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INTERNATIONAL CANADA

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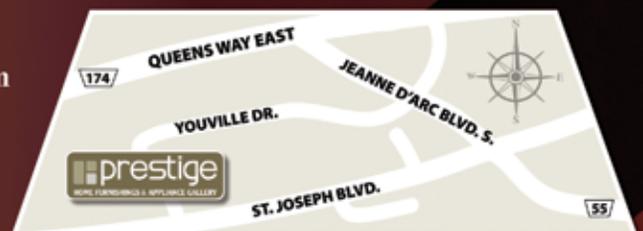
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JENNIFER CAMPBELL

## Olympic fever

The clock in London's Trafalgar Square is counting down the hours until the British capital hosts the world's biggest sporting event (July 27–Aug. 12). You can check out British High Commissioner Andrew Pcock's report on "the Austerity Games" on page 34. Here at *Diplomat*, though, we're doing a count of a different sort. In anticipation of the XXX Olympiad, our resident academic and list-maker looked at the close relationship between sport and politics. Wolfgang Depner produced a story on the Top 10 sporting events with political dimensions. The list includes a fun tale of Sino-American diplomacy — how ping pong (1972) brought China's Mao Tse-tung and America's Richard Nixon together. But the list also includes the tragic Munich Massacre in the same year, when the Palestinian group Black September took 11 members of the Israeli team hostage to press for the freedom of their comrades. The situation exploded into a shoot-out between German authorities and the terrorists. In the end, all 11 Israelis were killed, along with one German police officer and five abductors.

Each of the 10 events on our list contributes its own unique historical perspective and reveals interesting things about international sport. For our cover story, turn to page 36.

Also in our Dispatches section, you'll find a wide-ranging and eye-opening interview with Kambiz Sheikh-Hassani,

Iran's man in Ottawa. Ever since Zahra Kazemi, a Canadian citizen, died in custody after she was detained for taking pictures outside Iran's notorious Evin prison, Iran's relations with Canada have been strained. Mr. Sheikh-Hassani answers the often challenging questions of *Diplomat* publisher Donna Jacobs. Read this interview on page 59.

Also in our Dispatches section, you'll find Yemeni Ambassador Khaled Bahah's take on what's happened in his country over the past year, and how he sees its prospects following the March installation, as president, of former vice-president Abed Rabbo Mansour Hadi.

Speaking of leaders, we also have a piece on Russia's tenacious president—once again. Having taken his constitutionally mandated one-term break, Vladimir Putin is back in power (and not just pulling the strings as prime minister, which many claim he did during Dmitry Medvedev's presidency.) Our distinguished writer, American career diplomat Larry C. Napper looks at what Putin's new term means for Russia and the West.

Up front, besides my interview with Andrew Scheer, Canada's youngest-ever Commons speaker, we have a piece by David Kilgour supporting the rights of some 3,000 Iranian refugees at Camp Ashraf in Iraq.

In our Delights section, food writer Margaret Dickenson dropped in on Norwegian Ambassador Else Berit Eikeland who shared one of her country's culinary traditions — marinated salmon. Margaret's version of the recipe appears with her column. Our residences feature takes us to the extensively and elegantly renovated Rockcliffe home of Egyptian Ambassador Wael Aboul-Magd.

Our history feature, by Laura Neilson Bonikowsky, tells the story of Toronto's Yonge Street, and wine writer Pieter Van den Weghe takes us to Japan to savour some sake. Our travel features offer armchair tours of Albania and Ukraine. Have a great trip!

Jennifer Campbell is *Diplomat's* editor.

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Ambassador (ret'd) Larry C. Napper is a senior lecturer at the George Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University and director of the

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## UP FRONT

Our cover image, which has the flag of England as its backdrop, shows a face-painted fan ready for the London 2012 Games. Our cover story, on the Top 10 sporting events with political overtones, begins on page 36.



## CORRECTION

*Diplomat* apologizes to Helene Champagne, a tourism assistant at the Tanzanian high commission, who took this photo of a leopard in the Serengeti. We failed to credit her work in the January 2012 issue.



# Political commentary from around the world



"Uncle Sam strategy" by Paresh Nath, *The Khaleej Times*, UAE



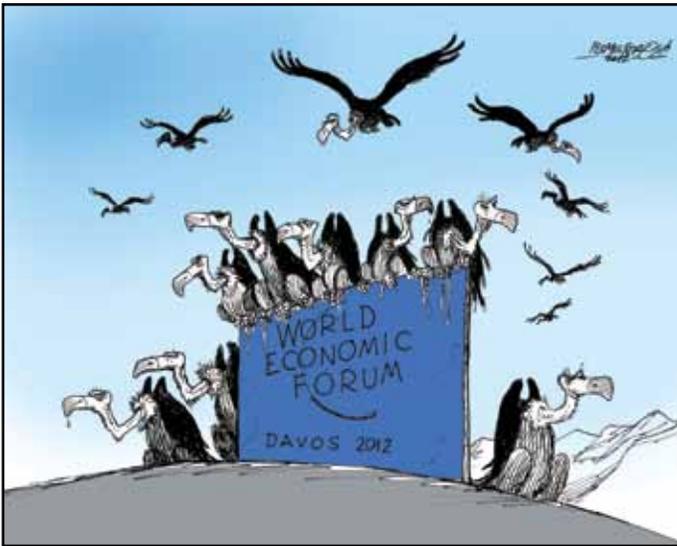
"Putin and al-Assad" by Riber Hansson, Sweden



"Greece" by David Fitzsimmons, *The Arizona Daily Star*, U.S.



"Are You Better Off?" by R.J. Matson, *The St. Louis Post Dispatch*, U.S.



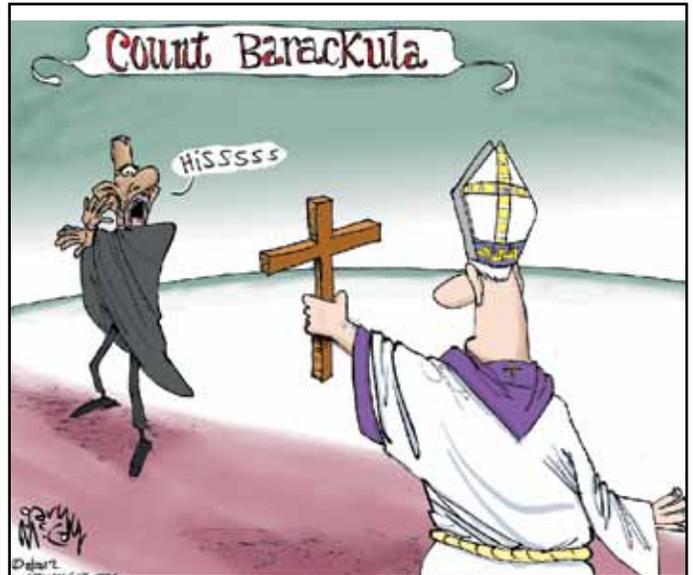
"Davos World Economic Forum" by Petar Pismestrovic, *Kleine Zeitung*, Austria



"Love is in the air" by Olle Johansson, Sweden



"Islamic Spring" by Emad Hajjaj, Jordan



"Count Barackula" by Gary McCoy, Cagle Cartoons



"Hell's Angela" by Frederick Deligne, *Nice-Matin*, France



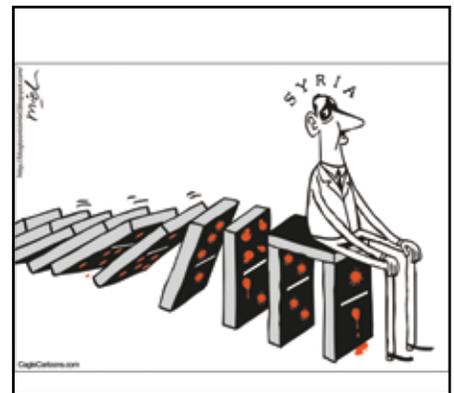
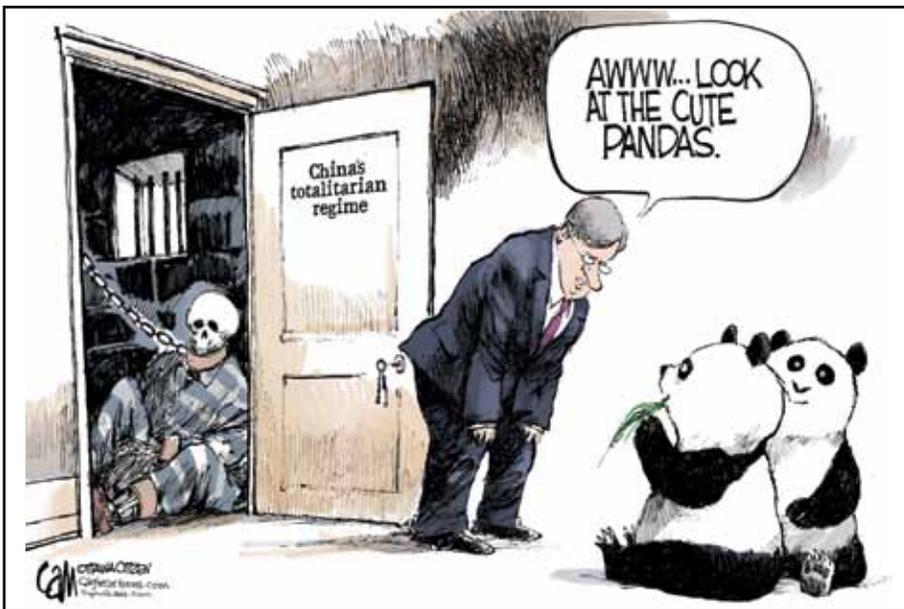
"Greece and Europe" by Frederick Deligne, *Nice-Matin*, France



"Bullfight" by Luojie, *China Daily*, China



"Elections" by Pavel Constantin, Romania



"Syria Dominoes" by Deng Coy Miel, Singapore

"Canada Pandas" by Cameron Cardow, *Ottawa Citizen*, Canada



"Greece Ten and Out" by Olle Johansson, Sweden



"Illegal Immigration" by Rick McKee, *The Augusta Chronicle*, U.S.

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"Democracy" by Pavel Constantin, Romania



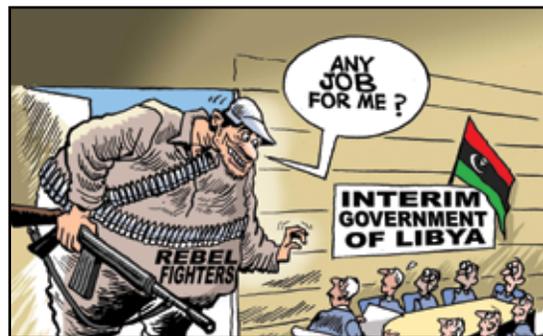
"Victim" by Luojie, China Daily, China



"Pipeline Knot" by Nate Beeler, The Washington Examiner, U.S.



"CELAC" (Community of Latin American and Caribbean States) by Kap, Spain



"Job for Libyan fighters" by Paresh Nath, The Khaleej Times, UAE



"Election games — China Bashing" by Luojie, China Daily, China



"Strait of Hormuz" by Osama Hajjaj, Abu Mahjoob Creative Productions, Jordan

## A rudderless world



FEN OSLER HAMPSON

The revolutions of the Arab Spring have been called “leaderless revolutions” because they were populist uprisings without clear leadership. There is no equivalent to a Bourguiba, Ataturk, Sukarno, Nkrumah, Nyerere, Ho Chi Minh, Gandhi, Houphouet-Boigny or Mandela in the ranks of the protesters in Tahrir Square, or in other Arab capitals, who can rally his or her people at a key moment of national crisis and transformation.

The Twitter revolutions of the Arab world are symptomatic of our rudderless world — a world that stands in stark contrast to earlier eras of profound political upheaval and transformation in which new leadership emerged to guide and shape the forces of change.

Western capitals are generally no better off. Our world today is bereft of the kind of leadership Europe had in a Metternich, Talleyrand, or Castlereagh in the aftermath of Napoleon’s defeat at Waterloo, or in a Roosevelt, Churchill or George Marshall as the Second World War ended with Hitler’s defeat.

Admittedly, under the presidencies of Ronald Reagan and George Herbert Walker Bush, there were strong hands at the tiller. Mikhail Gorbachev, Margaret Thatcher and Brian Mulroney also deserve credit for their own contributions to ensuring that the Cold War ended not with a nuclear bang, as many feared it would, but with a whimper.

In a peaceful, stable and prosperous world, a global leadership deficit would not matter. When times are good, the world can run on the energy and talents of ordinary citizens. Our world, however, is threatened by many new challenges: among them, religious extremism, unbridled sectarianism and irredentism [the



U.S. President Ronald Reagan greets Soviet Union President Mikhail Gorbachev

reclamation of territory under foreign rule based on ethnic composition or historic boundaries]. Continuing threats come from terrorism groups such as al-Qaeda, which have extended their toehold into sub-Saharan Africa, into countries such as Nigeria and Niger; the unbridled nuclear ambitions of renegade states such as Iran and North Korea, which threaten their neighbours; the prospect of war in the Middle East; and a global economy that sputters and stalls as it lurches from one major crisis to another.

It is a world that is also being undermined by social media, which is contributing to the leadership deficit. The social media is a haven for extreme, emotional views that contribute to a sharp polarization of attitudes generally, overwhelming much middle-of-the-road thinking. Consider the Republican campaign for a U.S. presidential candidate, for example. Politicians in democracies — from Greece to Italy to Ontario — are also ducking their responsibilities and handing more decision-making over to technocrats. This technocratic trend, together with the ravages of prolonged recession and the brutal policy remedies now required, are sapping support for both market capitalism and basic democracy. Beware the consequences.

The global leadership deficit extends to both traditional and emergent international powers, even as the global balance of power shifts from the United States, which, until now, has been the engine of world growth and prosperity.

India is an unruly and unmanageable democracy, more inward-looking than worldly in its words and deeds. The majority of its voters still live in abject poverty and yet it is they who are the most politically engaged, thus giving rise to populist politics and policies that threaten the extraordinary gains the country has made under Prime Minister Manmohan Singh’s able leadership. India’s rapidly growing middle class is only just beginning to shed its apathy as it recognizes the mounting costs of political non-engagement to its own interests, but this is a new development.

China, the world’s economic juggernaut, is mercurial, defensive and secretive. Its habits are the result of a deeply ingrained Confucian-Taoist culture reinforced by years of one-party Communist rule. As China asserts itself militarily in the South China Seas, and economically in resource-rich regions such as Africa, its growing global presence is seen in many quarters as menacing and unpredictable. China’s expected new leadership also confronts ongoing domestic upheaval that, in the age of the internet, is increasingly difficult to suppress and control.

Alas, Russia had more inspiring leadership during the final days of Communist rule than it does now. The old KGB apparatchiks, still a dominant force in Russian political and economic life, are wearing thin on an electorate that has grown weary of the Putin-Medvedev political condominium. Although Putin was re-elected in the March 4 presidential elections, his position has been weakened and he may try to be more assertive in Russia’s dealings with the United States and Europe to bolster his standing at home.

The Old World has serious problems too. Europe is struggling to find its footing as it contends with mountains of public debt in its Mediterranean-rim members. The performance of the Merkel-Sarkozy duo has been less than stellar in their joint efforts to save the Euro. The German chancellor is hobbled by her own domestic coalition partners who, like the German people, refuse to recognize that Germany’s prosperity was built on the profligate spending habits of Italy, Greece, Spain and Portugal. The French president is battling for his own re-election against the Socialist Party, which wants to turn the clock back,

not forward, by reintroducing many of the economic policies that got France into the mess it is in now, including the 35-hour work week. The irony is that Sarkozy, despite his many failings, is France's best hope for delivering the tough fiscal medicine that the country needs if it is not to suffer the same fate as its Mediterranean neighbours.

