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## Dealing with defence

**D**efence was a prominent issue in the election campaign, particularly for Prime Minister Stephen Harper who laid out his plans for increased spending and improved surveillance of the North early on.

Now, as the new Conservative government gets comfortable with the reigns of power, observers are waiting to see what it will move on first. In our cover package, Daniel Drolet asked the experts to look at where this country is going with its defence policy. They identified several threats to Canadian safety including failed states, fragile eco-systems and elusive terrorists who may target Canada, or may even live on Canadian soil already. Gordon O'Connor, the new minister of defence, reveals his plans while United Nations Association executive director Kathryn White urges Mr. O'Connor's government to get serious about peace-keeping on this, the 50th anniversary of the birth of the idea. Carleton University professor Elinor Sloan talks about the need for security at home as well as abroad while Gerard Kenney, himself a passionate Arctic defender, looks at how the new government should deal with northern sovereignty.

Further in Dispatches, find George Abraham's look at the idea of Canada taking its multicultural identity to the world stage where it could use the many immigrants it boasts to befriend foreign powers such as China and India. Part of that campaign might be to include visible minorities among its foreign service officers – those it sends out into the world as its representatives. And, Mr. Abraham discovers, those in the upper echelons of Foreign Affairs are making it so. A full 18



JENNIFER CAMPBELL

Still at the Lester B. Pearson Building in Ottawa, we dropped in on Malcolm McKechnie, Canada's chief of protocol. U.S. vice-president Adlai Stevenson once said a diplomat's life is made up of three ingredients: protocol, Geritol and alcohol. Of course, we know diplomatic life involves more than the latter but there is, admittedly, much of the former. Mr. McKechnie, who took over from Robert Collette in November, explained that his job also involves a lot more than canapés and cocktails.

There's much else within these pages. Costa Rican Ambassador Carlos Miranda shares one of his country's treasures – its mysterious stone spheres. Culture editor Margo Roston interviewed Australian High Commissioner Bill Fisher about the art collection in his office. Food writer Margaret Dickenson tells us how she became her retired ambassador husband's boss and Stephen Beckta, sommelier extraordinaire, rethinks his Chardonnay snobbery.

Finally, Allan Thompson gives his take on what's to come on the foreign policy front with the new Conservative government. Iraq? Missile defence? What will Canada do on each file? Turn to page 44 to find out..

**Jennifer Campbell** is editor of *Diplomat* magazine. Reach her at [editor@diplomatonline.com](mailto:editor@diplomatonline.com), or (613) 231-8476 or P.O. Box 1173, Stn. B, Ottawa, ON, K1P 5R2.

## UP FRONT

Canada's role in Afghanistan has come under a microscope since troops have moved to volatile Kandahar. In this Department of National Defence photo, soldiers of the 3rd Battalion, Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry Battle Group hiked through Afghanistan's mountains, east of Gardez at 3,000 metres above sea level. They rested frequently to adjust to the oxygen-poor atmosphere. These troops were engaged in Operation Anaconda, the Canadian Army's first combat mission since the Korean War. This battle group was deployed in Afghanistan on Operation Apollo, Canada's military contribution to the international campaign against terrorism. Diplomat's package on defence starts on page 12.



## CONTRIBUTORS

**Gerard Kenney**, author of *Northwest Impasse*



In the 60s and 70s, Gerard Kenney engineered Bell Canada's short-wave radio network in the eastern Arctic, Labrador and Québec. His work took him all over the North. In the mid-70s, through successive assignments with the federal government, Mr. Kenney designed a satellite-based CBC broadcasting network that led to today's extensive radio and TV networks in the North. His interest in the Arctic never waned. He believes Canadian governments have too long ignored the North and that today, Canada's sovereignty over its Arctic waters is precarious, and will remain so, unless government immediately takes significant steps to ensure its strength. In this photo, Mr. Kenney was traveling up the Naskaupi River of Labrador.

**Dyanne Wilson**, contributing photographer



For Ms. Wilson, photography is a second career, one she started after her children grew up. It's a profession that allows her to give truth to Kahlil Gibran's statement that "work is love made visible." The freelancer has worked for several clients including the National Arts Centre, Public Service Commission, the Dominion Institute as well as many embassies and high commissions. She loves that her regular contributions to *Diplomat* let her meet people from different cultures. In this self-portrait, Ms. Wilson tries to absorb a little Vitamin D, even in the middle of winter.

**P**eter MacKay was named foreign affairs minister shortly after being re-elected in January. The crown attorney turned politician has never publicly shown much interest in foreign affairs but pundits think the young, yet seasoned politician can rise to the challenge. To help him along with his new portfolio, *Diplomat* asked the experts to come up with a to-do list of advice for him.

**BE A PROACTIVE MINISTER:** "Canada has had reactive foreign ministers and we've had many," explained Fen Hampson, director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University. "And then we've had foreign ministers who've made a difference. Lloyd Axworthy was controversial but I think what made him successful was that he had a very clear vision and he pursued his agenda with a tenacity that produced results. Joe Clark was another." To be proactive, Mr. MacKay will have to go forward in his job with a clear sense of what he wants to accomplish. "There will always be events that will push you to be reactive," Dr. Hampson added. "In very short order, he needs to figure out two or three key priorities."

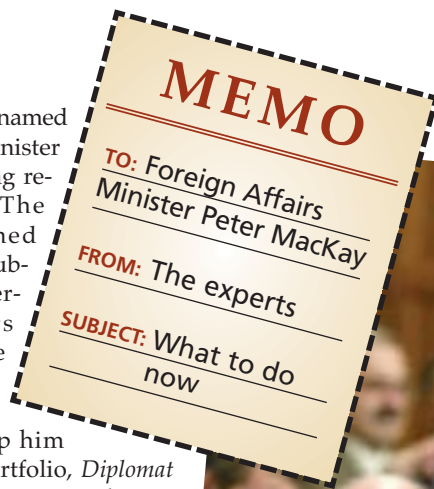
**USE YOUR BUREAUCRATS:** "MacKay has some very talented people at the assistant deputy minister level and in the deputy minister," Dr. Hampson said. "At the ADM level, he has Peter Boehm, David Malone and others. These are thinkers

and he would be well advised to look at their advice as he fashions his to-do list."

**MAKE A PLAN FOR CHINA AND INDIA:** Dr. Hampson said it's clear Prime Minister Stephen Harper and Ambassador Michael Wilson will look after the U.S. file, which leaves the rest of the world for Mr. MacKay. First, he needs to decide how to manage Canada's relationship with the global economic powers – China

and India. "It needs to be more than trade missions and ministerial visits," Dr. Hampson said. "He needs to do some major-league thinking about how to institutionalize our relationship with those countries."

**ENGAGE THE UN:** "We need to be thinking about how to carry forward the reform agenda," Dr. Hampson said of Canada's role at the United Nations.



CHRIS DOTTE


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**DEAL WITH FAILED STATES:** "The battle against terrorism needs to be fought, not in terms of finding terrorists under every Middle Eastern carpet, but rather in looking at failed states," Dr. Hampson said. "We need to think 'What are those countries where we have a national interest, and where can we make a difference?' Haiti would be a case in point."

**WATCH WESTERN LEADERS:** "We now experience a new challenge, which is posed by popular leaders, who are democratically elected but show all the manifestations of new authoritarian style," Dr. Hampson said. "(Hugo) Chavez is a case in point." He noted that Washington is clearly having trouble dealing with Mr. Chavez and that Canada could play a brokering role to stabilize development in the Western hemisphere.

**ENJOY THE REUNION:** The Harper government has rejoined international trade and foreign affairs and Elliot Feldman, a partner in the Washington, DC office of law firm Baker & Hostetler LLP and director of the Canadian-American Business Council, says there's a reason for that. "Remember that Canada is an exporting country," he said, adding that Mr. MacKay's primary mission should be to keep the market open.

**LEAVE THE LEGAL BRIEFCASE:** "Foreign policy is not like managing briefs," Dr. Hampson said. "It's not just about process. It's about ideas, priorities, vision and implementation."

**REVISIT MISSILE DEFENCE:** Dr. Feldman called the decision to opt out "stupid", saying the system probably won't work anyway and Canada had more to lose than gain by saying no, a move that showed the country as "an unreliable ally."

**SEE THAT 9/11 CHANGED EVERYTHING:** Dr. Feldman said Canadians don't understand how profoundly the U.S. was, and is, affected by 9/11. Canadians need to recognize that border security is the Number 1 issue for Americans, he said.

**TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE:** The typical minister in any government has a half-life of 18 months, and that's if the government has a majority, Dr. Hampson said. Mr. MacKay will have to act fast if he wants to have any effect.

**USE YOUR CHARISMA:** Peter MacKay is "young, dynamic, intelligent, good-looking, and articulate - he's going to be noticed," Dr. Hampson said. "These are qualities you want to capitalize on." Dr. Hampson added that he should also, however, make sure he is well-briefed before he "opens his mouth."

## Global Cuisine for a cause

**S**ome 40 embassies and high commissions band together for one cause – clean water – and make the WaterCan Embassy Dinner a reality each year.

This year's dinner, which takes place at the Aberdeen Pavilion at Lansdowne Park on May 5, marks the 12th annual. In keeping with tradition, the highlight of the event is a "buffet of nations" with the diplomatic missions sharing their culture by offering a mouth-watering array of indigenous food and drink. Always a hit are the Piscou Sours from Peru, chocolates from Belgium, fragrant food from Asia and spicy goodies from Africa and South America.

This will be Yemeni Ambassador Abdulla Nasher's third Embassy Dinner. Last year, he took his wife Ilhan and his university-aged children, Maha and Abdulaziz, who worked at Yemen's table.

"The event is great because it gets everyone together for a good cause – clean water," Dr. Nasher said. "Without water, every living thing, people, animals and plants, will die."

In addition to the meal, there is a parade of nations where the embassies and high commissions parade around the loop of the pavilion with their flags. There's also a live and silent auction. Last year's auctions raised \$36,800.

The event typically raises more than \$100,000 and the money helps support small-scale clean water and sanitation projects in developing countries. Last



DYANNE WILSON

Mahar Nasher, daughter of Yemeni ambassador Abdulla Nasher, served food at Yemen's table at the WaterCan Embassy Dinner last year.

year's total of \$113,000 helped provide clean and affordable drinking water and sanitation services to some 4,600 people.

For tickets to this one-of-a-kind event in Ottawa, get in touch with WaterCan at

(613) 230-5182. Tickets are \$100 with a charitable tax receipt of \$60 per ticket. Corporate tables of 8 and 10 are available for \$1,000 and \$1,200 respectively. But act fast – last year's event sold out.



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## A balancing act

Canada's chief of protocol has a lot more than canapés on his plate. Malcolm McKechnie sat down with *Diplomat* to explain his intense job, which involves everything from knowing the proper way to present business cards, to arranging state dinners and scolding naughty diplomats.

**DIPLOMAT MAGAZINE:** You've been posted to Mexico, Paris, New York, L.A. and Washington – those are pretty nice postings...

**MALCOLM MCKECHNIE:** I did my hardship posting first. Not in the traditional sense of hardship but as vice-consul (in Mexico), you dealt with every conceivable thing that could go wrong with Canadian tourists and there's quite a gamut there. I was pretty green and I felt I had to be a psychologist, lawyer, policeman, care-giver and relative. I had everything ranging from shark deaths to murders to rapes to robbery to drug-running. I had to try to help them. It was an eye-opener to me.

**DM:** What was your best posting?

**MM:** I'm not trying to be diplomatic but they all had their highs and not too many lows. The most demanding and exhilarating from a professional point of view was probably Washington. I was press counselor and spokesman and it was at a time when there were big issues between Canada and the United States – acid rain, free trade and NAFTA. I was there between 1989 and 1993. The thing about being in Washington was that it's like a microcosm of everything that goes on here. There's a huge Canadian press corps so you're trying to answer the Canadian media on issues that are in the news every day and then you're trying to raise the Canadian profile with the American media. That's always a challenge.

**DM:** What's been your most stressful day on the job as chief of protocol?

**MM:** I guess that early day on the job when we got word that the French prime minister (Dominique de Villepin) wasn't coming. We had 300 people coming to a state dinner. Fortunately, we have a very good team and I think within a couple of hours, we had contacted most people. We had people there in case anyone showed up and two people did. We sent them to

the Westin for dinner and they had a lovely time. The gentleman was from Vancouver and the lady was from Montreal and now they're married.

**DM:** No!

**MM:** No, but wouldn't that be something? So that's the visit side but there's also balancing the distinct areas of the job. Then there's our own department. That combined with the daily servicing of the diplomatic corps, which can have its demands, takes balancing. There are two sides to the job with diplomats. We want to facilitate their understanding and knowledge of Canada as best we can and we want to take them to various parts of Canada to give them the length and breadth of the country. The other side is related to immunities, privileges and responsibilities. We have to monitor any activities that might be seen to be not in compliance with the law or regulations. We have a whole section that looks after that. Sometimes they answer questions and sometimes they have to intervene. The one we're most on guard for is drinking and driving and we take it very seriously. It's a part of protocol that's very necessary but for the most part, people are very responsible.

**DM:** Is your job secure with the change in government?

**MM:** I think so. I'm not a political appointee and traditionally the chief of protocol isn't. Thinking back, there was maybe one that I can recall. And I think we've demonstrated to the new government that we can be very helpful.

