders, slowly, but steadily, I have been able to address various issues related to water, sanitation and hygiene.

“When I was first appointed as the *sarpanch*, more than 60 per cent of the village was defecating in the open — leading to unnecessary illness. Gradually, I began to interact with the villagers, trying to understand why they were resisting something that would better their lives and allow them to live in a clean and healthy environment.

“In this process, two or three people responded positively and paid heed to my concerns and suggestions. It really felt like

the common aim of achieving “open defecation-free” status, the first step was to involve the villagers in whatever we did to help shift the norm.

“We formed women’s groups in the village. They disseminated information on the usage of toilets, engaged in conversations and raised their voices to advocate for change. The women supported the cause by sharing their personal experiences of defecating in the open. When these women themselves spoke about the humiliation, the embarrassment and the everyday threat they faced while defecating in the open, the message was conveyed in a much stronger way and it resonated well with other women and their family members.

“We also began to levy a fine on the villagers who continued to defecate in the open. At the same time, peer leaders — men and women alike — from the village, who wanted to support the cause, were appointed to keep an eye on the default-

Madagascar's missing resource

By *Lovy Rasolofomanana*

For many in the Western world, Madagascar will conjure up images of exotic species such as the native lemur, found nowhere else in the world, or the distinctive baobab tree, with its swollen trunk and short, outstretched branches. They think of it as resource-rich nation boasting exotic spices such as vanilla and the much-desired commodity, rosewood, or as a far-flung holiday destination for those with a love of the great outdoors and an adventurous spirit.

Yet for too many living in this remote island nation, the most precious resource of all — clean water — is still out of reach.

More than three quarters of the population here lives below the poverty line. According to data from the WHO and UNICEF's Joint Monitoring Program for Water Supply (JMP), nearly half of all Madagascans — 12 million people — live without access to basic levels of clean water, while a staggering nine in 10 people do not have access to a decent toilet. Meanwhile, data collected from the Ministry of Water, Energy and Hydrocarbons here — and supported by WaterAid Madagascar — show the reality seems to be far worse, with an estimated three quarters of the population living without access to clean drinking water, putting the country well below the average for sub-Saharan Africa.

What's more, those figures hide huge disparities between families living in rural and urban areas. Slightly more than a third of those living in rural communities have access to clean water, while most of those living in towns and cities — 80 per cent — enjoy this life-saving resource.

This means that every day, Madagascar's poorest and most vulnerable are forced to collect water from dirty ponds or riverbeds. Those water sources are particularly dangerous, as going to the toilet in the open is rife. The consequences are disastrous; impacting people's health, education and livelihoods. It is costing lives. Diarrhea caused by drinking dirty water is one of the leading causes of deaths in children under five in Madagascar, second only to pneumonia.

Many readers will have suffered bouts of diarrhea that pass within a couple of days, but for children living without clean



Eight-year-old Neny carries a bucket full of dirty water on her head on her way back home from her family's only water source in Tsarafangitra village, Belavabary commune, Madagascar.

water to drink, lack of toilets and poor hygiene practices, diarrhea can quickly kill through dehydration and fluid loss. If the child has only dirty water to drink, every sip is likely to contain the bacteria that caused the diarrhea to begin with, exacerbating the problem and leading to a rapid decline. If they are already malnourished, their bodies cannot fight the infection as effectively. Diarrhea also makes it more difficult for the body to absorb nutrients, so even those who survive repeated bouts are at higher risk of malnutrition though they may have plenty of food to eat. This can lead to lifelong stunting of their

growth — physically and cognitively.

Everyone living without these basic human rights is affected, but there can be no doubt that women and girls often bear the greater burden of a lack of clean water, decent sanitation and good hygiene brings. Too often, it is women and girls who are responsible for collecting water needed for drinking, cooking and cleaning and they must walk miles to do so. Too often, girls are forced to drop out of school because they lack the toilets needed to manage their periods privately. Too often, women are giving birth in ill-equipped health facilities without

clean water, which means they're denied the clean, hygienic environment needed to deliver their babies safely.

At WaterAid Madagascar, we see these realities every day. Until recently, the Belavabary commune — just a three-hour drive from the capital city Antananarivo — had no access to clean water. Initial water analysis, conducted by WaterAid Madagascar, showed water from the ponds and streams there was too dangerous to drink and yet men, women and children had no choice but to drink it every single day. In the village of Tsarafangitra, the nearest place to find water was more than 1.5 kilometres away. Young children and their mothers had to tackle a steep slope — virtually impassable in the rainy season — to reach it.

However, thanks to money donated by Aveda Canada, WaterAid Madagascar has been working to provide universal access to clean water. To date, 12 water points have been installed, serving eight communities, six schools, two health centres and more than 7,000 people.

Last year, when WaterAid met Raoly, a 29-year-old mother of three, she described a back-breaking journey up and down steep hills to collect water with her children strapped to her back. Worse, the

water she and her friends spent hours each day collecting was so dirty their children would often fall sick. She even collected water from a nearby rice field while in labour for her first two children.

With WaterAid's help, Raoly and other families in the village now have clean water close to their homes, along with the gift of time, meaning that precious hours previously spent collecting water can now be spent looking after their families, tending to livestock and farming. Women no longer have to give birth in health care facilities with dirty water from a nearby field that they themselves collected. Just last year, Raoly gave birth to her third child in a maternity ward furnished with decent toilets and clean water. And parents no longer have to fear that the water they give their children could kill them.

In the nearby village of Mahavoky, dirty water and poor sanitation meant teachers and pupils suffered as they used to go to school with no clean water to drink, no decent toilet and no way of cleaning their hands.

Six-year-old Cynthia explained to WaterAid that before water arrived in her village, she would start her day by collecting water with her mother and her siblings from a nearby rice field, leaving her

tired and exhausted. She and her friends didn't even have water to drink at school, leaving them thirsty and lethargic.

Now water points have been installed throughout the community, providing Cynthia, her family and friends with clean, running water. It has transformed her life, allowing her to enjoy the simple pleasures every child should enjoy — such as playing with her friends, taking time for her studies as well as helping her mother around their home.

There can be no doubt that clean water, decent sanitation and good hygiene have the power to transform lives. As Raoly and Cynthia's stories demonstrate, when one community is given access to these fundamental human rights, it creates a powerful ripple effect; improving people's health, education, livelihoods and prospects. Yet, unfortunately, Raoly and Cynthia are the lucky ones. At current rates of progress, Madagascar will not achieve universal access to water until 2069 and for sanitation, we are likely to be waiting until 2281. If we are to improve the lives of Madagascans across the country, change needs to happen now.

Lovy Rasolofomanana is the country director for WaterAid Madagascar.

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Improving childbirth in Tanzania

By Fiona Callister

It was Mother's Day and I had enjoyed a treat of breakfast in bed when I found myself suddenly transfixed and fighting back tears. The anger Will Grundy — a character on the popular BBC Radio Soap *The Archers* — had over losing his wife, Nic, was finally ceding to grief. My tears came when Will voiced his fear that his four-year-old daughter, Poppy, will not remember her mum.

It's just a radio show, but it had kept fans glued for the previous two weeks during Nic's terrifyingly rapid death from sepsis — acute blood poisoning — after scratching herself on a rusty nail.

I am a casual *Archers* listener, but this was gripping, heartbreaking radio that instantly sent me back to a very different setting at Kiomboi Hospital in Tanzania.

I was there in June 2015 as part of a WaterAid team collecting stories and photographs for what would become the "Deliver Life" appeal to put water and toilets in hospitals and communities to help protect mothers and babies.

We spoke to many expectant and new mothers during our week at the large referral hospital where we would attempt to carry out this work. In Tanzania, fewer than one in three health facilities has even a basic source of clean water. One of the first women we met was Zaituni, who had just given birth to her fifth child, Mariam, after arriving, in labour, on the back of a motorcycle taxi.

It had been a difficult birth and Zaituni had lost a lot of blood, but mother and baby were now doing OK. Like the other mothers on the ward, Zaituni had washed herself in water brought from a dirty pond near the hospital because that was the only water available. She told us how she felt better once she was cleaned up and felt her strength returning, even though she knew that the water was not clean and she didn't like drinking it.

A few hours later, we said our good-byes, leaving her sitting under a tree outside the hospital waiting to return home by bus. Then three days later we heard that Zaituni was back, now dangerously ill with sepsis. Daniel, the midwife who had



Zaituni and her baby, Mariam, in the post-natal ward at Kiomboi Hospital, Iramba, Tanzania. The mother almost died in childbirth from post-birth sepsis likely caused by washing in dirty pond water.

cared for her and her new baby after birth, was now fighting to keep her alive.

Sepsis is caused by an out-of-control infection spreading rapidly through the body and triggering an auto-immune response to fight it. The latter can shut down organs and, if not treated, will lead to death. Nic Grundy's case started with a scratch that was not immediately cleaned; it is likely that Zaituni's was linked to the dirty water she washed with after giving birth and that her body was already weakened through blood loss.

Kiomboi did not have running water

at the time, but as it is a relatively large hospital, it did have some antibiotics and an IV drip to deliver them. But the unconscious Zaituni desperately needed a blood transfusion and there was no blood bank available. Her mother and sister were begging to donate their blood, but the risk of them carrying and transmitting Hepatitis B was too great. The hospital's matron called other hospitals in the region to see if they had facilities to test blood for the disease. Alas, she had no luck.

Then came a moment when one of the WaterAid team realized she could help.

Showing her inoculation records to the matron, she explained that she would not have Hepatitis B as she had been immunized against it. After some luck with matching blood types and a subsequent quick donation, Zaituni got the blood she so desperately needed.

At WaterAid, I spend my working life writing about the consequences of not having clean water. The purpose of my job is to do my part to reach our goal of a world in which all people everywhere have clean water whenever they need it.

Earlier in the visit, I had sat with Daniel as he went through the hospital records that showed how many babies and mothers succumbed to sepsis at Kiomboi. I talked to him about how difficult that was for him as a midwife whose role was to bring new life into the world.

In that moment, in that hot, dusty hospital, knowing that a young mother was fighting for her life, I felt a rage I had not previously felt in my work. It was rage that Zaituni was facing death just because she happened to be giving birth in a country where hospitals often don't have clean water. It was a rage that Mariam might never know her mother. It was a rage that more than 150 years after the link between



Women wait to collect water outside the maternal waiting house at Kiomboi Hospital, Iramba, Tanzania.

unhygienic conditions and maternal mortality was discovered, this hospital, along with countless others, still did not have working taps.

We returned home to the U.K. the

following day, knowing that the young mother was improving, but not yet out of the woods.

Then a couple of days later, Daniel got in touch to say that Zaituni had returned home to her family.

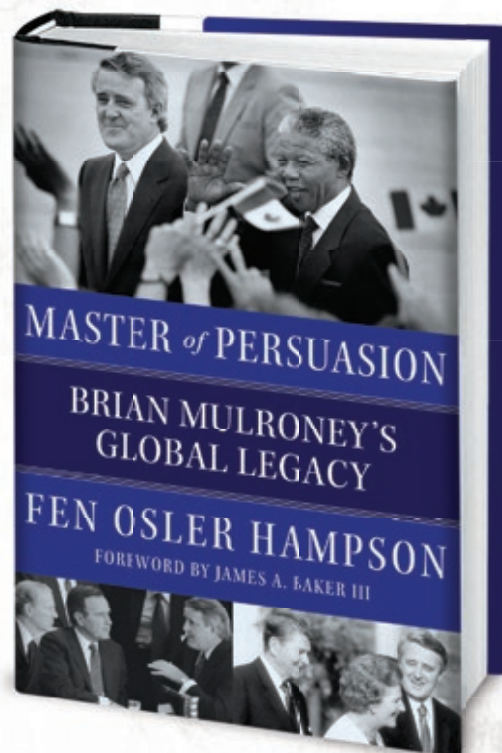
And things have changed at Kiomboi Hospital. Now, at whatever time of day a woman gives birth, she will never have to wash in pond water. This is progress. But we can't let our rage ebb until there is clean water for every mother and baby in every hospital, everywhere, always.

WaterAid Canada is currently proud to be participating in the Canada-Africa Initiative to Address Maternal, Newborn and Child Mortality, a partnership struck with three other Canadian organizations — Amref Health Africa, Christian Children's Fund of Canada and the Centre for Global Child Health at the Hospital for Sick Children (SickKids.) With the support of \$25 million from the government of Canada, this four-year project (2016 to 2020) aims to directly reach 1.7 million women, children and men across 20 districts in Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi and Tanzania.

Fiona Callister is the global head of media for WaterAid UK.

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China's ambitions in the North American Arctic

By Lindsay L. Rodman



Xue Long, a Chinese icebreaker, explores waters 15 nautical miles from Nome, Alaska, in 2017. China's Arctic policy involves more than just the Northern Sea Route — it reaches right across North America, as well.

When China released its Arctic policy this past January, a flurry of news articles emerged. Most attention was paid to China's growing ties to Russia, and its significant investment in the Northern Sea Route — the seaway that is opening up as the ice melts along Russia's northern coast. China has not constrained its interest to the Eastern Hemisphere, however. There are no caveats in *China's Arctic Policy* that limit its application — the growing economic giant's ambitions reach right across to North America as well.

Chinese investment in the Arctic, including in North America, is growing significantly. According to the Center for Naval Analyses (CNA) in the United States, from 2012-2017, China invested \$47.3 billion US in Canada, which

amounted to 2.4 per cent of Canada's entire GDP during that timeframe. Due to incredible work from Université Laval and Pierre-Louis Têtu at the University of Ottawa, one can see the extent of China's pan-North American-Arctic interest, specifically in the mining sector, in the form of direct investment.

Canada is now in the throes of developing its own new Arctic policy framework, which will produce a new domestic and international strategy. The government is tackling existential questions with Canadian Northerners, including how to address food insecurity, lack of infrastructure and the problematic history of colonialism. While the government will do its best to address these important domestic matters, the new policy must also wrestle with international dilemmas, such as what to

do about China's ambitions for the North American Arctic.

China currently appears to be an "easy fix" for the North — a source of much-needed cash investment in resource- and infrastructure-poor areas. However, there are significant security concerns associated with China's interest in North America that must be carefully considered and balanced against the potential boon from Chinese investment. Canadians may disagree about the wisdom of accepting extensive Chinese investment and involvement in the Arctic, but their debates should be fully informed and take into account Chinese ambitions for the region.