The world's greatest military power and economy is clearly "down" but not "out." The U.S. economy appears to be on the mend. President Obama has brought U.S. troops home from Iraq. Those in Afghanistan will soon follow. Under President Obama, the United States has announced it will shift its military posture towards Asia and clearly has China in its sights as it now tries to play the role of military offshore balancer by reinvigorating its traditional — and until now largely neglected — alliances with Japan, Korea and Southeast Asia.

Nevertheless, Obama's greatest failing is his inexperience and his inability to exercise power. In his first two years, when he had a majority in both Houses, he squandered much of his political capital much like Bill Clinton — and with some of the same advisers. America seems to have lost confidence in itself and in any

kind of global role. It may be on the mend, but the fabric is weak. It can take some pride in having successfully "led from behind" in the NATO-led, campaign to oust Libya's Muammar Gadhafi. However, Libya is far from over and by no means better yet. America's inability to cauterize the oldest and deepest wound in the Middle East, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, is a further sign of its inability to lead. So, too, is the apparent lack of any effective and coherent plan to deal with Iran as the Persian Gulf moves ever closer to armed conflict.

Many believe Israel will attack Iran to neutralize its nuclear weapons program sooner rather than later. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his defence minister, Ehud Barak, are doing little to dispel doubts that they will launch an assault. The clock is running out as Iran approaches the point of no return in acquiring a nuclear capability. But this is not the region's only flash point. Instability and violence are running rampant in Syria as Bashar al-Assad's brutal regime escalates attacks on al-Assad's own people. There is a risk of a double implosion if al-Assad attacks Israel to avert his own downfall by attempting to rally the Arab world to his defence.

The disconcert of nations extends to the Asian subcontinent where India and Pakistan prey on each other's existential fears and, in the process, further destabilize their own neighbourhood, especially in Afghanistan. Although Prime Minister Singh has made some modest overtures to soothe relations between the two countries in recent years, he, too, is a hostage to India's domestic politics and old antagonisms and rivalries.

One searches the diplomatic landscape in vain for today's equivalent to a Metternich, a Roosevelt, a Churchill, or even a Henry Kissinger or a James Baker (George H.W. Bush's extremely able secretary of state). Such leadership is needed before we fall into the abyss in the Middle East/Persian Gulf or South Asia where events are spinning out of control.

We also need sound diplomacy and deft political leadership to channel the ambitions of rising powers, such as China, India, and Russia, into constructive global pursuits even when their apparent interests run at cross-purposes with our own.

Fen Hampson is Chancellor's Professor and Director of The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University.

  
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# A pugnacious Putin, an assertive Russia

By Larry C. Napper



UN PHOTO

Prior to Russia's March election, Vladimir Putin wrote that "true democracy is not created overnight."

Vladimir Putin began a Feb. 8 op-ed in *The Washington Post* with the following statement: "True democracy is not created overnight. Society must be ready for democratic mechanisms. The majority of the population must feel they are citizens and be ready to devote attention, time, and effort to participating in the process of government." The previous Saturday, Feb. 4, tens of thousands of Russians did precisely that, braving sub-zero temperatures to participate in the largest demonstrations in the streets of Moscow, St. Petersburg and other Russian cities since 1991, to protest Putin's candidacy in the presidential election scheduled for March 4. The vast majority of the demonstrators would have found laughable Putin's assertion of interest in the promotion of democracy in Russia, as they hold him responsible for the erosion of progress toward democracy since he succeeded Boris Yeltsin as president.

The result of the March 4 presidential election, a Putin victory with 64 percent of the vote, was a foregone conclusion. Even before ballots were cast and counted, a wide array of "administrative measures"

had assured a Putin victory. The Kremlin-controlled Central Election Commission denied registration to potentially strong opposition candidates. Local officials throughout Russia impeded efforts by candidates to get their messages to Russian voters. National television, still the source of news for most Russians, remained under firm Kremlin control. While there are allegations of widespread manipulation of the voting, stuffing of ballot boxes was hardly necessary to achieve a Putin victory. As the observer mission from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe concluded: "There was no real competition and abuse of government resources ensured that the ultimate winner was never in doubt." President Obama waited five days before congratulating Putin during a phone call, while a written State Department press release congratulated "the Russian people on the completion of the presidential elections."

There were some positives that emerged from the Russian presidential election. The most encouraging development was the presence of thousands of young people as voluntary observers

at polling places throughout Russia. In many cases, these observers were able to conduct informal exit polling with which the official vote tallies by the Kremlin-controlled Central Election Commission can be compared. If, as seems likely, there will be significant disparities between exit polling and the official results, this will undoubtedly fuel more street protests, such as the March 5 Pushkin Square demonstration, which was broken up by security forces who arrested hundreds of demonstrators. Some observers have suggested that the public unrest preceding and following the election signals the eventual end of Putin's dominance of the "vertical of power" — Kremlin control over Russia's politics, economy, and international affairs. While predictions of the demise of "Putinism" may be premature, the young, educated, middle-class demonstrators in Russia's streets have clearly signaled that they intend to press for a more modern, complex, and democratic political order in Russia. Putin may have to find ways to accommodate at least some of their demands.

Despite official Washington's decidedly frosty response to the election, the United



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U.S. President Barack Obama and Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper could find Mr. Putin more hard-edged and publicly assertive.

States and Canada will have no choice but to find a way to work with Russia. Vladimir Putin will decisively move back into the international role he played from 2000-2008, engaging the American president, Canadian prime minister and other world leaders with energy and skill. Mr. Obama and Mr. Harper will find Putin more hard-edged, more publicly assertive, and more personally decisive than Dmitry Medvedev, who always had to look over his shoulder at Prime Minister Putin. While the substance of Russian foreign policy is unlikely to change dramatically, the pugnacious charisma that once made Putin *Time Magazine's* Man of the Year will be back on the world stage.

Putin will be playing perhaps the weakest hand of any competitor aspiring to a seat at the table of the "great powers." Despite its still impressive nuclear arsenal, Russia's military forces lack global reach and would find it very difficult to achieve decisive superiority in possible conflicts along Russia's periphery, especially in Northeast Asia. While buoyed by current high energy prices, the Russian economy lacks diversification and will encounter new challenges in adapting to the requirements of Russia's accession to the rules-based World Trade Organization. Immediately following the March 4 election, the international credit rating agency Fitch warned that Russia's credit rating could be downgraded because of the extravagant promises of social spending Putin made during his campaign. Fitch noted that Russia's fiscal "break-even point" for the price of its oil exports is \$117/barrel, further underscoring Moscow's depen-

dence on unstable global oil prices. Russia faces a demographic crisis that could very likely result in a catastrophic collapse of the Russian population by mid-century. Yet, despite all these structural weaknesses, reports of the death of Russia as a great power are almost certainly exaggerated.

On the same day that Russians marched through their cities in anti-Putin demonstrations, the Russian Federation joined China in vetoing a UN Security Council Resolution, which would have called upon Syrian President Bashar al-Assad to halt the military assault on his own people, and to begin a transition leading to his departure from power. Within a couple of days of the veto, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov visited Damascus, welcomed by a boisterous pro-Assad demonstration, while Russian-built Syrian tanks relentlessly bombarded the city of Homs. If, as reported by Russian media, Lavrov used his meetings with Assad to urge that the Syrian dictator halt the violence and enter serious negotiations with the Syrian opposition, the Russian foreign minister clearly failed. The Russian veto, however, angered the U.S. and other Security Council Permanent Members (China excepted) and antagonized the Arab League, Turkey, and virtually every one of Syria's neighbours, except Iran.

The veto and Lavrov's visit sought to protect the last of Russia's Cold War-era Middle East partners, once tied to Moscow by a network of arms sales arrangements, loose treaties of friendship and cooperation, and shared enmity toward the U.S. and Israel. Moscow and Beijing clearly do

not want another Libya-style intervention in Syria, which could create more unwelcome precedents for Russian and China as they deal with restive regions such as the North Caucasus, Xinjiang and Tibet. Calls by Senator John McCain for a U.S.-led bombing campaign against Assad's forces are likely to further elevate anxieties in Moscow and Beijing. With Putin's re-election now secured, the U.S. is certain to take a fresh run at obtaining Russia's support for a modified, but still tough, UN Security Council resolution on Syria. This will be an early test of Putin's likely approach to handling relations with the United States on a wide variety of issues.

Just as with the Syrian crisis, international efforts to halt Iran's drive to develop a nuclear weapons capability would stand a better chance of success with active Russian support and assistance. American efforts to restrain Russian nuclear cooperation with Iran go back to President Clinton's negotiations with Boris Yeltsin in the mid-1990s. Then, as now, Russian interest in discouraging Tehran from pursuing nuclear weapons is balanced by the financial interests of influential Russian enterprises in doing business of all kinds with Iran. It seems highly unlikely that Russia, and China as well, can be induced to support further rounds of sanctions on Iran in the UN Security Council. It remains to be seen whether Russian firms, with the tacit acquiescence of the Kremlin, will seek to evade or challenge tightened U.S. and EU sanctions on Iran. If Russian state or private enterprises do seek to circumvent Western sanctions, they could well find themselves also caught up in the sanctions

net, with obvious adverse implications for Moscow's relations with Washington and Brussels. Russian interests would not be served by a nuclear-armed Iran or a confrontation in the Gulf that resulted in American or Israeli attacks in close proximity to Russia's southern borders and its restive North Caucasus region. But if possible renewed negotiations between Tehran and the P-5+1 countries [UN Security Council permanent members U.S., United Kingdom, France, Russian Federation, China + Germany] fail, Moscow could face an unpredictable scenario to its south over which it would have little or no influence.

As a major energy supplier to Europe and Asia, Russia is both a potential partner and competitor with Canada and the United States. If Canada succeeds in building its proposed oil pipeline to the Pacific, it will eventually find itself in a high-stakes competition with Russia, and other potential suppliers, in the Chinese market. For two decades, Russia and China have been engaged in near continuous negotiations on the terms of pipeline construction and delivery of Russian natural gas to China. Canada's entry into the East Asian energy sweepstakes is likely to be viewed by Beijing as yet another source of leverage useful with other potential suppliers, including Russia. Competition for Arctic energy resources will also involve Canada and the United States with Russia. Given its geographic position in the Far North, it is difficult to envisage a cooperative regime for Arctic security and safe and effective development of Arctic energy without a network of bilateral and multilateral arrangements including Russia.

During one of the coldest European winters on record, Russia did not resort to a cut-off of gas supplies to Europe via Ukraine, despite ongoing disputes over the gas deal reached in 2009 between Putin and then Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko. This relative period of stability in Russian gas exports via pipelines through Ukraine and Belarus is the result of the political ascendancy of a Ukrainian government under President Viktor Yanukovich more inclined toward Russian interests than its predecessors under the former Western-oriented President Viktor Yushchenko and Tymoshenko. Although Yanukovich's government is faltering due to economic mismanagement and political miscalculations, he has sought concessions from Moscow on pricing of Russian gas to Ukraine, transit fees for Russian gas to Europe, and the amount



The Kremlin

of Russian gas that Ukraine is obliged to purchase. While these negotiations remain bogged down, a near-term breakdown and face-off over gas deliveries to Ukraine and Europe does not appear to be imminent. It remains to be seen whether the EU and Ukraine will take advantage of this period of relative stability of gas deliveries to begin to reduce their long-term dependence on Russian gas or to complete proposed free-trade and visa-free agreements between Brussels and Kiev.

With Putin's return to the Russian presidency and the U.S. facing presidential elections in 2012, future prospects for the Obama's Administration's "reset" of relations with Russia seem uncertain. Following the high-water mark of ratification of the U.S.-Russia New Start Treaty in 2010, the "reset" appears to have fallen on hard times, in part due to serious disagreements on how to deal with Syria and Iran. Russia and the U.S. did achieve success in clearing the last hurdles for Russian accession to the World Trade Organization, approved Dec. 16, 2011 at the WTO Ministerial. Russian ratification of the deal seems certain, thus meeting the end-of-2011 deadline set by Washington and Moscow for completing Russia's 18-year WTO accession marathon. However, Washington must seek a congressional vote on repeal of the Cold War-era Jackson-Vanik amendment and extension of Permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR) to Russia. Prospects for congressional approve of PNTR for Russia were already tenuous at best and will not be helped by the outcome and conduct of the Russian presidential election.

The Obama Administration is reportedly considering further reductions in American-deployed strategic nuclear war-

heads below the level of 1,550 prescribed by the New Start Treaty, which went into effect in 2011. Some options reportedly under consideration would reduce the number of U.S. strategic nuclear warheads to 300-400, the number deployed in the 1950s. While the Obama Administration would prefer to achieve further warhead reductions through negotiations with Russia, prospects for agreement on new nuclear arms reductions appear dim until presidential politics are sorted out in the United States. Even then, it is difficult to see how warhead levels could be further substantially reduced without restructuring of forces on both sides and without accounting for the current and possible future nuclear forces of other states, including China. On the U.S. side, any new arms reduction treaty with Russia would face the daunting requirement for ratification by a two-thirds majority in the Senate, in the face of virtually certain strong opposition from Republican senators. The interest of both the U.S. and Russia in a follow-on Start agreement is driven by the escalating costs of maintaining their nuclear arsenals and budget constraints in both countries. But negotiations could be complicated by Russian opposition to the deployment of American ballistic missile defense systems in Europe and the Middle East.

There remain other areas of U.S.-Russian collaboration, notably in space, as, for the next several years, the only means for U.S. astronauts to get to the international space station is aboard Russian Soyuz rockets. There are also bilateral irritants from the frosty reception in the Kremlin-controlled Russian press of the new American Ambassador Michael McFaul to a threatened cutoff of American adoptions of Russian children. Recent bitter criticism of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in the Russia press is yet another indication of the current strained state of U.S.-Russia relations. While relations with Russia have not yet figured prominently in the U.S. presidential election, this could change as Putin takes office and begins to bring a tougher tone to Russian foreign policy. Whoever takes the oath as U.S. President in January 2013 will find his in-basket full of prickly issues requiring engagement with Vladimir Putin.

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# Preventing a slaughter of refugees

By David Kilgour

**C**amp Ashraf was created in an Iraqi desert by several thousand Iranians, who in 1980 fled from the terror unleashed on them across Iran by Ayatollah Khomeini. Supporters of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI), founded in the 1960s by leftist university students, they had actively opposed the regimes of the shah and the clerics, at times using violence themselves. Tens of thousands of them were executed by the Khomeini regime when it seized power in 1979. In 1986, Paris expelled those seeking asylum in France in order to obtain the release of some French soldiers captured by Tehran proxies in Lebanon. Only Saddam Hussein's regime would accept them, so they reluctantly relocated to Iraq. The PMOI kept Saddam at arm's length and was neutral during the invasion of Iraq in 2003.

Following the coalition forces' attack, all Ashraf residents voluntarily disarmed and were declared "protected persons" under the Fourth Geneva Convention at the request of the American government. They were subsequently guarded by U.S. soldiers. Their personal security collapsed, however, when the U.S. in 2009 handed off protection under the Convention to the heavily Tehran-influenced government of Nouri al-Maliki. Ignoring successor obligations under international law, his forces have since attacked the camp twice, killing 47 and wounding more than 1,000 unarmed men and women.