**DM:** How many nights a week do you have evening engagements?

**MM:** Sometimes there are two on the same evening. Last week, I went to the wrong one. I was supposed to be next door. So, I was there, having a drink, but didn't recognize anyone and finally I asked whether this was the diplomatic function. The person I asked said no, and then said "At least you can get a drink at this one." I was supposed to be down the hall at an Arab embassy's event. I figure I'm out four nights a week on average. My philosophy for the first while was "Go to everything" because you want to meet everyone. Certainly national days, you're expected to be there.



## Helmut Geese – 1948-2006

By Sabine Sparwasser

**W**hen Helmut Geese moved to Ottawa three years ago, he fell in love with Canada.

For 30 years, he moved around the world with the German foreign service. He had lived and worked in India, Botswana, Yemen, Ethiopia and Sierra Leone, and all over Europe. Wherever he went, he lived life to its fullest, travelling to remote areas and exploring every aspect of the local cultural and social environment.

But it was Canada where he felt most at home. He rejoiced in the wild spaces, the diversity and beauty of Canada's nature. He enjoyed living in what he saw as a safe, friendly and generous country. "Nobody should be sent to Canada on a first posting," he often said. "It would be too hard to leave."

Mr. Geese brought energy and commitment to his profession, to his enjoyment of sport and, most of all, to his love for his wife, Heike, and daughter, Ann-Christin. Their unity gave them roots in a mobile life. The ever-changing environment, jobs and new people brought challenges that made life in the foreign service interesting to Mr. Geese. As head of administration at several missions, he believed his job was to look after embassy employees. When local employees in Addis Ababa were infected with AIDS, he found a way for the embassy to buy generic medicine from India to treat them. His system is still in place.

His adventurous spirit even allowed him to enjoy – at least in retrospect – several crises that he and his family lived through. Mr. Geese told stories of kidnappings, bombings and natural disasters. The one job offer that may have tempted him away from Ottawa would have been



A Canadian fanatic: Helmut Geese was as passionate about Canada as he was about his job.


to join the crisis unit in the German foreign office.

Canada offered him a different life, one where he could enjoy all his great passions in security and peace. Always a keen sportsman, he seized every opportunity. He would be up a mountain on the first chairlift run of the day, regardless of the windchill factor. He knew all the cross-country skiing trails in Gatineau Park and played tennis for hours after work. He played nearly every public golf course around Ottawa. Together with Heike, he indefatigably explored Canada by car in his Mercedes convertible, a lifelong dream come true for a man who was crazy about cars.

When he learned he had aggressive brain cancer, Mr. Geese fought hard. For twelve months, he battled courageously, undergoing several operations and treatments. Throughout the hope and disappointment, he drew strength from his wife and daughter. He never gave in.

After all his travels, Ottawa turned out to be his last posting. In accordance with his wishes, Helmut Geese was buried here, at Beechwood Cemetery. He had asked to stay in Canada.

*Sabine Sparwasser is the charg   d'affaires at the German embassy.*



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## My clandestine, history-altering past



**FIRST NAME:** Piotr

**LAST NAME:** Ogrodzinski

**CITIZENSHIP:** Polish

**PRESENTED CREDENTIALS:**  
Nov. 3, 2004

**OTHER FOREIGN POSTINGS:**  
Washington

It's been 25 years since the independent, self-governing trade union known as Solidarity was established in Poland. On Aug. 31, 1980, the factory striking committee at the Gdansk Shipyard, and a delegation of the Polish Peoples Republic government, signed an accord that established it.

At that time, like most Poles, I had a feeling that something awesome had happened. But none of us understood this was the beginning of the end of communism – not only in Poland but also in Europe. Very quickly that so-called trade union became a safe haven for activities that weren't controlled by the communist regime. Within a few months, membership in *Solidarnosc*, as it's known in Polish, grew to 9.5 million members. This was the first massive opposition movement within the communist block.

The sixteen months of its existence represented our festival of freedom. We were intoxicated by it. We felt freedom was ours to take, that we could almost touch it. Like Faust in Goethe's famous drama, we wanted the moment to linger. Yet deep in our subconscious, we suspected that this blissful reality was only an illusion created by Mephisto. After all, a genuinely independent political body was incompatible with a communist regime. The political law of gravity required that it should be either we or they: solidarity and freedom or communism and subjugation. The imposition of marshal law in Poland became the unfortunate result of this contradiction.

Still, we didn't accept the imposed dissolution of Solidarity. For the next eight years, we kept the "sentimental lady S" (as the Solidarity bard Jacek Kaczmarski sang) alive in our minds and stubbornly continued clandestine activities. With another wave of strikes throughout

Poland in 1988, and

Mikhael Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union, the Polish communist authorities decided to seek an agreement with members of the Solidarity opposition. In early 1989, round-table talks were initiated and by June, in semi-free elections to Parliament, Solidarity members won all the seats available under the round table

I WAS BUT ONE,  
AMONG MANY, WHO WAS  
INVOLVED IN THIS MOVEMENT.  
SOLIDARITY, AFTER ALL, MEANS  
UNITY OF MANY. EVEN BEFORE  
SOLIDARITY, WE HAD A SENSE  
OF COMMON PURPOSE THAT  
STAYED WITH US UNTIL THE  
MOMENT THE MOVEMENT  
REGAINED INDEPENDENCE.

agreement and formed the first government with a non-communist prime minister. A year later, Lech Walesa, Solidarity's legendary leader, became president of Poland. Solidarity prevailed; communism collapsed.

I was but one, among many, who was involved in this movement. Solidarity, after all, means unity of many. Even before Solidarity, we had a sense of common purpose that stayed with us until the moment the movement regained independence. The communism of the '40s, '50s and '60s – when the totalitarian regime was at its peak – cast people into an abyss of hopeless alienation. But slowly, we discovered each other, and discovered that "we, the people" could make a difference.

Pope John Paul II played a major role in this will to strive for freedom. His respect for every human made Solidarity an inclusive movement.

I hope some readers visited *Roads to Freedom*, the exhibition at Old Ottawa City Hall in January and February. It showed the story of Solidarity is an optimistic one. Even with the frustration and hardship many Poles suffered during the transition to democracy and market economy, it was ultimately a success. From 1795 – when Poland lost its independence for many generations – uprising after uprising had ended in failure.

Members of my father's generation were born to a free Poland, during an inter-war period, but they had to suffer under the extremely cruel Nazi occupation. What followed was period of disillusionment caused by the subjugation of Poland under Soviet domination, after the collapse of the Third Reich. The Solidarity generation is the first to successfully secure freedom for the long term. We belong to the fortunate generation.

Solidarity belongs to all who cherish freedom. In 2004, people in Poland, Canada and all over the world observed with enthusiasm the success of democracy in Ukraine and Georgia. We hope that a day will come when Belarus, North Korea and Cuba will also celebrate freedom.

We respect Canada for its long-standing tradition of giving to people in need and striving for freedom worldwide. We will work alongside Canada in Afghanistan, Ukraine, and the Balkans. Our motto in Poland during the marshal law period was always *Nie ma wolnosci bez Solidarnosc*: There is no freedom without solidarity.

*Piotr Ogrodzinski is ambassador of Poland.*



## New Heads of Mission

**Smail Benemara**  
Ambassador of Algeria



Mr. Benemara's appointment as ambassador in Ottawa marks a return for the envoy who served as counsellor and chargé d'affaires from 1987 and 1990.

Born in 1955, Mr. Benemara completed a law degree and a master's in business law before doing a post-graduate diploma in international law in Paris. He joined the ministry of foreign affairs in

1980. Since then, he has been posted to Italy, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, and Gambia.

At the ministry of foreign affairs, he served as an adviser to the minister and as a coordination assistant for the Euro-Mediterranean Conference of Barcelona in 1995. Before being posted to Canada, he was director of the Institut of Diplomacy and International Relations in Algeria.

Mr. Benemara is married, with three children. He speaks Arabic, French and English.

**Jaime Giron Duarte**  
Ambassador of Colombia

Mr. Giron Duarte comes to his position in Canada, straight from a short posting as ambassador to Kenya.

The Bogota-born diplomat has a degree in economics from Santo Tomás University in Bogota. He did post-graduate studies in Chile and Mexico.

Prior to his posting in Kenya, Mr. Giron Duarte, 56, spent three years as deputy foreign minister, in charge of multilateral affairs in Colombia and be-



fore that, he served as ambassador to Egypt and Jordan concurrently. Other foreign postings have included the United Nations and India.

At the ministry in Colombia, he was also director-general of multilateral political, economic and social organizations and conferences; deputy-director of multilateral political affairs; and director of the European desk, to name but a few.

**Djoko Hardono**  
Ambassador of Indonesia

Mr. Hardono is a career diplomat who will make Canada his fifth posting

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abroad and his first as ambassador.

Mr. Hardono was born in Indonesia in 1949 and completed a law degree at Airlangga University in Surabaya in 1977. From there, he completed his diplomatic training course and joined the department of foreign affairs in 1978. Mr. Hardono's first posting took him to Ankara. He returned to the department for three years and then took a position as head of the consular section at Indonesia's embassy in London. His next posting abroad was to Singapore, followed by a position as deputy chief of mission in Tokyo. Before coming to Ottawa, he was chief of state protocol.

He is married to Ulfah Hanif Hardono and they have three sons.

**Gabriele Sardo**  
Ambassador of Italy



Mr. Sardo is a career diplomat with close to four decades of service under his belt.

Born in Trieste in 1944, he completed a law degree at the University of Trieste in 1966 and entered the foreign service two years later. Between assignments in Rome, he has been posted to Munich, Buenos Aires, Mexico City, Washington, and Paris. In Washington, he was first counsellor and in Paris, he served as head of Italy's permanent mission to UNESCO, with the rank of ambassador.

His assignments in Rome have included positions in sections including po-



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litical affairs, emigration and social affairs. He was also acting chief of staff for the minister of foreign affairs. Before being posted to Canada, Mr. Sardo spent four years serving as diplomatic adviser to Italy's minister of the environment.

Mr. Sardo is married to Enrica Ferrero Sardo.

## Non-Heads of mission

Albania  
**Fatbardha Kola**  
First Secretary

Argentina  
**Luis Fernando Del Solar Dorrego**  
Counsellor

Australia  
**Gordon Lyndon Anderson**  
Defence Adviser

Brazil  
**Norberto Moretti**  
Counsellor  
**Pedro Murilo Ortega Terra**  
First Secretary

Bulgaria  
**Zdravko Ivanov Petrov**  
Attaché

Cameroon  
**Richard Nyamboli Ngwa**  
Second Counsellor

Chile  
**Arturo David Undurraga Diaz**  
Defence, Military and Naval Attaché

China  
**Shuyun Shi**  
Minister-Counsellor  
**Chang Wu**  
Second Secretary

Côte d'Ivoire  
**Léopold Kohou**  
Defence Attaché

Croatia  
**Antun Mahnic**  
First Secretary

Cuba  
**Porfirio Caraballo Caceres**  
Attaché

Dominican Republic  
**Odanis Hildelise Reyes Diaz**  
Second Secretary

Guinea  
**Aïssata Sow**  
Counsellor

India  
**Rakesh Malhotra**  
Second Secretary  
**Rani Malick**  
Second Secretary  
**Ajay Kumar Sharma**  
First Secretary

Israel  
**Dan Harel**  
Defence and Armed Forces Attaché

Republic of Korea  
**Miseol Park**  
Third Secretary  
**Cheolho Kim**  
Second Secretary

Libya  
**Maatoug A.M. Embarak**  
Counsellor  
**Khaled A.A. Zekri**  
Counsellor  
**Mohamed M.A. Shneib**  
Counsellor

Mexico  
**Jose Mauricio Guerrero Gomez**  
Third Secretary  
**Enrique Lobo Niembro**  
Minister  
**Guillermo Malpica Soto**  
First Secretary

Mauritius  
**Shiu Ching Young Kim Fat**  
Chargé d'Affaires

Mongolia  
**Khaliun Dalantai**  
First Secretary and Consul

Morocco  
**Ghofran Salah**  
First Secretary

Romania  
**Mugurel Ioan Stanescu**  
First Secretary  
**George Sorin Zaharia**  
First Secretary  
**Aurelian Cretu**  
Minister-Counsellor

Saudi Arabia  
**Ahmed Mitwalli A. Hassan**  
Attaché  
**Ghazy A. Makky Almakky**  
Counsellor  
**Abdulaziz Suliman Al Faadhel**  
Attaché

Sudan  
**Asim Mohamed Ali**  
**Mukhtar Ibrahim**  
Counsellor  
**Mawada Omer**  
**Hageltoam Elbadawi**  
Second Secretary

Sweden  
**Björn Fredrik Alfer**  
Second Secretary

Togo  
**Fatoumata Tignokpa**  
**N'dombe Kpetemey**  
Attaché

Turkey  
**Yusuf Erturk**  
Attaché

Uganda  
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**Yaroslav Brisiuck**  
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Failed states, collapsing ecologies and elusive terrorists will all challenge Canada's defence policymakers in the coming years, writes **Daniel Drolet**

# THE DEFENCE DILEMMA

*"All the manliness in the civilized world is due to wars or to the need of being prepared for wars. All the highest qualities of mankind have been developed by wars or the dangers of wars. All the enterprise of the world has grown out of the aggressive, adventurous and warlike spirit engendered by centuries of wars."*

— William Van Horne, builder of the Canadian Pacific Railway, 1912

**F**or as long as anyone can remember, humans have worried about defending themselves against possible attack. From the walled cities of Mesopotamia to the Bomarc missiles of the Cold War, we have always feared potential enemies and devoted time, effort and resources to ensuring our defence.