China's Arctic policy

China's Arctic policy has been characterized by two major things: First, the out-

right statement that China has no claim to territory in the Arctic and second, its “respect” for international law. Many on-lookers have given China immense credit for both statements. Although China is to be commended on its well-reasoned and sober policy, a closer reading of the document yields some reasons for North Americans to remain wary of Chinese ambition. Specifically, the policy states: “States from outside the Arctic region do not have territorial sovereignty in the Arctic, but they do have rights...”

To the first point on sovereign territory on the Arctic: What’s the alternative? Either China could have made claims to territory in the Arctic (an insane and manifestly untenable position) or China could have remained silent on the matter, possibly provoking some insecurity among Arctic nations. China’s statement on sovereign territory was politically astute, and also clever. It bought international goodwill by stating the obvious and diverted attention from its other claims, for example, to its rights in Svalbard (a Norwegian archipelago governed by the Spitsbergen Treaty) and other notions of “global commons.”

China’s “respect for international law” has also been lauded, but this statement is something of a Rorschach test: what people see in it divulges more about them, and perhaps what they want to see, than it does about China. International law in the Arctic is primarily comprised of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). UNCLOS establishes the degree to which coastal countries retain sovereign rights over the sea. At 12 nautical miles, countries have near-total sovereignty; at 200, they retain an “Exclusive Economic Zone” and beyond 200, what remains is the “high seas,” which China claims are “open to all states.” China’s claim in the Arctic about international law is not about bolstering other countries’ rights to keep China out. Instead, China is subtly asserting its right as an international leader to access the Arctic, despite not holding sovereign territory.

UNCLOS also provides rights of passage through other countries’ territorial seas. Debates about the extent of these rights have not been resolved in the Arctic, with Canada and Russia on one side of the debate (requiring the coastal state’s consent) and the United States and the European Union on the other side (insisting on freedom of navigation, meaning that all countries should be able to use those waters as a transitway, even without coastal state consent). China has not



This map shows the location and state of development of Chinese mining projects and supporting infrastructure in Canada's Arctic and North.

taken a position. Siding with the United States might jeopardize its claims in the South China Sea, but siding with Canada would mean limiting Chinese access to the North American Arctic, and possibly Russia’s Northern Sea Route. China’s blanket statement about “respect for international law,” without defining what it means, enables it to seem like it is upholding the international order without saying much of substance.

China’s vision for North America’s Arctic

Last summer, China’s icebreaker, the *Xue Long* or Snow Dragon, transited the Northwest Passage. To avoid involving themselves in longstanding international disputes under UNCLOS, they labelled the mission “Marine Scientific Research” (MSR). Under UNCLOS, MSR requests require host-nation consent, whereas the need for host nation consent is otherwise a point of debate under UNCLOS, as discussed above. Dubbing their transit a science expedition allowed China to keep everyone happy without giving away its own position on whether it should be allowed to transit without Canada’s consent for commercial or other purposes.

Once the *Xue Long* returned home, the expedition was pronounced a successful test of the Northwest Passage as a commercial shipping route, much to the dismay of Canada. Although the Canadian government was likely aware that China’s

interest was not purely scientific, it was internationally embarrassing that China was not willing to at least keep up appearances. China has not been shy about articulating its interest in the Arctic as being primarily economic.

China’s One-Belt-One-Road initiative began in 2010. Initially, it was announced as an investment initiative to re-establish the Silk Road. China began redeveloping trade routes across Eurasia, establishing mechanisms to connect East with West. In China’s Arctic policy, the Arctic is dubbed the “Polar Silk Road.” Although some commentators have assumed that the term “Polar Silk Road” only relates to the Northern Sea Route (the waters directly north of Russia) nothing in the Arctic policy limits China’s ambitions to those waters. The Northwest Passage and the “trans-Arctic route,” which would go straight across the North Pole once the ice melts sufficiently, are also implicitly fair game as a part of this broader Chinese initiative.

China has additional strategic reasons for pursuing an Arctic presence. For example, a series of satellite ground stations in the Antarctic have proven helpful to the Chinese space program, and they are looking to establish a similar presence in the Arctic. As China’s economic expansion reaches around the globe, it will seek strategic footholds to help it navigate and protect its interests.

China is a sophisticated rising power seeking to maintain its way of life (and its current government), expand its economy and care for its people. China has a notable and enviable ability to think in the long term, and therefore to plan and invest for the long term. The writing is on the wall with respect to the Arctic: The ice is melting and sea routes are opening up. Commerce will follow and China is positioning itself to be the world leader in the entire circumpolar region, to include all of North America: Canada, Greenland and the United States.

Chinese offers to NWT and Nunavut

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau travelled to China in December. That much-anticipated trip was expected by some to result in the promise to start negotiating a free-trade deal and the potential for multi-billion-dollar investments from China. Instead, when the prime minister took strong traditional Canadian stances on matters such as human rights and rule of law, potential trade talks were off the table. While relations between the two countries will require some work before trade talks resume (if they ever do), China has continued to develop opportunities to invest at the sub-national level across Canada, and especially in the Canadian North, as they have in Alaska and Greenland.

Canada's north is infrastructure poor and deeply in need of investment. Canada's new Arctic policy framework, which the government is diligently working to produce this year, will come with significant new investment for the people of the North. However, the need is great and the government has already signalled that it will not be able to transform the north overnight as its resources are limited.

China has been developing its own relationships with Indigenous groups and territorial governments. Chinese representatives have met with Inuit groups and development corporations in Nunavut, and the Northwest Territories has its own strategy to help incorporate Chinese investment. It is welcoming Chinese immigration and establishing tourism agreements, in addition to traditional foreign direct investment.

The Northwest Territories' approach is prescient and necessary: As the Snap Lake diamond mine closes, it will need to diversify its economy. Chinese money is a promising new resource, and the Territories would need a very good reason not to take it. In Nunavut, the need for infrastructure investment has focused recently on ports and roads. The Canadian



Leaders in the town of Qikiqtarjuaq, pictured here, are welcoming Chinese investment for their proposed port project, especially if funding cannot be secured through Canadian government sources

government recently agreed to help fund a port in Iqaluit, but there is also need for additional ports, including a possible deepwater port in Qikiqtarjuaq. Local leaders in Qikiqtarjuaq are "welcoming" Chinese investment for their proposed port project, especially if funding cannot be secured through Canadian government sources.

Another example is the Roche Bay iron mine, where Chinese investors hold a majority of potential equity stakes. The ultimate goal of the project, which is now in the advanced discovery phase, is to ship ore directly from Roche Bay to China, implying Chinese investment in port facilities. Chinese investors are also funding Sabina Gold and Silver Corporation mines in Western Nunavut, with the goal of shipping from Bathurst Inlet. Each of these initiatives represents an important opportunity for northern economies, which are currently suffering.

The Chinese often frame their investments as "win-win" — good for China and the receiving country. In many cases, that may be true. However, Canadians who accept Chinese investment should go into these transactions with eyes wide open. Indigenous leadership and territorial governments have expressed some ambivalence about relying on foreign investment, and especially on the extractive industries, for economic growth. There are

no easy answers to addressing the needs of the Canadian north. Nevertheless, knowing the full range of possibilities, including Chinese longer-term ambitions for the Arctic and for North America, will help territorial governments navigate these difficult choices.

China's proactive investment strategy in Greenland

While Greenland, an autonomous nation within the Kingdom of Denmark, now politically resides in Europe, geographically it belongs to North America. Greenland has been working toward achieving its independence from Denmark, and it is looking to forge its own relationships and partnerships. China has signalled its willingness to help.

According to CNA, Chinese investment currently comprises 12 per cent of Greenlandic GDP. Greenlanders have made their interests clear: They need economic independence, achieved through developing tourism and the extractive industries. As the ice melts, Greenland's mineral resources are being uncovered, leading to immense opportunity. However, the cost of operating in that environment, which is very similar to Northern Canada, is still high; it requires significant investment and a long view. Both tourism and the extractive industries will require improved transportation infrastructure, including



The three main Arctic shipping routes: The Northwest Passage, the Northeast Passage and the future Central Arctic Shipping Route. Data from Arctic Marine Shipping Assessment.

additional airports. After efforts from Greenland to solicit investment broadly, only China is currently underwriting three new airports.

Greenland has expressed interest in other investors, especially from North America. The current prime minister has even gone as far as seeking to adopt English as an official second language (after Greenlandic, which is closely related to Inuktitut) to replace Danish. Nevertheless, Canadian and American investment has not been as forthcoming as that from China.

Chinese interests are not purely magnanimous, nor would one expect them to be. But, China's interests reach farther than simple return on investment. As reported by writer Jichang Lulu, China now has a satellite ground station in Greenland, opened to much fanfare in an official Greenlandic ceremony in December 2017. Chinese mining company General Nice Group also tried to purchase an old naval base in Greenland in 2016, which was blocked by Denmark due to fears that the United States would balk at having a Chinese presence in North America, and close to Thule Air Base, a small facility and vestige of the Second World War currently run jointly by Americans, Canadians, Danes and Greenlanders.

The United States and Canada have significant historical ties to Greenland

from the war. When Denmark fell to Nazi Germany, the United States oversaw Greenland and established bases there. They served as important beacons, refuelling stations, weather stations, radio stations and sources of intelligence. Thule remained active during the Cold War until today, as it is strategically located at the midpoint between New York City and Moscow.

Canada has its own significant history of co-operation with Greenland. Greenland's 90 per cent Inuit population shares close ties (including family links) with Inuit in Canada. Canada is one of the few countries with a consulate in Greenland, and relations have been consistently co-operative.

As Greenland strives for independence, it may be looking to guarantors other than Denmark for its security and defence. Given the United States' and Canada's historic ties to Greenland, investment from its North American neighbours would very likely be Greenland's first choice. However, China is becoming a reliable partner for Greenland as it seeks to establish its own defence and security capabilities. If invited, it is foreseeable that China could develop the relationship further.

China developing ties to Alaska

When Xi Jinping visited U.S. President Donald Trump in 2017, he made one stop

on the way home — Alaska. To onlookers who were not clued in to China's Arctic ambitions, that trip seemed like a random stopover for some touring with Alaskan Gov. Bill Walker. To Alaskans, however, China's interest in their economy is well-established — China is Alaska's largest trading partner. Xi is fostering this relationship with Walker, and welcomed a delegation from Alaska, including the governor and the heads of 26 Alaskan businesses, to China in May 2018 to continue talks that began last year.

Alaskans are all too aware that they own Arctic policy for the United States. Although the United States is one of only eight Arctic nations, and one of only five nations that border the Arctic Ocean, the government in Washington has not made the Arctic a priority. On many issues, including foreign direct investment, Washington has a hands-off approach. Alaska is therefore not only the United States' front line when it comes to Arctic policy, but on many issues, Alaska is determining the U.S. Arctic position.

As relations between Washington and Xi have become more volatile since Trump's election, China appears to be taking a pragmatic approach, continuing to foster relationships at the sub-national level. These advanced trade and investment talks between China and Alaska are just another example of China's commitment to the Arctic region.

Why be wary of Chinese investment

Many good things can come from Chinese investment — in certain circumstances it can truly be a win-win. However, China has shown in other analogous circumstances that it is not always forthright, and that there are some strings attached to its investments. Though some investment comes from state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and some from "private" enterprises, those distinctions do not mean the same thing within the Chinese communist context as they would in the capitalist economies of North America. All investment from China has the potential for Chinese government involvement.

Australia and New Zealand can offer some insight to like-minded Canada. Although Vancouver is closer to Beijing than Sydney, Australia and China are perceived to be more closely situated. While investment from China has had a positive impact on the economy, there have been political ramifications in Australia. According to investigations by the media and the Australian government, Chinese attempts at political interference were on

a scale larger than that of any other nation and China is actively attempting to infiltrate Australian political and foreign affairs circles.

Similar political problems have arisen in New Zealand, according to professor Anne-Marie Brady, a specialist in Chinese and polar politics based at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch. Due to her extensive and commendable work on Chinese global ambition, she has had her office ransacked by Chinese intelligence. Even more recently, a New Zealand member of parliament was shown to be compromised by Chinese intelligence, but won re-election anyway. A recent Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) report highlights these problems in New Zealand, stating that "the impact of China's political influence activities on New Zealand democracy has been profound."

In South Asia and Africa, Chinese investment has grown so significant that China has established military bases to protect its interests. China's footprint in Africa is large: Chinese nationals go to Africa to develop and build infrastructure, at the invitation of African governments. In addition, China has become an important troop-contributing nation for peacekeeping forces across the continent. In order to

protect these interests, China established a military base in Djibouti, which opened in late 2017. There are recent reports of Chinese lasers from this base harassing pilots working at the nearby American base, Camp Lemonnier.

China announced in January that it would be opening another base in Pakistan. Chinese military vessels now patrol the Indian Ocean, seeking to protect Chinese interests, including their significant investment in Pakistan. Now Chinese commentators are highlighting the need for a place for those vessels to dock, resupply and refuel. Sri Lanka's inability to pay off Chinese debt resulted in the country handing over a strategic port to China for the next 99 years.

The consequences of indebtedness to Chinese interests could manifest in North America as well. Since solicitations for Chinese investment tend to focus on infrastructure projects, there is a risk not only of a Chinese foothold, but potentially outright Chinese ownership in major critical projects. Canadians in Churchill, Man., have been struggling without resupply for more than a year, after the American corporation that owns the railway refused to repair the tracks after they were flooded. On May 23, the federal government

blocked the sale of Canadian construction company Aecon to China, presumably to avoid similar potential problems in the future. It remains to be seen how the Canadian government will react to increased Chinese investment in the north, especially for projects it is not willing to fund itself.

China is behaving rationally across the world to protect its interests and project its influence. These are the predictable goals of a rising power, and ones that should not surprise North Americans, nor are they necessarily goals that should be condemned. Rather, the important thing is to be aware that China's apparent benevolence comes from a self-interested party. As Chinese expansionism takes hold, its security and defence interests will necessarily follow.

China has also indicated its willingness to be misleading, and even lie about its intentions. That should provoke some second thought among nations looking to deal with China. In the South China Sea, China has been developing military bases on outcroppings to which they hold no sovereign territorial right, according to a Hague tribunal. Despite reassurances that these developments were for peaceful purposes, China was reported to be housing missiles on those bases as recently as May. The United States, the Philippines and Vietnam have been clamouring for international attention to China's blatant disregard for international law and the explicit dictates of an international tribunal to which they are a signatory, as well as China's willingness to lie about what they are up to, despite clear evidence to the contrary. Nevertheless, China's expansion in the region has gone relatively unchallenged.