## Ashraf Canadians

Late in 2011, I met in Ottawa with nine Canadian citizens of Iranian origin who are former residents of Ashraf. Despite the escalating threat to their own lives as al-Maliki threatened to destroy the camp before the end of 2011, they were all reluctant to leave the 3,400 other refugees behind. They stressed that the others have no other country that will currently accept them, and would doubtless all be killed if returned to Tehran.

They were encouraged when Canada's all-party House of Commons subcommittee on international human rights unanimously passed, at the end of 2011, a motion calling for Iraq to allow international observers into Ashraf, to extend the deadline, and to ask the government of



Iranians demonstrate in front of the U.S. embassy in Berlin last fall, calling on the U.S. to protect Iranian refugees inside Ashraf Camp, Iraq.

Canada to push for a UN Security Council resolution to locate a protective force at Ashraf.

Elham Zanjani went from her home and university studies in Toronto to Ashraf in 1999 at the age of 20. In her words, she was wounded in an April 2011 attack: "when an Iraqi soldier threw a grenade at me. The day before the attack, the U.S. embassy in Baghdad told us that the Iraqi forces were going to launch an operation. Despite our pleas to the commander of U.S. forces to stay, his unit was ordered out of the camp. That left us completely defenseless in the face of a massive assault by the Iraqi forces."

Al-Maliki wrote as 2011 ended: "I would like to see this complex issue (Ashraf) resolved peacefully and with the help of the United Nations. The camp's residents are classified as a terrorist organization by many countries and thus have no legal basis to remain." Unfortunately, his words are hollow. Four days before the second massacre at Ashraf, he assured American diplomats in Baghdad that he would not attack the camp.

## UN Role

Al-Maliki has since agreed, under international pressure, not to attack Ashraf for a further period, although its length is now unclear. Offering to bring a number of the residents to Canada might encour-

age other governments to extend a similar offer, thereby providing enough international pressure to obtain sufficient time for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to process all refugee applicants.

In 1997, as a goodwill gesture to the new Khatami government in Tehran, the Clinton administration added the PMOI to the U.S. State Department's list of terrorist organizations. Paul Martin as prime minister proscribed the PMOI in Canada in 2005; the Harper government recently extended the ban for another two years. In Europe, seven courts have meanwhile ruled a similar designation "perverse" and removed it for all 27 EU governments. Despite the U.S. federal appeal court ruling in July 2010 ordering the designation to be reviewed, the U.S. State Department has yet to make a decision.

Col. Gary Morsch, who served as a U.S. battalion surgeon at Ashraf, told a Congressional hearing last July: "There were no findings of any terrorist activities, illegal activities, coercion of (PMOI) members, hidden arms, or evidence that (they) were not fulfilling their agreement with the U.S. military to fully cooperate with and support (our) goals in Iraq." (Residents) "had come to Ashraf to voluntarily serve with the (PMOI) to establish a free and democratic Iran. It was with great sadness that I witnessed the abandonment of the residents of Camp Ashraf by the

U.S. ARMY PHOTO BY SGT. CURT CASHOUR



Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki greets U.S. soldiers during Iraqi Army Day.

very government that asked me to risk my life to defend (them)."

**Camp Liberty**

In late January, 2012, a committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) called on the Iraqi government not to turn a former American base, Camp Liberty, to which about 400 Ashraf residents have now been transferred, into a prison, and called on the UNHCR to end the long delay in determining

the refugee status of all residents. PACE noted that the living conditions in the new location are far less bearable than initially promised. Freedom of movement is denied; there are increasing restrictions for the residents.

Others note that al-Maliki is already renegeing on his signed agreement. Camp Liberty has no running water, no electricity, no infrastructure; the allocated size has shrunk from 40 square kilometres to one square kilometre. Concrete walls are be-

ing erected. Residents who were forced to move there on February 17th understandably feel betrayed by the UN assistant mission head in Iraq for declaring that the camp met 'humanitarian standards' and by the Obama administration for going along with it.

The UN organization as a whole has been woefully weak to date in dealing with personal safety and dignity issues involving Ashraf residents. More 'responsibility to protect' and respect for the UN founding documents and purposes are clearly required by the UN, its Security Council and the international community as a whole if the government in Bagdad's worst instincts are to be contained successfully.

The continuing fear of many of us is that Camp Liberty is morphing into a concentration camp to hold members of most probably the largest Iranian opposition movement before they are slaughtered or returned to the mullahs in chains.

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# The case for Scottish independence



CAGLE CARTOONS

"Independence Referendum" by Kap, *La Vanguardia*, Spain

Scotland will hold a referendum in 2014 on independence as mandated by the Scottish National Party in its 2011 election platform. This is an edited transcript of the arguments for independence as articulated by the SNP.

## Size matters

Some have suggested Scotland's too small to be independent. Not so. The size or population of a country has nothing to do with its prosperity. Scotland is slightly smaller than Austria and about the same size as the Czech Republic. Of the 193 independent nations represented in the UN, approximately 85 have a population smaller than Scotland's.

## Putting resources to work

Our gross domestic product (GDP), excluding oil and gas production, is approximately £86 billion [C\$136 billion]. That's larger than the economies of New Zealand, Norway, Finland and Ireland. Our diverse economy provides employment for 2.5 million people, and generates an annual output of more than £100 billion [\$158 billion]. We have a wealth of natural resources including agriculture and forestry; beef, mutton, lamb, pork and poultry production; dairy products; fishing, fish processing and fish-farming. There are extensive reserves of coal, and sources of iron, zinc, oil-shale and peat. Not to mention glorious mountain scen-

ery and an ample supply of water. As a net exporter of electricity, and with increasing development of wind and wave power, Scotland doesn't need or want any more nuclear power stations. Meanwhile, Silicon Glen is the name given to our long-established and highly diversified electronics sector. Indeed, Scotland manufactures 28 percent of Europe's personal computers. And don't forget whisky exports, which are now worth nearly £3.5 billion [\$5.5 billion] with the UK treasury raking off some £1.6 billion [\$2.5 billion] in duty each year.

## Controlling the North Sea

We wouldn't need control but the oil is obviously of huge benefit to Scotland. Approximately 90 percent of the UK's oil revenues come from the Scottish sector of the continental shelf. In 2008, our offshore natural resources generated an estimated annual output of over £30 billion [\$47 billion]. The energy sector directly employs 40,700 people in Scotland, and indirectly supports 195,000 through its supply chain and export activities.

Since 1980-81, the UK government has taken more than £242 billion [\$381 billion] in tax receipts from the North Sea oil and gas fields. That works out to £48,400 [\$76,233] for every person in Scotland. The money has been squandered on things such as the Millennium Dome, yet another

Heathrow terminal, the London orbital motorway, the horrendously expensive and unnecessary Trident missile system and military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan. Vast reserves of oil and gas, worth over £1 trillion [\$1.6 trillion], are still to be tapped in the Scottish sector of the North Sea and Atlantic. Some experts say as much as 25 billion barrels remain to be discovered.

An independent SNP government would open a sovereign wealth fund based on what Norway (pop. 4.9 million) set up soon after oil was found in its sector. A share of the revenues would be invested in the fund for future generations — so that oil continues to benefit the Scottish economy far into the future.

## Scotland already has a parliament

The current parliament has fewer powers to raise and spend its own income than virtually any other legislature in Europe. Less than the Isle of Man, Catalonia, Flanders or the Basque country. Holyrood only has control of a meagre six percent of its finances — mostly raised from council tax and business rates. Scottish government budgets are almost wholly reliant on Westminster whims. Currently, the amounts that Holyrood can spend on vital services like health, education and law and order depend entirely on grudgingly given block grants or pocket money. The London government also sets the level of age pensions and other allowances.

## Positive economic effect

Scotland's growth has remained behind that of the UK in nine out the past 10 years. In 1977-2007, our average annual GDP growth rate was just 2 percent, well behind that of Ireland (5.3 percent), Norway (3.1 percent) and Finland (2.9 percent). With independence, Scotland would manage its own national budget, and enjoy full responsibility for promoting economic growth and improving our competitiveness. We would collect and spend our own taxes, including the revenues from North Sea oil, and would be able to borrow freely in international markets.

For decades, Scotland's economic stagnation and decline have been mainly due to "absentee" administration. London governments, of any hue, have tended to view our country through the wrong end of a telescope, and major decisions

on economic planning and investment have been generally designed for the overpopulated south-east of England. An independent Scotland, with full fiscal powers, would obtain control of key elements of the UK's current economic policy. These include all taxation, financial markets and regulation, monetary policy, inflation targets, foreign exchange and borrowing, company and employment laws, employment rights, immigration, energy policy, competition, corporate insolvency, science and innovation, telecommunications, consumer protection, product and trading standards, health & safety, and social security. A Scottish government would also be able to formulate a more competitive corporation tax to boost the economy through increased foreign investment, research and development, and the siting of major company headquarters.

#### Scotland and the EU

The SNP's policy is independence in Europe. The party sees the European Union as an institution in which independent countries work together, and not as a forerunner of a federal super-state called the United States of Europe, or similar. It wants national governments to retain control over many key issues, such as their constitutions, taxation and spending. However, to get listened to in Europe you have to be an independent member state, and Scotland would continue to be part of the EU after self-government is achieved. This natural progression is set out in the 1978 Convention on Succession of States, which says: "Any treaty in force at the date of succession (i.e. independence) in respect of the entire territory of the predecessor state continues in force in respect of each successor state so formed." Although unlikely, it would not be possible for any EU member state to attempt to block Scottish membership.

At present, as part of the UK, Scotland only has six members of the European Parliament — the same number as Luxembourg or Malta. As an independent state, this representation would rise to 12 or 13 — equal to Ireland or Denmark.

#### Diplomacy abroad

Scotland would be a member of the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the World Health Organization, the OECD and the World Trade Organization. This would enable us to promote our national interests globally and engage with other states as an equal partner.

The UK still sees itself as a world

power, and Scotland is required to pay its share for continuing pretentious extravagance by the foreign office. Remarkably, even in these economically stringent times, there are still more than £1.1 billion [\$1.7 billion] worth of British embassies, offices, residences and land around the world.

#### On defence

A nation that governs itself must have the capability to defend itself, and Scotland would probably have defence forces on the scale and model of countries such as Denmark or Norway. These nations are members of NATO and Scotland would also inherit a treaty obligation to the alliance. However, the SNP's opposition to nuclear weapons would require the phased but complete removal of the massively expensive and militarily unjustifiable Trident missile system from the Clyde. Scotland's defence would be primarily focused on securing its territory, rather than having the intention or capacity to conduct overseas wars.

#### Currency possibilities

Scotland currently uses the sterling monetary system, and is unique in Europe in having three different banknote issuers: the Bank of Scotland, Clydesdale and RBS. Bank of England notes are also legal tender north of the border, but sometimes Scottish notes are not accepted in England. Although there is an understandable sentimental attachment to this multi-currency, it is generally thought of as impractical and cumbersome in the 21st Century.

An independent Scottish government would have three options: staying with sterling; introducing a new currency (with notes and coinage issued by a central bank); or entering the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). The SNP would consider Scotland's adoption of the Euro, but only if this was first approved in a referendum and economic conditions and entrance requirements were favourable to Scotland's interests at the time of application.

#### Relations with England

Independence would actually lead to an improved relationship between Scotland and England, in that dealings would be conducted by two sovereign governments on an equal footing. It certainly wouldn't mean an end to the strong and valuable social ties and friendship which exist between ourselves and the other countries of the British Isles. We will always retain

common interests and goals through our shared history, geography and social interchange. It is important to remember that although the political union would end, our social union in these islands would continue as before.

Scotland's biggest trading partner is England and Wales, with trade worth £26.1 billion [\$41 billion] in 2007. As a full member of the European Union, Scotland would continue to have access to its markets and, as both Scotland and England would both be in the EU, enjoy complete freedom of movement between the countries, with no customs or passport checks on our borders. Already, no passports are required for those travelling between the UK and Ireland. Like the Scandinavian countries, we would be able to work together in a strong partnership on areas of mutual interest and advantage. The existing joint ministerial committee should serve as a useful model for a new intergovernmental body to manage the new relationship between Scotland and the rest of the UK. The Scottish government already provides representatives and input to the British-Irish Council.

#### The aftermath of a yes vote

Choosing independence in the referendum would be an act of self-determination by the Scottish people. UK governments have indicated, in recent years, that if the Scots decide they want to govern themselves, there would be no impediments to prevent them from doing so. It is expected, therefore, that negotiations between Scottish and UK governments would be conducted in a spirit of cordiality and co-operation. The 1983 Vienna Convention establishes principles for the division of the value of assets during independence negotiations.

#### Scottish governance

While independence negotiations were underway, the Scottish parliament would approve the text of a draft constitution. This would be subject to full public scrutiny and debate before being finalized by the parliament, and would become law as soon as an independence settlement had been agreed upon and put into effect. The government and parliament would also be formulating policies for the newly acquired areas for which they would be taking responsibility, and opening a dialogue with the EU and other international bodies. The SNP proposes that there be new elections to the Scottish parliament shortly after independence had been declared.

A single-chamber parliament would have fixed four-year terms and its MPs would be elected by proportional representation. The government would be headed by a prime minister, a cabinet and other ministers elected by the parliament, which might be made slightly larger, to take account of its greatly expanded powers. While it is possible that the SNP would form the interim government, it would be up to the democratic will of the electorate as to who would govern the country thereafter. It is envisaged that the three major parties currently under control from London would contest the elections as truly Scottish political parties, committed to national independence. The judicial system would continue in its present form, with an independent legal body appointed by a judicial appointments commission. The UK's Supreme Court would no longer be a court of appeal in civil cases. Automatic rights of citizenship would be open to all those living in Scotland.

The SNP believes that all of our citizens have a valued part to play in our new country, regardless of their place of birth or ethnic background. Those who chose not to take up Scottish citizenship, or opted for dual citizenship, would continue to enjoy an unaffected right to residency in the country. We would also welcome the diverse skills, talents and contributions made by the new Scots who chose to make their home in Scotland.

**The case for a constitution**

Nearly every country in the world, except the UK, has a written constitution. There are two principal reasons why Scotland requires its own. The first is to define what its Parliament can and can't do. The second is to guarantee the basic human rights of ordinary citizens, based on international law. The UK doesn't have a written constitution, other than the grossly undemocratic and discredited 1707 Treaty of Union. This has given the UK Parliament absolute supremacy, with unlimited powers to legislate as it sees fit. Here, the people would be masters of the Scottish constitution, while the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the state would be subordinate to it. The SNP prepared a draft text for a constitution in 1977, revised it in 1990-91 and finally published *A Constitution for a Free Scotland* in September 2002. In it, the powers of the parliament, government and head of state are clearly defined, and the independence of the judiciary guaranteed. ▣



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## Andrew Scheer: master of the House

Andrew Scheer is Canada's youngest-ever speaker of the House. For a kid who grew up in Ottawa and skipped classes at Immaculata High School (formerly on Bronson Avenue) to watch Question Period on Parliament Hill, it almost seems like destiny. But for the member for Regina Qu'Appelle (his wife is from Saskatchewan), life is more complicated than it was in those days. He now has to travel between his hometown and his constituency and, for the time being, he and his school teacher wife, Jill, are dividing their time — and that of their four children under the age of six — between the two places. Here, he chats with *Diplomat* editor Jennifer Campbell.

**Diplomat magazine:** Congratulations on being elected speaker. Was it a surprise to be chosen by your parliamentary peers?

**Andrew Scheer:** I knew I had a good shot but you never know 'til the results come in. I wasn't sure I was going to win but I thought I was well positioned. It was a very exciting day, that's for sure. And obviously, I was very happy with the finish.