But how we prepare depends a great deal on the kinds of threats we face. Fending off invasion from a neighbouring country with a conventional army is starkly different from fighting suicide bombers, indistinguishable from ordinary

people, who emerge from the urban landscape with murder in their hearts. This is one of the latest of the emerging threats and changing circumstances defence experts must grapple with.

With that in mind, *Diplomat* asked four experts for their thoughts on what Canada's defence priorities should be in a rapidly changing world. Should Canada worry about China? Global warming and its potential to open the Arctic to shipping? Iran as a nuclear threat?

The experts have different perspectives. But all agree that Canada needs to put more effort – and money – into defending itself in a world where distance no longer matters.

**Marc Milner**, military historian and acting director of the Centre for Conflict Studies at the University of New Brunswick

Dr. Milner says the big defence concerns of the coming decades will come from both conventional sources – the growth of China and India, the potential decline of the United States – and from new sources such as failed states and collapsing ecologies.

China, a rising economic power, appears poised to play a correspondingly bigger role in international affairs.

"The scuttlebutt on China is disturbing," said Dr. Milner, adding that there are two views on where China wants to go: One is that China will be happy to be-





**Tracking terrorists:** Rooting out terror cells, as Canadians are attempting here on the streets of Kabul, is part of the new defence policy picture.

come a major regional power in east Asia; the other is that it will push to become a global player.

Either way, Dr. Milner thinks the days of U.S. dominance are waning.

"We're probably moving toward a multi-polar world," he said. "The U.S. can't sustain its current hegemony. There's a pattern for great powers, and one of them is strategic overreach. There's no guarantee that the Americans will stay on top of the heap for the next 25 years."

He said Canada needs to be concerned with failing states and collapsing ecologies in what seem to Canadians to be the far corners of the globe, but which aren't that far away anymore.

"It used to be that what happened in central Asia didn't matter to us. That's

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THE NEXT 25 YEARS."**

not the case now," he said.

Dr. Milner said failed states – even those remote from Canada – have a direct impact on us by either creating refugees who seek our aid, or by spawning terror.

"The world is more inter-connected, and it's smaller than before. If you had asked 10 or 12 years ago whether we would get involved in central Asia, I'd have said no. But now that's not the case.

It's in Canada's interest to make failed states work." For example, he said failed states in central Asia at the very least create refugees; at worst, these failed states become havens for terrorists.

Of course Canada also needs to be able to defend itself, he said.

"We need the ability to patrol and police. How do you police the North Atlantic fishery? How do you keep longliners and Japanese shrimp boats from sucking up every bit of protein that's in the ocean?"

"The problem I find with Canadians is that we are naive and trusting with our own sovereignty. I don't think we understand that the ability to demonstrate effective control is bundled up with sovereignty. You need the ability to deploy your people to demonstrate the sovereignty of the state."

**Paul Heinbecker**, director of the Centre for Global Relations, Governance and Policy at Wilfrid Laurier University and senior research fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation

Mr. Heinbecker, like Dr. Milner, said he worries about failed states and Canada's ability to defend itself and deploy military personnel. But he is more of an optimist about the future.

"The easiest thing to do is pick on China," said Mr. Heinbecker. He adds that some people who consider future defence strategies seem intent on making China into an enemy, "whether China wants to be or not."

He suggests that Canada should be thinking of its capabilities, and not of its potential enemies. And its capabilities need beefing up.

"It doesn't look like we're going to need huge ground armies, but it does look like we're going to need things like JTF2 – people who are capable of specific operations," he said.

"When you add up the failing states and the endless demand for soldiers, from Asia to the Middle East to Africa, it means highly capable forces that can be deployed – ground forces and the sea capacity to deploy them.

"It doesn't mean inter-operability with the U.S., which risks getting us into trouble. We shouldn't be acting as mercenaries on behalf of the U.S.," he said, adding that we need to frame and plan our operations internationally.

Mr. Heinbecker says global warming could be a significant issue 20 years from now "and I'm not sure we've planned

## DEFENCE DOLLARS

### Military expenditures as a percentage of GDP for 2003

Philippines	0.9
Canada	1.2
Venezuela	1.3
Germany	1.4
Chad	1.5
South Africa	1.6
Australia	1.9
Poland	2.0
China	[2.3]*
Cambodia	2.5
UK	2.8
U.S.	[3.8]*
Greece	4.1
Morocco	4.
India	4.3
Djibouti	4.3
Jordan	8.9
Israel	9.1

**\*Note:** Stockholm International Peace Research Institute notes that bracketed numbers are expert analysis estimates because exact data was not available, or not reliable, from those countries.

Source: FIRST database, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

hard for that." He said that if global warming opens up the Arctic to navigation, Canada has to have the capability of patrolling it.

And "if terrorism is still an issue, we're going to have to spend money to make our coasts secure and to integrate coastal and air defence much better than we have."

Internationally, he said Canada has a role to play: "There seems to be an endless need for nation-building and peace-keeping, and we're not doing nearly enough of that now."

Mr. Heinbecker said that overall, he is an optimist, citing the recently published Human Security Report 2005, which says the number of people killed in conflict is declining: "The trend line is in the right direction."

**David Carment**, associate professor of international affairs at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs

Dr. Carment insists the most pressing concern is the breakdown of state struc-



tures and authority. In some parts of the world – Africa, for example – borders don't matter much anymore and they may matter even less in future. Meanwhile, in many places, government authority has broken down. This, he said, leads to the emergence of transnational criminal networks that affect all parts of the globe.

"Once you have a breakdown of state authority, alternative organizations will try to take advantage of that," he said. "We've seen it in the Balkans, in Kosovo where organized crime is really filling in some of the gaps."

(The Human Security Report 2005 states that "in most states, most of the time, far more people are killed or injured by criminal violence than by warfare. And while less than one sixth of states are currently afflicted by armed conflict, all suffer from criminal violence.")

"Conflicts over resources – that may never go away," he said. "You can only imagine that with resources being a finite commodity, they will continue to be a source of many armed conflicts."

He said this is a particular concern with failed states with few choice resources such as gold: "A country that's fairly weak and commodity-based is up for grabs." That could be from neighbouring states, or from any group that can profit from the resources. And the situation is worse in countries hard-hit by AIDS: "AIDS can debilitate a society and its military capability – hollow it out so it's not capable of defending itself."

Dr. Carment says big wars may be fewer, but the number of small-scale insurgencies where there's limited loss of life isn't dropping.

"One area we need to be concerned about is Oceania," he said, adding that countries such as Papua New Guinea could collapse.

Dr. Carment doesn't share Mr. Heinbecker's optimism. He said even if the Human Security Report 2005 shows that the number of people killed in war is down, that's only because people caught in conflict are more likely than before to try to move out of harm's way and become refugees.

"The people who would normally be killed in these conflicts are running away from them – and where they go destabilizes neighbouring states," he said. "One million people moved from Rwanda into the Congo, and that contributed to its collapse."

**Douglas Goold**, journalist, author and president and CEO of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs

Dr. Goold says that while the biggest global threat appears to be nuclear arms in Iran and North Korea, "there's clearly been a move away from traditional warfare, both with the end of the Cold War and the idea of large armies facing each other in Western Europe. What we have now, because of fragile and failed states and guerrilla warfare and a willingness of terrorists to work in urban areas, is warfare that's more dispersed and harder to fight."

"The whole idea of warfare is becoming far more problematic," he said, explaining that war is no longer about one government fighting another. For example, he said, it's unclear just who the Americans are fighting in Iraq.

That, he said, means Canada must rethink its approach and spend more defence.

"Canada spends less on defence as a percentage of the GDP than any other country in the OECD, and the chickens are coming home to roost. The Americans are right in saying that we basically get a free ride from them under the umbrella of American military power and it's not unreasonable to get us to carry our weight."

Dr. Goold said Canada needs the ability to deploy its forces rapidly "without borrowing jetliners from the Russians."

"I think we will move toward a more unified defence of North America. I think NORAD will be expanded beyond aerospace to defence of the seas."

Dr. Goold also sees the possibility of joint border control and warns it may lead to weakened Canadian sovereignty.

"We have very different immigration policies, and as soon as you have joint control of the border, you run the risk of ceding control of your immigration policies to someone else."

Dr. Goold also says that increasingly, immigrant groups who agitate in Canada determine where the country focuses its attention. For example, Haitian exiles living in Canada focus the government's attention on Haiti.

Still, he says, in the long run defence needs remain difficult to predict: "The CIA told us for decades about the power of the USSR, and the USSR failed like a house of cards. And we were told by the Americans about the weapons of mass destruction of the Iraqis."

*Daniel Drolet is Diplomat's contributing editor.*



#### IS PEACEKEEPING A PRIORITY? MAYBE NOT.

Canadians are often eager to tout Lester B. Pearson's creation of peacekeeping, but many critics have lamented Canada's decline from peacekeeping missions in the past few decades. According to Foreign Affairs Canada, the country has contributed nearly 20,000 troops to UN peacekeeping missions since 1947, over a quarter of which were sent since 1996. Though Canadians are currently serving in 17 different UN missions around the world, Canada has hovered around 35th place in troop contribution rankings to the UN over the past five years. But depending on how "peacekeeping operations" are defined, Canada may simply be using different multilateral channels to contribute far more troops per capita than it used to. The UN, after all, is not the only multilateral organization that deploys missions under the banner of peacekeeping. Canada has contributed approximately 5,500 troops to operations under NATO and other multinational coalitions between 1996 and 2006. But a more telling sign of Canada's shifting military priorities is the fact that more than 14,000 Canadian sailors, soldiers, and air force personnel have been deployed to the U.S.-led International Campaign Against Terror since 2001 alone. Within five years, Canada contributed more troops to the "war on terror" than it has sent to the UN since 1981. Apparently, Canada's fight against terrorism has pushed UN peacekeeping missions even further down the priority list. Is this an indication of further shifts to come? With an ever-increasing focus on national security concerns, it seems plausible that the ongoing war on terror will continue to take priority over other UN missions, making it unlikely that Canada will reclaim its UN peacekeeping title any time soon. Perhaps the more pertinent question is: Does it even want to?

– Rachel Schmidt

# Defence is our focus

Protecting the North and continuing the dangerous mission in Afghanistan remain commitments of the Conservative government, writes Canada's new defence minister.

By Gordon O'Connor

**D**uring the electoral campaign, the Conservative Party talked about standing up for Canada. This is exactly what our approach to defence is focused on. We will put Canada first by strengthening our national sovereignty and by increasing Canada's self-reliance in matters of defence.

This government's vision for defence is about having a three-ocean navy, a robust army, and a revitalized air force, all of which would operate as part of an integrated and effective Canadian forces team anywhere in the world.

Realizing this vision will require a significant amount of work. We must streamline the procurement process, we must reinvest in our infrastructure and equipment, but first and foremost, we must recruit and train new personnel.

This government has stated that it wants to increase regular force personnel by 13,000 and reserve force personnel by 10,000 over a five-year period, the end result being a regular force of 75,000.

Over the coming years, the Canadian Forces will need to replace the many baby boomers who will retire soon. They will need to address the shortages in critical trades and occupations.

There will be many opportunities for promising careers in the military and we'll ensure that Canadians look at their Canadian Forces as an employer of choice.

To meet this requirement, we will expand the existing recruitment and training system, and look at alternate ways to increase personnel levels, such as temporarily tasking selected operational units to act as trainers.

To ensure these new recruits are as well-equipped as they are trained, we will need to revisit our procurement process. Our armed forces can no longer afford to take years and years to obtain major pieces of equipment.

The end state of this review is an acquisition process that is fair, that is transparent, and most of all, that gives the Canadian Forces the equipment they need when they need it.

Our government also intends to create



CHRIS DODD

**IT'S OUR INTENTION TO  
DEVOTE MORE PEOPLE,  
MORE EQUIPMENT AND MORE  
MONEY TO THE DEFENCE OF  
OUR GREAT NORTHERN AREAS.**

new capabilities for the armed forces, as well as expand and transform existing ones. This will give the Canadian Forces greater strength at home and greater impact abroad. We will increase our military's deployability. We will improve our national surveillance capabilities. We will acquire new equipment and upgrade existing platforms.

International law and diplomacy are important instruments in the protection of our sovereignty. However, our claims must also be backed by strong military capabilities, including having the capacity for both surveillance and presence over every part of Canada's Arctic territory.

This is why the government has developed an ambitious plan to bolster Canada's military capabilities in the Arctic. It's our intention to devote more people, more equipment and more money to the defence of our great northern areas.

But the defence of Canada sometimes starts abroad. Our commitment to Afghanistan is a great example of this. Since its original participation in Operation Enduring Freedom in 2001, Canada's overarching goal in Afghanistan has been to prevent it from relapsing into the failed state that gave terrorists and terrorist organizations a safe haven for so many years. This mission is ongoing and evolving to meet the current security threats of southern Afghanistan.

Together with troops from other countries, the Canadian forces are making a real impact in Afghanistan. All over the country, buildings are being rebuilt. Refugees are returning home. Marketplaces are bustling. And little girls once again attend schools. But challenges remain. Extremism is still a strong force and the drug trade remains a currency for many.