There are ways to distinguish the South China Sea from the Arctic. For the most part, China has shown itself to be a country worth dealing with, but the most prudent way forward is to deal with China with both eyes open. Chinese investment is part of a long-term plan to dominate the commercial potential of the circumpolar Arctic. Receipt of Chinese investment should therefore be thoroughly thought through, as part of a long-term plan to develop the Arctic responsibly and without interference in democracy or introduction of a military presence that can come with Chinese investment.

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Hope for hemispheric co-operation

By Audia Barnett

Where in the world does one find the richest biodiversity, vast hectares of arable land and an abundance of fresh water? If you said the Americas, you would be correct.

North America, South America, Central America and the Caribbean islands — the region of the Americas — is sometimes referred to as the potential “breadbasket” of the world. But take note of the word “potential.” In spite of being positioned to feed the world, many persons within the region are still food insecure. This is because countries are at varying levels of development. Some have weak infrastructure and don’t have the competencies to take full advantage of this potential. Added to which, extreme climatic events have placed added pressure on much of the agri-food systems.

Addressing gaps in policies, knowledge, technologies and innovations is a smart way to produce long-lasting desirable impacts such as reducing poverty, generating wealth and contributing to sustainable development. In fact, with further development, countries would not only be able to feed themselves, but also contribute to the global breadbasket. Accomplishing this, however, is a tall order that requires a multi-faceted approach with the commitment to delivering on shared and specific goals. This may have been the thinking that motivated the establishment in 1942 of an inter-American body strategically headquartered between North America and South America — in Costa Rica — to promote and co-ordinate research for improved agricultural productivity.

Fast-track to today, the Inter-American Institute for Co-operation on Agriculture (IICA), with corporate services still in Costa Rica, has offices in 34 countries in the Americas, all with a common goal of having sustainable, productive and competitive agri-food systems. IICA, part of the Organization of American States’ (OAS) Inter-American System, is now 75 years old and is governed by an Inter-American Board of Agriculture (IABA), which is made up of ministers of agricul-



North America, South America, Central America and the Caribbean islands are sometimes referred to as the “potential breadbasket” for the world.

ture from each of the member countries. The IABA provides guidance on the priority issues to be addressed in the hemisphere, taking into consideration local imperatives. An elected director-general carries out the institute’s mandate through on-the-ground activities in member countries. Although Canada joined IICA more than 45 years ago and it has offices in downtown Ottawa, the organization still appears to be a best-kept secret in Canada.

So what does IICA actually do?

IICA supports the agricultural sector through policy advice, institutional strengthening, capacity building and knowledge sharing. With “boots on the ground,” delegations in each country interact with policymakers, regulators, researchers, farmers, processors, academia and non-governmental organizations — essentially all players in the food system.

In so doing, we are able to have a finger on the pulse regarding priority issues and opportunities for impacting food security and rural development.

IICA often addresses weaknesses in commodity chains, resulting in increased productivity and competitiveness. Typical activities include reviewing policies and proposing recommendations, providing guidance regarding structure and operation of institutions and small businesses, hands-on training in various agricultural practices, development of technologies and standards, as well as supporting innovation.

Recently, for example, the organization strengthened 14 agricultural commodity chains in 10 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. These included agricultural products that are important to small farmers across the region, and products that are also in demand on the global

market. We identified productivity, safety and quality issues affecting products such as coffee in Peru, cashews in Honduras and sheep in Paraguay and, in partnership with respective local stakeholders, we developed and implemented strategies for addressing the issues. This model ensures sustainability of the interventions, as it includes policymakers and regulators as well as farmers and processors. Each group has a role and vested interest in the success of the interventions, achieving results that range from increased productivity and sustainable supplies to access to markets. These all contribute to the reduction of poverty and improved food security.

Partnerships are in our DNA

When countries adopted the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015, they made a commitment to work towards ending poverty, protecting the planet and ensuring prosperity for all. Importantly, they recognized that joint efforts were crucial to ensuring results in the timeframe set.

Targets that resonate in the SDGs, such as food and nutrition security and sustainable agriculture, are at the core of IICA's mandate. Acknowledging that no one organization is able to effectively tackle the multiplicity of challenges facing agriculture and food security in the world, IICA is keen on partnerships of all types. The chief in-country partners are traditionally the ministries of agriculture. Through these agents, IICA receives real-time information on local conditions, needs, gaps and opportunities. Additionally, government ministries present a means for recommending policy shifts or revisions to create an enabling environment for growth and development of the sector. Collaboration with governments to manage, co-ordinate or implement development projects is one of the highly appreciated functions of the institute. In these roles, IICA usually partners with other international organizations, development agencies and NGOs to deliver on expected outputs. For projects being led by IICA, consortiums also often include partners from academia, co-operatives and NGOs.

Canada as a special partner

Canada is seen as a trustworthy, fair country with an innovative, stable and safe agri-food system. These attributes are widely acknowledged and valued, so it stands to reason that Canada is the sixth-largest exporter of agri-food products



With a growing market for antioxidant-rich foods, there is heightened interest in the hemisphere for sustainable supplies of cacao.

in the world. Through information and knowledge sharing, IICA, with support from Canada, has empowered countries in the Americas to adopt principles of science-based decision-making for trade, and learn how to consistently meet international sanitary and phytosanitary requirements. Joint efforts with the U.S. have also added benefits for all countries involved. For example, consensus-building around defining food-labelling criteria and limits on pesticide residues are two areas that affect consumers everywhere and have been enhanced by knowledge-sharing initiatives facilitated by IICA.

Canada is an important partner and the second largest contributor to IICA (through annual quota payments). Through participation from ministries such as Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada and Global Affairs Canada, Canada is an active participant, providing governance and administrative guidance to the headquarters of the institute. Over the years, countries across the hemisphere have also benefited from technical and policy advice brokered by IICA. Furthermore, numerous development projects have been undertaken courtesy of Canada. Haiti, Honduras, Peru, Colombia and Brazil are among many Latin American and Caribbean countries that have benefited from targeted interventions in areas such as food security, animal and plant health, value-chain development and agri-business. Initiatives aim to produce win-win outcomes.

One case worth mentioning involves cacao, a commodity with market appeal in Canada. As we all know, our appetite for chocolate has not waned over the years. On the contrary, with the huge market for antioxidant-rich foods, and the new exotic combinations being produced, there is heightened interest in procuring sustainable supplies of cacao. The Latin American and Caribbean region is well known for its fine cacao, which is used in premium

chocolate products. IICA worked in countries such as Peru, Costa Rica, Panama and the Dominican Republic to not only strengthen their production systems for sustainable supplies of high-quality cacao beans, but also supported female entrepreneurs to get involved in processing value-added products, improving access to local and external markets. Involvement of Canadian regulators as well as buyers throughout the project cycle has helped to make sure the products met standards and expectations.

Local delegation committed to delivering value

IICA representatives in each of the member states play a pivotal role in implementing the IICA's agreed programs and projects locally. While the scope for implementing technical co-operation projects in Canada is currently limited, the IICA delegation has identified several exciting options for supporting the Canadian agri-food sector, by, for example, leveraging IICA's presence and reach in 34 countries. The current slate of bilateral trade agreements, together with the dynamic portfolio of regional agreements currently being negotiated (or renegotiated), provide ample opportunities for IICA's assistance in preparing member countries to meet Canadian requirements for market access and for building capacity in science-based decision-making. Similarly, the new Canadian feminist international assistance policy, which stresses the economic empowerment of women and sustainable environmental practices, offers tremendous opportunities for Latin American and Caribbean countries to make gains on their SDG indicators. Here again, IICA would prove to be an invaluable facilitator. A bonus of being a part of the diplomatic corps lies in the relationships with Latin American and Caribbean missions in Canada, yet another route for demonstrating the delegation's value through catalytic and strategic actions.

IICA offers a bridge for forging connections for joint research, technology transfer, trade, development and policy dialogue. Quiet but influential in the region, this organization is being increasingly appreciated by policymakers, country missions, academics and industry and is only too ready to deliver on expectations.

Audia Barnett, who has a PhD in chemistry from the University of the West Indies, is the country representative of the Inter-American Institute of Co-operation on Agriculture (IICA) in Canada.

Can Ramaphosa save South Africa?



Robert I. Rotberg

Cyril Ramaphosa is South Africa's last best hope. Its new president inherits a series of complex and dangerous crises, and must rapidly rescue sub-Saharan Africa's most advanced and modern country from two decades of wanton despoilment and depravity — or fail and see his nation fall fully into a yawning chasm of underdevelopment and despair.

Despite his love of long-horned cattle from Uganda, which he breeds, and vast wealth, which is allowing him to build a huge mansion on Signal Hill overlooking Cape Town, Ramaphosa is no corrupt crook, like so many other leaders of the ruling African National Congress (ANC) and like ex-president Jacob Zuma, his immediate predecessor.

After being denied the presidency in 1997 to succeed Nelson Mandela, who preferred him, Ramaphosa used his vaunted learning and emotional intelligence to find a worthy place on the boards of South Africa's largest mining and other corporations, and to invest wisely. Admittedly, he was among those young, bright Africans who took good advantage of the Black Empowerment Program scheme that was begun under president Thabo Mbeki, the man Mandela reluctantly chose in Ramaphosa's place.

Mbeki had been the political leader of the ANC guerrilla wing, based in Lusaka, Zambia, during South Africa's long militant struggle for freedom. He was a graduate of the University of Sussex and the son of Govan Mbeki, one of Mandela's early comrades and a Communist.

Ramaphosa, now 65, was too young during the struggle to have joined the militants outside South Africa. Instead, as a graduate of South Africa's University of Limpopo and a very young trade unionist, he created and led the United Democratic



South African President Cyril Ramaphosa is not a corrupt crook like his predecessor, ex-president Jacob Zuma, writes Robert I. Rotberg.

Front (UDF), an internal anti-apartheid group of insurgents within South Africa's cities during the 1980s. Arguably, the UDF, not the ANC's guerrillas, brought down apartheid.

Ramaphosa's abilities and temperament, in other words, were forged on the anti-apartheid anvil. Then, as Mandela's trusted envoy, he and an Afrikaner delegate of the then-ruling National Party negotiated the measured transition of power that led to the country's independence in 1994 and its peaceful evolution thereafter. Ramaphosa, calm and resourceful, won the backing of the ANC, Africans in general and whites who were receding from command.

In those days, I would see him in high-toned bookstores late at night, browsing the shelves containing recent political and historical tomes. He was and is a man of ideas, a leader conscious of the call of destiny, a president who doubtless now understands that — after winning the ANC presidency narrowly in December, and the national presidency by a vote of parliament in February — he must soon deliver

positive results capable of saving South Africa from sinking ever more deeply into the mire bequeathed to him by Zuma and Zuma's team of supplicants and compromised co-conspirators.

To save South Africa — to redeem the promise that Mandela brought to the post-apartheid country — Ramaphosa must cope with and remedy a number of serious national crises. They are discussed below.

A shortage of jobs

Official figures put formal wage unemployment percentages at 27 or so. But most serious experts assert that the real unemployment percentage is more than 40. Critically, too, formal unemployment numbers among youth aged 18 to 34 are even higher. Without serious economic growth beyond the anemic one per cent that has been South Africa's average performance in recent years, there can be no hope of more increased employment. South Africa needs at least an annual per capita GDP growth of six per cent to provide jobs for the young people who enter the employment market each year. That

has not been realized and must now happen for South Africa to prosper and for its people to embrace the ANC and its new leader's initiatives.

Ramaphosa, almost from his first days as ANC president, made the rounds of European capitals and the World Economic Forum to urge multinational businesses to invest in the new South Africa, with its arms newly opened wide to global entrepreneurs. Ramaphosa also made plain to those external (and internal) sources of finance that he intended to clean up rampant corruption and other obstacles to growth.

Many Africans work on the land, for white farm owners. The ANC has threatened to nationalize farmland, but Ramaphosa has said he will do so only judiciously, knowing that any wholesale land-grab in the Zimbabwean manner would destroy jobs and also end South Africa's food self-sufficiency.

The corruption drag

In the years after Mandela, South Africa regressed to the African mean and began more and more fully to indulge in the excesses of grand corruption. Zuma is about to be prosecuted for taking kickbacks to approve contracts with France and Germany for arms purchases, as well as for his cosy dealings with an Indian family of entrepreneurs, and for many other kinds of sleaze. Ramaphosa has pledged to end corruption and to battle strenuously against South Africa's political and official propensity for graft.

But South Africa's corruption goes far beyond Zuma, and well beyond the "state capture" that is alleged to have occurred through Zuma's fraudulent dealings with the Gupta family from India. Nearly every provincial and national ANC political leader is implicated; nearly every contract approved by the government had its personal beneficiaries. Unfair advantage was taken by nearly every person holding high public office who had control over licences, permits and procurements. Fortunately, the Guptas are being prosecuted and their business arrangements scrutinized and wound down. Ramaphosa has also eliminated the impunity that major ANC leaders and their cronies enjoyed under Zuma.

The corruption — estimated at tens of millions at the hands of Zuma and the Guptas alone — has had an effect on GDP, which has declined from the equivalent of \$400 billion US to \$294 billion in 2016 and a projected \$250 billion in 2017. Its debt to GDP ratio was 53 per cent last year and is

reportedly heading to 65 per cent this year. In 2008, it was 27 per cent.

A managerial mess

South Africa hardly runs effectively. When Mandela and Mbeki took over from the whites, they appropriately appointed Africans and followers to the national bureaucracy. Many experienced prior employees were let go and with their exits, the country lost their embedded skills. Playing patronage games also made the civil service less functional, along with state-owned corporations such as the national airline, the national electricity-generating firm, ports and harbours. Service delivery suffered.

If Ramaphosa's regime can begin to fix South Africa's managerial weaknesses, possibly by demanding better and more



honest performance, he will win the acclaim and trust of the vast army of South Africa's poor, who look to the state for water, power, roads, security and a new sense of purpose.

Education

South Africa has a deficit of skills, even though it produces about 150,000 university graduates every year. In sub-Saharan Africa, only Nigeria and Ethiopia have turned out so many graduates, proportionally. But primary and secondary schooling have increasingly been failing the young people who are desperate to advance. There are a number of top-flight institutions, but across the universe of schooling, there is palpable weakness and underachievement. Teachers are poorly trained and do not come regularly to class. The teachers' union is powerful. Textbooks and computers are scarce. Motivation is weak. South Africa has been starving its schools financially for years.