**DM:** At 34, you're the youngest-ever House of Commons speaker in Canada. Are there advantages to that?

**AS:** I think there are some advantages but there are also some extra challenges. On the one hand, it gives me an opportunity to put a mark on the office of the speaker. It's a very young parliament right now so I think I've been able to make a connection with some of the new MPs who are quite young, maybe in a way that someone who's older might not. Being young poses a challenge in dealing with MPs who are senior both in age and years of service. But, so far, I think it's gone very well. It's a learning process.

**DM:** Can you talk about the incident [in February in which NDP MP Sana Hassainia brought her infant son, Skander-Jack, in the House of Commons and was asked to take him out of the chamber. The request came through a parliamentary page who told her that MPs had noticed the baby and that the speaker requested she remove him.]

**AS:** The complaint raised with me was

that there were members taking pictures in the chamber — and that is something that has flared up over the past few years. My predecessor was very strict. No pictures [in the chamber]. How does the speaker say on a case-by-case basis that one picture is allowed and another isn't? It was my intention to ask the members to take their seats and to stop taking pictures because a vote was about to start. I honestly don't know how it turned into what it did.

**DM:** As a father of four, I would think you'd be sympathetic.

**AS:** Yes. My staff can tell you the kids have been here when my wife isn't able to keep them — if she has a medical appointment, for example. I obviously [understand] the juggling. I've been asked to come back to the House with some kind of clarification so I'll be doing that — trying to find the right balance of understanding when a member absolutely has to be in the House, and also trying to maintain integrity, decorum and order.

**DM:** Meaning that crying babies can be a problem?

**AS:** Well, you've got all kinds of questions. How old is a baby? I've got an 11-month-old and I wouldn't want to have him on my lap in the chamber.

**DM:** But there are women who breast-feed up to two years.

**AS:** Yes. At any rate, I'll be working on that. [In the end, he ruled that MPs with infants should be able to sort things out in advance of a vote so they don't have to bring their children into the chamber, but he acknowledged it could be acceptable in emergencies.]

**DM:** You knew what you were getting into, having served as deputy speaker. How has the job changed now that you've been promoted?

**AS:** As deputy speaker, I wasn't really involved in the House administration side — overseeing the precinct and working with the various department heads from security to printing and postal. That's very interesting. There are a lot of talented, hard-working people who make this place operate and most of the members probably never know about that side of things. And of course, as deputy



DYANNE WILSON



THE GENERAL STUDIO

The Scheer family. From left, Jill (holding Henry), Thomas, Grace, Andrew and Madeline.

speaker, I didn't do a lot with the diplomatic community, which is something I'm learning is a big part of this job.

**DM:** I'm guessing you didn't have to attend quite as many diplomatic functions as you now do.

**AS:** Yes. Between events held on the Hill and those of the diplomatic community, I wouldn't have to make my own dinner ever.

**DM:** Describe your interaction with diplomats.

**AS:** It's been very positive. I've had a number of courtesy calls. I'm a big history buff and a big political affairs buff and it's kind of nice to get a one-on-one lesson on what's going on in various countries and regions. It's interesting to hear from different ambassadors and high commissioners who are telling me about their countries and it's maybe different from what you might be getting in the media.

And then I get to attend their events and there's always a cultural side — there might be musicians or a sampling of food. I think one thing that Speaker Milliken did was to take the parliamentary diplomacy side of things very seriously and gave

members the opportunity to interact with other countries or heads-of-mission from other countries. The more lines of communication, the better. That's good for our government and our system.

**DM:** Is there a lot of pressure to attend diplomatic functions?

**AS:** I would say it's positive pressure. They're very happy when I can attend but they are also understanding that my first duty is to the House, if there are votes, for example. And they are starting to realize that having a riding quite a bit further away than Kingston was (Peter Milliken was the member for Kingston and the Islands), and a spouse and four kids means that I have to be a bit more strategic with my time. Hopefully, I'll get to do more of them.

**DM:** On the domestic front, you and your family (children Thomas, Grace, Madeline, and Henry) are back and forth at this point. How's that working out?

**AS:** So far so good. We've got a rhythm established. Around every break week, Jill and the kids stay out west for the week before and after. Then they come to Ottawa for two or three weeks. Then we repeat [the schedule] depending on



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when the break weeks are. It gets difficult but there really is no perfect solution. Jill is very close to her family in Regina and I have to go back to the riding to do constituency work, anyway.

This is the rhythm for year one but we might have to tweak it a bit for next year. One of [the children] is in school but Jill's a teacher, so when he comes here for two weeks, his teacher sends lesson plans. So far, knock-on-wood, that hasn't seemed to be too disruptive to him. I always joke that the tough thing about kids is that you don't find out you screwed them up 'til 10 years later.

**DM:** Is it your hope that Regina remains home base?

**AS:** I think it'll be half-and-half or 60/40 for as long as I'm speaker. When I'm finished doing that, Regina will be 100 percent home. My family is from Ottawa so it's great — grandmas in both cities. My parents are here. Jill and I met in university and moved to Regina and that's where we got married. My sister is still here.

**DM:** You're a Conservative politician who obviously has a point of view. How do you remain neutral?

**AS:** Before this, I was deputy and prior to that, I was assistant deputy — I think I've developed a good handle on being impartial and non-partisan in the House. I think every human being has certain beliefs and you've got to work on that. What I'm always focused on, especially when I'm in the chamber, is the procedure. It's up to other members of my caucus to make arguments and it's up to the members of the NDP to make



Andrew Scheer stands in front of world-renowned photographer Youssef Karsh's famous portrait of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill.

counter-arguments. Let them do their job and my job is just this. That's served me well so far.

**DM:** What kind of travel demands come with this job?

**AS:** The speaker is invited to do many parliamentary visits and to attend many conferences. My first was in Paris, the G8 speakers' conference in September, and then in January, we had the Commonwealth speakers' conference. That was in Trinidad. Those were very worthwhile conferences but it is an extra demand on your time. Usually when you're a backbencher, you see a break week and you

think you'll be home doing constituency work, and being with your family. Now I'm starting to realize that there really are not as many (break weeks at home) for the speaker. That's another area where I imagine I'll do less than my predecessor.

The G8 is obviously a very high-level meeting. And the Commonwealth, too. Canada has a dynamic relationship with a lot of Commonwealth countries and assists them in developing their parliamentary institutions.

Sometimes we get requests from Foreign Affairs saying it would be helpful if a delegation could meet here or there because we have consular or trade issues or security issues.

**DM:** What's the best part of your job?

**AS:** That's a tough question. There are so many neat parts. But I think just being in the House when great moments happen, either a great exchange between two members, or when serious issues are being discussed — being in the House when there's that kind of electricity in the air. When parliamentarians are dealing with a serious issue, it's exciting to be in that spot with that perspective.

**DM:** Do you have any new strategies to keep Parliament civil?

**AS:** Well, there obviously have been a few moments in the House where there's been a breakdown of civility and decorum but when I compare it to my first year, I think here's been an improvement. My strategy is just to intervene when needed. When it's not appropriate for me to call someone on the carpet, [I will say] one-on-one to a member, without embarrassing them, 'We can't have that.' I'll do



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it after the fact. In those cases, it is better than doing it in the House. Every day is a little different. As my counterpart in the Senate says, it's not an exact science because today's unparliamentary word may not be [so regarded] the next — because of context.

**DM:** Could you detail a typical day when the House is sitting?

**AS:** The first thing I do is meet with my chief of staff and get an update on what the day will look like. If there are any issues from the previous day, like media, we'll discuss how to deal with those. Then we have a meeting with the clerks, 15 minutes before the House starts sitting, and they go over the day's agenda and [note] if there's any expectation of motions that might be moved or issues that might come up.

Then I open the House and hand it over to one of the deputies. I might then deal with some constituency files or maybe attend a function, such as an unveiling, for example. Then I might have lunch with a delegation or visitors. That takes us to the briefing, just before Question Period. I preside over Question Period. After that, I usually have a couple of hours before

votes so I might go over briefings from the board of internal economy or meet with my chief of staff or with the clerks, if there are rulings that need to be delivered. And then I preside over the votes. Evenings, I either go home and have supper with the kids and Jill or I attend, very often, diplomatic functions or events being hosted by non-profit organizations or NGOs.

**DM:** You were born in Ottawa. Growing up, did you ever imagine you'd end up with this job?

**AS:** I had a really good history teacher and he also taught a politics class. That would have been Grade 11. I kind of thought after that class I'd like to be an MP. I thought that would be a really rewarding vocation. He was very encouraging. He always said: "We've got this beautiful gift in Canada. If we don't like something, our ancestors set it up so we could participate and do something about it." He said if you look at the world, very few people get to do that. He told us to take advantage of what was given to you, whether it's voting, or joining a group or organization. I took it to heart and [thought] "Why not go right to the source?" ▣

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# Changing lives in Lesotho

By Peg Herbert

Lesotho persistently has the world's third highest rate of AIDS, decimating the population's social and economic structures. Imagine the loss of productivity.

This tiny land-locked mountain kingdom, entirely surrounded by South Africa, illustrates the development challenges of the aftermath of such devastating death rates (23.6 percent of its people are infected) which include poverty, increasing infant mortality and chronic unemployment. A great deal of money is spent on testing and treatment of the disease but equally important is the support for those who are left, especially the orphans.

Every person in Lesotho is either infected or affected by AIDS. Within its small population of close to two million, 200,000 children are orphaned. Thousands of grandmothers struggle to raise these children with few resources. Young people feel hopeless and disengaged, and everyone suffers emotionally.

Palesa, a 16-year-old girl, tells us her story of living alone, unprotected, and how her view of the world changed: "I thought I was nothing. I thought I could only be something if I were a boy. Now I know that I am wonderful and that these awful things that happen to me are not my fault. I am not bad because I am poor and alone. I know now that I can be a leader in my community and I can be loved."

How to help? A small Ottawa-based NGO ([helplesotho.org](http://helplesotho.org)) is tackling that question in a way that is increasingly attracting attention. Help Lesotho is finding the balance between providing relief and sustainable development. It is confronting the underlying issues head-on and having a huge impact every year. We know we need to offer HIV/AIDS and gender-equity education and we have a strong plan to do that.

Help Lesotho has raised close to \$8 million so far to benefit thousands of orphans, youth, child-headed households and grandmothers every year. The NGO provides simple relief in many ways — by providing shoes, uniforms, food and school supplies, for example. Its sustainable development approach is to invest in people and communities through psychosocial support, skills training, health education, mobilization, awareness-raising and capacity-building. Help Lesotho



HELP LESOTHO

Children looking after children: Child-headed households are on the rise in Lesotho from the devastation of poverty and HIV/AIDS.



HELP LESOTHO

Grandmothers and the orphans they raise meet to share what they're learning.

embraces the whole person in the context of everyday life, working with the same individuals, schools and communities over many years.

Through its two leadership centres, 10 communities and 17 partner schools, Help Lesotho addresses key challenges in the Lesotho AIDS epidemic. Three-quarters of its work is aimed at helping girls and women gain control over their lives and a greater voice in their home, workplace and community.

Male youth learn to analyze how gender inequity is disadvantageous for men, as well. Both genders are empowered to challenge unhealthy myths and traditional views of gender that fail to respect the rights of others. By helping participants make a difference for others, programs promote the sense of belonging so essential to human development and well-being.

Thabo, a 23-year-old man, writes: "Before [a gender conference he attended], I thought only men could make decisions and that my wife must do as I say. Now I know that women [make] good decisions, too, and I will be happier if I respect [my wife]. She will only tell me her hopes if I am kind. My children will only love me if I am good to them. I did not know it was bullying to beat a woman. I promise to be a good man and help my friends to be, too."

Mats'episo, a 15-year-old girl, shares her story: "Before, I could only hope for help to pay my school fees. Now I will not spend years sitting at home, looking after sick people and doing all the housework. I will learn and have friends. I will be somebody and I will not be left behind."

A 78-year-old grandmother, M'e Matabang, tells her friends: "Before, I was waiting to die. The grandmother program has brought me to life. I am not so afraid of raising the young ones now. The education and food have revived my body and my soul. I can go on and I can help my neighbours. My hands are no longer empty."

It is entirely possible to help from Canada. Each person can make a difference, each dollar matters. Lesotho is a small country. It is possible to have a huge impact. Help Lesotho provides programs including child sponsorship, six-day leadership camps, anti-AIDS school-based clubs, three-day gender conferences for young women and men, grandmother village support networks. Chose one to support and change a life.

Peg Herbert is an educational psychologist and founder and executive director of Help Lesotho



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# Hitting the slopes for Aboriginal health

The Ottawa Diplomatic Association's annual ski day is a win-win. Diplomats have a chance to enjoy a pleasant afternoon on the slopes with fellow diplomats and their families, and the event raises funds for a good cause in Ottawa.

As it did last year, the ODA will once again donate the proceeds from Ski Day (and other events held throughout the year) to Ottawa's Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health. Last year's proceeds amounted to a few hundred dollars and ODA president, Polish Ambassador Zenon Kosiniak-Kamysz, says Ski Day 2012 raised upwards of \$1,000 for the organization. Last year's donation to Wabano was \$2,160 but that included funds from other events held throughout the year, said secretary-general James Lévêque.

The Wabano Centre is a charity that encourages and practises community-based holistic health care which combines native cultural practices and Western medicine to combat poverty and illness among First Nations people. Each year, it serves more than 10,000 Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, as it has opened its doors to the community as a whole.

The donation is not only materially important but also symbolically so, said executive director Allison Fisher.

"This expression of generosity gives our community a certain sense of possibility because it comes from hearts outside our country," Ms Fisher said. "Aboriginal organizations work very hard in cities to acquire a voice that is strong enough to



ULLE BAUM

From left, German Ambassador Georg Witschel, Polish Ambassador Zenon Kosiniak-Kamysz and their wives, Sabine Witschel and Katarzyna Kosiniak-Kamysz.

be heard. We are so appreciative to know that others believe in our work enough to invest in the Wabano Centre. We are grateful for support that will allow us to create a space of belonging and provision for a better future for our children. We celebrate the Ottawa Diplomat Association for their generous gift."

The March 3 Ski Day at Camp Fortune, put on by the ODA with the German and Polish embassies, was its sixth annual event, and after a large dumping of snow at the end of February, there was plenty of snow for the big day.

Ski Day has grown over the years and this year's event attracted 100 participants.

"It's a really nice event," said Mr. Kosiniak-Kamysz. "It's very important to have such occasions, so that we're in-

teracting with the community of Ottawa. It shows that diplomats are not only involved in black tie and formal events but also sports."

The event included downhill ski races and lessons in both downhill and cross-country skiing. An early-evening awards ceremony for registered participants and special guests was held at the residence of German Ambassador Georg Witschel and co-hosted by Mr. Kosiniak-Kamysz.

In addition to inviting participants from all the diplomatic missions in Ottawa, the ODA also extended welcomed its counterparts at DFAIT.

Besides an exhilarating day on the slopes, the diplomats and their families always enjoy meeting the greater Ottawa community, says Mr. Kosiniak-Kamysz. ▣



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# Major liberal reform lures investment to Belarus



Roman Sobolev

**S**trengthening economic relations between our countries is one of the major objectives of the Embassy of Belarus in Canada.

Belarus is well known as a country of marvelous natural beauty and original culture. However, Belarus has recently also acquired status for the economic policy the country has adopted.

The model of economic development Belarus has chosen, and the results it has now achieved, have earned the country a reputation as a reliable and stable partner.

Manufacturing, which includes machine building, metalwork, the chemical industry, forestry, petrochemical and wood processing, is the main sector of the country's economy. Belarusian agriculture is traditional. Its main products are milk, beef, pork, poultry, grains, potatoes, flax, sugar beets, fruits and vegetables.