This means that our work is not done. We will continue to support Afghanistan by increasing our commitment to the UN-mandated operations in that country and by playing a leadership role in the southern region of Kandahar.

Long-term success in Afghanistan requires a long-term commitment from Canada, NATO and the United Nations. We will stay the course in that country. It's important for the future of Afghanistan. It's important for the stability of the region. And it's important for international security.

We believe in these goals, we believe in the good work being done in Afghanistan, we believe in the men and women of the Canadian Forces and we are committed to creating the best possible conditions for the implementation of this vision.

*Gordon O'Connor is minister of defence and a former brigadier-general.*



# Time to Return to Pearsonian Values

Canada should use the 50th anniversary of peacekeeping to rejuvenate its contributions and UN commitments, argues **Kathryn White**

**T**he year 2006 marks the 50th anniversary of international peacekeeping. Why doesn't every Canadian know this fact and how does the Canadian government, and its new prime minister, envision the contributions this country can now make in this important arena? As a nation of immigrants who, generation after generation had to and have to resolve differences of ideas or cultural perspectives, Canadians are inherent peacekeepers. It is at the core of our nature and reflected in our Charter, with its call for "peace, order and good government". This anniversary is an important opportunity to celebrate Canada's role in peacekeeping – it is also an opportunity to contribute to the new dynamics of peacebuilding.

The ideal and idea of an international peacekeeping force, operating under the blue UN flag, was proposed by the then-Canadian secretary of state for external affairs, Lester B. Pearson. Later Canada's prime minister, Mr. Pearson's innovative proposal in response to the immediate conflict in the Suez Canal won international acclaim and led to the first deployment of "blue berets", under another Canadian, General E.L.M. Burns. Despite the subsequent evolution of peacekeeping to peacebuilding and peacemaking, Canadians have consistently and strongly self-identified as "peacekeepers to the world".

In fact, Canada is no longer a leader in terms of commitment of troops and resources to UN peacekeeping. As of this February, Canada is the 32nd highest contributor (although this does not include its significant troop commitments in Afghanistan, under a NATO mandate). In UN operations, Canada is tied in terms of numbers with the United States and is dramatically below such nations as Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Brazil, and the Philippines. The top contributing nation is Bangladesh, with more than 10,000 troops.

UN Secretary General Kofi Annan has recently approached the White House to request the deployment of new troops from developed countries to Darfur. He has said "It is no longer enough that

wealthy countries send money, while troop deployment is (only provided) by developing countries."

Indeed Darfur is a perfect example of the current model. The African Union (AU) has deployed 7,000 largely ill-equipped and under-funded troops. Meanwhile the world has watched as hundreds of thousands have been slaughtered. The echoes of "never again" fade into an apathetic silence.

The secretary general has also called on nations like Canada to step forward and offer military support in response to a surging violence in Haiti.

It is true and commendable that, while Canada's representation among military

**PEACEKEEPING IS NOT FOR THE  
FAINT OF HEART. MODERN  
PEACEKEEPING PUTS SOLDIERS  
AND FIELD WORKERS IN HARM'S  
WAY. CANADIANS HAVE DIED  
AND WILL DIE IN SERVICE.**

units may be low, Canada has contributed significantly to strategic peace-support efforts, including rebuilding and re-structuring judicial systems with assistance of members of the RCMP, corrections officers and judges or managing and overseeing free and fair elections and developing new models of governance in countries emerging from turbulence.

Peacekeeping is not for the faint of heart. Modern peacekeeping puts soldiers and field workers in harm's way. Canadians have died and will die in service. Canadians have also generally indicated that they support moves to enhance and expand the use of their widely respected and highly trained military, recognized by the maple leaf patch as a symbol of fairness and impartiality wherever it goes.

As the country with the best economic

record among G-8 nations, a nation that enjoys the democratic freedoms Canadians generally take for granted, it is surely incumbent upon Canada, and in its own interests, to contribute to the efforts to enhance global security. It is also time to contribute to the strategic development of new knowledge and models of peacebuilding.

New knowledge, based on Canadian academic and community-based research, should be supported and should include an international context. National Defence's modest Security and Defence Fund, that encourages young and mature scholars across the country, is a winning and innovative model which should be used to create an additional focus on peacekeeping and peacebuilding and to stretch Canada's intellectual contributions.

It is also time for Canada to make a robust commitment to the UN's fledgling Peace Building Commission (PBC). This new contribution to the UN's successful record of peace enhancement is a 31-member commission created last December. The commission has unfortunately already been hampered by budgetary concerns. If Canada and Canadians are to continue to "have the UN in their DNA" as Chris Alexander, Canada's first ambassador to a post-Taliban Afghanistan and the newly appointed senior representative to the secretary general has said, then Canada must step-up and commit to this new initiative. The PBC will benefit from both a significant financial contribution from the Canadian government and from its facilitation and support of the development of its strategy. Canada can offer the kind of forceful intellectual presence that Mr. Pearson demonstrated in seizing a chance for peace some 50 years ago. A Canadian brought peacekeeping to the world. Let Canada continue to carry this torch in a world still beset by tragedy in places like Darfur, Afghanistan, Haiti and the Congo. The challenges can be met if Canada has sufficient resolve.

*Kathryn White is the executive director of the United Nations Association in Canada.*



# Northwest Impasse

Before Canada starts building defence capabilities in the Arctic, it must stop the U.S. from sailing its waters with impunity, argues **Gerard Kenney**.

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

**S**tephen Harper's victory in the federal election has provided an opening for policy makers concerned about protecting our sovereignty in the Canadian Arctic. That protection is usually taken to mean beefed-up defence capability. This is an important aspect of it, but there is another crucial element that has nothing to do with improved defence muscle: The United States completely ignores Canadian claims of sovereignty in its Arctic waters, especially in the Northwest Passage. Settling this second element is a prerequisite for defence to be effective.

In 1982, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS)

came into effect when Fiji became the first country to ratify it. Since that time, close to 150 of the approximately 190 countries of the world have followed, including the European Community, the UK, Russia, Japan, China, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Canada. The United States has not. Canada has done everything required by UNCLOS to establish and proclaim sovereignty over her waters north of the Canadian mainland, including those of the Arctic Archipelago.

The United States, because it has not ratified UNCLOS, does not recognize Canada's sovereignty claims on the basis of the convention. U.S. ships cruise on or below the surface of Canada's Arctic wa-

ters with impunity, without asking leave of anyone.

Until this issue is resolved, no amount of military defence hardware, software or personnel will allow Canada to protect its sovereignty against American incursions. The issue is a political one and will have to be solved through international law and diplomacy. Perhaps pressure exerted by the 150 countries of the world that have already ratified the convention can influence the United States to get on board. Contrary to U.S. Ambassador David Wilkins' recent statement that most other countries don't recognize Canada's claim of sovereignty in Northwest Passage waters, 150 countries have ratified



UNCLOS, whose rules Canada followed in establishing her claim. There is little to be gained in developing a military presence to protect Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic if the United States continues violating it. To think Canada could ever face down U.S. military might in the Passage would be the equivalent of dreaming in technicolour.

Canada, of course, cannot wait on law and diplomacy before developing its capability to effectively manage an endless flow of ships sailing through its Arctic waters, though the issue has been ignored by successive Canadian governments for many years and the task is now Herculean. In 1985, Joe Clark, then secretary of state for external affairs, told Parliament that the government would start "construction of a Polar Class 8 icebreaker and urgent consideration of other means of exercising more effective control over our Arctic waters."

That is as far as the good intentions went. The icebreaker was never built. The "effective control" never came.

It was heartening to read pre-election news reports that claimed that if elected, the Conservative Party promised to develop a defence capacity in the Arctic. Now that the Conservatives have been elected, this new government must immediately start thinking seriously about the Canadian Arctic.

#### Attacking the issue

Several federal government departments would be involved in developing a Northwest Passage open to commercial maritime traffic – something which appears to be close to reality. Officials from across the federal government's departments (Environment, Finance, Fisheries, Foreign Affairs, International Trade, Industry, Justice, Defence, Natural Resources, Transport and Indian and Northern Affairs, specifically) should all have a hand in it.

A Canadian Northwest Passage commission (or a similar body) must be formed to ensure Canada can cope effectively, and soon, with the opening of the Northwest Passage to international and domestic ships. Officials from Foreign Affairs Canada, International Trade Canada, and Transport Canada, should chair the commission jointly. It should create a plan for the development of the Canadian Northwest Passage to suit the country's economic, environmental, social and defence needs.

Such a commission should also iden-



Preparing to patrol: Navy members take part in Exercise Narwhal, a mission designed to conduct sovereignty operations in the remote North.

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tify all the issues involved. Here's a checklist of some priorities:

- Create a history of the exercise of sovereignty in the Arctic (pre-1880 by the British and post-1880 by Canadians) to prepare for an appearance before the International Court of Justice.
- Develop an ironclad legal case for Canadian Arctic sovereignty for presentation to the International Court of Justice at

the appropriate time, if and when required. Canada does have a very good case based on UNCLOS.

- Develop a timeline for the beginning of commercial maritime traffic in the Northwest Passage and its growth afterwards.
- Develop a plan for surveillance, monitoring, control of, and assistance to, the predicted traffic over a reasonable period of years.

To make that last point happen, Canada's military would have to buy a fleet of aircraft, and particularly helicopters, to do the job. The Coast Guard will need powerful icebreakers.

After the hardware, Canada needs to think about the services it will be called upon to provide ships for their safe and efficient operation through the Northwest Passage. This would mean converting the existing voluntary "vessel traffic reporting system" for Arctic Canada (commonly known as NORDREG), which operates only part of the year, to a year-round, compulsory system for transiting ships to obtain permission to enter Arctic waters. Such a reporting system should work hand-in-hand with a system for the detection and monitoring of surface and undersea vessels entering Canadian Arctic waters.

Further, anyone managing sea traffic in the far North should have access to a scrupulously up-to-date electronic file of disaster scenarios and the action required to respond to them should they occur.

Last but definitely not least, Canada must think about money. The government must draw up a schedule of potential yearly revenue from user fees for a Northwest Passage open to ships; negotiate with interested parties to share the costs; and draft a budget for it all, spread over a number of years.

Inaction at this time could provoke a catastrophe of monumental proportions for which future generations of Canadians could rightly reproach the present generation. Canada risks being split into two separate parts, Canada North and Canada South, divided by a body of international water whose maritime traffic Canada could not fully control and whose environment it could not protect.

This must not be allowed to happen. The Arctic deserves bold action – now.

*Gerard Kenney's third book on the Arctic to be published in May 2006 is **Dangerous Passage: Issues in the Arctic**.*

# Canada's new defence

For years, Canada has employed the “best defence is a good offence” theory in keeping its citizens safe. With the melting polar ice cap, and the potential for terrorist cells already on Canadian soil, that direction must change, writes **Elinor Sloan**

To the surprise of many, defence issues figured prominently in the recent federal election. Indeed, in the closing weeks of the campaign, questions over the role of the Canadian Forces in guaranteeing Canadian security dominated the political debate and may have played a part in the final election outcome. In light of this, it makes sense to examine what should be Canada's future approach to security and defence.

Historically, Canada has looked primarily overseas to guarantee its security. The premise has been that “the best defence is a good offence,” that Canada's security depends on confronting threats as far away from its borders as it can. This approach reflected the nature of the threat at the time. During the Cold War, the biggest direct threat to Canada was from intercontinental ballistic missiles, against which there was little Canadians could do defensively, so by default they looked abroad to address threats to Canada. After the Cold War ended, the predominance of intrastate conflict around the world supported a continued emphasis on looking overseas.

This emphasis on looking abroad was also the result of a lingering “fireproof house” mentality. Although the advent of intercontinental flight and missiles had begun to shrink Canada's geographical advantage, Canadians still enjoyed a certain degree of safety by virtue of being separated from the rest of the world by large oceans to the east and west and, notably, a frozen and impassable ocean to the north.

To a certain extent the “best defence is a good offence” viewpoint is still valid. Canada's security depends in part on ensuring that failed and failing states do not become a haven in which terrorists can take refuge, arm themselves, and from which they can strike Canada or its allies. The imperative is stabilization and reconstruction missions, and sometimes combat operations to root out terrorists. These new missions are dangerous and often bear little or no resemblance to the traditional peacekeeping missions of the Cold

War period, which were based on the principles of consent, impartiality, and the use of force only in self-defence.

But there are several reasons why Canada needs to rebalance this approach.

First, today's threats are such that Canada is no longer compelled by default to look abroad to protect itself. There was no defence against intercontinental ballistic missiles, but there are now technologies to detect a series of threats. Experts can now detect biological weapons in a

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major city, scan shipping containers for weapons of mass destruction, and identify high-risk airline travellers, to give only a few examples. Such developments hold the potential to shift the enormous task of monitoring goods and people entering Canada into the realm of the “just possible.” Second, while it is attractive to try and target terrorists abroad to forestall attacks at home, these small, scattered cells of individuals are not vulnerable to military attack. And the attacks in Madrid and London demonstrate that failed states are not the only places where terrorists live.

A third and related point is that threats to Canada may already be within Canada, which eliminates the “offensive” option. Government officials have stressed that there is a real threat of a terrorist incident on Canadian soil, perhaps using weapons of mass destruction.

This final point harks back to the disappearing fireproof house. The vast oceans can't shield Canada from a threat that could already exist within its borders. It is also likely that changes in the frozen and impassable Canadian North will bring to an end this geographic isolation. Climate change and the melting polar ice-cap are likely to lead to a growing number of challenges to Canadian sovereignty.