The results are seen each January, when the yearly results of the school-leaving examination — "the Matric" — are announced. Despite some shifts in questions and scoring, only about 50 per cent (sometimes fewer) of the students who sit the exam pass. The others, about 400,000 a year, are thus thrown onto the unforgiving formal job market without qualifications. Moreover, only 20 per cent or so of those who sit the Matric qualify for university — a figure that is little changed over the past two decades.

Ameliorating these critical deficits will take time, but Ramaphosa only has a year's grace before the next national election, when the ANC's continued rule and his presidency will be at stake. The ANC, without Ramaphosa, would have had an uphill battle to persuade voters to continue to support its corrupt and inefficient governance.

Ramaphosa has already begun to reinvigorate South Africa's sense of national purpose and to promise, if not as yet to deliver, the kinds of public services that South Africans seek and that other nearby nationals, such as Botswanans and Namibians, enjoy. It is his personal integrity, his appointment of at least some more qualified cabinet ministers than under Zuma, his willingness to recognize and accept the organizational and governance deficits that his administration inherited, and his clear determination to make South Africa a better place, that gives his countrymen renewed hope.

If Ramaphosa's stewardship were to fail, it could be because his country's crony capitalism and corruption is too entrenched and too systemic, because fixing the educational system is impossible, because power and water shortages grow larger, because housing shortages increase, because potholes in streets grow larger, or because his reforms threaten the ill-gotten gains of too many ANC stalwarts. And then South Africa will continue to slide economically, socially and politically.

Ramaphosa is resilient. South Africa is resilient. Under his steady and well-honed leadership, and with the goodwill he has harvested overseas, the odds are that Ramaphosa can shift South Africa firmly onto a winning trajectory.

Robert I. Rotberg is the founding director of Harvard Kennedy School's program in intrastate conflict, president emeritus of the World Peace Foundation, and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts And Sciences. His latest book is *The Corruption Cure*. (Princeton, 2017)

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B7: Business minds meet



Perrin
Beatty

With Canada hosting the G7 this year, our country has a unique opportunity to shape the international priorities for some of the world's largest economies. Although the media focus is primarily on the Leaders' Summit and ministerial meetings, there is a wider community of stakeholders seeking to influence decisions made at the top levels.

This past April, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce hosted the Business-7 (B7) Summit in Quebec City, which brought together the business federations from G7 countries. The event provided an opportunity to convene some of the world's top business leaders to exchange views and deliver a business community consensus on how the G7 governments can support economic growth. At this year's B7, we heard from the prime minister, the ministers of finance, international trade, social development and small business. This high-level attendance underscores the importance Canada's politicians place on the B7's recommendations.

The B7's three priorities this year were inclusive growth, resource efficiency and scaling up small business. Although we normally view these issues from a solely Canadian perspective, it is striking how similar the challenges we face are to those of other G7 countries. In many respects, these shared challenges make fostering consensus easier for business groups than it is for other international institutions.

Each of the three themes is worth explaining to see how the B7 approached the issues this year.

Inclusive growth is a topic of increasing importance for governments around the world. The continued growth of the global economy will require more people



The B7 took place in Quebec City, in advance of June's G7 in Charlevoix, Que. Shown are Claude Gagnon, president of operations at BMO Financial, Quebec, and co-chairman of the B7 roundtable on inclusive growth and Jean-Yves Duclos, federal minister of families, children and social development.

participating in the economic prosperity created, as well as ensuring international institutions can adapt to address people's concerns. For this reason, the B7 emphasized the importance of inclusive growth and urged G7 leaders to commit to opening markets and supporting broad participation within them. This is fundamentally about ensuring economic opportunities are open to all elements of the workforce. To get us there, the B7 emphasized that our economic policies need to stimulate productivity through international trade, open opportunities for the private sector to support diverse sectors and populations, stimulate innovation, promote investment, strengthen education and create opportunities for lifelong learning.

Set against the current global political backdrop, underlining the commitment to global trade and investment was particularly salient. At a macro level, the G7 must take a firm stance against protectionism and support the rules-based global trading

system. Crucial to this is ensuring a robust and effective dispute-settlement mechanism, and the G7 must lead by example to eliminate trade-distorting measures.

The B7 also focused on a wide range of digital-economy issues. It recognized the substantial benefits we could reap from the pivot to a digital economy, particularly with the deployment of artificial intelligence, digitization of government services and cross-border data flows. However, these technologies present challenges. Cybersecurity and information technology infrastructure are vital to a functioning digital economy, and also vital in order to instil confidence that new technologies should be adopted. Businesses also need reassurances that their investments will be protected. With respect to artificial intelligence, our countries need a nimble regulatory environment, as well as labour-market policies that will be responsive to the inevitable significant disruptions that will impact workers in many sectors.

Lastly, data flows across borders present a notable opportunity to increase business efficiency. Yet, as recent events with technology companies show, we need strong measures to protect the privacy of personal information against business needs, such as prohibiting forced data localizations.

Resource efficiency was selected as a priority for the B7 this year, given the importance of using natural resources in a manner that protects the environment and is sustainable. Since the founding of the G7 Resource Efficiency Alliance in 2015, resource efficiency has become a fixture at G7 gatherings — and a priority for the B7 — because of the crucial role business plays as a driver of innovation and global value chains.

Public and private research, development and innovation strategies are essential for resource efficiency. G7 countries have done an excellent job of working through global programs, but governments need to continually work to create environments that encourage private sector investment. This will help mobilize capital and more effectively leverage public-sector funds.

Resource efficiency closely connects to

the B7's discussions on international trade. Multilateral and plurilateral initiatives to reduce tariffs and non-tariff barriers, and to enhance transparency, facilitate the global spread of modern, affordable and efficient technology. This, in turn, will enable environmentally sustainable economies.

Scaling up small business was designated a theme for the B7 this year given that small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) account for 50 per cent of GDP and 56 per cent of employment in G7 countries. Consequently, the international economy benefits enormously when governments provide tools that not only support, but also scale up SMEs to grow into larger globally competitive enterprises.

Chief among the measures G7 governments can undertake to support SMEs is ensuring a proportionate tax and regulatory burden that does not stifle growth and innovation. These are goals we advocate for on behalf of all businesses, but the challenges faced by SMEs are acute given the realities of their capacity limitations.

Governments can also support the growth of SMEs on a number of other fronts. This includes encouraging them to adopt digital technologies, improving

their ability to access international business opportunities and ensuring procurement contracts are accessible.

Lastly, promoting the growth of SMEs owned by women is an opportunity for economic expansion. In Canada, women own 17 per cent of firms with fewer than five employees, but just seven per cent of those with more than 100. G7 governments should support these businesses and their potential economic contribution. The key challenge for women is access to funding. While funding sources may be available, women are turned down more often than men when seeking capital for their businesses. G7 countries should ensure that women have the ability to create, grow and scale their businesses.

Bold and aspirational leadership in government and business has always been critically important during times of great uncertainty. My organization, and our sister business federations in the B7, eagerly await the outcome of the Canadian presidency of the G7 and stand ready to work with government to deliver increased global prosperity.

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

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North Korea: An insider's view as hope for peace emerges



Janice
Dickson

North Korea dominated headlines in July 2017 after Kim Jong-un's regime fired a long-range ballistic missile that ultimately landed in Japanese waters. The country launched another missile over Japan on Sept. 15, and released images of a massive intercontinental ballistic missile it claimed could target the United States as early as November.

The nuclear threat prompted U.S. President Donald Trump to insult and nickname the North Korean president "Little Rocket Man."

Fast-forward one year and Trump has met with Kim Jong-un. The decision certainly sparked a renewed interest in North Korea.

Most of us don't know much about Kim and his repressive regime — and he wants to keep it that way. There are no reliable statistics about the country and there's not much policy documentation. The untrustworthy state media don't help clarify anything.

Paul French, who has written extensively about North Korea, describes the "personality cult" that engulfs three generations of Kims in his book, *North Korea: State of Paranoia* (\$25, Zed Books).

The book gives readers crucial context needed to understand the country, known as the "hermit kingdom." While French primarily focuses on the economy, he also discusses at length the country's failed agriculture sector and widespread famine, and its relationship with allies, especially those in the region.

French explores how North Korea's economic system and policies are guided by the political philosophy known as Juche — which means "self reliance" and is the brainchild of Kim Il-sung, president of North Korea from 1972 to 1994 and Kim's grandfather. He notes that the system has failed to the point where famine has ensued, and he looks at how the isolated country began to depend on



As North Korean President Kim Jong-un, left, and South Korean President Moon Jae-in attempt to settle their differences, one can learn about Kim's repressive regime in Paul French's new book, *North Korea, State of Paranoia*.

international aid. French also examines North Korea's experiment with economic reform in 2002, which attempted to let the outside world in. At the time, foreign journalists reported having access to fruit markets, but being forbidden from taking photos of them.

While French includes anecdotes about daily life in North Korea in one of the opening chapters, the book is more about policy and occasionally delves a little more deeply into political philosophy and policy than a general reader may want.

In the opening chapter, though, French does introduce the reader to the mysterious country — including the fact that some residents have to climb 40 flights of stairs to reach their apartment because power shortages are so frequent that it's too risky to take the elevator. This makes life extremely painful for seniors who are living on high floors. He writes of how

defectors say locals long for the "five chests" and "seven appliances." The chests include a quilt chest, wardrobe, bookshelf, cupboard and shoe closet. The appliances include a TV, fridge, washing machine, fan, sewing machine, tape recorder and camera.

Churches remain to give the illusion of freedom of religion, but worship is discouraged, pets are rare and dogs are banned. It's impossible to make calls outside the country and most daily work is done without computers or technology.

French delves deeply into North Korea's history of economic policies, which is closely associated with the country's failed agriculture policies. In fact, French talks about how difficult it is to even shop for food because everything from produce to staples such as rice and potatoes sell out fast.

Interwoven throughout the book is a

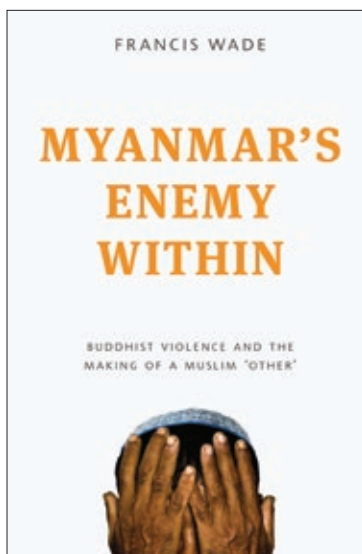
reminder of Kim's dedication to Juche. French frequently points to examples of failed policies — such as North Korea's inability to attract foreign investment — and the fact that Juche is ultimately the force behind them.

Buddhist violence in Myanmar

As nearly 700,000 Rohingya Muslims flee Myanmar for safety in Bangladesh, journalist Francis Wade's *Myanmar's Enemy Within: Buddhist Violence and the Making of a Muslim 'Other'* (Zed books \$25.00) could not be more timely.

Wade, who has covered Myanmar for more than a decade, examines the growing divide between Buddhists and Muslims in Rakhine State. He discusses the country's leaders, some of whom are the most respected voices for democracy, and yet they have turned their backs on the bloodshed and the military's violence against the Rohingyas.

Wade's reportage of the events on the ground in Myanmar is meticulous. Through interviews with locals, leaders and experts, he explains how violence that began in 2012 — and the military crackdown brought against the Muslim minority — eventually spread throughout



the country and ultimately led to the mass exodus of Rohingyas today.

Wade's reporting goes back further than the latest horrific plight of the Rohingyas. He shows how they were slowly pushed to the margins of society — the ethnic minority that was once allowed to use hospitals and to trade in markets was eventually denied those rights.

The country's leaders, fearful that the Muslim minority would take over, had

defined Burmese identity as ethnically Bamar and Buddhist. Meanwhile, Rohingya Muslims and Rakhine Buddhists remained ethnic minorities. The Rohingyas, though, were consistently denied citizenship and therefore remained stateless. This outcasting of Rohingya people by the country's leaders, as Wade explains and exposes, is due to their fear that Islam will take over. There are, or were, a few million Muslims in the country of 53 million.

One of the most interesting individuals Wade interviews is a Rohingya man who lied about his identity to gain Bamar status in order to join the army and ultimately serve as an officer against his own people. That one stands out, but all of Wade's interactions with Rakhine and Rohingyas say a lot about the ethnic and national divide that's engulfing the country.

Wade writes that in Rakhine State, the stories of gang rape of Rohingyas by soldiers, the execution of children and the violence against the Rohingyas were seen as fabrications by the government, made up in an effort to damage the image of the army. Even as the United Nations said suspected crimes against humanity were being committed, an article in a state-run Myanmar newspaper warned the country was "facing the danger of the human fleas" that they "greatly loathe for their stench and for sucking our blood," which, as Wade pointed out, is an analogy Nazis used to describe Jews.

Modern music in the Middle East

Heavy metal, doom and hardcore music are not the first things that come to mind when one thinks about the Middle East. Arabic ballads are typically the kind of music that reaches the West. But as journalist Orlando Crowfoot has discovered by visiting a number of countries in the region and conducting interviews with multiple musicians, an underground scene has existed for years.

What may not be as surprising though, is how hard it is for metal musicians to perform in public.

Rock in a Hard Place: Music and Mayhem in the Middle East (Zed books, \$25) takes the reader through the music scene in each country. It discusses how musicians are perceived by society and the challenges they face.

Crowfoot begins by setting the stage in Abu Dhabi in 2011, where Metallica held its first show in the Middle East. He wrote that 30,000 people from all over the region — Syria, Libya, Palestine, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Israel — attended. While he's trying to make the point that people

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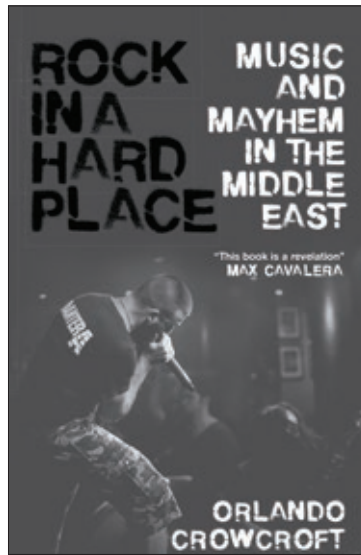
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Photo by Bill Blackstone

from all over the Middle East took in this historic concert, one wonders how he was able to confirm that so many people of different nationalities were there.