You can imagine what Belarus' economy looks like today just by studying the following figures. A country with fewer than 9.6 million people, Belarus accounts for, as a percentage of worldwide production, the following: 30 percent of dump trucks, 11 percent of potash fertilizers, 6 percent of tractors, 1.1 percent of milk and 0.6 percent of artificial fibres.

Belarus also produces buses, tubes, oil refinery products, ceramic tiles and glass, which are exported around the world. Unfortunately, the volume of Belarus' exports to Canada is rather small — C\$33.9 million from January through October 2011. These include petroleum, urea fertilizers, tires, lumber, clothing, tractors, optical equipment, glass fibres and confectioneries. In the same period, the value of Canadian exports to Belarus was only C\$2 million (mainly telephone sets, transmission apparatus, instruments for chemical analysis and medicines).



The Minsk Arena it is the main stadium for the 2014 Men's World Ice Hockey Championships.

It goes without saying that both countries have great potential for increasing trade. We are very interested in Canadian companies which could represent Belarus producers of trucks, harvesters, trams and building materials in Canada.

Belarus is well-placed for international trade. It is a member of the Customs Union with Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation. Situated in the centre of Europe on the crossroads of East-West and North-South routes, it has good transport infrastructure and well-educated, hard-working people. In short, Belarus is an excellent place for Canadian companies looking to create their enterprises in the markets of Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

Knowing Canada as a world leader in such areas as green energy, pharmaceuticals, innovations and transport equipment, we are seeking the participation of Canadian companies in Belarus investment projects in these areas. We would also welcome their participation in projects linked with extraction of mineral resources, wood processing and agriculture.

Aiming to increase the number of foreign investors, the Belarus government has fulfilled massive reforms for liberalization. As a result, the World Bank's *Doing Business 2010* annual report places Belarus at No. 4 in the Top-10 reformers of business regulation.

As a result, more than 5,000 commercial organizations in the country are partially or fully owned by foreign companies.

Belarus has created an effective legal framework for the investment business, underpinned by international treaties and national legislation. In my country, all investors are guaranteed equal non-discriminatory protection of rights and lawful interests, regardless of ownership

nationality.

The legal reforms also offer preferential investment treatment. There are special legal regimes for investors in free economic zones, small- and medium-sized towns, rural areas and in the high-technology park. The rights of foreign investors are protected not only on a national but also on an international level: As of July 2011, Belarus signed two basic agreements with the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency.

I would also like to emphasize that the advantage of the Belarus economy lies in the enormous transit potential provided by its favourable geopolitical location and transport infrastructure.

Belarus is well positioned as a hub between CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States, a 12-country broad-based association of former USSR countries) and the European Union. The transport infrastructure combines a broad network of ground, rail, air and water routes. Belarus' transport industry is highly promising for investments, especially in its creation of logistic centres.

As for foreign investments to the service sector, Belarus' has adopted special rules as incentives to investors in tourism and related industries.

We would like to see Canadians in Belarus not only as investors, but also as tourists, especially in 2014, when Belarus will host the Ice Hockey World Cup.

The Belarus embassy will be glad to assist Canadian companies, looking for long-term mutually beneficial cooperation with us.

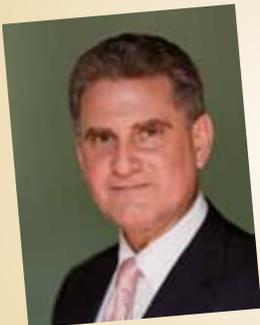
Roman Sobolev is chargé d'affaires, ad interim, at the Embassy of Belarus in Canada. Reach him at email: [canada@mfa.gov.by](mailto:canada@mfa.gov.by) or 613-233-9994.

# Britain: the Olympics in a time of austerity



POPULOUS

The sun sets over Olympic Stadium in London.



**FIRST NAME:** Andrew  
**LAST NAME:** Pocock  
**CITIZENSHIP:** British  
**BECAME HIGH COMMISSIONER TO CANADA:** January 15, 2011  
**PREVIOUS POSTINGS:** Washington, Australia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe

**O**n July 6, 2005, at Raffles City in Singapore, the International Olympic Committee announced that London had won the bid for the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. The competition had been strong, including bids from Madrid, Moscow, New York and Paris. There was jubilation in Lon-

don and across the United Kingdom. One of the world’s most dynamic, creative and international cities would stage the world’s most complex sporting event — and was looking forward to it. Three years later, the world had changed again. We were in the midst of the worst global financial crisis since the 1930s. That, and its enduring aftermath, faced us all with deficits, sovereign debt and the imperatives of austerity, challenges London’s Olympics had not expected.

But spending cuts are not the only in-

strument of austerity. Times of economic hardship demand that governments invest public money effectively. The Olympics made exactly such a demand as a once-in-a-generation chance to demonstrate why Britain is a great place to invest, study and do business; and to build for the present, while investing in the future, in sustainable technologies, infrastructure, business and tourism.

World-class British expertise and innovative British businesses are at the core of delivering the UK’s biggest peacetime logistical operation, on time and on budget. The complex pieces of this massive project are being finalized as I write — including venue construction, transport, policing and security.

Take, for instance, Olympic Park, constructed on reclaimed waste and industrial land in Stratford, East London. This is the largest park built in Britain in 100 years. Sustainability has been incorporated

directly into the design process. When complete, two million tons of soil, much previously contaminated, will have been treated and re-used, 98 per cent of demolition material recycled, waterways hidden for generations uncovered and new wildlife habitats created. Olympic Park is not just a venue, it's an ecosystem.

And it spreads beyond the park. More than £8 billion (C\$12.6 billion) of public funding has been invested to regenerate East London and the city's five poorest boroughs, making Olympic Park one of the largest urban developments in Europe and creating 2,800 new homes, of which half will be affordable housing.

A central idea is to tread softly. New venues and buildings incorporate low-carbon and sustainable construction techniques. Wherever possible — for the football events, for example — existing stadia will be used. And the park's usefulness will not end with the Games. It's designed to provide long-term economic and social benefits to the community, well into the future. In short, Olympic Park is intended as a catalyst for change, a blueprint for sustainable living that, hopefully, will inspire similar approaches elsewhere.

But investment in London's economic future does not begin or end with the park. London's transportation networks, above and below ground, which carry the city's millions of commuters and visitors, are being improved, not only to serve the needs of the Games but the future demands of the economy. The 2012 Transport Plan details these improvements. They include upgrades to existing rail stations, construction of new ones and investment in new light rail lines to increase capacity. Given the sustainability focus of London 2012, Olympic Park has also been fully integrated into London's cycling and pedestrian networks, providing a sustainable transportation legacy. As today's citizens search for better ways to commute to work, leisure and social facilities, innovation in transportation infrastructure creates a city that is better connected and more attractive to new residents and investment.

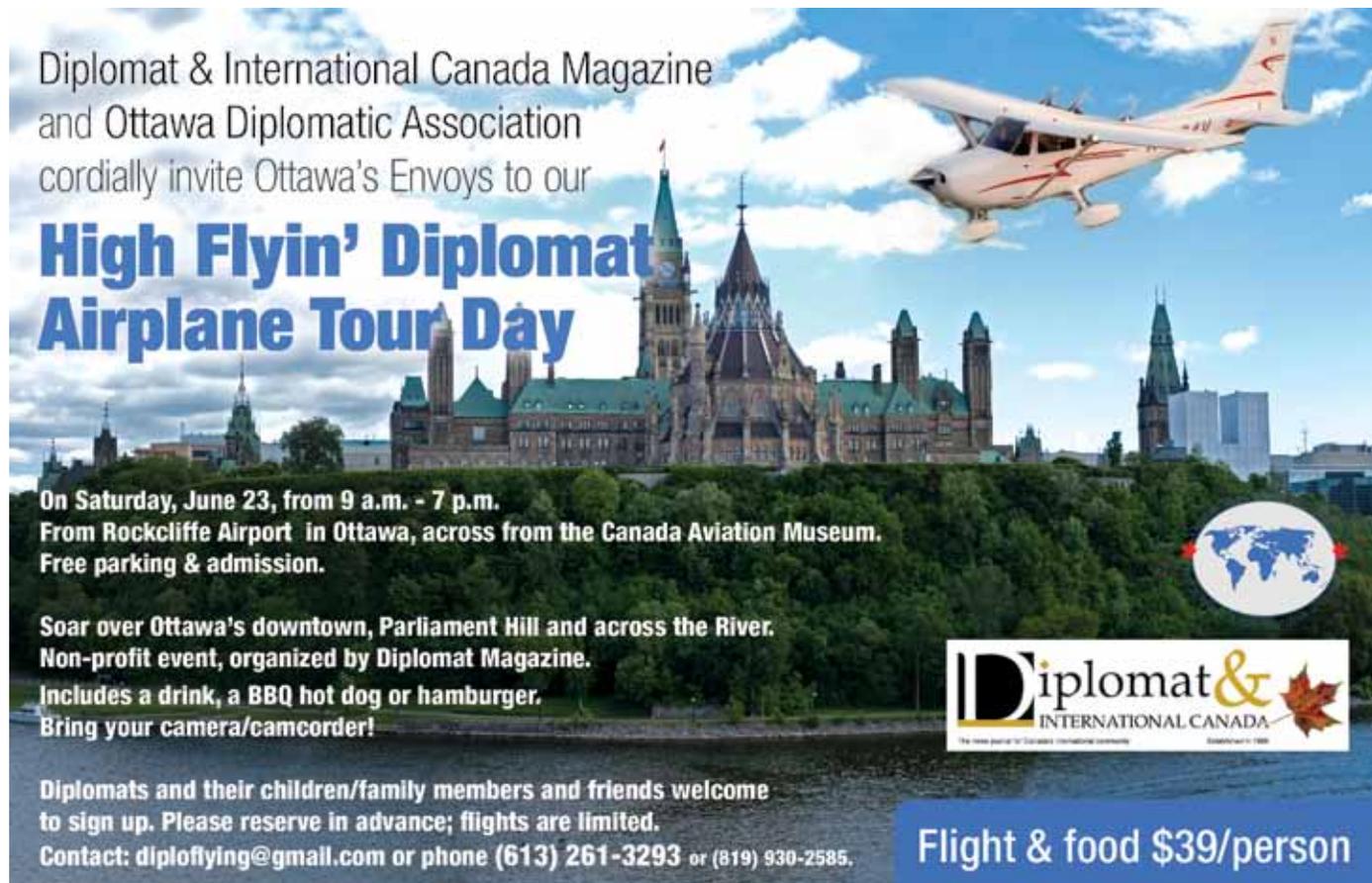
This work is already generating social and economic dividends. By the time the Games are over, 30,000 people will have worked on the park, thousands more on £6 billion (\$9.4 billion) in supplier contracts and countless others will have worked or volunteered to support the

Games during 2012. And the UK businesses that provide high-quality jobs are developing knowledge and expertise by working on Olympic projects, honing a competitive edge for the future.

In five short months, the Olympic opening and closing ceremonies will demonstrate to billions of people a London, and a Britain, that is home to one of the most culturally diverse, inclusive and modern societies in the world. By effectively managing the planning and construction aspects of the Games, we have been able to invest extra money in the ceremonies, within the defined public-sector financial envelope. We know this type of investment can be a significant economic benefit. For example, the number of international visitors to Barcelona doubled in the decade following the 1992 Olympics; and a report by Oxford Economics predicted a boost of more than £2 billion (\$3.1 billion Cdn) for tourism in Britain from 2013-17.

But the Games are about much more than economics. They are an international festival of sport, fellowship and excellence. Britain's international city looks forward to welcoming the world.

The London Games run from July 27 through August 12. ▣



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# Warfare without the shooting

The virulent, the violent and the vociferous: the Top 10 most political sporting events of modern times

*By Wolfgang Depner*



**W**hen athletes from around the world descend upon London this summer for the XXX Olympiad — July 27 to August 12 — audiences will likely hear their fair share about the ideals of cross-cultural understanding and global peace through athletic competition, as envisioned by Baron de Coubertin, founder of the modern Olympic movement. But such platitudes obscure a far more obscene truth. If war is politics by other means, sport may be war minus shooting, as George Orwell once noted. Fans of the Beautiful Game will appreciate this insight every four years when the World Cup rolls around.

Globalization might have weakened the virus of nationalism, but football (soccer, as we call it in Canada) gives it a vibrant, sometimes virulent if not violent, boost. Even if one disagrees with Orwell, athletic competitions are more than just bloodless contests of strength, speed and agility. They are revelatory, esthetic experiences, in the most general sense, that capture their surrounding context in all its complexities.

Consider the violence that erupted in Egypt after supporters of the al-Masry football team attacked fans of a rival Cairo team, al-Ahly, in Port Said in early February, leaving at least 73 dead. While some North American commentators could not resist framing this incident as yet another “soccer riot” demeaning the sport, this tragedy actually reflected much deeper political tensions within Egyptian society as it deals with the unfolding aftermath of the Arab Awakening. Sport, in this sense, projects the deeper attitudes and anxieties that

permeate and percolate through society. Conscious of this condition, politicians of various ideological hues have used sports to advance their agenda. Particularly dictators have relied on it to direct, or more importantly, divert attention, as General Franco did in Spain for most of his rule.

With this in mind, this list compiles the top 10 sporting events that include a discernible political dimension. Criteria for selection include the context of the event, its immediate impact and its (potential) long-term consequences. Other criteria include geographical, cultural and athletic diversity. Granted, this list might be subjective and could easily read quite differently. And, as Ian Buruma, a latter-day Orwell reminds us, “most right-thinking people are a bit like de Coubertin. Tribal emotions are embarrassing, and dangerous when given free rein.” But they exist nonetheless and it is unlikely that they will ever go away.



## 1. Sino-American Ping-Pong Diplomacy

A little ball, when hit across a wooden table with paddles slightly larger than human palms, can make a big difference. Such was the case with ping-pong diplomacy, a series of exhibition matches in the early 1970s between the American and Chinese ping-pong teams that (pardon the pun) set the table for the normalization of relations between the United States and China. The chill of the Cold War had frozen diplomatic relations between the countries since 1949 when Mao Tse-tung had proclaimed the People's Republic of China following his victory against Nationalist forces of General Chiang Kai-shek, an American ally.

Feeling increasingly isolated in the late 1960s, Mao tried to sharpen his profile on the international stage by reaching out to Washington, where Republican Richard Nixon had won office in 1968. Nixon, whose political career began with baiting reds, also sought better relations with China. "We simply cannot afford to leave China outside the family of nations," he said. The first opening occurred on March 21, 1971 during an informal meeting of American and Chinese ping-pong players at the world championships in Japan. Intrigued, Mao eventually invited the American team to China. As Jung Chang and Jon Halliday write in their splendid biography *Mao: The Unknown Story*, the well orchestrated, "dazzling" welcome for the American players had its desired effect.

The story of their visit "jumped off the sports pages and onto the front page," creating the right climate for Nixon to visit China in 1972, with far-reaching consequences for both sides. While this commentary hardly captures the complexity of the American-Sino relationship before and after 1972, its history might have taken a different turn had it not been for ping-pong diplomacy, a perspective shared by participants, such as Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. "Never before in history," he said "has a sport been used so effectively as a tool of international diplomacy."



U.S. NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Mao Tse-tung meets U.S. President Richard Nixon in Beijing in February, 1972.



MAGNUS MANSKE

A memorial plaque in Munich to the slain Israeli athletes reads (as translated from German and Hebrew): "The team of the State of Israel stayed in this building during the 20th Olympic Summer Games from Aug. 21 to Sept. 5, 1972. On Sept. 5, [list of victims] died a violent death. Honour to their memory."