Already, experts predict the Northwest Passage could be open to commercial traffic within less than a decade. Evidence also suggests that U.S. (and perhaps other) submarines travel through Canadian-claimed waters without notification, much less permission. Moreover, Canada's concerns in the North could go beyond sovereignty and showing a Canadian presence to actual security concerns. There are competing claims to oil and gas reserves on the ocean floor, and there could be a terrorist or organized criminal threat to the expanding diamond trade in the Northwest Territories.

For all these reasons, Canada needs to place more emphasis on security and defence at home versus abroad. This new approach should include, among other things, vessels to patrol Canada's coastal waters, unmanned aircraft and satellites to monitor the country's air and sea approaches, forces to respond to the terrorist use of a weapon of mass destruction on Canadian soil, and ships that can sail through and enforce our sovereignty in the Arctic. Canada's future security and sovereignty demands it.

*Elinor Sloan is an assistant professor of international relations at Carleton University, and is a former defence analyst with National Defence. Her latest book is called *Security and Defence in the Terrorist Era*.*



# The Changing Face of the Foreign Service

Bureaucrats at Foreign Affairs have been quietly retooling the foreign service to be more reflective of the country's diversity, **George Abraham** writes

**N**icoló Machiavelli cautioned us in the 16th century not to confuse wishes with reality, but that has not stopped Canada from trying to maximize its influence. In an ideal world, Canada might be the honest broker of choice given its strengths – among them its proximity to the sole superpower and its early enthusiasm for peacekeeping missions far from home – but on a crowded stage with more than 190 nation-states, clarion calls from Ottawa are lost among louder voices. The task is no easier with a southerly Gulliver who sees other nations as Lilliputians getting in the way.

In this bleak reality, last April's International Policy Statement by Foreign Affairs contained an idea whose time may have come. Canada's true strength may well lie in its multicultural identity. The last Ethnic Diversity Survey conducted in 2002 reported that "immigrants and their children are adding to the ethno-cultural make-up of Canada's population, making it one of the most ethnically diverse nations in the world." According to the same survey, developed by Statistics Canada and the Department of Canadian Heritage, only 46 per cent reported their origins to be British, French or "Canadian," while the rest traced their roots to other nations.

If Canada could exploit this identity, it could get into the good books of China, India and Brazil. A large percentage of Canada's immigrants come from two of those nations—China and India—that will inevitably be great powers in the near future.

While the policy statement recognizes the value of ethnic diversity in diplomacy and recommends ways to better utilize the skills of immigrants in the general economy, it does not take the notion of a cultural smorgasbord to the next logical step—a multi-ethnic foreign service. Fortunately, bureaucrats at Foreign Affairs do not take their cues only from the



grand exercises that are conducted within government every decade or so, but have in fact been quietly retooling the foreign service to be more reflective of the Canadian identity. Gisèle Samson-Verreault, the department's assistant deputy minister responsible for human resources, says "the face of the department has changed significantly" over the last few years. To wit, 18 per cent of the department's new recruits in 2003 identified themselves as visible minorities (defined in government parlance as being non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour).

Further, Ms. Samson-Verreault says, 9.4 per cent of applications to the foreign service in 2003 came from visible-minor-

ity applicants, while another 2.3 per cent were Aboriginal. "It would be weird," she stressed, "if all our diplomats looked white, anglophone and male." The rest of the federal public service is not as representative. According to Sharon Bowles, manager (parliamentary affairs) in the communications branch of the Public Service Human Resources Management Agency, 10.8 per cent of the 1,187 foreign service officers were from visible minority groups in 2003-2004, while only 7.8 per cent of the 165,976 public servants in that year came from this designated group. (Census 2001 reported that 12.4 per cent of the private industry workforce were visible minorities.)

**MINORITIES IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE:** Women, Aboriginals and people with disabilities are all over-represented in Canada's public service while visible minorities fall short.

	Workforce Availability	Representation March 31, 2004	Representation Gap
Women	52.2%	53.1%	+0.9%
Aboriginal peoples	2.5%	4.1%	+1.6%
Persons with disabilities	3.6%	5.7%	+2.1%
Members of visible minorities	10.4%	7.8%	-2.6%

Source: Public Service Commission of Canada

Speaking to this trend, are two officers – one working in Beijing, the other in Ottawa. Jennie Chen, who joined the service in 2003 and is of Chinese descent, was posted to Beijing last summer, while Arif Lalani, a Uganda-born diplomat of Indian heritage, is director of the South Asia division.

It has not always been this way. In 1991, when Mr. Lalani joined the department, it was still a white bastion. Even today, he remains one of only two Asian-Canadians at the director level, but he agrees that may have more to do with fewer candidates from ethnic backgrounds previously taking an interest in diplomatic careers.

To some, his current posting may seem odd given his cultural roots in the Indian subcontinent, but that does not bother him. "I was born in Africa, and have Indian cultural underpinnings, but I was raised, and educated in Canada and am a product of the Canadian experience." It was only in 2003, as director in the South Asia division, that Mr. Lalani first set foot in India, although "I speak an Indian language, Gujarati, with my mother at home, and eat Indian food."

Mr. Lalani sees his multicultural background as an asset that allies naturally with modern diplomacy. He finds it easier to break the ice with both Indians and Pakistanis, although his looks have caused some consternation on occasion. He vividly remembers the time in the 1990s when he was a second secretary at the Canadian embassy in Turkey and ran into a group of Canadian tourists in a hotel lobby. "It took me half an hour to convince one set of curious and well-intentioned Canadian tourists that I wasn't a locally appointed Turkish employee and actually a Canadian with diplomatic status, representing them in Turkey."

Earlier in his career, he watched with some glee as European diplomats in Copenhagen tracked him with their eyeballs. He was on a six-month assignment to the Danish capital during Denmark's European Union presidency. "I often got

a second look. I stuck out. They seemed to be wondering which country I represented," Mr. Lalani recalls.

Ms. Chen says her joining the ranks in 2003 is part of an "intellectual evolution" in Canada's approach to international affairs. "The demographics of Canada are changing and so must our representation abroad, and perhaps most importantly, so must our policy deliberations." She confessed that she was initially reluctant to go to Beijing – "simply to avoid the fuss" – but has since reconciled to the posting.

The career paths of Ms. Chen and Mr. Lalani will be of some comfort to Ontario's Lieutenant Governor James Bartleman, who has written extensively about his time in the foreign service and made a pointed reference to its lack of diversity. He feels that Canada has come some way towards addressing this shortcoming. Asked whether ethnic officers bring skills different from their white peers, Mr. Bartleman said, "They can reflect Canada's new multicultural reality internationally ... they can be bridges to countries where they have roots and facilitate Canadian interests."

Not everybody is impressed, however. Senator Don Oliver, a long-time critic of inequity in federal government employment, said that while the foreign service has diversified its ethnic mix in recent years, it still remains less-than-reflective of Canadian demographics.

The department also appears to be doing more to draw out minority communities. According to the assistant deputy minister, the number of minority-group candidates has been rising partly due to the "outreach" program launched by the department through community and ethnic news media. For the 40 to 60 recruits every year, the department receives between 4,000 and 5,000 applications, Ms. Samson-Verreault said, and of those, about 400 identify themselves as belonging to a visible minority group.

*George Abraham, a Neiman scholar, is a contributing editor to Diplomat.*

## TALKING HERITAGE

*Diplomat* interviewed three foreign service workers, who are visible minorities, about their jobs

**NAME:** Oussamah Tamim

**TITLE:** Trade commissioner

**POSTED TO:** Warsaw

**JOINED THE FOREIGN SERVICE:** 2000

### What motivated you to join the diplomatic service?

Being multicultural due to birth in Morocco, schooling in the French Lycée system, and living in Canada since the age of 17 as a landed immigrant first and later a citizen, having studied political science and law, I considered myself particularly suited to a career where exposure to different cultures and lifestyles is the norm. I realized that the foreign service offered a unique opportunity to satisfy my personal interests of learning more about other cultures, of travelling the world, and of following international affairs. At the same time, it provided me with an opportunity to give back to my adoptive country.



### In the context of your cultural background, what special strengths do you think you bring to the job? Is there an anecdote that speaks to this strength?

As one can expect, language capabilities and the ability to relatively easily acquire new ones come first to mind. Prior to joining the foreign service, I was already fully bilingual in



terms of official languages, in addition to (knowing) Arabic, Spanish and a few words of German. But language is only the tip of the cultural iceberg. I believe being truly aware of how different two cultures can be in terms of social norms, behaviours or business practices, and how easily miscommunication can occur, is a significant asset to any person involved in cross-cultural activities.

I recently had to explain to a Canadian visitor to my current posting of Poland that his referring to Poles as Eastern Europeans would not go over well in a presentation he was supposed to be making. Indeed, notwithstanding the Western historical concept of the "Eastern Block" founded through the Warsaw Pact, Poles have never ceased to consider themselves as Central Europeans, as opposed to Ukrainians or Russians.

**Would you be comfortable dealing with the land/region of your cultural roots? Why?**

[A]s much as I would love to, I would not be comfortable dealing with my country of origin because I could find myself in a position of perceived conflict of interest due to my dual citizenship. However, my cultural roots could be an asset in dealing with other countries in North Africa, or even in the Middle-East.

**NAME:** Sanjeev Chowdhury  
**TITLE:** Consul general  
**POSTED TO:** Ho Chi Minh  
**JOINED THE FOREIGN SERVICE:** 1995

**What motivated you to join the diplomatic service?**

It was mainly a chance encounter in Ottawa with Cameroon's long-time high commissioner to Canada, Philemon Yang, in December 1989, while I was a fourth-year undergraduate student in Halifax. I think that meeting and him showing me his world, his life, and being so kind to me and my student colleagues really made an impression on me. And, I thought to myself, he's got a neat job and I would like to get into the diplomatic service one day.

[T]he one thing that always had the greatest impact on me was the autobiography of Lester B. Pearson. In it, he said, 'When you are posted as a diplomat overseas, don't get caught in the expatriate ghetto. Get out and meet the people of the country where you are posted. That's why you are being sent.'



SAIGON ENTREPRENEUR MAGAZINE

**In the context of your cultural background, what special strengths do you think you bring to the job? Is there an anecdote that speaks to this strength?** I certainly feel that my ability to relate not just to Indians, but to many different cultures is one of my strong points. Part of it is because my parents really encouraged us to take the best of Canadian society and the best of Indian society, and tried to capture both those communities in our upbringing.

When I was posted to Mumbai (1997-2000), before I left, many people told me it's going to be a piece of cake for you – 'you are an Indo-Canadian, you are going to India, it's very easy for you to adjust and do very well from day one.' But it was a huge cultural shock for me, much to my surprise... [It] made me realize that visiting India [as part of the former prime minister Jean Chrétien's delegation in 1996, and earlier in 1978] and living in India were completely different things... I always felt there was this unusual fascination with me in the Indian press and Indian society because I was a brown-skinned Canadian diplomat.

**NAME:** Jennie Chen  
**TITLE:** Third Secretary  
**POSTED TO:** Beijing  
**JOINED THE FOREIGN SERVICE:** 2003

**What motivated you to join the diplomatic service?**

[A]s with all children of immigrant families, my parents have their own special story of their arrival in Canada, and it is the story of those choices which nudged me towards what ended up being

my academic area of interest: history, culture, and the vestiges of colonialism which continue to impact our geo-strategic realities.

**In the context of your cultural background, what special strengths do you think you bring to the job?**

[A]n increasingly multicultural foreign service is part and parcel of an intellectual evolution taking place within the [Foreign Affairs] department and across the country as our society demands a more nuanced and strategic approach to foreign relations. The demographics of Canada are changing and so must our representation abroad, and perhaps most importantly, so must our policy deliberations. I am pleased to be a part of this evolution. At the same time, I do not see myself as a tool of tokenism. I was born in Canada, raised in Canada, and educated in Canada, and I do not see myself as separate from the 'mainstream.'



DANIELLE LÉPINE, FOREIGN AFFAIRS CANADA

**Would you be comfortable dealing with the land/region of your cultural roots? Why?**

[In fact, she was posted to Beijing last summer.] At first I had mixed feelings. My Chinese roots are very important to me, as are my Canadian ones. I (was) in a way going to some place both familiar and alien. Did I want to face the inevitable questions and cultural challenges from both sides? Perhaps a few years ago, I wouldn't have wanted to go simply to avoid the fuss, but as I became more comfortable with myself and accepted the innate contradictions that make up who I am, I (was) more than ready to go.

# Hope on the heels of catastrophe

**F**or decades, Pakistan has suffered from ethnic and political disputes, low levels of education, poor infrastructure, low foreign direct investment (FDI) and costly confrontations with its neighbour, India. In 2002, 50 per cent of government spending went toward debt service charges. The following year, the U.S. averted disaster when it forgave \$1 billion in loans, and another half-billion in 2004, followed by a massive aid package, thus reducing Pakistan's debt service charges to a more manageable 27 per cent of government expenditures.

Last year's devastating earthquake, together with the country's desperate efforts to balance U.S. expectations against domestic imperatives brought about by nationalistic and fundamentalist concerns of the people, has acutely stressed the government of President Pervez Musharraf. Perceptions of "endemic" corruption, and relentless media portrayals of a "lawless" state burdened by terror and a "frontier justice mentality", have hurt Pakistan's attempts to generate FDI and investor confidence.