Crowfoot, who has spent six years reporting on the rock and metal scene in the Middle East, is successful, however, in showing the region in a different light. The book is organized by country and each chapter introduces the reader to interesting musicians who share their stories and the problems of pursuing music at home. We learn that in some countries musicians are societal outcasts. In others — such as Lebanon and Egypt — they're called "sa-



tan worshippers."

In the chapter on Iran, Crowfoot writes that the existence of its underground music scene reflects that there are two Irans, a description that could likely apply to almost every music scene of each country Crowfoot profiled.

A common theme in each city he visited is that heavy metal music wasn't necessarily illegal, but that musicians have to apply for a permit from the state and most of the time the permit is rejected. In some countries, permits are allowed if lyrics are provided in advance, or if the band agrees to only play one or two heavy metal songs.

This is not the case in Saudi Arabia, however. Chris Leamy, an American teacher living in Riyadh, told Crowfoot that he was driving with a band from Dubai to Saudi Arabia when members of the band were almost arrested because of a logo on their T-shirts. Border guards thought the logo looked like the Christian cross, and Christianity is banned in the country.

Religion is also an important theme in

Rock in a Hard Place and Crowfoot makes it clear that only a few bands across the region are anti-religious and there are no "devil worshippers" who drink blood. Rather, they are talented people who are trying to pursue their passion and make a difference through music.

SIX BOOKS TO READ THIS SUMMER

A Hope More Powerful than the Sea

By Melissa Fleming

Publisher: Flatiron Books 288 pages

Price: \$18

Melissa Fleming, spokeswoman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, tells the story of a young Syrian woman at the heart of an international crisis and her dangerous journey aboard an overcrowded ship destined for Italy.

A Hope More Powerful than the Sea follows 19-year-old Doaa al-Zamel and her fiancé on their perilous trip onboard a fishing vessel with 500 other refugees. Suddenly, another boat carrying men speaking Egyptian Arabic approaches and they start hurling wooden planks at al-Zamel's boat, causing it to start to sink. Al-Zamel finds herself on a small inflatable ring with two little girls who had been thrown at her by drowning relatives.

She floated for days that way — with the babies in her arms, praying to be rescued. This is the true story of one woman's plight and it's not unlike the experience of millions of refugees who have made the same journey from Syria to Europe. But al-Zamel's story begins when she leaves Syria for Egypt, falls in love with a former Free Syrian Army fighter and the pair make the fateful decision to board the fishing vessel. As the ship sinks, and her fiancé dies at sea, al-Zamel never loses hope.

In Praise of Blood: The Crimes of the Rwandan Patriotic Front

By Judi Rever

Publisher: Random House Canada

Price: \$32

Canadian journalist Judi Rever writes that the 1994 Rwandan genocide that saw 100 days of bloodshed was "bi-directional" and argues against the narrative that suggests one group was largely targeted.

Through interviews with Rwandan Patriotic Front defectors, former soldiers and atrocity survivors and leaked documents from a UN Court, Rever determined that as the Hutus were carrying out genocide against the Tutsis, Rwandan President

Paul Kagame and his forces were killing quietly, but just as ruthlessly.

Rever reports that the international community hasn't recognized the truth because Kagame and his commanders have covered their tracks and rallied world guilt in an effort to gain financial assistance to rebuild Rwanda and maintain Tutsi influence. Rever has followed the story since 1997 and includes evidence showing Kagame's own troops shot down the presidential plane on April 6, 1994.

The Boy on the Beach: My Family's Escape from Syria and our Hope for a New Home

By Tima Kurdi

Publisher: Simon and Schuster

Price: \$32

In 2015, Alan Kurdi's body washed up on the shore of a beach in Turkey and shocked the world. Finally, the West began to pay attention to the Syrian refugee crisis.

Tima Kurdi, Alan's aunt, saw the photo of her nephew while in her new home in Vancouver. In *The Boy on the Beach*, Kurdi tells the story of her family's childhood in Syria and her experience of emigrating to Canada, the difficulty that comes with starting a new life and the anguish she felt leaving her home behind.

Kurdi also explains how she worked endlessly to help the family members she left behind to escape Syria and find safety. But separated by distance and a raging civil war, Kurdi's family members faced many setbacks and, eventually, the ultimate tragedy. Kurdi found herself thrust into a new role, an advocate for refugees.

ISIS: A History

By Fawaz A. Gerges

Publisher: Princeton University Press

Price: \$17.95

Fawaz A. Gerges explains how, amidst political unrest and instability in the Middle East, the Islamic State rose to power.

Gerges, a professor at the London School of Economics and a leading authority on jihadism, offers an informative and eye-opening account of the factors that fuelled and contributed to ISIS's success and growth in the region. The book begins in 2003 following the U.S. invasion of Iraq and the chaos at that time that led to the group's emergence. Gerges also explains how the group exceeded even Al-Qaeda in size.

ISIS claimed it wanted to create a caliphate and get rid of religious minorities in "Islamic lands," and focused on en-

emies in the region, but later claimed responsibility for horrific attacks outside of the Middle East and around the world. Gerges explains how this tactical shift shows that ISIS became interested in targeting enemies both near and far.

City of Thorns: Nine Lives in the World's Largest Refugee Camp

By Ben Rawlence

Publisher: Picador

Price: \$17

While the Kenyan government has described the world's largest refugee camp, Dadaab, which the African country houses, as a "nursery for terrorists," it remains home for half a million residents.

Author Ben Rawlence tells the stories of nine individuals who live in the city, kilometres from any other civilization in the desert of northern Kenya.

Rawlence made trips to the camp over the course of four years and interviewed people who, desperate and in limbo, have had no choice but to seek safety there. The stories he shares help paint a picture of what life is like for refugees at this camp.

Radical Origins: Why We Are Losing the Battle Against Islamic Extremism and How to Turn the Tide

By Azeem Ibrahim

Publisher: Pegasus Books

Price: \$15.89

Professor Azeem Ibrahim writes of the rise of radical ideology that bolsters ISIS and terror groups around the world. Ibrahim argues that the West has struggled to figure out how to deal with extremism and that the answer is not increased military action abroad or increased police presence at home. In fact, he says those methods do not address the cause of terrorism. Ibrahim writes that the cause is the extreme ideology of Wahhabism, which is a reactionary, puritanical and xenophobic sect of Sunni Islam. The latter has been the foundation of Saudi Arabia since its rise in the 18th Century.

Ibrahim offers an informative and historical account of why this ideology is the origin of radical extremism and why the solution rests on changing geopolitics around Saudi Arabia.

This book is a primer on radicalism and jihadist history. It debunks misconceptions and tries to explain how to contain and stop radicalization.

Janice Dickson is a parliamentary reporter with *The Canadian Press*.



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A four-part summer feast

Photos by Larry Dickenson



Margaret Dickenson

Summer is a time for gathering with family and friends. Margaret Dickenson has put together some of her favourite recipes to help you entertain this summer, whether at a cottage or just at home al fresco.

Smoked Salmon Crispy Stacks with Avocado and Mango

Makes 4 servings

8 oz (225 g) smoked salmon, sliced
1 avocado, ripe
1 fresh mango (medium size), ripe
3 cups (750 mL) crisp young salad leaves
1/3 cup (80 mL) mustard-herb vinaigrette, recipe follows

Garnish (optional)

Several stems of fresh herbs (chervil, coriander, dill, for example) or shoots
1/4 tsp (1 mL) lemon oil

1. Divide smoked salmon slices into 8 equal portions; set aside.
2. Cut avocado vertically in half and remove pit. Keeping entire half of avocado intact, carefully remove peel. Cut each avocado half vertically and then into oval slices (thickness: 1/3 inch or 0.8 cm). Choose 4 of the largest slices and set others aside for another purpose.
3. Peel mango. Similarly cut mango vertically into oval slices on either side of pit. Choose 4 attractive slices. Leaving top of slice attached, cut each of the 4 mango slices in a fan-like manner.
4. Use 4 dinner plates to make 4 individual servings. For each serving, place one portion of smoked salmon in a circular fashion (diameter: 4 inches or 10 cm) in centre of each plate.
5. To facilitate the creation of a stack, position a metal cylinder/ring (diameter: about 3 1/4 inches or 8.5 cm) over the salmon and fill with 3/4 cup (190 mL) of



Smoked Salmon Crispy Stacks with Avocado and Mango

- salad leaves, packing the leaves gently. Leaving the cylinder in position, drizzle salad leaves with 2 tsp (10 mL) of vinaigrette; add another portion of smoked salmon. Carefully remove cylinder.
6. Gently top each stack with a slice of avocado and then a slice of mango. Drizzle stack and plate with more vinaigrette (about 2 1/2 tsp or 13 mL).
7. If desired, garnish stacks with fresh herbs or shoots.
8. Cautiously and sparingly, add only 3 drops of lemon oil to the outer area of each plate beyond the stack.
9. Serve promptly.

Mustard Herb Vinaigrette

3/4 cup (180 mL) canola or corn oil
1/4 cup (60 mL) olive oil
1/4 cup (60 mL) vinegar
2 tbsp (30 mL) lemon juice

1 1/3 tbsp (20 mL) granulated sugar
1 tbsp (15 mL) chopped fresh dill weed
1 tbsp (15 mL) chopped fresh parsley
1 1/2 tsp (8 mL) powdered mustard
1 1/2 tsp (8 mL) finely chopped fresh garlic
1 1/2 tsp (8 mL) salt
1 tsp (5 mL) crushed black peppercorns

1. Whisk ingredients together and stir well before using. The vinaigrette will keep up to several months if refrigerated in a sealed glass jar.

Extraordinary Sun-dried Tomato Shrimp

Makes 4 servings

20 colossal shrimp, deveined and peeled
8 oz (225 g) fettuccini/linguine of choice
To taste, salt



Extraordinary Sun-dried Tomato Shrimp

4 tbsp (60 mL) garlic butter or butter, divided
 1 recipe Garlic Wine Butter Sauce*
 To taste crushed black peppercorns
 ½ cup (125 mL) julienne cut sun-dried tomatoes in seasoned oil (drained)
 Heavy cream to thin sauce (optional)

1. Peel shrimp keeping tails intact; butterfly and set aside.
2. Cook pasta in boiling salted water until al dente. Drain well and toss with 2 tbsp (30 mL) of garlic butter; set aside.
3. Prepare Garlic Wine Butter Sauce* to point of blending in heavy cream; remove from heat.
4. Just before serving, in a large heavy skillet over medium heat, sauté shrimp in remaining 2 tbsp (30 mL) of garlic butter. Season with salt and pepper, and cook until almost done. Transfer shrimp to another large skillet, leaving the little black bits from frying behind.
5. To finish the sauce, place small skillet with partially prepared sauce over medium-low heat and warm; whisk in butter a few cubes at a time. Remove from heat promptly; season with salt and pepper.
6. Add sun-dried tomatoes and Garlic Wine Butter Sauce to sautéed shrimp in large skillet; toss. Add extra heavy cream, as desired, to thin the sauce.
7. Serve 3 to 5 shrimp per serving over hot pasta. Bathe shrimp and pasta with remaining sauce.

* To make the Garlic Wine Butter Sauce, in a small skillet over low heat, combine 1/3 cup (80 mL) of chopped green onion, 2½ tbsp (38 mL) of both raspberry vinegar and dry white wine, 2/3 tsp (3.5 mL) of both grated fresh gingerroot (peeled) and finely chopped fresh garlic and 1/3 tsp (2 mL) of powdered mustard. Cook the mixture until only about 1 1/3 tbsp (20 mL)

of the liquid remains. Blend in 2½ tbsp (38 mL) of heavy cream (35 per cent fat); set aside. Before serving, using almost 1/3 cup (80 mL) of room temperature unsalted butter (cut into cubes), whisk in the butter, a few pieces at a time, until it is completely incorporated. Promptly remove the sauce from the heat, add salt and crushed black peppercorns to taste and combine with shrimp.

Mongolian Beef Strips

Makes 4 servings

1 lb (450 g) striploin,* trimmed**
 ¼ cup (60 mL) cornstarch
 To taste, crushed black peppercorns
 3 tbsp (45 mL) vegetable oil

Sauce

1 tbsp (15 mL) minced fresh garlic
 2 tsp (10 mL) peeled and grated fresh gingerroot
 2 tsp (10 mL) vegetable oil
 ¼ cup (60 mL) soy sauce
 ½ cup (125 mL) water
 ¾ cup (180 mL) brown sugar



Margaret Dickenson's Mongolian Beef Strips

1. Cut beef striploin crosswise into 1/3-inch (0.8 cm) thick slices. Place cornstarch in a plastic bag; add beef and toss to coat strips evenly. Transfer beef strips to a parchment-lined tray and allow to rest for at least 15 minutes to enable the cornstarch to adhere to the meat.
2. Meanwhile, to make the sauce, in a medium-size skillet, sauté garlic and ginger in 2 tsp (10 mL) of vegetable oil at medium-low heat for about 1 minute. Remove skillet from heat to avoid splatter-

ing and add soy sauce, water and brown sugar. Return skillet to heat and stir constantly until sugar dissolves and sauce becomes thicker (about 2 to 3 minutes). Remove skillet of sauce from heat.

3. Sprinkle beef strips lightly with crushed black peppercorns before adding to 3 tbsp (43 mL) hot oil in a large skillet over medium-high heat. Sear beef for about 1 minute per side so that meat is rare to medium-rare in doneness. (Avoid overcooking, which will toughen the meat.) Transfer beef to a platter.

4. When ready to serve, reheat sauce over medium-low heat before adding seared beef strips. Turning regularly, allow strips to just barely heat through; transfer strips immediately to serving plates/platter. Pass extra sauce at the table.

* For a more economical alternative, use flank steak cut into 1/4 inch-thick slices. Before searing, pound each individual cornstarch-coated strip very rigorously with a meat mallet to tenderize the beef. (Note: The strips will resemble thinly sliced bacon.)