## 2. 1972 Summer Olympics

When West Germany hosted the 1972 Summer Olympics in the Bavarian capital of Munich, officials spared no effort to exorcise the memories of 1936. Munich, so the message went, would come to represent a new Ger-

many, one conscious of its dark past, but comfortable, if not optimistic, about its future ahead. Several aspects of the Munich games accentuated this atmosphere of departure. For one, it was the first Olympiad in which West and East Germany

fielded fully independent teams. While seemingly counterintuitive, this division reflected the West German *Ostpolitik* of seeking improvements for Germans on both sides of the Iron Curtain by tearing down encrusted political positions in recognizing East Germany.

The Munich games were also the first for many newly independent countries from the developing world. And yet, the long-term legacy of German fascism reared its head once more during the games, when the Palestinian terror group Black September took 11 members of the Israeli team hostage to press for the freedom of comrades. The situation — broadcast live no less — careened into a catastrophe when ill-equipped German security forces attempted to rescue the eight surviving hostages.

They, along with five of their abductors and one German police officer, died during a lengthy fire exchange that exposed countless deficiencies in security preparations. The incident cast a dark shadow upon the rest of the competition and reminded everyone, but particularly Germans, that the root causes of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict reach back into their own country, if not Munich itself — the former residence and political training ground of a failed Viennese artist, Adolf Hitler.



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Joe Louis and Max Schmeling in 1936: racism in the ring

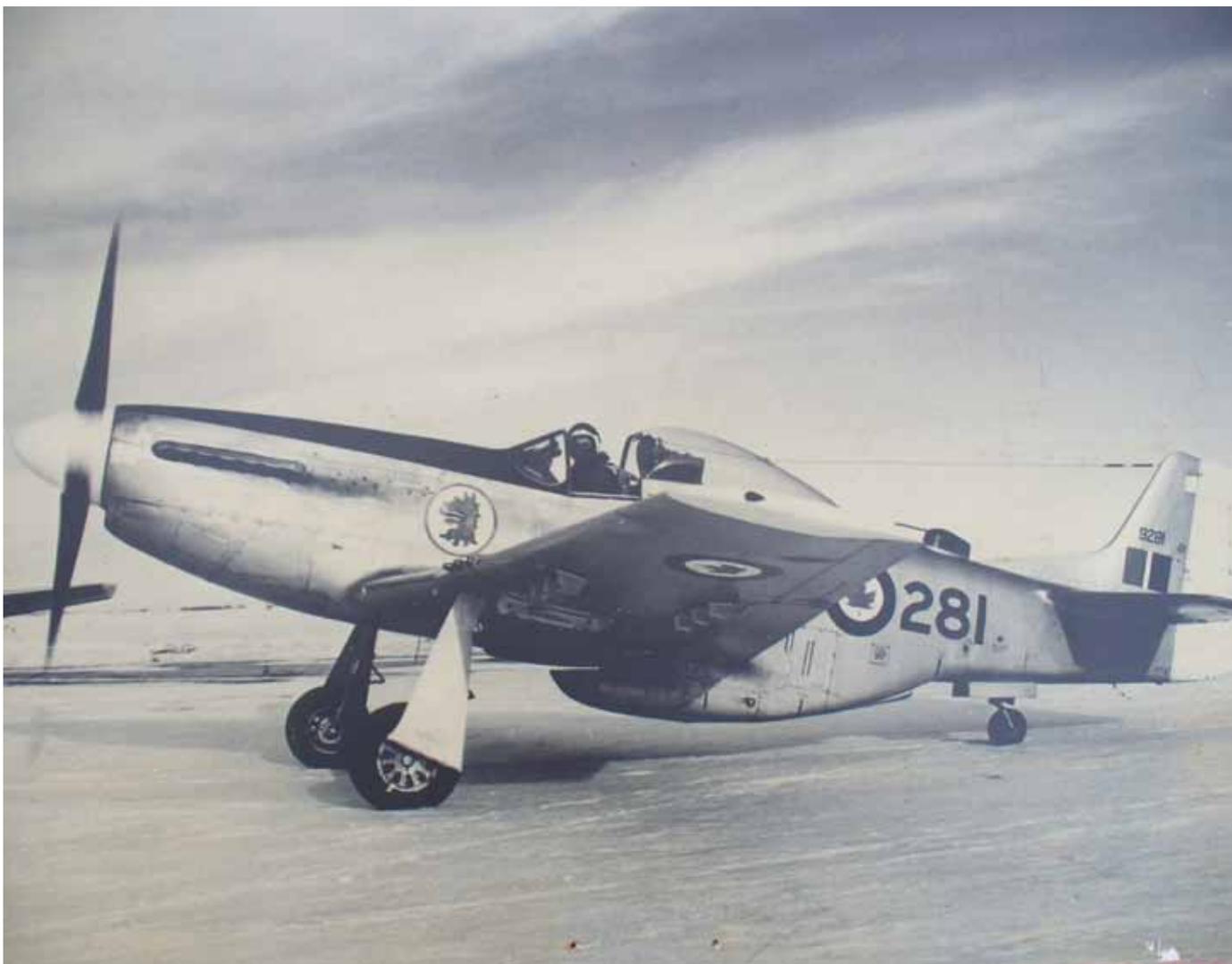
### 3. 1936 Summer Olympics

The politics of race and racism loomed large whenever German and American athletes met following the rise of fascism in Germany. When the “Brown Bomber” Joe Louis knocked out Max Schmeling during their 1938 rematch at Yankee Stadium, he did not just defeat another boxer who had beaten him earlier. He beat an “associate” of Adolf Hitler, an unfair affiliation, since Schmeling risked his own life to save two Jewish children. But if one accepts the proposition that Louis scored a technical victory against Hitler’s theory of Aryan supremacy, the knockout had happened two years earlier when another black athlete by the name of Jesse Owens, also from Louis’ segregated home state of Alabama, won four track and field gold medals at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin.

As one may imagine, the Nazis did not care much for the idealistic notions of Baron de Coubertin. But they quickly realized the propaganda potential of the event, which Germany had received during the dying days of the Weimar Republic. What followed was a grandiose spectacle whose sophisticated staging revolutionized the technical presentation and artistic dramaturgy of spectator sports. Easily recognized elements such as the torch relay and the use of lights had their beginnings in the Berlin of Nazi Germany, which itself turned in an illusory facade of state-enforced friendliness and racial tolerance. The international community was, of course, aware of the radical changes that had taken place in Germany since the Nazis had risen to power in 1933 and prominent — if not powerful — voices in the United States pushed unsuccessfully for a boycott to embarrass the regime in light of its race laws. Fittingly, it was a competitor deemed to be racially inferior who discredited Hitler’s theories in a remarkable performance whose memory has survived to this very day. When Beijing hosted the 2008 Summer Olympics, the sight of Chinese soldiers goose-stepping their way through the opening ceremonies led faux conservative commentator Stephen Colbert to the conclusion that Owens was due to win another haul of medals. Behind the mirth and joking, though, lies the uncomfortable feeling that the games in Berlin were not the last time a dictatorship signaled the apparent arrival of a new order.



American track athlete Jesse Owens at the start of record-breaking 200-metre race during the Olympic games 1936 in Berlin.



CORSARI133693

This photo dates to February 15, 1956 at RCAF Station Calgary, Alberta with Lynn Garrison in cockpit. The Mustang 9281 was sold by the Canadian government to James De Furia of New York and subsequently flew with the El Salvadorian Air Force during the 1969 Football War. Collector Jerry Janes brought it back to Canada where it was restored and named "Cottonmouth."

#### 4. Football War: El Salvador vs Honduras, July 1969

The Football War between El Salvador and Honduras in July 1969 may have lasted only 100 hours, but it has since become one of the most prominent, if not permanent, reminders that the dividing line between politics and sports is indeed a blurry one. The root causes of the war between these two Central American neighbours reach back decades and reflect many of the issues that have riled the developing world: population pressures, foreign influence, poverty and inept military governance.

Two immutable conditions contributed to this conflict. Whereas El Salvador possessed twice the population of Honduras in the late 1960s, Honduras is five times as large as its neighbour. This made Honduras an attractive destination for Salvadorans, struggling to subsist in their homeland. While scholars continue to debate whether the Football War is a preview of things to come as the human population continues to grow in the face of finite resources, the large presence of Salvadoran im-

migrants in Honduras certainly did not sit well with wealthy landowners in Honduras, including the United Fruit Company. Their political pressure on the military leadership of Honduras eventually led to nationalistic excesses against Salvadorans living in Honduras, a development that deepened historic tensions over a long-running border dispute. They escalated after El Salvador had beaten Honduras on June 26, 1969 to qualify for the 1970 World Cup in overtime during the third and final game of a playoff series that had already featured several deadly clashes between fans of both countries.

Less than a month after the game, El Salvador launched an attack on Honduras to seek protection for its citizens living across the border. The short-but-sharp war that followed killed 6,000, injured twice as many and displaced some 50,000 people, according to the late Polish writer Ryszard Kapuściński. His famed account of the incident in *The Soccer War* and the aftermath remains as terrifyingly compelling and complex as the war itself.

## 5. 1986 World Cup Quarterfinal: Argentina vs England, June 22, 1986

The football rivalry between England and Argentina ranks among the oldest and fiercest in the world. But none of the matches played before and since this unforgettable quarterfinal has come close to matching its politically charged atmosphere off the pitch and the spectacular events on it. Played almost exactly four years after expeditionary forces of the United Kingdom had re-taken the Falklands Islands from Argentina, its *Selección* sought to secure a small but symbolic measure of revenge for the humiliating defeat their country had suffered.

Granted, the footballers and fans on both sides had plenty of other reasons to feel passionate, even resentful, towards one another. As sports author John Carlin has noted, the ambiguous rivalry that defines these two nations runs deep. It dates back to the late 19th Century, when British entrepreneurs and engineers exported the Beautiful Game around the world, including Argentina, where they found an eager audience, whose skills and successes would eventually surpass those of their foreign tutors. England is still waiting to win its second World Cup, whereas Argentina will be aiming for its third title in 2016. But this history has hardly stopped the English from feeling smug about their alleged superiority, if not on the pitch, but on the grand parquet of international affairs, a long-forgotten feeling which the Falklands War seemingly confirmed.

Thus both distant and recent history loomed in the background as the teams met on that memorable day in June in front of almost 115,000 fans and a global television audience. The sweltering afternoon heat and humidity of Mexico City had turned its famed Estadio Azteca into a smoldering cauldron of rather sluggish play that did not cease until the 51st minute when Diego Maradona, standing 5-foot-5 inches, used his left hand to punch an errant ball past the 6-foot-1-inch English goalie Peter Shilton to give Argentina the lead.

Unnoticed by the Tunisian referee, this illegal goal has since entered Argentinean lore and English infamy as the Hand of God goal, a diabolic phrase by any measure. Six minutes later, Maradona did score a truly divine goal, this time with his feet after he had dribbled some 60 metres across the field, weaving past half of the English team, including Shilton. Gary Lineker's goal with 10 minutes left in regulation was not enough to turn the tide as Argentina advanced to the semi-finals on its way to winning the World Cup 3-2 against West Germany.

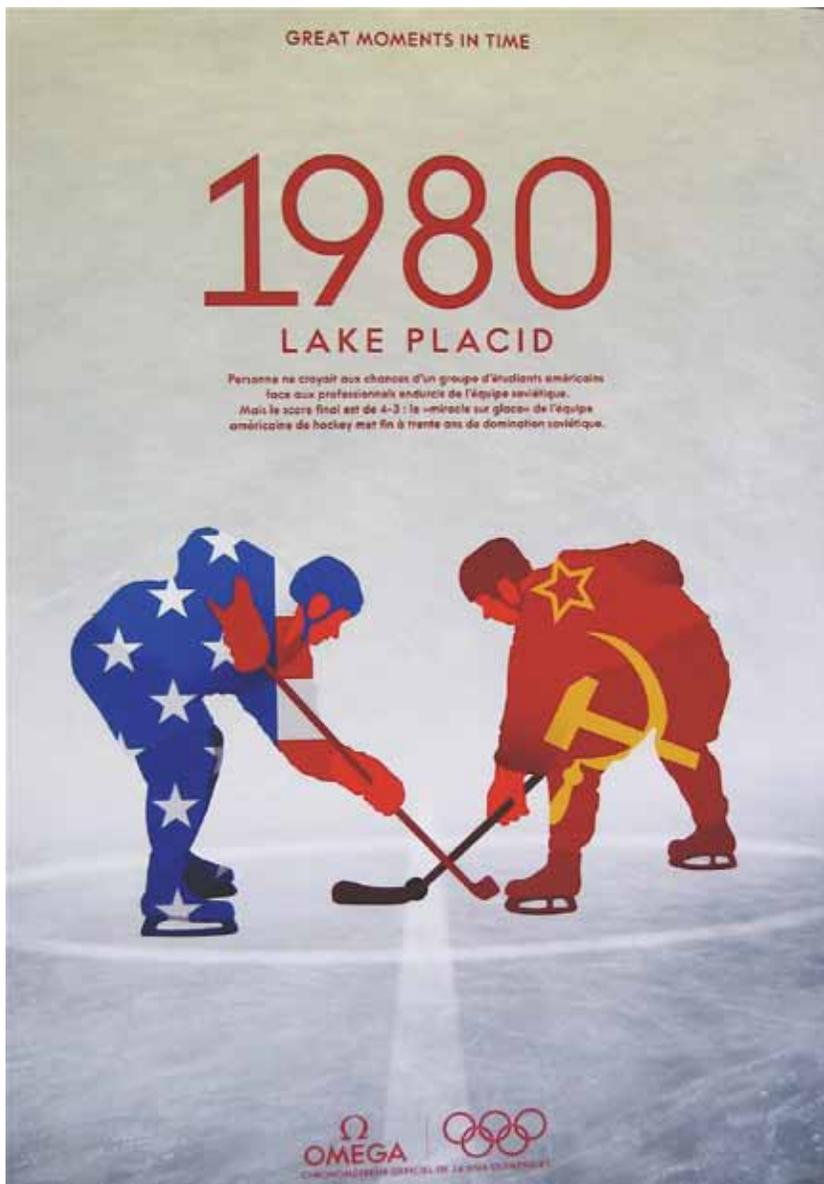
But this illustrious victory in the final paled against what had happened earlier, as former Argentina captain Roberto Perfumo told Carlin. "In 1986, winning that game against England was enough. Winning the World Cup that year was secondary for us. Beating England was our real aim."



©DAVID CHEREPUSCHAK / ALAMY/ALL CANADA PHOTOS

Diego Maradona, above in street graffiti and below during the World Cup final, scored a truly divine — and winning — goal in the semi-final match between Argentina and England. His team went on to beat Germany in the final.





A keepsake poster from the Miracle on Ice game in Lake Placid.



An Iran hostage crisis demonstration, Washington, D.C.

## 6. Lake Placid Winter Olympics Hockey Semi Final: USSR vs U.S., Feb. 22, 1980

“Do you believe in miracles? Yes! Unbelievable.” Hockey fans will immediately recognize this line as the concluding crescendo to one of the greatest upsets in sports history, the Miracle on Ice. Few, if anyone, gave the United States a ghost of a chance to defeat the Soviet Union. A collection of college players and genuine amateurs, the Americans faced one of the most formidable, if not feared, collective of hockey players ever assembled.