Nonetheless, Pakistan's economy has been bolstered by recent macro-economic reforms. During 2004, Pakistan's GDP grew by 5.1 per cent and is expected to hover around the same figure in 2005. Supported by growing exports (mostly textiles and clothing), and remittances from Pakistanis working in the Gulf region, the country's foreign reserves are healthy, and levels of inflation, debt and fiscal deficit remain under control.

*Diplomat* sat down with Pakistani High Commissioner Shahid Malik to discuss the future.

**Gurprit Kindra:** The unprecedented natural disaster that struck Pakistan has been a tremendous drain on your country's resources. Are you satisfied with the assistance being provided by wealthier countries like Canada?

**Shahid Malik:** The catastrophe of last October killed 70,000, injured in excess of 100,000, and displaced 3.4 million people. Essential infrastructure like schools and hospitals across 28,000 square kilometres was completely destroyed. Pakistan is currently working on a \$10-12 billion reconstruction program to pro-



GURPRIT S.  
KINDRA

vide short-term and long-term assistance to people in the region. Pakistan made an appeal for international assistance and we are grateful to countries like Canada for their timely response. In addition to the financial support, the government of Canada dispatched its DART team for setting up field hospitals, installing water purification plants, and providing other forms of emergency assistance to the affected people. A number of fund-raising events were held across Canada where NGOs and ordinary people helped raise over \$300,000 for humanitarian activities in the region.

**GK:** Are you confident that the monies raised for the needy, will not get diverted or somehow wasted?

**SM:** (The) Pakistan government has set up The Federal Relief Commission and The Rehabilitation and Relief Agency to oversee the relief effort. These are independent agencies that work with other international relief agencies to disburse aid in a timely and efficient manner. There is minimal red tape. Things are certainly moving along very well.

**GK:** While the subcontinent is starving for natural gas, Pakistan holds vast supplies of it. What prevents your country from becoming a major supplier of natural gas in the region?

**SM:** Even though one-third of our energy need is met by domestic natural gas, Pakistan remains an energy-deficient country. Industrial consumption of gas continues to grow, and therefore, there is no immediate prospect of gas exports.

**GK:** But Pakistan has the potential to produce a lot more.

**SM:** Yes, Pakistan has the capacity to produce more and we hope that our output will continue to increase. If Pakistan did not have these reserves, the situation would be dire indeed. With oil prices skyrocketing, Pakistan is lucky to have this buffer. For example, compared to India's annual expenditures of over \$27 billion

on imported oil, Pakistan spends only \$3 to \$4 billion.

**GK:** Speaking of India, the proposed Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline is good news for that country as well as Pakistan. Is Pakistan satisfied with the pace of progress in this area?

**SM:** The proposed pipeline originates from the Paras oilfields in Iran and is certainly good news for both India and Pakistan. All three countries are currently engaged in extensive discussions and consultations to finalize the modalities of the pipeline. By mid-2007, all studies are expected to be completed, and by 2010 the pipeline should be operational. In spite of the relatively long gestation period, we are satisfied with the pace of negotiations.

**GK:** Your government focuses on economic development and poverty alleviation. However, current developments in the World Trade Organization (WTO) indicate that many developing countries including Pakistan could soon face punitive tariffs if certain environmental protection targets are not met. From the perspective of Pakistan, is there a trade-off between economic development and environmental protection?

**SM:** Pakistan is conscious of its responsibilities with regards to environmental protection. The Environmental Protection Act (of Pakistan) enacted in 1997, ensures that our business and industry operates within a well-defined framework. We are fully committed to compliance with international treaties; there should be no concern on that account.

**GK:** But the WTO feels differently.

**SM:** We live on the same planet and as such have an obligation towards others to keep its environment "friendly". Pakistan's National Environment Plan is specifically concerned about clean air, clean water, eco-systems management and compliance with international norms. We will take steps to address all issues that have been raised by the international agencies like the WTO.

**GK:** Trade between Canada and Pakistan is meager and for the most part, confined to traditional items like clothing and tex-



tiles and lentils and pulses. How do you hope to invigorate bilateral trade between the two countries?

**SM:** I am glad you raised this question because the matter of bilateral trade is close to my heart. The current level of trade (\$600 million) between the two countries is small and could be vastly improved. Last year, Export 2005 took place in Karachi, and as a result of that event, a number of trade delegations visited Canada. I have also tried to diversify our exports to Canada into non-traditional areas like gem stones, automobile parts, footwear, and handicrafts. Pakistan-Canada Trade Council (based in Toronto) has been very active in promoting trade

take note of the potential for trade with Pakistan. So, I think we are moving in the right direction.

**GK:** Is Pakistan's involvement with the United States' "war-on-terror," a significant distraction from the country's core mission: economic and social development?

**SM:** Pakistan joined the international coalition against terrorism because we believe in peace, moderation and tolerance. Being a moderate Islamic country, we have a sobering influence in the region. But we are also paying a heavy price for our attempts at curbing extremism and terrorism in our part of the world. Twice,

in avoiding all forms of extremism and embrace science and technology, higher education and human resource development. On the other, the international community should eschew all attempts to equate terrorism with Islam and make concerted efforts to promote economic development in Muslim countries.

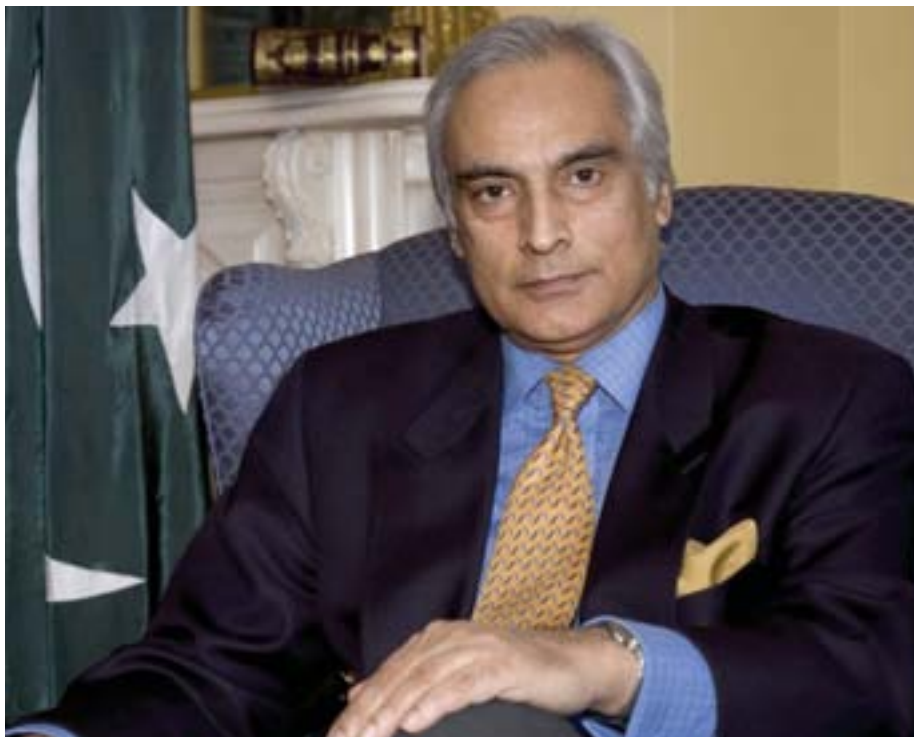
**GK:** The current storm of protest in the Islamic world over a Danish newspaper's depiction of Prophet Mohammad is certainly indicative of the ever-widening chasm between the two cultures. What do you think?

**SM:** The publication of the derogatory and blasphemous sketches featuring the Holy Prophet in the Danish Newspaper, and the recent reprinting in other European countries, has caused grievous and profound hurt to the sentiments of Muslims all over the world. Such actions jeopardize our common endeavours for enhancing understanding and cooperation between cultures and encourage sinister agendas for clash of civilizations. We reject the false pretext of freedom of press for publishing these caricatures since freedom of expression does not mean absence of any values, ethics or laws, but rather – amongst other things – protection and respect of the rights of individuals as well as their religious and social values.

**GK:** Are you satisfied with what you have accomplished during your tenure in Ottawa?

**SM:** While my tenure continues in Ottawa, I have been able to create an awareness of the importance and relevance of Pakistan both in the political and the economic field. One outcome of this effort has resulted in Pakistan's inclusion as one of Canada's 25 development partners. Also, in a Government of Canada document, *Opening Doors to the World – 2004*, Pakistan was recognized as a country moving in the right economic direction and the president was complimented for implementing a "comprehensive agenda of macroeconomic stabilization and economic and governance reforms". Also, since my arrival in Ottawa, there has been an upsurge in the level of bilateral contacts. I am happy with these accomplishments.

*Dr. Gurprit Kindra is an international marketing consultant and a professor of management at the University of Ottawa. Email [kindra@management.uottawa.ca](mailto:kindra@management.uottawa.ca) to reach him.*



**Not giving up:** Pakistani High Commissioner Shahid Malik says his country can turn things around, in spite of crippling debt and low foreign investment and the aftermath of last year's devastating earthquake.

between the two countries. Similarly, Export 2006, scheduled for April, is expected to draw a large number of Canadian businesspeople.

**GK:** In spite of all these efforts, why is the level of trade so poor? Do you see any barriers to trade between the two countries?

**SM:** Marketing is poorly done and business communities on both sides need to dialogue and interact more frequently. There is a serious lack of information on both sides. Mining, high technology and the oil sectors of Canada are starting to

our president has been targeted for assassination and an attempt was also made on the prime minister's life. This does not, however, deter us from attending to the economic and social agenda of the government.

While on the subject of terrorism, I would like to refer to the policy of "enlightened moderation", also highlighted by President Musharraf during his visit to Ottawa in October 2003. It states the clash between Western values and the Islamic system can be avoided by following a two-pronged approach. On the one hand Muslims must assume their responsibility

# Apprentice Harper

by George Abraham

**H**aving elected Stephen Harper as prime minister, is it reasonable to surmise that Canadians have achieved a level of comfort with his persona? Not true. Based on information gleaned from three books that deal with the rise of Mr. Harper and the rebound of the Conservatives, it is clear that his is very much an apprenticeship.

*Stephen Harper and the Future of Canada*, McClelland & Stewart, 418 pages, \$34.99

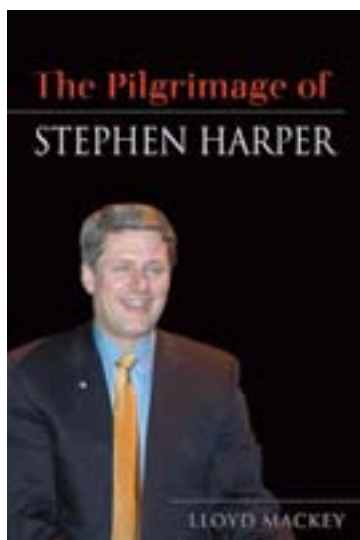


William Johnson has become the go-to person in Ottawa largely by default. Although his book suffers from a lack of objectivity and offers a rather rosy assessment of the PM-to-be (the book was published in 2005), it has provided the only authoritative account there is. Describing his subject as a “conviction politician,” the author makes this sweeping assessment: “On the big-picture issues that arose during his career, the record shows that Harper was consistently right when almost all around him were wrong.”

After 400 pages of writing in the same vein, Mr. Johnson deals with Mr. Harper’s Achilles heel almost as a footnote. He identifies an “excess of partisanship” and “a touch of paranoia with respect to the news media” as weaknesses, but saves the

most damning for the book’s penultimate paragraph: “He has placed unnecessary obstacles in the way of [ordinary Canadians] making an informed evaluation of this man who asks them to make him prime minister.” One wonders why such substantial warts would not be discussed and rationalized in greater detail in an otherwise very readable book.

*The Pilgrimage of Stephen Harper*, ECW Press, 221 pages, \$32.95



Unlike Mr. Johnson, author Lloyd Mackey appears to have had some access to Mr. Harper’s entourage and family, and yet his book can only be described as half-baked. Written in the days leading up to the last federal election, there’s an obvious effort to cash in on the rising disaffection for the Liberals and delve into the moral and ethical suasions of a would-be prime minister. Mr. Mackey may have been privy to more than he was willing to write, particularly with regard to Mr. Harper’s faith and how that may influence his approach to the issues of the day.

The book, though, performs yeoman service by spending some time discussing Mr. Harper’s 100,000-word Masters thesis completed in 1991, *The Political Business Cycle and Fiscal Policy in Canada*. Here is

an astute observation from that thesis: “Policymakers are motivated by political goals, in particular, electoral goals, rather than the social optima assumed by traditional macroeconomic policy prescriptions.” Not as lucid as Galbraith, but perhaps foreshadowing a policy-before-politics mindset.

*Democracy Challenged: How to End One-Party Rule in Canada*, Véhicule Press, 203 pages, \$18.95



Published in 2002 at a particularly bleak moment for the Conservative movement, William Heward Grafftey’s book makes only a solitary mention of the Harper name. It’s in the context of the Canadian Alliance being a one-trick pony devoted to Western alienation under Harper’s stewardship, but unable to offer a credible alternative to the Liberal juggernaut. But, Mr. Grafftey, a seven-time Progressive Conservative MP from Québec, does predict that any revival of Tory fortunes will happen as a result of a new dynamic between the West and his home province.