** Frequently, there is a thick tough membrane on the side of the steak; remove it.

Deconstructed Pavlova with Lemon Manuka Honey Drizzle

Makes 4 servings

1½ oz (45 g) baked meringues*
 1 cup (250 mL) heavy cream (35 per cent fat), chilled
 2½ tbsp (38 mL) icing sugar
 ½ tsp (3 mL) grated fresh lemon zest
 ¾ cup (180 mL) small pieces of peeled green kiwi
 ½ cup (125 mL) fresh blueberries
 ½ cup (125 mL) diced fresh peach, peeled with stone removed
 1/3 cup (80 mL) walnut pieces

Lemon Manuka Honey Drizzle

¼ cup (60 mL) Manuka honey
 2 tsp (10 mL) lemon juice

Garnish (optional)

16 fresh blueberries (in addition to above)
 4 sprigs of fresh mint and kiwi slices

1. To make the Lemon Manuka Honey Drizzle, place honey in a small bowl, add lemon juice and stir until thoroughly combined. (Makes more than a ¼ cup or about 70 mL.)
2. Break meringues into thumbnail-sized pieces and set aside.
3. In a chilled medium-sized bowl, whip cream until it begins to thicken. Add icing sugar and beat until soft peaks form. Add

lemon zest and continue beating until stiff peaks form.

4. Drizzle blueberries with only 1 tsp (5 mL) of Lemon Manuka Honey Drizzle; turn, gently coating the blueberries evenly with the honey.

5. Just before serving, combine the kiwi, blueberries and peach in one bowl.

6. Gently fold meringue and walnut pieces into the whipped cream, and then fold in the fruit.

7. For 4 individual servings, place a cylinder (diameter: about 3 inches or 7.5 cm) in the centre of a dinner plate or bistro bowl. Gently spoon in one quarter of the delicate fruit and meringue cream. Remove the cylinder. Crown with a half slice of kiwi.

8. Artistically drizzle each plate with about 2 tsp (10 mL) of Lemon Manuka Honey Drizzle. Garnish with a few blueberries and a sprig of fresh mint.

9. Serve promptly while meringue is still crisp.

* This is about 3 commercial meringue shells. They are available in grocery stores and bakeries.

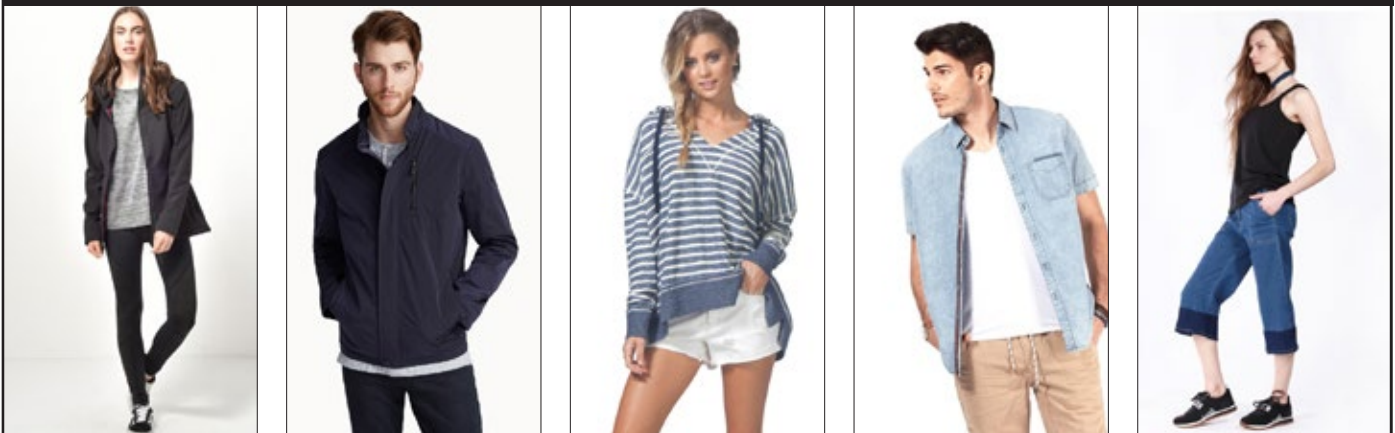


Deconstructed Pavlova with Lemon Manuka Honey Drizzle

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

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Farewell to a friend and diplomat

By *Guillermo Rishchynski*

Larry Dickenson, whose photographs have appeared on the pages of this magazine's food column since 2005, had a distinguished career in Canada's foreign service. His friend, Guillermo Rishchynski, a long-time diplomat who served with Dickenson in Indonesia and was most recently Canada's ambassador to the UN before becoming executive director of the Inter-American Development Bank, spoke at his memorial in Ottawa in April. We share excerpts here.

The first thing one needs to know about Larry's career is that he saw his diplomatic life as something he and Margaret did together, as a team. Long before it was fashionable to be a feminist, Larry understood he and Margaret made a commitment to the foreign service together. They undertook it as full partners, always keenly aware of the responsibility and honour inherent in representing our country. Margaret's contributions were equal to his. This he knew, and this is how he saw it and lived it.

It began in 1968 when they joined the foreign service. Little did they know how often they would become witnesses to history.

Larry's first foreign posting was to Vienna. On his very first day, the embassy was the scene of an unspeakable tragedy, as a fire, set by a disgruntled visitor, consumed the mission and took the lives of two staff members. Larry was one of the last to evacuate the upper floors, only to look up and see his office consumed by the flames. A first day of work never to be forgotten, and lessons of security, preparedness and the need to act fast etched forever in his consciousness.

In Moscow, the Cold War was in transition from deep freeze to détente and Larry made the most of the experience. He and Margaret internalized the lessons of foreign service craft, which they continued to refine to the highest levels. In 1972, they were part of a small but vocal Canadian contingent that cheered Team Canada to an epic victory in the Canada-USSR



hockey series.

Then it was on to Brussels as agricultural attaché to the European Community at a time of consolidation of the GATT between the Kennedy and Uruguay rounds of Multilateral Trade Negotiations. Then to Cairo when the momentous peace agreement between Egypt and Israel was signed. Representing Canada in Egypt at a time of such profound change and tension was not lost on Larry.

After Egypt, Seoul beckoned — an unexpected assignment as minister-counsellor. Here, too, Larry found himself a witness to history when, as chargé d'affaires, he was faced with the aftermath of the shooting down in September 1983 of KAL 007, with eight Canadians among the 269 lost.

Returning to Canada, Larry demonstrated his range, first as director for Europe and then as director general for culture and education. Not just any foreign service officer can comfortably move between the worlds of trade policy, cultural relations and education, but Larry did so with his usual energy and attention to detail, recognizing that the key to success in all of these varied worlds includes identifying partners, forging relationships, designing a blueprint for achieving re-

sults and implementing with speed and purpose. This was the hallmark of his 35 years of public service, 20 of which he and Margaret served abroad.

Larry was appointed as ambassador to Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, the UAE and Oman in 1988. With determination and energy he began his tenure travelling up and down the Persian Gulf, advancing Canada's political, economic and trade interests. The main event of this assignment was the First Gulf War. Larry threw himself into the emergency task force established after the invasion, and played a key role in exfiltrating our staff, providing consular services to get more than 700 Canadians out of Kuwait, and planned the everyday operation in response to this aggression. This was leadership at its best.

In his office in Jakarta, he kept a framed picture of himself and Canadian staff raising our flag at the Kuwaiti embassy after liberation.

His arrival in Jakarta in 1992 coincided with deep fissures in Canadian-Indonesian relations over the conflict and human rights situation in East Timor. He sized up the challenge for what it was and rolled up his sleeves to create the foundations of a mutually beneficial relationship. [Alongside him,] I worked and learned, watching a strategist and tactician of great skill and ability. Lessons for a lifetime, to be sure.

I have continued to hear his voice in my own head over the last 25 years, asking the questions he would pose to us: "What is the Canadian interest?" "What is the plan for reaching this objective?" "Keep your radar on, and expect the unexpected." Larry was a remarkable, resourceful diplomat. He expected the best from himself and those he worked with and always found time to ask about family and children.

Today as we celebrate Larry's life and career, we remember a spouse, father, grandfather, brother, mentor, colleague and friend — an exceptional diplomat, and a fine man; a man of great warmth, perception, energy, emotional strength, intelligence and skill. ▣

Orange wines: Skin-fermented magic



Alex
McMahon

Orange wines have recently captured the attention of sommeliers, winemakers and wine lovers alike. And contrary to what the name might suggest, these wines are not made from oranges. Rather, the word “orange” simply refers to the colour of the wines that results from a process involving the extended maceration of “white” grape skins with their juice. The skins contain pigment as well as tannins, producing wines with an orange or amber colour.

These wines also often offer a broader and more structured mouthfeel. The skins also contain natural preservatives and antioxidants, which make the wines amenable to aging, and eliminate the need for additional stabilizing chemicals.

For the sake of this column, I will make some generalizations about orange wines, but it is important to note that stylistically, these wines, like all others, will vary depending on a number of factors, including the grape variety used, the length of maceration time, the terroir or soil where the grapes are grown and even the vessel used for fermentation. Having said that, more often than not, orange, amber, or skin-contact whites tend to lack in light, crisp and fresh flavours, boasting instead palates of dried fruits, nuts, flowers and herbal teas.

In modern winemaking, leaving grape skins in contact with juice is typically

reserved for red-wine production, but in Georgia — the birthplace of orange wine and very possibly wine in general — people have been producing white wines with long skin maceration times in clay vessels known as qveri for about 8,000 years. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, producers such as Gravner and Radikon started to experiment with longer skin contact for white wines with grapes from Italy and Slovenia and were responsible for popularizing the style in Europe and around the world.

Some of the many reasons for the recent boom in popularity of orange wines would almost certainly include their involvement in the natural wine movement (orange wines are not always being produced in a natural way, but historically the two have been synonymous) as well as their often intense bouquets and palate-awakening qualities. Arguably, though, the biggest key to their success comes from their unique ability to pair perfectly with such a vast range of different dishes. Skin-fermented whites are an ace-in-the-hole for sommeliers looking to help a group of diners choose a single bottle to pair with the variety of dishes on the table. Their tannins allow them to hold their own against fatty meats (which also makes them a perfect substitute for red wine at a barbecue on a hot day) while their fruit profiles and acidity make them great options for more delicate plates of vegetables and fish.

At the moment, the LCBO tends to focus on more conventional wine styles, so it is unlikely that you will find orange wines on its shelves. However, readers interested in experiencing these wines have some options. Fauna food + bar in Ottawa, Toronto’s Archive wine bar and Soif bar à vin in Gatineau all offer a variety of orange wines by the glass. To enjoy at home, the 2016 “Rami” by Azienda Agricola COS in Sicily is a blend of Insolia and Grecanico and is available in cases of six through www.thelivingvine.ca for \$40.95 a bottle. For a more nearby option, Niagara’s Southbrook Vineyards offers a skin-fermented Vidal for \$29.95 a bottle. Visit their website — www.southbrook.com — for information on how to order this tasty vintage.

Alex McMahon is the sommelier at Riviera restaurant in Ottawa.



Georgia is considered the birthplace of orange wine and very possibly wine in general.



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Slovak residence: A modern home full of art

Photos by Ashley Fraser



The residence of Slovak Ambassador Andrej Droba, his wife, Daniela, and their daughter, Sara, was built in 1984 on a large tract of land on the eastern side of McKay Lake.



Margo Roston

Tucked away on a small cul-de-sac on the eastern side of Rockcliffe Park is the residence of Slovak Ambassador Andrej Droba, his wife, Daniela, and their 11-year-old daughter, Sara. A family-style

home in most respects, the house was built in 1984 on a large tract of private land on the eastern side of McKay Lake and what is known as the Pond.

This newer portion of tony Rockcliffe is now home to many less ostentatious diplomatic residences than its older sisters in the western area of the village, but has many charms to offer. Swimming access to the pond is one benefit and became popular with homeowners when the Village of Rockcliffe Park and the landowner came to an agreement on how the last large parcel of land could be developed in such a way as to keep community access to the area's natural beauty.

The Slovak government bought the house in 1998. The purchase came about following what was called the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia in 1989, followed by the Velvet Divorce, which peacefully created two different countries. The divorce agreement, said the ambassador, meant that in Ottawa, the Czech government retained the residence and moved out of the embassy on Rideau Terrace, while the Slovak government kept the embassy and bought itself a new ambassadorial residence.

The traditional brick house has two large rooms on the main floor with a white tile entranceway and central



Ambassador Droba and his wife, Daniela, in one of the large main reception rooms in their residence.



Two tables of souvenir photos, including one of the couple with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, grace the living room. One of the tables sits next to the Slovak and EU flags.

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staircase leading to the second floor. The large reception room stretches up the full two storeys of the house with a brick fireplace reaching up to the ceiling, emphasizing the height of the room. White walls, curtains and furniture give the room lightness and brightness and a great sense of space. The white decorating scheme provides a gallery-like background for the couple's extensive art collection, one that fills the main reception room, hallway and dining room with paintings and drawings. Most are Slovak scenes, but a few are striking abstracts as well.

"We like art," he says of his collection.

Directly over the fireplace is a colourful photographic art piece of a smiling young woman with a delicately painted face. She's wearing a traditional embroidered headdress. The striking adornments were once worn by young women and taken off the night before their wedding. "These stunning headpieces have now been relegated to grandmas' attics," says Droba, noting that the artist has travelled the country collecting and photographing the lovely pieces in dynamic style to highlight their beauty. The photographs were shown in a special exhibition at Ottawa City Hall in May.

Much of the family's personal art collection is made up of Slovak and Slovak-Canadian pieces. Two of the most important pieces are by Emil Purgina, a Bratislava-born artist who settled in Ottawa after the Soviet army invaded his homeland in 1968. He found work at the University in Ottawa and has had many shows across the U.S. and Canada, but had never before been shown in Slovakia. Sponsored by the ambassador, he finally had his first show there in 2016. Two of his pieces hang in the residence's dining room, alongside two paintings of the square in Bratislava, the hometown of the ambassador and his wife. They will soon be returning there after four years in Ottawa. Previously, they have had postings in Washington and in New York at the UN.

The dining room is also home to a stunning collection of Slovak crystal and Daniela's collection of tiny, traditional cornhusk dolls. Also hanging on the walls are two charming Baffin Island scenes that will be moving overseas along with two soapstone carvings from the Canadian Arctic.

The diplomats entertain a lot, they say, often opening their home for charitable events. They can accommodate 12 guests for sit-down dinners and as many as 40 for receptions. For very large events, they



The dining room is home to Daniela's collection of tiny, traditional cornhusk dolls.



This back hallway, which also features original art, leads to the kitchen.