Playing a creative, free-flowing style that destroyed every stereotype that western observers might have had about the regimented USSR, the Soviets had entered the tournament as the prohibitive team to beat in seeking their sixth title in seven Olympics. Whereas the Soviets had, for the most part, breezed their way through preliminary play, the Americans under coach Herb Brooke surprised many when they joined the Soviets in the semi-finals, winning more with brawn than with brain. But this contest was, of course, far more than just a clash of playing cultures. It was the Cold War, come to life, in the crowded confines of a hockey rink in Lake Placid, where more than 8,500 fans watched the scrappy Americans score two third-period goals to win 4-3.

Stunningly, most Americans did not watch the game live, unless they lived along the Canadian border. A long time ago, in a media galaxy far, far away from the instant universe of Twitter, the game aired on ABC some five hours after Al Michaels’ famous call. Notwithstanding such delays, the geo-political context could not have been more apparent. Nightly broadcasts before, during and after the Olympics reminded American audiences daily that Iranian revolutionary forces were holding 52 of their fellow citizens hostage. And when the two teams skated on the ice, Soviet troops had been in Afghanistan for almost two months, a development that would eventually inspire the United States to boycott the 1980 Summer Olympics held in Moscow.

## 7. The Super Bowl

Almost 40 years ago, scholar Michael Real published an academic paper in which he probed the cultural significance of Super Bowl VIII. He defined American football as “an aggressive, strictly regulated team game fought between males who use both violence and technology to win monopoly control of property for the economic gain of individuals within a nationalistic, entertainment context.” Real concluded the game projected the “sexual, racial and organizational priorities” of American culture during the Cold War. Much has changed geopolitically since this conclusion, but its essence remains as cogent as it was in 1975. The Super Bowl is more than just a title game to decide the champion of the National Football League (NFL), the richest sports league in the world with \$9 billion in annual revenues.

The game, if not the sport itself, is a canvas of American attitudes. Arguably no recent era has confirmed this critical explanation more clearly than the post 9-11 period when NFL games, including its hyperbolic title games, routinely feature touching, but ultimately uncritical trib-

utes to American armed forces serving abroad. This unapologetic instrumentalization merely amplified the militaristic overtones of the sport itself and reached a tragic apogee when the George W. Bush administration continued its pattern of deception by lying about the 2004 battlefield death of Pat Tillman, a star NFL player who forewent fame and fortune to join the U.S. Rangers with his brother after 9/11.



U.S. ARMY

One-time footballer Pat Tillman

Initial reports framed Tillman’s death in Afghanistan in a heroic light, a narrative that did not hold up against the facts. An investigation eventually identified friendly fire as cause of death. Subsequent reports claim that Tillman might have been deliberately murdered. While it is rather difficult to confirm such claims, journalists such as Jon Krakauer (*Where Men Win Glory: The Odyssey of Pat Tillman*) and David Zirin of the *Nation* have kept this story alive, likely to the chagrin of the NFL. Its commemoration of 9/11 on its 10th anniversary featured the usual patriotic pronouncements, but remained silent about Tillman, who had become a critic of U.S. policy in Iraq before his death.



DREAMTIME

Confetti is blasted out of cannons and onto the football field at the end of the 2011 Super Bowl XLV at Cowboys Stadium in Dallas, Texas, where the Green Bay Packers defeated the Pittsburgh Steelers.

## 8. Cricket Diplomacy

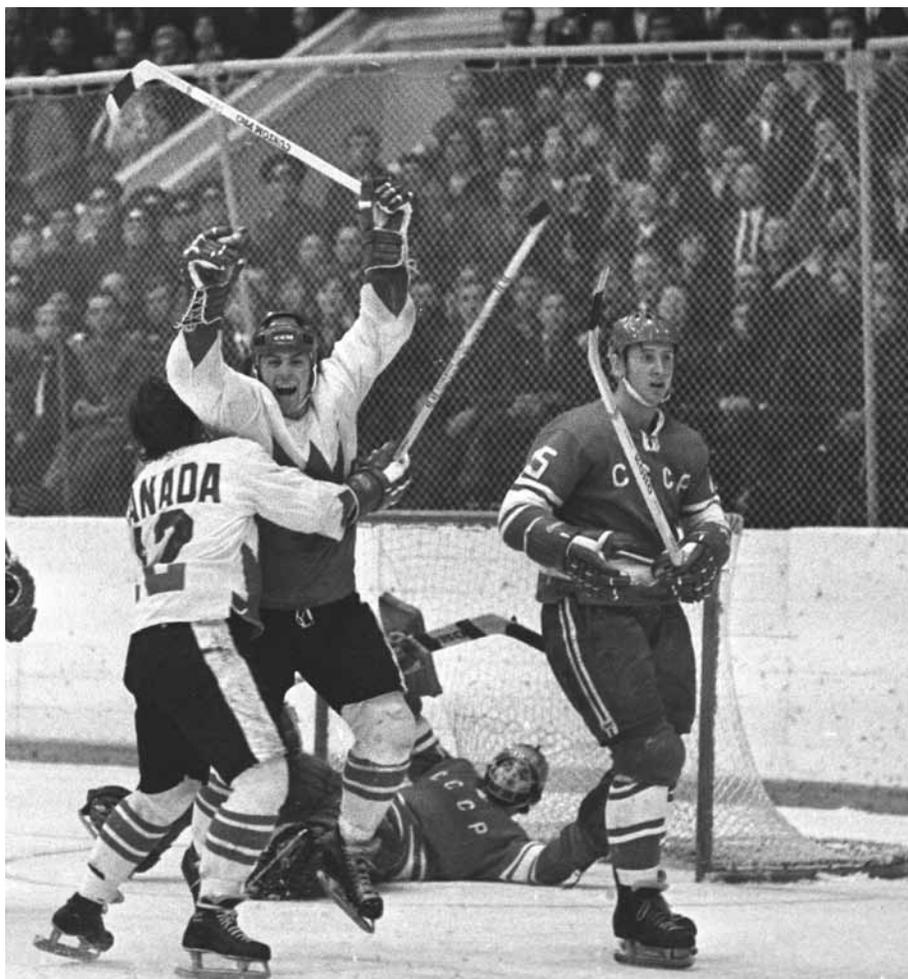
Average sports fans in North America and Europe might be rather puzzled, if not perplexed, should they ever encounter terms such as wicket, bowler and over. Not so in many Commonwealth countries in the Caribbean, Africa and Southeast Asia, where cricket is even more popular than the world's most popular sport, football (soccer). While cricket shares little in common with soccer, it too has become a metaphorical vessel for the ambitions and anxieties of entire nations.

Nowhere is this dynamic more divisive, if not decidedly dangerous for the rest of the globe, than on the Indian sub-continent, where the most passionate practitioners of the sport — India and Pakistan — also happen to be regional rivals, each bearing an arsenal of religious, economic and political grievances towards the other, each possessing a stockpile of nuclear weapons. But if cricket matches between India and Pakistan approximate the dark tensions that have long defined these two nations, they may also brighten the mood, as it happened during the 2011 World Cup, when the prime ministers of both countries watched together the semi-final match between their respective countries.

India, for the record, won the game and the world title. China, another emerging global player, has also recognized the importance of cricket by funding the sport in the Caribbean to undermine Taiwan. If recent geo-political trend lines continue, sporting fans unfamiliar with beamers and stumps might do well to learn a new vocabulary.



Fans in Colombo, Sri Lanka cheer their team at the Cricket World Cup 2011 final against India. India won.



Team Canada's Paul Henderson, embraced by teammate Yvan Cournoyer, celebrates his series-winning goal in Game 8 of the Canada-Soviet hockey series on Sept. 28, 1972.

FRANK LENNON / TORONTO STAR PHOTO

## 9. 1972 Summit Series: USSR-Canada

Designed to deepen the Detente of the early 1970s, this series of eight exhibition games between the former Soviet Union and Canada quickly descended into a clash of hockey cultures and ideological systems. While these two hockey superpowers had met on the ice before, most notably in 1955 when an amateur team from Penticton, B.C. claimed the world championships on behalf of Canada by beating the USSR in West Germany, this Summit Series ushered in a new era in international hockey. For one, technological advancements in broadcasting made the games available to far larger audiences, thereby raising the emotional stakes.

Both countries also sent their best players over the boards in justifying the title of what was otherwise a manufactured contest. A sense of casualness definitely ran through the ranks of the National Hockey League professionals who represented Canada, at least during the first half of the tournament played in Canada. Tipped to beat the USSR with relative ease, Canada dropped the opening 7-3 in losing two out of four home games. Humiliated and booed by their own fans, the Canadians recovered their form as the series resumed in Russia, winning two out of three games heading into the eighth and deciding match. (An earlier tie gave each country three wins and three losses.)

Needing a win to overcome a better Russian goal differential, Canada scored twice in third period to tie the game at five. With 34 seconds left, Paul Henderson achieved hockey immortality by scoring the winning goal after being left alone in front of the Russian net. This dramatic conclusion to what had been a nasty, even brutish affair on and off the ice immediately achieved mythical status. To this day, Canadians of a certain age will likely know exactly where they were when they heard legendary broadcaster Foster Hewitt announce the winning goal.

## 10. 1995 Rugby World Cup

The first major sporting event to be staged in South Africa following apartheid, this competition confirmed the return of the country to the community of nations. While South Africa had retained membership in some international sporting bodies during the apartheid era, including the International Rugby Board, its segregationist policies eventually led to the country's exclusion from FIFA, the world governing body of football, and the International Olympic Committee.

Granted, this international banishment did not affect all South African athletes. (White) South Africans competing in individual sports continued to have careers. But the message behind the banishment was clear. The international community would deny South Africa the prestige of participating in the

world's most influential sporting events. While the actual effects of such sanctions remain debatable, their lifting restored the country's national pride. But this form of international restoration would be meaningless had domestic reconciliation not accompanied it.

Nelson Mandela — who had every reason to disdain, even mock the symbols of his former white jailers — wore the jersey of the Springboks, South Africa's rugby team, when it upset the highly favoured All Blacks of New Zealand in the tournament final. Yes, this event followed by the 2010 World Cup did not fix the many social problems that continue to plague South Africa after the end of apartheid. At the very least, they offer a measure of temporary comfort and a chance for collective solidarity.



DREAMSTIME



UN PHOTO

Nelson Mandela, shown in 2006, wore the jersey of South Africa's rugby team, the Springboks, when they won the Rugby World Cup against the New Zealand All Blacks in 1995. In the 2010 photo above, the Springboks and All Blacks have a rematch.

Wolfgang Depner's most recent publication, *Readings in Political Ideologies since the Rise of Modern Science*, co-edited by Dr. Barrie McCullough, is scheduled for release by Oxford University Press Canada in 2013.

# Confessions of a Canadian mentor in Afghanistan

By James Parker

**O**peration Attention — that’s us! Over here! Canada’s involvement in Afghanistan did not end with the conclusion of combat operations in the fall of 2011 — although much of the Canadian population thinks otherwise. It is not surprising really. Canadians are tired of their troops being in combat and calling them “mentors” is an easy way for the government to make the job sound safer. There are approximately 920 of us in Kabul as part of the aforementioned Op Attention and indeed our primary role is to act as advisers, in varying trades and capacities, to the Afghan National Army (ANA), air force and police.

Operation Attention came into existence in May 2011, approximately six months before the withdrawal of our combat troops from Kandahar in the south. Our rotation was known as “Roto 0,” the first deployment of Canadian Forces personnel to this operation. Any Roto 0 is considered a template-maker, a first kick at the can. And our deployment was precisely that.

Think about it: How do you train to be an adviser in a war zone — Kabul — in a Muslim country? The combat troops spent six months (or more) before leaving Canada, training in mock Afghan villages, set up at CFB Wainwright in Alberta. Actors played Afghan villagers and Taliban insurgents. After months of practising tactics over and over and over again, these soldiers were sharp and ready to go.

Training for Op Attention, on the other hand, brought a disparate group of Canadian Forces personnel together in various parts of the country (though primarily in CFB Edmonton, Alberta). We were a mix of regular and reserve forces. We were army, navy and air force. We were signalers, engineers, logisticians, officers, enlisted, NCOs, infantry, artillery and armour. You can credit Paul Hellyer’s rather messy unification of the Canadian Forces in the late 1960s for this odd mix. The one good thing Hellyer achieved was to bring all the support trades together for training purposes. In other words, a navy cook, an army cook and an air force cook all go to the same cooking school. Likewise, the



Warrant Officer Tim MacCormac demonstrates how to prepare a charge to dispose of unexploded ordnance during a class with Afghan National Army (ANA) soldiers.

medical, dental, public affairs, logistics, supply and most other support trades. The only difference would be the uniform they wore.

Thus I became part of Op Attention — a naval reserve logistics officer on a primarily regular force army mission. This

“hodge-podgeness” is a strength that the Canadian Forces bring to whatever mission they take on because of its inherent adaptability that so many militaries lack.

So what is a naval reserve logistician doing on a mission such as Op Attention? I asked myself that several times during

MASTER CPL. RORY WILSON, CANADIAN FORCES © 2011 DND-MDM

pre-deployment training and while on the deployment itself. I was driven to apply for this deployment for the standard reasons: mid-life crisis, glory, a desire to help, to serve my country — and the medals, the money, the adventure. At 57, I had failed the navy's fitness test twice in a row and was on the verge of being turfed from the organization I loved. If I wanted to go to Afghanistan, I had to pass the fitness test, so talk about incentive.

For several months in Victoria, I worked hard at regaining my fitness. Then the day arrived and I found myself nervously standing on CFB Esquimalt's gymnasium floor. First up was the damned "beep test" that got me every time. [The beep test is synchronized to an audio track, in which, at each beep, the runner has to speed up to keep up.] My short legs had to work twice as hard to cover the same distance that my long-legged companions seemed to stride over with ease. Nevertheless, I passed. I survived this and sit-ups, push-ups, the grip test and pre-test medical.

It must have been quite difficult for the "highers", as our leaders are called, to create a training regimen that would prepare us for this version of an Afghan deployment. We weren't preparing for combat, but the situation was still dangerous. We were going to be working directly with the ANA officers and soldiers on their turf — an interesting dynamic where you would know who your enemy was and yet you would not be sure of the dependability of your own ally.

We were placed in extremely good hands at CFB Edmonton — those of the "3VP," the 3rd Battalion, Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (whose Colonel-in-Chief is the former Gov. Gen. Adrienne Clarkson). This light infantry regiment is famous for the action of its second battalion at Kapyong during the Korean War and all its battalions during both world wars. Despite being incredibly busy already, with its soldiers spread around the world, 3VP was to be the "force generating" organization for Roto 0 of Operation Attention.

Warrant Officer Chuck Côté and his team took us through small arms training, cultural awareness studies, kitting up, patrolling, mine- and IED-awareness, convoys, more paperwork, more medicals and dentals. My own nemesis was the dreaded BFT: the Battle Fitness Test. In order to deploy, everyone has to pass this ordeal: 13.5 kilometres, wearing full fighting order, including tactical vest and body



Writer Jim Parker after Remembrance Day Ceremonies at Camp Alamo.

armour (total weight: 24 kilograms), all to be marched in two hours and 20 minutes or less. Not only that. Upon completion, one had to drag a comrade of equivalent weight one hundred feet and move a pile of pea gravel with a shovel to simulate digging a trench.

With one arm hanging completely numb, my back and feet afire and my spirit ready to pack it in, my saviour was one of the Roto's two padres, Major Al Murphy. A man of constant and infectious good humour, he paced me the last half of the 13.5 kilometres. Padre Murphy kept me hydrated, told bad jokes, adjusted my heavy kit and simply would not let me quit, which I really wanted to do. I finished last, perhaps over the time limit. Thanks Padre.