Mr. Grafftey offers interesting insights into the leadership styles of both John Diefenbaker and Joe Clark. For instance, while discussing Mr. Diefenbaker’s reign, he offers this instructive sentence for Mr.



Harper: "The lesson is not to take on political battles with the provinces – they win every time." The author had no time for Brian Mulroney, whose "elitism" and "extravagant lifestyle" he found unacceptable. His misplaced prognosis (in 2002) that the PC party "can form the next government" shows the extent to which Mr. Harper has been able to reshape the Conservative landscape in his own image in three short years.

\* \* \*

The two recent explorations of the prime minister, albeit written well before the last federal election, are rather one-sided, suffering as they do from a lack of access to the man they are writing about. Yet, they fall far short of offering readers an insight into what he might do in office. For somebody who has been in public life for almost two decades, Mr. Harper has

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either had good minders or been able to keep his elbows up.

If his early ambition was to represent Canada as a diplomat, we have little to go on when it comes to divining the prime minister's world view. He did, however, say in a Dec. 14, 2004, speech to the Canadian Club in Ottawa: "For Conservatives, the defining element of our approach to foreign policy is to better advance the national interest, including the security of Canadian territory; the economic prosperity of the Canadian people; and the values of democracy, freedom and compassion that define the Canadian nation."

Icebreakers in the far North have come to define the new government's muscular approach to defence, but think back to the 1972 campaign when another Conservative would-be prime minister, Robert Stanfield, declared "unqualified Canadian sovereignty over the waters of the Arctic." So, what's new?

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# How I became an author

The last issue of *Diplomat* marked my first anniversary writing for this publication. As some readers know, I am married to a former Canadian foreign service officer and enjoyed an exciting and rewarding life being a diplomat's spouse and doing the entertaining that goes with it. But during our last posting abroad – my husband Larry's second assignment as ambassador – my own career accidentally took root.

It all began on the day that marked Larry's 25th year of government service. We were sitting by our pool in Jakarta, savouring a rare private dinner alone. We looked back in time, remembering places, family, friends, experiences and what they all meant. Then Larry said: "My career will come and go, but people will forever remember your entertaining. You have been asked for decades to record your recipes – now is the time to do it." He was absolutely correct.

I always cooked instinctively and rarely wrote out my recipes, but that did not intimidate me. Fortunately, I also had handwritten menus of what I had served guests during our two previous posts, Kuwait and Seoul. So, while in Singapore for surgery, I decided to call Shirley Hew, the vice-president of Times Editions, the largest publishing house in Asia at that time.

I convinced Ms. Hew to come to my hotel for coffee that afternoon, the day before my return flight to Jakarta. For two hours, I explained who I was, as well as my passion for developing my own recipes and for presenting them with a touch of style. Within weeks, she showed up in Jakarta to spend a weekend with Larry and I, and also to verify my culinary talents and entertaining skills.

She was impressed and within eight months, the manuscript was completed, accepted and approved. Then a fax arrived requesting the inclusion of sample menus. This entailed a significant re-write of one-third of the text plus major adjustments to the photos. Complex full-room photos had to be added to the more standard close-up shots of individual plates. Three days before the photo team arrived from Singapore, our fax machine squeezed out another request. "Please



MARGARET  
DICKENSON

procure a wide variety of different china, stemware and unused silverware." Uh oh.

Calls to general managers of several fine hotels proved fruitful: I was allowed to borrow anything, including one-of-a-kind plates valued at more than \$500. At that point, the critical task was to re-plate my 150 recipes on the hotel items along with those from my own personal collection for 100 colour photos. We had hun-

took two weeks' holidays and assumed the role of supervisor.

Three and a half months later, *From the Ambassador's Table* was launched in Jakarta. The event featured recipes from the book and attracted eight Indonesian cabinet ministers. A second printing of the book came out three months later and then a third soon after. This one was specifically for the Canadian market.

For an easy appetizer, I invite you to try my Avocado à la Russe. With quality avocados available all year round, I probably make a version of this quick and inexpensive recipe at least once every 10 days. Be sure to have it with the required glass of freezer-cold vodka.

*Margaret Dickenson is author of the award-winning cookbook, From the Ambassador's Table and creator/host of Margaret's Entertaining Minutes, seen daily on Rogers Cable (www.margaretssenseofoccasion.com).*

THEN LARRY SAID:  
"MY CAREER WILL COME  
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YOUR RECIPES – NOW IS  
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dreds of plates strewn over tabletops, sofas, beds and floors stretching from the dining room to the bedroom.

We transformed one bedroom into a photo studio for close-up shots. With digital photography not yet on the scene, the photographer would first produce a Polaroid image and then take a series of photos later developed in Singapore.

All 100 photos in the book were taken in two five-day periods. I did the culinary preparation and food styling while Larry



LARRY DICKENSON

## AVOCADO À LA RusSE

Makes 4 servings

6 oz (175 g) peeled cooked shrimp\*, medium size  
3 tbsp (45 mL) vinaigrette, a mustard herb variety  
2 large avocados, well ripened  
3 to 4 tbsp (45 to 60 mL) Tarragon Hollandaise Mayonnaise (recipe attached)  
1/3 cup (80 mL) sour cream



## Garnish

4 clusters of fresh herbs (e.g., basil, dill)

1. Bathe shrimp in vinaigrette and toss. If possible, allow shrimp to marinate for at least 15 minutes, tossing occasionally.

2. Meanwhile, cut avocados in half lengthwise and remove stones. Arrange avocado halves cut-side up; if necessary, trim undersides so the halves rest in a level and stable position.

3. Spread Hollandaise Mayonnaise evenly over cut surfaces of avocado halves (central depressions included). Fill depressions with sour cream.\*\*

4. Just before serving, crown sour cream with shrimp and poke a cluster of fresh herbs into the stem-end of each filled avocado half.

\* Option: replace shrimp with 4 oz or 1 cup (115 g or 250 mL) flaked cooked crabmeat (or crab-flavoured fish flakes) tossed with a pinch of hot chili powder and herb vinaigrette.

\*\* Avocado halves may be prepared to this stage several hours in advance. Cover with a "tent" of wax paper and refrigerate.

## TARRAGON HOLLANDAISE MAYONNAISE

Makes 1 cup (250 mL)

For a quick and versatile alternative to "Hollandaise Sauce" try this amazing recipe. It not only takes all the work out of preparing Eggs Benedict but it can add a touch of pizzazz to cooked and raw vegetables as well as savoury crêpes and pastry dishes.

2 tsp (10 mL) sandwich mustard (such as French's)  
1 cup (250 mL) mayonnaise  
1/3 tsp (2 mL) dried tarragon leaves (optional)

1. Whisk ingredients together.

2. Store the Tarragon Hollandaise Mayonnaise refrigerated for months in an airtight plastic container/glass jar or in a handy plastic squeeze bottle. (Never heat or freeze this product.)



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# The secret of the spheres

By Carlos Miranda

One of the strangest mysteries in archaeology exists in the Diquis Delta, located at the South Pacific of Costa Rica. For more than 60 years, explorers have found hundreds of granite stone spheres, ranging from a few centimetres to more than two meters in diameter. Visitors can see the spheres, now on display in various places across the country.

Theories and stories about the origin of these unique stones abound. One study says they are monolithic sculptures, made by the ancestors of native peoples between 200 BC and the Spanish conquest. Another declares the stones were made

**THE BEST SPHERES ARE PERHAPS THE FINEST EXAMPLES OF PRECISION STONE CARVING IN THE ANCIENT WORLD WITH THE MAXIMUM CIRCUMFERENCE ERROR IN A SPHERE TWO METERS IN DIAMETER IS ONLY 1.3 CM, OR 0.2 PER CENT.**

by nature, as solidified “drops” from volcanic eruptions. A third suggests they are 12,000-year-old relics from an ancient and technically advanced sea-going culture. Almost all the stones are made of granodiorite (granite), a hard, igneous stone found in the foothills of the nearby Talamanca range.

Another mystery not solved is how whoever made the stones, had such a exquisite workmanship. The geometric perfection rendered in granite is remarkable for any ancient culture. The best spheres are perhaps the finest examples of precision stone-carving in the ancient world where the maximum circumference error in a sphere two meters in diameter is only 1.3 cm, or 0.2 per cent.

Curiously, no one has ever found an unfinished sphere. Like the monoliths of the Old World, the Costa Rican quarry was more than 80 kilometres away from the final resting place of these mysteries. Even more intriguing is the fact that many are on tiny Caño Island, located some 20 kilometres off shore.

Their uses? Also a mystery. Many were found in formation, including straight and curved lines, as well as triangles and

parallelograms. One group of four balls was facing magnetic north, leading to speculation they may have been arranged by people familiar with the use of magnetic compasses or astronomical alignments. Unfortunately, all but a few of



Spooky spheres: Costa Rica's spheres on Cano Island have stumped scientists for centuries.

these formations were destroyed when the balls were moved from their original location in the 1940s.

Today, some unique spheres decorate buildings in Costa Rica such as the Legislative Assembly building and the National Museum in San José. But for the best viewing, take a tour to Caño Island departing from Corcovado National Park where you can appreciate the spheres on site and also take in a little snorkelling, scuba diving, sport fishing while speculating on the origins of the spheres.

*Carlos Miranda is the ambassador of Costa Rica and dean of the diplomatic corps.*

**Editor's Note:** *Outside the Guide is a regular travel feature where diplomats write about their favourite unusual (and not traditionally touristy) places to visit in their own countries.*



SECOND ANNUAL

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Deadline for nominations: noon, Monday, April 24, 2006.

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# Let's reverse the Chardonnay snobbery

**R**ecently, I had dinner at my restaurant with my wife and newborn son on a Sunday night. As is my tradition, I usually choose my main course, then a bottle of wine to go with it, and then match the appetizer to the wine. Choosing a wine from a wine list that one knows intimately is a curious thing. I usually return to old favorites: Riesling, Pinot Gris, Chenin Blanc, Gewurztraminer, and Gruner Veltliner. All offer the "aromatic" characteristics I have come to love. I can't ever remember ordering a Chardonnay in a restaurant before, let alone my restaurant, even though I have many on the list. But on this occasion, I found myself bored with my old favorites and wanted something new. Chardonnay it was.

There is almost a kind of a secret handshake for wine insiders that says you don't drink Chardonnay and usually pooh-pooh it to one another outside of the sensitive ears of certain Chardonnay-loving guests. But there is something else that is usually never talked about in the wine aficionado set: Most of us came to love wine through Chardonnay. I remember my first one. It was the Kendall-Jackson Chardonnay from California. Not Napa, not Sonoma, not even Santa Maria Valley or Santa Barbara. Just California. This blended Chardonnay was the best-selling restaurant wine in North America for many years. It was loaded with toasty oak, tropical fruit and was fun and easy to drink. I think it cost \$12 per bottle.

Our wine instructor at the time gave us the secret behind Kendall-Jackson's success: Riesling. The vintners blended 25 per cent Riesling into their Chardonnay to give it a fruitier, more tropical flavour. Although new wine drinkers all talked about liking "dry" wines (therefore more sophisticated than the sweet wines of their youth), they really liked wines with some residual sugar, or the appearance of sweetness, while still being able to claim a more refined palate because they are drinking Chardonnay rather than Blue Nun or the like. Chardonnay – even when dry – can often reveal flavours and aromas that one associates more with dessert, such as vanilla, toast, nuts, cream and caramel. It has also been dubbed "The Winemaker's Grape" because there are so many ways for a winemaker to in-



STEPHEN BECKTA

PHOTO: PAUL COUVRETE

fluence the taste of the final product, as opposed to other grapes that are more a reflection of the terroir that they are grown in. Because of these influences and market-driven planting, a glut of ubiquitous bargain Chardonnays appeared in liquor stores around the world in the early 90s and the wine intelligentsia dubbed it a verboten grape starting the ABC trend (Anything But Chardonnay).

As with all trends, I think this one is coming to an end. When my chef recently put a Lobster Bisque on our tasting menu, I tried every wine I was offering by the glass to see what would go best with it. I was shocked that a Chardonnay (which was languishing in last place in terms of sales) felt so perfect with this roasted, rich and satisfying dish. I had never paired a Chardonnay on our tasting menu. But to my surprise, almost everyone who was given a glass of Chardonnay with the bisque, was open to it and agreed they went well together.

The wine I ordered for my soft-shell crab main course was Peninsula Ridge's "Vintner's Reserve" 2003 from legendary winemaker Jean-Pierre Colas. It is my favorite Chardonnay produced in Niagara. The complex layers of hazelnuts, minerals and tree fruit found in the Peninsula Ridge were balanced by subtle toasty oak and crisp acidity and went beautifully with the briny richness of the crab and smoky homemade bacon. But there are many others from Cave Spring, Malivoire, and Henry of Pelham (all Niagara) along with well-balanced California examples such as St. Francis, Ramey and Waterstone, not to mention all of the great White Burgundies need more of our attention. There are still more bad Chardonnays out there than just about any other grape, but I believe that it is time to take another look at the great examples of this grape and put them back into our Rolodex as go-to wines that deserve to fill more of our glasses more often.

Cheers!

*Stephen Beckta is owner and sommelier of Beckta dining & wine ([www.beckta.com](http://www.beckta.com))*

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# Aboriginal Arcadia

By Margo Roston

**P**lenty of interesting art adorns the walls of the Australian High Commission, but perhaps the most interesting pieces are the works by the country's Aboriginal artists, many of which aren't signed.