The diplomats serve traditional Slovak food, including this cheese, which they source from a cheesemaker in Ottawa.



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use the embassy. A Slovak chef cooks specialties of the country, including national favourites such as dumplings with duck, and goulash. But the ambassador also likes to take to the kitchen himself to whip up his version of *kapustnica*, a sauerkraut soup made with sausages, pork, mushrooms and various spices, commonly served for Christmas, New Year's and




A traditional Slovak hat sits on a table in the residence.

weddings and punched up with a daub of sour cream. In fact, his recipe can be found in the cookbook called *Culinary Treasures from Around the World* (published in honour of the 150th anniversary of Canada and featuring recipes from diplomats posted here.) Daniela makes wonderful *bobovka*, a delicious pound cake of raisins, vanilla and chocolate meant to be eaten for breakfast. The embassy also serves national cheeses from a Slovak cheesemaker in Ottawa.

The family leaves this post this summer, taking with them memories of their first ambassadorship and their art collection. The next occupants of the residence will undoubtedly offer a whole new experience of Slovak hospitality to visitors and their own art in the pretty brick Rockcliffe house.

Margo Roston is *Diplomat's* culture editor.



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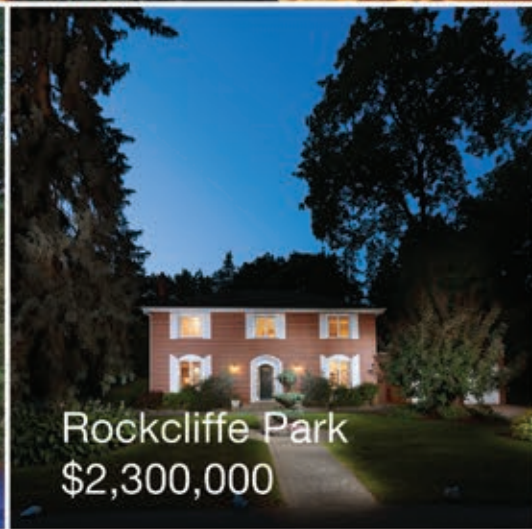
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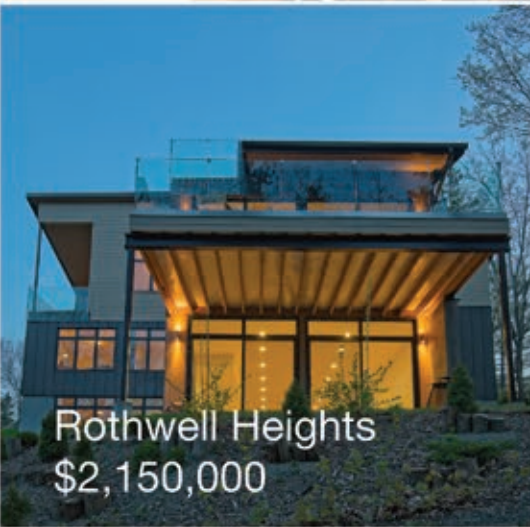
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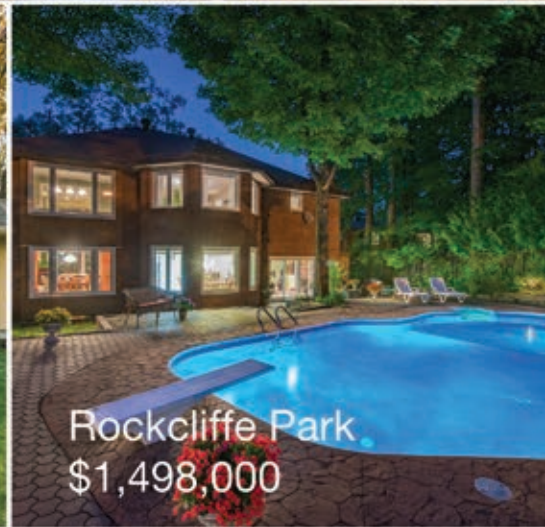
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New arrivals

Eugenio María Curia
Ambassador of Argentina



The ambassador, who studied law and social sciences at the University of Buenos Aires, joined the Argentine foreign service in 1975 as a vice-consul.

Prior to this posting, he was international affairs co-ordinator at the ministry of justice and human rights for two years. Between 2006 and 2013, he served as ambassador to Austria, Slovakia, Slovenia and as permanent representative to international organizations in Vienna, including the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and the International Atomic Energy Agency, among others. From 2002 to 2005, he was the legal adviser at the foreign and trade ministries and served as head of international affairs at the justice ministry from 1997 to 2001.

He's also been posted to Netherlands (1978-1983), USSR (1986-1989), Italy (1989-1990), Chile (1993) and Austria, on an earlier posting (1994-1997).

The ambassador is married and has two sons.

René Koto Sounon
Ambassador of Benin



Ambassador Koto Sounon joined Benin's foreign ministry in 1986. He first worked for the Europe and America desk and later on the United Nations desk.

In 1991, he was promoted to the position of counsellor. He later served as assistant to the committee of external relations for development co-operation, defence and security, through which he was in charge of interparliamentary relations of the National Assembly of Benin. He then became deputy secretary general of the National Assembly and was later promoted to secretary general.

In 2003, he was given the title of ambassador and was director of the Europe division at the foreign ministry. In 2016, he was named ambassador to Russia.

Koto Sounon has a master's of law from the University of Sofia in Bulgaria. He later studied in Berlin, Cairo, Paris, Abidjan and Dakar. He is married and has two children.

Josefina de la Caridad Vidal Ferreiro
Ambassador of Cuba



After studies at Moscow State Institute for International Relations, Ambassador Vidal Ferreiro began her career in 1984 as an assistant researcher at the University of Havana's Centre for the Study of the United States.

In 1990, she became an analyst at the embassy of Cuba in France for seven years before becoming a specialist and co-ordinator of the U.S. analysis group at the foreign ministry, a position she returned to after a four-year stint as first secretary in the "Cuba interests section" in Washington.

From 2004 to 2012, she was deputy director and then director of the North America directorate at the foreign ministry before becoming director general of the U.S. directorate.

The ambassador is married. She speaks English, French and Russian in addition to Spanish.

The ambassador is married. She speaks English, French and Russian in addition to Spanish.

Akylbek Kamaldinov
Ambassador of Kazakhstan



Ambassador Kamaldinov studied at Kazakh State University and the Institute of Asian and African Studies at Moscow State University and the London School of Economics.

He joined the foreign ministry in 1993 as third secretary. He was posted to Japan as second secretary in 1997 and then first secretary a year later. When he returned to headquarters, he became head of the bilateral co-operation section and head of the Asia division in 2002 after which he became deputy director of the Asia, Middle East and Africa section. From 2003 to 2007, he served as head of the external economic division in the office of the prime minister. From 2007 to 2018, he had a long posting as ambassador to Japan before being named deputy minister of foreign affairs.

The ambassador speaks two other languages: English and Japanese.

Souriya Otmani
Ambassador of Morocco



Ambassador Otmani is a career diplomat who most recently served as ambassador to the Czech Republic (2011 to 2018). Before that, she was consul to Montreal (2004 to

2011).

From 2001 until 2004, she was deputy head of protocol at the foreign ministry after serving in Sweden and Austria as deputy head of mission.

She joined the foreign service in 1982 and has held such positions as head of the section that funds development projects.

She has represented her country during several United Nations General Assembly sessions in New York and has participated in many international and regional conferences dealing mainly with gender issues, environment, sustainable development and co-operation with UN agencies.

The ambassador is married to Merouane Sadqi and has one daughter.

Viviane Laure Elisabeth Bampassy
Ambassador of Senegal



Ambassador Bampassy comes to her position from Senegal's political world. Prior to this position, she was minister of the public service, a position she took up in 2014. In that

capacity, she was in charge of streamlining and renewing the workforce.

In 2013, she was appointed secretary general for the ministry of youth, employment and civic values. Later that year, she was appointed governor of the Fatick region, becoming the first woman to take on the role. Along with that job, came an appointment as secretary general of the ministry of youth. In addition, she has served as deputy governor of the Dakar region, in charge of development and administrative affairs and she was also director of cabinet for the ministry of culture.

The ambassador graduated from Senegal's National School of Administration in 1992.

Sherry Tross
High Commissioner for St. Kitts and Nevis



High Commissioner Tross has spent her career as a diplomat and international public servant on files including development, governance and social justice.

For the past decade, she has held senior positions with the Organization of American States (OAS) in Washington, having led the OAS Secretariat for Integral Development and the Inter-American Agency for Development Co-operation; directed the Summits of the Americas Secretariat; and served as chief of staff to the OAS assistant secretary general.

Most recently, she served as the organization's founding ombudsman. She has also worked in leading roles at the World Trade Center in Miami as well as the University of Miami's North South Center.

The high commissioner is Nevisian and has a bachelor's degree in Spanish from Hamilton College in New York and a master's degree in international relations from the University of Miami.

Winston Wen-yi Chen
Representative, Taipei Economic and Cultural Office



Representative Chen joined the foreign ministry in 1990, after completing a bachelor's degree in international trade from Soochow University and a certificate in English from

Leeds University.

His arrival in Canada marks a return. He served here twice before, first from 1992 to 1996, before being posted to Panama for two years. In 1999, he returned to Taipei as the section chief for North American affairs and stayed for three years before being posted as first secretary at the EU and Belgium missions in Brussels.

He returned to Taipei in 2008 as assistant director general of North American affairs. He became director general of TECO in Toronto from 2011 to 2013. From 2014 to 2016, he was ambassador to the Marshall Islands (which recognizes Taiwan as a country) and returned to headquarters as director-general of East Asia and Pacific affairs in 2016.

Maris Sangiampongsa
Ambassador of Thailand



Ambassador Sangiampongsa joined the foreign ministry in 1986 as an attaché. Soon, as third secretary, he joined the department of ASEAN affairs.

In 1989, he was posted to Brussels, where he was eventually promoted to first secretary. On his return to headquarters, he became first secretary in the ASEAN department, and then joined the office of the secretary to the minister. He later served in the department of economic affairs, where he was named counsellor. In 2004, he was seconded to the office of the secretary of the prime minister before being appointed minister at the embassy in Berlin in 2007.

After returning briefly in 2009, he had a succession of ambassadorial postings: Nepal (2009), Australia (2011) and New Zealand (2015).

The ambassador has a bachelor's degree in politics and government and a master's in international relations from Ohio University. He is married and has one son.

Non-heads of mission

Albania
Arlinda Dega
First secretary

Armenia
Ara Mkrtchian
Counsellor

Australia
Richard Waller
First secretary and consul

Bahamas
Nestor Sands
Second secretary and vice-consul

Bangladesh
Miah Md Mainul Kabir
Counsellor

Cameroon
Daniel Ze Mbarga
Second secretary

Henri Bala Mbarga
Second counsellor

China
Xiangyu Hou
Attaché

Shengyao Wang
Attaché

Peng Wan
Attaché

Cuba
Luis Castro Martinez
Attaché

Dominican Republic
Enrique Pina Serra
Minister-counsellor

Ecuador
Christian Oquendo Sanchez
Second secretary

Ethiopia
Yeneye Beyene
Attaché

Ghana
George Okine
First secretary

Hungary
Gergely Bodnar
First secretary

Indonesia
Adde Anindyawati
Second secretary

Japan
Shuji Kikuchi
First secretary

Atsushi Murata
Second secretary

Yoshitaka Moriyama
Second secretary

Koji Ominato
First secretary

South Korea
Yong Sup Kim
First secretary

Mexico
Jose Castillo Tapia
Minister

Morocco
Abderrahim Anoar
Counsellor

New Zealand
Amy Tisdall
Deputy high commissioner

Peru
Fernando San Martin Serra
Assistant defence and air attaché

Marco Arancivia Ramos
Assistant defence and naval attaché

Philippines
Josephine Suazo
Attaché

Rodel Bendicio
Attaché

Saudi Arabia
Abdulaziz Alwasel
Attaché

Senegal
Papa Djiby Sall
Attaché

United Kingdom
Alexander Skinner
Second secretary

United States of America
Adam Lawrence Pranter
Assistant attaché

Jason Patrick Alberts
Assistant attaché

Vietnam
Huong Tra Nguyen
Counsellor & deputy chief of mission



1. Africa Day took place at the Château Laurier hotel. From left: Zimbabwean Ambassador Florence Chideya and South African High Commissioner Sibongiseni Dlamini-Mntambo. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. At the Africa Day celebration, heads of mission also marked the 55th anniversary of African Unity. Ambassadors and high commissioners were joined in a group photo by MPs and International Development Minister Marie-Claude Bibeau (centre), who represented the government of Canada. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. The Japanese embassy and Global Affairs Canada hosted a reception for the 90th anniversary of Japan-Canada diplomatic relations. From left, Len Edwards, former Canadian ambassador to Japan, Japanese Ambassador Kimihiro Ishikane, Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland, Senator Jim Munson and Senator Victor Oh. Together they cracked open a barrel of sake. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. The embassy of Turkey marked International Children's Day at the Horticulture Building at Lansdowne Park. Shown here is a member of an Ottawa Turkish School's dance group in the traditional costume of the Eastern Anatolian region. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. To mark the 207th anniversary of Paraguay's independence, Ambassador Inés Martínez and her husband, Alfredo Cañete, hosted a reception at Ottawa City Hall. (Photo: Lois Siegel) 6. Colombian Ambassador Nicolas Lloreda Ricaurte spoke at the ambassador's speaker series at Carleton University. From left: Lloreda Ricaurte and André Plourde, dean of Carleton's public affairs faculty. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1. Karima Eboo, wife of the Aga Khan Development Network's resident representative, welcomed members of the Diplomatic Hospitality Group and International Women's Club for a tour of the Global Centre for Pluralism and the Delegation of the Ismaili Imam. From left: Hala Elhusseiny Youssef (Egypt), Lerzan Unal (Turkey), Inara Eihenbauma (Latvia), Karima Eboo, Susan McKnee, Aynur Huseynli (Azerbaijan) and Irena Urbutyte-Pranckeviciene (Lithuania). (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. The EU delegation hosted Europe Day at the Shaw Centre. Shown here are EU Ambassador Peteris Ustubs and his wife, Aina Anna Ustuba. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. Israeli Ambassador Nimrod Barkan, left, hosted a Music to Dine For dinner for the Friends of the National Arts Centre Orchestra. He's shown with Friends' president, Albert Benoit. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. The Ottawa Diplomatic Association organized a ski day at Mont Cascades. Saudi Ambassador Naif Bandir A. Alsudairy (left) and Slovenian Ambassador Marjam Cencen took part. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. More than 18,000 attended the Ottawa Travel and Vacation Show. From left: Zsuzsanna Sarmon, regional head of business development for North America's Hungarian Tourism Agency, and Halina Player, president of Player Expositions International. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 6. A delegation headed by Baimawangdui, deputy to the People's Congress of Tibet Autonomous Region, came to Ottawa. From left, Pubudunzhu, mayor of Shannan City; David Dymont, past president of the Canadian International Council's National Capital Branch; and Baimawangdui. (Tibetans go by one name only.) (Photo: Ulle Baum)