Some boast large geometric patterns; others have simple, recognizable figures such as kangaroos and boomerangs. The largest piece in the high commissioner's office is traditional in design but its pointillist style lends a modern edge.

"It's typical of the designs drawn in the sands of the desert," says Australian High Commissioner Bill Fisher, while sitting in his World Exchange Plaza office. "The artists used colours one could find there.

"(On) a continent about the size of Canada, the art styles vary between regions," he adds. "So if you're working in

**"THERE'S NOT MUCH TO WORK  
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THE SAND AND ON THE MUD  
AFTER IT RAINS.**

the middle of the desert, your style will be different than if you're working in the tropics in a rainforest."

The piece in his office is a design from the central desert.

"There's not much to work on in the desert – there's not much in the way of trees or wood, so what are you going to do your art on? You'll draw patterns in the sand and on the mud after it rains. If you are working in the tropical areas or along the coast, there is a multitude of bark or wood or you can carve and paint or strip off bark and paint it."

To illustrate his point, the high commission has a lovely piece of bark painting, the most famous of all the styles of Aboriginal art from Australia.



DIYANNE WILSON

Like dots in the dirt: Australian High Commissioner Bill Fisher likens an Aboriginal painting in his office to work Aboriginals in the desert paint in the sand.

The collection comes from the Australian Art Bank, a lending institution similar to Canada's Art Bank.

"We get to choose what we want and this piece was chosen by my predecessor," he says.

A fascination with Australia's unique Aboriginal civilization – cut off from most of the rest of mankind for thousands of years – has led to an explosion of interest from the international art market. When he was posted to France as ambassador, Mr. Fisher saw prices reach five or six figures.

International attention and high prices have changed the Aboriginal art scene and one can now find many expensive landscapes painted in the European tradition with a clear Aboriginal perspective, Mr. Fisher says, sighting the work of Albert Namatjira, whose work best expressed the outback during the 1950s.

"He was an artist in the Western sense," he says.

Also hanging in his office is a delightful naïf painting of a house and a hill dotted with trees.

"This is typically Australian," he said. "I have always tried to pick pieces that are demonstrably Australian."

Since he arrived last year, the ambassador has been learning about Canadian art. He recently returned from a visit to the McMichael Gallery where he saw Group of Seven works.

"There is so much First Nation's art and modern Canadian art here," he said. "Canadians are responsive to our art scene because you have such a parallel experience with indigenous art and the wider experience of the artwork of Canadian peoples from other continents."

*Margo Roston is Diplomat's culture editor.*



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**THIS PAGE** 1. Nicole Steyne, Christy Cox, chief of staff for U.S. Ambassador David Wilkins and Sharon Redinger, wife of Jeff Redinger with the U.S. embassy, get into the spirit of things at a fundraiser for Fern Hill School, held at the Officer's Mess on Somerset Street Feb. 18. • 2. Gayle Evans, wife of British Deputy High Commissioner Julian Evans, holds a handmade goblet which was being auctioned off at the Fern Hill event. • 3. Flora Parris-Mills, second secretary at the Trinidad and Tobago High Commission, enjoys her farewell party, hosted by High Commissioner Arnold Piggott Feb. 11. Ms. Parris-Mills is being posted to Nigeria. Photo: Dyanne Wilson • 4. Lola Patricia Rodney Evering, deputy high commissioner for Jamaica, feels the music at Ms. Parris-Mills' farewell party. Photo: Dyanne Wilson • 5. Trinidad and Tobago High Commissioner Arnold Piggott hosted the rotating monthly Commonwealth luncheon at the Rideau Club Feb. 16. Photo: Dyanne Wilson • 6. Bahamas High Commissioner Philip Smith at the Commonwealth luncheon. Photo: Dyanne Wilson • 7. Bangladeshi High Commissioner Rafiq Khan has a laugh at the Commonwealth luncheon. Photo: Dyanne Wilson



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**THIS PAGE** 1. Polish Ambassador Piotr Ogrodzinski offered Gov. Gen. Michaëlle Jean a private tour of the Solidarity exhibition, *Roads To Freedom*, held at Old City Hall Jan. 26-Feb. 10. • 2. Mr. Ogrodzinski and Ms. Jean. Photos: Pascal Quillé. • 3. The Canadian Federation of University Women Diplomatic Hospitality Group's first snowshoeing session of the season took place at the home of Eva Hammond in January. Left to right: Mayumi Shepherd of Canada; Naomi Tarahara of Japan; Lylia Perez, wife of Venezuelan Ambassador Jesus Perez; Heidi Moeller of Germany; and Dianne Hartling of Canada. • 4. On the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the Islamic revolution in Iran, charge d'affaires Abbas Assemi (right) hosted a reception Feb. 14 at the embassy's residence. He is shown here with Ghalich Khani (left) and Haig Sarafian, deputy chief of protocol. • 5. Diplomats attended a Ballet Jorgen performance of *Cinderella* Feb. 23 at CentrepoinTE Theatre. Shown here: Czech Ambassador Pavel Vosalik (left), Polish Ambassador Piotr Ogrodzinski (right) and his wife, Joanna Kawalerowicz-Ogrodzinska. Photo: Giovanni • 6. Brunei Darussalam High Commissioner Magdalene Teo hosted a national day reception at the Westin Feb. 27. She is shown here with Mexican Ambassador Maria Teresa Garcia Segovia de Madero. • 7. Ms. Teo with Brazilian Ambassador Valdemar Caneiro Leao and his wife Anna. Photos: Dyanne Wilson



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# Talking weather – Canada's national passtime

By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky

One might say that weather forms the Canadian psyche as much as hockey and the maple leaf. It occupies our thoughts daily, particularly in winter. This year, the weather has occupied Canadians' thoughts as much as usual, as we experience yet another winter of anomalies, with extreme wet on the west coast, extreme dry across the prairies, and wacky weather throughout the east.

In Canada, weather is part of our community. It begins conversations and impels us to contact far-away relatives facing severe conditions. Like our often-fractious politics, we curse and praise the

DESPITE CANADA'S NIPPY  
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NATIONAL CAPITAL, AFTER  
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weather with equal vehemence. While winter weather is inconvenient, extreme weather is hardly unusual. Annual freezing rain averages range from the Prairies' 20-35 hours to 50-70 hours in the Ottawa Valley and southern Quebec. Even Victoria averages a few hours of freezing rain per year, but the champ is St. John's, Newfoundland with 150 hours. The 20th century's worst ice storm hit Ontario and Quebec Jan. 4-10, 1998, causing an estimated \$1 billion in damage.

Though we may get our long johns in a bunch over the fact that some people think of Canada only as a frozen landscape, we must concede our frosty reputation. Canada has the world's lowest average daily temperature, -5.6 C. North America's coldest recorded temperature, in 1947 in Snag, Yukon, was a bone-chilling -63 C, so cold that an exhaled breath made a hissing sound as it froze. Despite Canada's nippy statistics, we do not hold world records for all cold

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Winter brings blizzards, the worst of which in Canadian railway history occurred Jan. 30 to Feb. 8, 1947, when 10 days of blowing snow buried towns and trains from Calgary to Winnipeg. Some Saskatchewan roads and rail lines remained impassable until spring. Children stepped over power lines on their way to school and people dug tunnels to their outhouses.

Our weather extremes are not restricted to winter. Canada's longest, deadliest heat wave, July 5-17, 1936, saw temperatures top 44 C in Manitoba and Ontario. It killed 1,180 people, twisted steel rail lines and bridge girders, buckled sidewalks, wilted crops, and baked fruit on trees. The hottest day on record was at Midale and Yellowgrass, Sask. July 5,

extremes. Ottawa is only the world's second-coldest national capital, after Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.

1937, when the temperature reached a scorching 45 C.

Many of our significant weather events have happened in February. That month's weather superlatives include a deadly snowstorm in St. John's in 1959; a 1961 ice storm that left parts of Montreal without power for a week; a 1979 blizzard that isolated Iqaluit, Nunavut for 10 days; a 1982 blizzard that marooned PEI for a week; the warmest Winter Olympics — 1988, in Calgary — when 18.1 C on Feb. 26 was just a tad below Miami's 19.4 C; and the greatest single-day snowfall of 145 cm at Tahtsa Lake, B.C. on Feb. 11, 1999.

In his book *Watership Down*, Richard Adams said, "Many human beings say that they enjoy the winter, but what they really enjoy is feeling proof against it." Indeed, our Canadian hardiness is proof against our often-harsh climate.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is associate editor of *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. See [www.histori.ca](http://www.histori.ca) for more.



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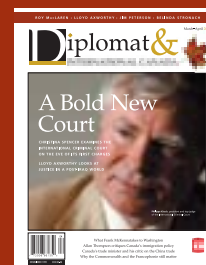
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# Reading the Rhetorical Tea Leaves

**T**he media shorthand for the new Conservative government's foreign policy is that it will be friendlier to Washington and more in line with the Bush administration's view of the world.

But shorthand, by definition, leaves out the detail. And when it comes to deciphering the foreign policy direction for Prime Minister Stephen Harper and his team, as yet we haven't nearly enough detail to reach firm conclusions.

First, there is circumstance. This fragile Conservative minority will have limited room to manoeuvre when it comes to reshaping Canada's place in the world. Mr. Harper said as much in his victory speech on election night when he told the international community that Canadians had chosen a new government, not new values.

And what is clear from polling data is that while the Tories won because of a desire for change, this government has no broad support for any particular policy mandate, except to operate ethically.

Second, there is politics. There is every indication the broad Conservative strategy for longevity is to cling to the centre and try to build a majority – with occasional nods to its constituency on the right – emulating in some respects the national, centrist coalition of the Mulroney era. That doesn't suggest radical change.

On the campaign trail, Mr. Harper mostly avoided foreign policy issues. The Conservative policy platform said little beyond platitudes. The only detailed pledges involved plans to bolster the military and Canada's national security apparatus. Expect movement on that front.

Since taking office, Mr. Harper has made a favourable impression on the insiders who help shape Canada's foreign policy. He's conceded his own lack of experience in this area, signalling his government will be open to expert advice from the public service and career diplomats. And unlike Paul Martin, Mr. Harper is expected to let the Foreign Affairs department play a decisive role in formulating and implementing policy.

Indeed, one of Mr. Harper's first moves – replacing political appointee Allan Rock with career diplomat John Mc-



ALLAN THOMPSON

Nee as Canada's ambassador to the United Nations – sends another reassuring signal to the foreign service.

There is every indication one of Mr. Harper's personal priorities is projecting Canadian values

abroad through renewed efforts to promote democracy, playing to some Canadian strengths. Geographically, there is likely to be special attention to Haiti, Sudan and Afghanistan, where the view is that Canada can make a difference.

Mr. Harper has also shown he will devote considerable attention to fostering Canada-U.S. relations. Some observers contend that when trying to discern the future direction of Canadian foreign policy the man to watch is Derek Burney, who headed Mr. Harper's transition team. The former chief of staff to Brian Mulroney was also a career diplomat who played a decisive role in the free trade talks, and was Canada's ambassador to Washington. His memoir emphasizes the primacy of relations with the U.S. in Canadian foreign policy.

Mr. Harper harkened back to the Mulroney era with the appointment of stalwart Michael Wilson as Canada's ambassador to Washington. Mr. Wilson is capable, connected and monochromatic. He's almost guaranteed to keep relations on an even keel and to avoid public controversy.

For some, Mr. Harper presents Canada with an opportunity to replicate what worked for Mr. Mulroney. Canada had unsurpassed access to power brokers in Washington, but was able to balance that closeness with some policy distance on such files as Cuba, Nicaragua and apartheid. As a result, other players regarded Canada as a country with influence in Washington and the U.S. treated Canada as a competent partner.

Around the cabinet table, Mr. Harper's foreign policy team is something of a blank canvas. Foreign Affairs Minister Peter MacKay is a former crown attorney turned career politician who brings no ex-

pert background or profound views to the portfolio. This is not a slight against Mr. MacKay, an amiable, capable politician who will likely rise to the challenge. He is quick on his feet, an effective communicator and brims with genuine, Canadian decency. And like Mr. Harper, he comes to the job without an agenda and is inclined to take advice. This probably bodes well for the career diplomats who have at times endured the tenure of one foreign affairs minister or another, rather than contributing much to it.

Only a few major foreign policy issues emerged from the rhetorical tea leaves of the election campaign. Mr. Harper suggested his government will not be bound by the Kyoto protocol. How this issue plays out will be significant. To be fair, the Liberals pledged to support Kyoto, then did little to implement its requirements. Nonetheless, a formal break with Kyoto would be a rare Canadian withdrawal from an international agreement – and a clear alignment with the Bush administration.

That said, Mr. Harper has already made clear we will not send troops to Iraq. He hinted Canada would revisit its decision not to formally participate in the missile defence system. Stay tuned. Surely if the Bush administration wants the Mr. Harper government to be an effective partner, it will not push the envelope on an issue that would brand Mr. Harper as a Bush lackey.

Otherwise, there have been few clues so far about future foreign policy direction. In early February, Mr. Harper dropped in on a training seminar for Canadians headed to monitor Haiti's contentious presidential elections. He told the group that while Canada is no superpower, it can influence the world through its values. He said he wants to champion freedom, democracy, and the rule of law, human rights and compassion for the less fortunate as core Canadian values. Sounds pretty middle of the road to me.

*Allan Thompson is an assistant professor of journalism at Carleton University. He writes a weekly column for the Toronto Star.*



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