1. The Parliamentary Centre celebrated its 50th anniversary at the Sir John A. Macdonald building. MP Scott Brison, left, Alassane Bala Sakandé, speaker of the National Assembly of Burkina Faso, and his wife, Sakandé Kabore, centre, attended. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. To mark the 65th Anniversary of the Korean War Armistice, the office of Senator Yonah Martin and the Korean and Turkish embassies co-hosted a screening of the film *Ayla* on Parliament Hill. From left, Korean Ambassador Maengho Shin, film producer Pia Pinar Ercan; Martin and Turkish Ambassador Selcuk Unal attended. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. Chief of Protocol Roy Norton, left, and Russian Ambassador Alexander Darchiev took part in Victory Day celebrations at the Russian Embassy. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. Belgian King Philippe and Queen Mathilde were in Canada for a state visit to Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal. They signed the guest book at the National War Museum. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. On the occasion of Norway's national day, Norwegian Ambassador Anne Ovind and her husband, Tom, hosted a garden reception at their residence. From left: Peter Boehm, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Ovind. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. A policy panel titled "Women in international trade: Driving economic empowerment and growth" took place at German Ambassador Sabine Sparwasser's residence. From left: Maureen Boyd, director of the Carleton Initiative for Parliamentary and Diplomatic Engagement, Pamela Goldsmith-Jones, parliamentary secretary for international affairs and Sparwasser. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1. The Ottawa Service Attachés Association organized an international cuisine night at Sala San Marco Conference Centre. From left, Alina Ureche (Romania), Yu Wang (China), her husband, Chinese defence attaché Senior Col. Zhu Haitao and Romanian defence attaché Florin Ureche. Alina and Florin Ureche's two daughters, Ruxandra and Ecaterina, are wearing traditional Romanian costumes. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. Polish Ambassador Andrzej Kurnicki (left) and Agata Wrzol-Kurnicka hosted a reception and concert for Poland's National Day and the 227th anniversary of the constitution at the Canadian Museum of History. Pianist Szymon Nehring performed. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. Hungarian Ambassador Bálint Ódor hosted a chamber music concert for the Friends of the National Arts Centre Orchestra. Jeremy Mastrangelo, violin, Frédéric Lacroix, piano, and Julia MacLaine performed music by Felix Mendelssohn and Béla Bartók. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. Shown at the same event are Hungarian Ambassador Bálint Ódor, right, and Friends' president Albert Benoit. (Photo: Lois Siegel) 5. More than 40 embassies participated in this year's tulip festival. From left, Jackie Bradley, visiting from Virginia; Henry Storgaard, chairman of the Canadian Tulip Festival; and U.S. Ambassador Kelly Craft. (Photo: Ülle Baum)



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1. French Ambassador Kareen Rispal hosted a dinner in support of Women Deliver. The event, which raised \$14,250, included a five-course meal. From left: Rispal, MP Andrew Leslie and Sophie Grégoire Trudeau, wife of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. Pakistani High Commissioner Tariq Azim Khan, right, hosted a national day reception at the Château Laurier. He's shown with Matthew G. Boyse, minister-counsellor, U.S. embassy. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. From left, Indian High Commissioner Vikas Swarup offered his residence to Michelin-star chef Peter Joseph, of London's Tamarind Mayfair, and chef Joe Thottungal, of Ottawa's Coconut Lagoon, for a culinary celebration of Commonwealth links. They're shown with Bardish Chagger, minister of small business and tourism. (Photo: Suliman Chadirji) 4. Taiwan Night took place at the Château Laurier. Frank Lin, acting representative of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office, and his wife, Lin Lee, hosted. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. Portuguese Ambassador José Fernando Moreira da Cunha and his wife, Lurdes, hosted a farewell reception at their residence. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. Senator Joseph Day received the Mongolian Presidential Friendship Medal for chairing the Canada-Mongolia Parliamentary Friendship Group. From left: Day and Bayanbat Bayasgalan, counsellor and chargé d'affaires. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 7. British High Commissioner Susan Le Jeune D'allegreershecque hosted a viewing party for the wedding of Prince Harry and Meghan Markle. (Photo: Sam Garcia)



1. The national capital branch of the Canadian International Council (CIC) hosted a talk by Bob Rae on the Rohingya crisis. From left: Paul Heinbecker, former Canadian ambassador to the UN; Margaret Huber, president of CIC's national capital branch and former ambassador; Allan Rock, former Liberal minister of justice, health and industry, diplomat and president of the University of Ottawa; and Nadia Haim, PhD candidate at Carleton University. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. Estonian Prime Minister Jüri Ratas came to Canada on a working visit. He met with Gov. Gen. Julie Payette, shown here, and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. A tasting of authentic cuisine by the embassies of seven ASEAN countries took place at the Ottawa Travel and Vacation Show. Among the participants were Brunei High Commissioner PG Kamal Bashah PG Ahmad, Indonesian Ambassador Teuku Faizasyah, Malaysian High Commissioner Aminah Tun Karim Shaharudin, Myanmar Ambassador Kyaw Myo Htut, Philippines Ambassador Petronila Garcia, Thai chargé d'affaires Dao Vibulpanich and Vietnamese Ambassador Nguyen Duc Hoa. (Photo: Ülle Baum)



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Italy: A country that has it all



Manarola is one of five villages in the Liguria region on the Italian Riviera. The coastline, the five villages and the surrounding hillsides are all part of the Cinque Terre National Park, which has a UNESCO World Heritage designation.



By *Claudio Taffuri*

Most people, but perhaps not all, know that Italy is the third most well-known country in

the world, but do they also know that it's the single most popular travel destination?

We are proud that Italy is the country with the highest number of UNESCO World Heritage sites in the world, and that it is home to almost half of the world's art masterpieces. We are understandably partial, but, even if we add a bit of objectivity, it is impossible to deny that Italy is an extraordinary mix of natural beauty, art and history, all of which translate into an unforgettable travel experience.

Since antiquity, Italy has been at the crossroads of Mediterranean civilization, history, culture and art. Its museums, archeological sites and cities still have traces of the many civilizations that have succeeded each other along the peninsula and on the islands, blending and growing into what would become modern-day Italy. Signs of the Etruscan, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Arab and Norman civilizations can be found side by side in the layouts of cities and in medieval churches and castles, Renaissance monuments, baroque

and neoclassical piazzas. Evolving as they have over centuries, Italian cities are veritable open-air museums and walking is the best way to experience the many wonders they have to offer.

Rome, Florence and Venice are all certainly deserving of a visit, but I encourage travellers to also seek out smaller, less well-known cities as well. There are hundreds of gems scattered throughout the peninsula and on the islands, and visitors will be richly rewarded for their efforts. Among churches, fortified towns, palaces and gardens, archeological sites, monuments and museums, there are hundreds of thousands of treasures to be discovered.

If it is natural beauty you seek, Italy has 7,500 kilometres of coastline to be explored, featuring gulfs both large and small, inlets and coves in abundance and beaches for every preference. There's sand, pebble and rock, all with inviting clear water in different shades of blue. Above sea level, the Alps define the country's northern border and the Apennines run from north to south. Both offer magnificent panoramas, forests, high-altitude lakes, historic cities rich in tradition, opportunities to indulge in every type of winter sport as well as hiking, cycling, mountain and rock climbing in the spring, summer and fall.

Poet Giovanni Papini offers this vivid description of Italy's many and varied landscapes: "...wooded valleys like Scandinavia, heaths as in Scotland, the wide river mouths and sandy dunes of The Netherlands, quiet hills covered with olive groves and vineyards like Greece, orange-scented woods as in Andalusia, flat deserts baked and made chalky by the sun as in Africa, rice paddies flooded and silent as in China, smoking volcanoes... flowering woods like Japan, islands of peace, light, and myth equal to the Cyclades..."

There are unforgettable experiences to be found in Italy's untamed landscapes, its many nature reserves, protected areas, maritime reserves and national or regional parks. These spectacular settings are ideal for those who wish to spend their vacation immersed in nature, discovering Italy's flora and fauna, climbing its mountains and hiking or skiing its valleys or kayaking around its sunny islands and camping surrounded by the fragrances of the Mediterranean scrub, macchia.

For a relatively small country, Italy contains an astounding diversity of terrain, traditions and gastronomy. Often, the landscape changes significantly within the same region — from the wide Po River



Rome's Piazza Navona is built on the site of the Stadium of Domitian, which itself was built in the 1st Century AD, and traces the form of the open space of the stadium.



San Giovanni degli Eremiti (St. John of the Hermits) is a church in Palermo, Sicily, whose origins date back to the 6th Century. For a time, after the Islamic conquest of Sicily, it became a mosque and was later returned to the Christians under Roger II of Sicily.



When it was built, beginning in 1420, the Brunelleschi dome of the Florence Duomo was the largest dome in the world.



Rome's architecture could keep you busy for your whole trip. Here, a detail from Trajan's Column, which commemorates Roman emperor Trajan's victory in the Dacian Wars.

Valley to the mountains and the sea and back again, all while tumbling down escarpments, crossing hills, fields, forests, lakes and rivers of all types. There is little resemblance between the hills of Piedmont, the Marches and Tuscany. Meanwhile, if you cross the Apennines, the landscape changes significantly enough to seem like a different country. From the north, through the centre to the south and out to the islands, the folklore and traditions vary greatly, informed over the centuries by human settlers who brought



A detail from a fountain at Piazza della Minerva in Rome.

with them their beliefs and customs.

The varied landscape also accounts for an outstandingly diversified agriculture, which, of course, is closely linked to culinary tradition. Every region — and sometimes even towns fewer than 50 kilometres apart — has distinctive cheeses, salumi and other specialties typical of its location. Italians will be happy to share their thoughts and opinions on where to find the very best expressions of their cuisine.

Italy's gastronomy is inextricably linked to its culture, with recipes and techniques developed and refined over centuries. Visitors who choose to base their itineraries on cultural-culinary exploration will not be disappointed. In fact, 2018 is a special year because the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Tourism, together with the Ministry of Agricultural, Food and Forestry Policies have declared it the Year of Italian Food. These 12 months will feature a wide range of initiatives to promote and celebrate the cultural importance of Italian food, including its symbolic, social, esthetic and life-affirming qualities, from the Greco-Roman era to the advent of the Baroque and all the way to the cutting-edge chefs of the present.

And we mustn't forget the excellence of Italy's wines. With more than 2,000 grape varieties, the country is the largest producer of wine in the world, and continues to gain popularity as an eco-tourism destination, attracting increasing numbers of visitors to wine regions and wineries to learn more about the history of wine and its characteristics, its terroir and the perfect integration of the land, its history and the winemaker's art and skill.

If, throughout this diversity, there is a constant, it is the Italian way of life. We are welcoming and warm. To us, human interaction is an art, and we take special pride in introducing newcomers to what we consider to be the "finer things in life," such as good company, excellent food, beautiful surroundings, all enjoyed unhurriedly. We are aware of the very special home we have inherited and are happy to share it with others.

With its millennia of history and culture, Italy offers diversity, depth and an experience that will make any and every trip memorable. I invite you to explore and enjoy our magnificent unique country.

Claudio Taffuri is Italy's ambassador to Canada.



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July		
1	Burundi	National Day
1	Canada	Canada Day
3	Belarus	Independence Day
4	Rwanda	Liberation Day
4	United States	Independence Day
5	Venezuela	Independence Day
7	Nepal	Birthday of His Majesty The King
10	Bahamas	Independence Day
11	Mongolia	National Day
14	France	National Day
14	Iraq	Republic Day
20	Colombia	National Day
21	Belgium	Accession of King Leopold I
23	Egypt	National Day
28	Peru	Independence Day
30	Morocco	Ascension of the Throne
August		
1	Benin	Independence Day
1	Switzerland	National Day
3	Niger	Proclamation of Independence
6	Bolivia	Independence Day
6	Jamaica	Independence Day
7	Côte d'Ivoire	Independence Day
8	Macedonia	Independence Day
10	Ecuador	Independence Day
11	Chad	National Day
15	Congo	National Day
15	India	Independence Day
17	Gabon	National Day
17	Indonesia	Independence Day
19	Afghanistan	National Day
24	Ukraine	Independence Day
25	Uruguay	National Day
31	Malaysia	National Day
31	Trinidad and Tobago	National Day
September		
1	Slovak Republic	Constitution Day
2	Vietnam	Independence Day
7	Brazil	Independence Day
15	Costa Rica	Independence Day
15	El Salvador	Independence Day
15	Guatemala	Independence Day
15	Honduras	National Day
16	Mexico	National Day
18	Chile	Independence Day
19	St. Kitts & Nevis	Independence Day
21	Armenia	Independence Day
22	Mali	Proclamation of the Republic
23	Saudi Arabia	National Day

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MIKE BEEDELL WWW.MIKEBEEDELLPHOTO.CA

Photographer Mike Beedell: "I met this orangutan mother and baby in Tanjung Puting National Park on Borneo in Indonesia. We were near Camp Leakey where Canadian primatologist Biruté Galdikas spent decades studying these primates. The orangutan is under threat of extinction due to the destruction of its habitat by palm oil production and illegal logging. Orangutans spend most of their time in the forest canopy. They have the agility of acrobats and the flexibility of yoga masters. It was moving to see this baby's bond with its mother, even as it was yearning to explore its immediate environment. Once, a mother and her baby came towards me on the forest floor, just five metres away. I could feel my heart racing with excitement and wanted to get closer, but I backed away to give her space. Mothers spend up to five years carrying their infants before they start exploring on their own. Orangutans can live 60 years or more. Males can reach 1.5 metres in height and weigh up to 130 kilograms. Females can reach 1.2 metres and weigh 55 kilograms. To help protect them, visit Orangutan Foundation International. www.orangutan.org."



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