By this time, it's close to the middle of July 2011. We have had a period of

leave and my group — the headquarters component — has spent five weeks on the firing ranges, day and night, practicing patrols and weapons handling. One lecture series was not particularly helpful, although the intent was valid. This was our two days of "cultural awareness." It was presented by three Afghans (now Canadian federal government employees) who had not been in Kabul for several years. In a show of misplaced patriotism, they showed us old slides of markets, fine homes and assured us that Kabul was a perfectly safe place for a westerner to walk around. Two of our soldiers who had served in Kabul the previous year were absolutely gob-smacked. They told stories of a Kabul that was now the spawning ground and home of the Taliban, where, if one were infidel, as a westerner, he/she was in grave danger.

Now it was time to go: Edmonton-Gander-Germany-Kuwait-Kabul-Afghanistan. Two days of flying and we arrived. Shortly thereafter, I began to wonder what I had gotten myself into.

For many years, along with being a naval reservist, I was a physical education teacher at a prep school in Victoria, B.C. Despite wearing a uniform for almost 25 years, including on a previous deployment to Sudan, I still have a civilian mindset. Upon arriving at the military airport in Kabul, and after sorting out our mountainous piles of kit, we lined up to be issued weapons, ammunition and ballistic plates for our body armour. This was when it hit me, that I was in a wholly different place with different rules.

I watched my colleagues, some veterans of several deployments, and tried to copy their nonchalance and cheery chatter. But inside, I wasn't cool. The airport reminded me of what I thought Vietnam must have been like. Starkly lit, armoured vehicles everywhere, helicopters and other craft taking off and landing every min-

ute and everybody armed with at least a sidearm and some armed with side arm and rifle.

We now had to get from the airport to our camp. Conveyed by armoured vehicles of varying sizes, we crammed ourselves in, wearing "FFO" — full fighting order: helmets, flak and tactical vests, weapons, ammo and more. I would learn quickly that everyone modified his/her tactical vests but always, always, one carried as much 5.56 ammo as he/she could carry in the pouches on the vest. The regular force guys, the "vets," had their own equipment brought from Edmonton, sometimes purchased on their own. (One of the lessons learned by the army in Afghanistan south was the unsuitability of the current tac vests, the kind I wore, with too few ammo pouches and not easy-enough access to side arms and ammunition.)

I'm crammed into this armoured vehicle driven by two American sergeants, with a dozen other people, weapons poking out everywhere. I find out that

all travel here must be done in convoy. In our case, this meant several vehicles interspersed with giant, heavily armoured and armed tactical vehicles. The passengers are told to "watch their arcs" for potential suicide vehicles and bombers. Until we reach our camp, I am rigid and on the edge of my seat, staring out into the night, while the vehicle's radio played American rock 'n' roll.

A new type of war fighting exists here. The standard Taliban tactics of IEDs — planted IEDs, VBIEDS (vehicle-borne IEDs), suicide bombers — all exist "outside the wire." Now, however, we also have to be concerned about inside the wire, right where we live, in the various camps around Kabul. Whether it is insurgents sneaking in, an ANA soldier turned traitor or frontal attacks, lethal contact has happened more frequently of late. Known as a "green on blue," for example, is a disgruntled ANA soldier, turning his weapon on coalition forces — and four French soldiers are killed and 17 wounded. In this instance, the French soldiers are unarmed.



JAMES PARKER

When MCpl Byron Greff was killed by a vehicle-borne improvised explosive device while on an armoured NATO bus, his three closest friends, Cpl. Denzil Wilson, Cpl. Chevy O'Neil and Cpl. Steven Wilson, came up with the idea of creating a velcroed poppy patch to be sold to soldiers, with funds raised going to Greff's young family. Many still wear the poppy patch under a pocket or in their field hats.

The soldier, as it turns out, is angry at the American soldiers who desecrated the bodies of Taliban men by urinating on them.

This “inside the wire warfare” drives the type of weapons training we do. The “QRDs,” or quick reaction drills, are practised over and over, much of it practised at our desks, in our offices. I’m not sure what this would be called. “Interior Urban Warfare,” perhaps?

We practised drawing our side arms from sitting in a chair, behind a desk. This adaptation has been driven by the sad case of nine Americans killed last year at the Kabul airport by an angry Afghan Air Force officer during an argument. None of the nine had pulled their weapons. Some, however, had their cellular phones in their hands. So we continue to practise on our own and on the ranges and in dry runs in the camps. You might imagine how we feel, whenever we walk by armed ANA soldiers. For my part, I am hyper-alert and keeping a leery eye, and mentally add the stress of this to the other stressors.

As I observe the Canadian soldiers in this multi-national environment, I cannot help but believe they stand head and shoulders above the soldiers of the other nations here. I hear much scuttlebutt around the camps to support this. Canadian soldiers have the shortest hair, the best carriage and deportment and are generally the smartest dressed, even though their uniforms are slightly dated compared to their international colleagues. (Fortunately, this will change next year, when they are to be issued the latest in combat wear.)

All the soldiers take terrific pride in the units they belong to and do not hesitate to “jack up” another soldier for “letting down the side.” I am by no means a professional soldier and these young fellers are continually saying, “Sir, you should have your hat on.” Or, “Sir, do you really want to wear your holster *that way*?” Or, “Sir, perhaps time for a haircut?” and so on. I take it all in good humour, knowing they care about how “we” look compared to the other countries here.

Prepare as we might for worst-case scenarios, sometimes there is nothing we can do. This was sadly the case when MCpl Byron Greff was killed by a VBIED while on an armoured NATO bus, taking him back to his camp after returning from leave. His comrades here and at the other camps were devastated by the death of this popular young man. Also killed on the bus were several others including

‘Lucy’, a popular former bomb sniffer dog and her handler. The 200-plus Canadians were gathered in the camp square and told the sad news about MCpl Greff. The silence and sadness were palpable.

MCpl Greff’s three closest friends here at Camp Alamo came up with the idea of creating a velcroed poppy patch to be worn on our uniforms and sold to all the soldiers, with funds raised going to Greff’s young family. The idea took off like wildfire, with demands for the patch coming from all across Kabul and from Canada. Several thousand dollars were raised and to this day, many of us still wear the poppy patch, under a pocket or in our field hats, because it is no longer authorized for wear on our uniforms. As the patch says, “We will remember you, Byron Greff.”



JAMES PARKER

The poppy patch in memory of MCpl Greff; Parker gave his to Senator Pamela Wallin and told her not to forget the soldiers in Kabul.

Afghanistan is an emotional and surreal place for this naval reservist. Our little Camp Alamo is a small bastion of approximately 600 soldiers from several nations, built in the middle of the Kabul Military Training Centre, which houses and trains 10,000 ANA soldiers. As this is a mentoring/advising mission, most of us spend time with our Afghan counterparts on “their side.” I simply cannot put into words the dichotomy between the Afghan soldier and your typical Canadian soldier.

Inadequately dressed for winter weather, poorly fed and vastly underpaid, these Afghan soldiers still have the ability to laugh and to play amongst themselves. I see different expressions on the faces of these soldiers. Laughter, as I try

out my bits of the Dari language on them; disdain, resentment and anger for my being here and sometimes an unfathomable look that I cannot decipher.

Is being an adviser/mentor “combat?” If you listen to our government, we are not in combat, but safely “behind the wire” in classrooms. This is true, in that some of us are not going out on patrols as they were in the south, into Taliban country. However, the number of fraggings, the death of MCpl Greff, the manner in which we suit up in full personal protective gear with weapons, and even the fact that we travel in heavily armed and heavily armoured vehicles leads me to think that this is indeed “combat,” and Kabul is “outside the wire”. It is danger in different disguises. As I look at the young men and women going out every day, the throaty sounds of their armoured vehicles bellowing into the crisp morning air, I tell myself that soldiers have been doing this for centuries. Only their transport and weapons change.

It is early days yet but I believe there is some possibility that this mission, going at least until 2014, may have more impact on Afghanistan, over the long term, than our combat operations out of Kandahar did. The coalition forces are helping to create a national army and police force from the ground up.

The only part missing, I feel, is that we should be doing the same with the Afghan government. I’m not sure that one can succeed without the other. Perhaps we should send some of our Canadian parliamentarians to help with this. The Kandahar mission’s goal was to overwhelm and move the Taliban out of a certain area. This Kabul mission is much like giving a farmer the grain and teaching him how to farm, rather than just giving him a tractor.

In other words, if we are successful, we will have helped create a national security system that can stand and operate on its own. They, the Afghans, do not need to be told who the enemy is.

I want to believe that the tremendous efforts expended and lives forfeited by the coalition forces here will help this country and its warm, wonderful and generous people. Truly they deserve it.

Lieutenant and naval reservist James Parker returned home to Victoria in March, after serving eight months on Op Attention. With only two years left in the Canadian Forces, he plans to volunteer in a civilian role for another mission with the UN or NATO.

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# Military alliances: a primer

Why NATO, however ambiguous its role, is here to stay

By David G. Haglund



NATO

NATO headquarters in Brussels

Alliances represent the most long-lived form of institutionalized security and defence cooperation that contemporary international states have ever known. In fact, they are even older than these states themselves — which, as a system of government, likely date back to 1648, in the immediate aftermath of the cataclysmic Thirty Years' War. No one can really say when the first alliances between discrete political entities sprang up, but we certainly know that Thucydides had a central place for them in his account of the Peloponnesian War back in the 5th Century BC.

More important, however, than trying to date the origins of those numerous alliances that have dotted the history of our "own" system from the mid 17th Century to the present, is the business of trying to say something useful about why alliances form, and how they function. In this essay, I pose four key questions regarding alliances, asking: first, what alliances are; second, how they differ from other secu-

rity arrangements; third, whether they are, from the ethical perspective, positive, negative, or neutral aspects of global politics; and fourth, how and why they evolve, and what this tells us about their life expectancy. I will centre my analysis around the premier alliance of our time, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), with reflections on other collective-defence arrangements into which Canada and its partners have entered.

Probably the best, or at least the most elegant, definition has been supplied by Harvard Professor Stephen M. Walt, who (in *The Origins of Alliances*, 1987) wrote: "I define alliance as a formal or informal relationship of security cooperation between two or more sovereign states. This definition assumes some level of commitment and an exchange of benefits for both parties..." In the nature of things, there is much room for nuance insofar as the obligations and benefits of membership are concerned, but the core thought contained in the definition is that allies sense that

something out there, in the international system, threatens them, and that they agree to pool their resources as a means of enabling them better to deter or defend against that apprehended threat. There is the logic limned so appropriately in this quatrain from Lewis Carroll's nonsense poem, *The Hunting of the Snark*:

*"But the valley grew narrow and narrower still,  
And the evening got darker and colder,  
Till (merely from nervousness, not from goodwill)  
They marched along shoulder to shoulder."*

In short, the logic of collective defence is, at the outset, a logic of fear and, just as with the Butcher and the Beaver of Carroll's poem, states forming alliances do so because they seek the safety that numbers might provide against a tangible threat. The manner in which they choose to pool their resources might be decided by means of a treaty (for example, the Washington

treaty of 1949 through which the U.S., Canada, and 10 European countries created NATO), or it can come about through less formal mechanisms, such as the agreements and arrangements that brought into existence, in August 1940, the Canada-U.S. alliance, which remains America's oldest unbroken alliance and Canada's most important one. Whether treaty-created or not, there is an expectation that should collective action be required of an alliance, the members' response will resemble that of Athos, Portos and Aramis — the three musketeers of Alexandre Dumas — whose watchword was "all for one, and one for all." The reality is otherwise, with the solidarity pledge getting regularly honoured more in the breach than in the observance.

To put limits on the concept of alliance, one can distinguish it from a related form of security and defence cooperation with which it is sometimes confused: the significant, albeit sometimes poorly respected, conceptual boundary separating collective-defence arrangements from collective-security ones. Usually, it is simply sloppiness and not deliberate intent that accounts for the boundary transgressions — as, for instance, when NATO is said to have found for itself a collective-security vocation after the Cold War. Those who make such assertions fail to notice how profoundly collective security differs in inspiration from collective defence — a difference that shows up most starkly when we examine the charter mandates of the two premier organizations associated with these respective logics, the United Nations (for collective security) and NATO (for collective defence).

The UN, just like its predecessor organization, the League of Nations, was founded on a wonderful vision, of preserving peace through the concerted efforts of a collectivity seized of its responsibilities to exercise vigilance against interstate aggression, no matter where or when it might rear its ugly head. This vision was enshrined in the League's covenant, and in the UN's charter. It is a vision much nobler than the one that inspires collective defence, and its operating principle is certainly a different one — so different that it stands as the antithesis of the very "balance of power" mechanisms that are part and parcel of the concept of an alliance.

Unlike collective defence, collective security presupposes that we cannot know in advance the identity of challengers to the international status quo

(taken to mean those states that would violate the territorial integrity of member-states by invasion). We can only be guided by the conviction that if all "peace-loving" states agree to take stern measures (including military as well as economic measures) against international scofflaws, then very soon there will be no more scofflaws. For not only will actual aggressors find their aggressions undone by the will of the community, but would-be aggressors would see their malignant designs expire on the drawing-board, as they will have been deterred by the evidence of swift and sure retribution against those who did dare to aggress, and paid the price for their daring.

Needless to say, because it has such an ambitious agenda, collective security faces a much tougher challenge than collective defence in demonstrating its effectiveness. For it to work, a couple of essential conditions must be in place. There must first be an identification of the guilty party, for unless one knows against which international miscreant(s) counter-measures are required, it is impossible to mobilize them. The problem here is that most wars originate in such confusing circumstances that it is no easy matter, even with the benefit of hindsight, to figure out just who or what actually "caused" them. For collective security to work, there can be no waiting upon hindsight, given that counter-action must come swiftly if it is to come at all. The collective-defence logic of alliances, on the other hand, is much simpler to put into operation, since the adversary has been identified from the outset: it was the state or group of states that provided, after all, the alliance's *raison d'être*.

No less important is a second consideration, regarding the stakes involved in

threats to peace. Collective-security logic rests on an assumption that states act out of a sense of "enlightened self-interest," such that they understand why they should involve themselves in conflicts that may erupt in parts of the world that might otherwise possess little or no strategic importance to them. Collective defence, on the other hand, is intended to safeguard core, and immediately apparent (some say "vital") interests — namely the protection of the territorial integrity of one's own group, not some hypothesized "international community." The difference is captured in Mark Twain's quip that while anyone worth their salt might fight to defend their own homes, no one has yet to encounter someone willing to risk life and limb for the sake of their boarding house.

Our third question concerns the ethical justification of alliances. It might seem, given what was said above, that as the decks are stacked against collective-security arrangements, which pretty much get adjudged to be feckless *a priori*, alliances must therefore inherit by default the moral high ground, if only because they can show at least some capacity for being able to function. By comparison, the record of collective security in operation under the League was abysmal, and not much improvement has been recorded during the six-plus decades of the UN's existence.

It takes nothing away from the policy successes of certain alliances to recall that the balance-of-power system possesses a rather severe downside of its own, and that the numerous collective-defence arrangements that were made and unmade during that long period of time known as the "era of multipolarity" — i.e., the period spanning 1648 and 1945 — correlated with a system that was nothing if not war-prone. Nor can it be denied that it was disgust with both the balance-of-power and the alliances it spawned that gave rise, albeit only for a brief time, to the dream of escaping the war trap through collective security in the aftermath of the two world wars of the 20th Century.

So what can we say about the ethical merits of alliances, as a means of maintaining peace? We can only say that the record is mixed: It is an easy matter to establish a strong correlation between alliances and great-power war — or at least it was easy so to do during the era of multipolarity — thus it is not hard to equate alliances with death and destruction. Lately, though, the experts seem to have become con-



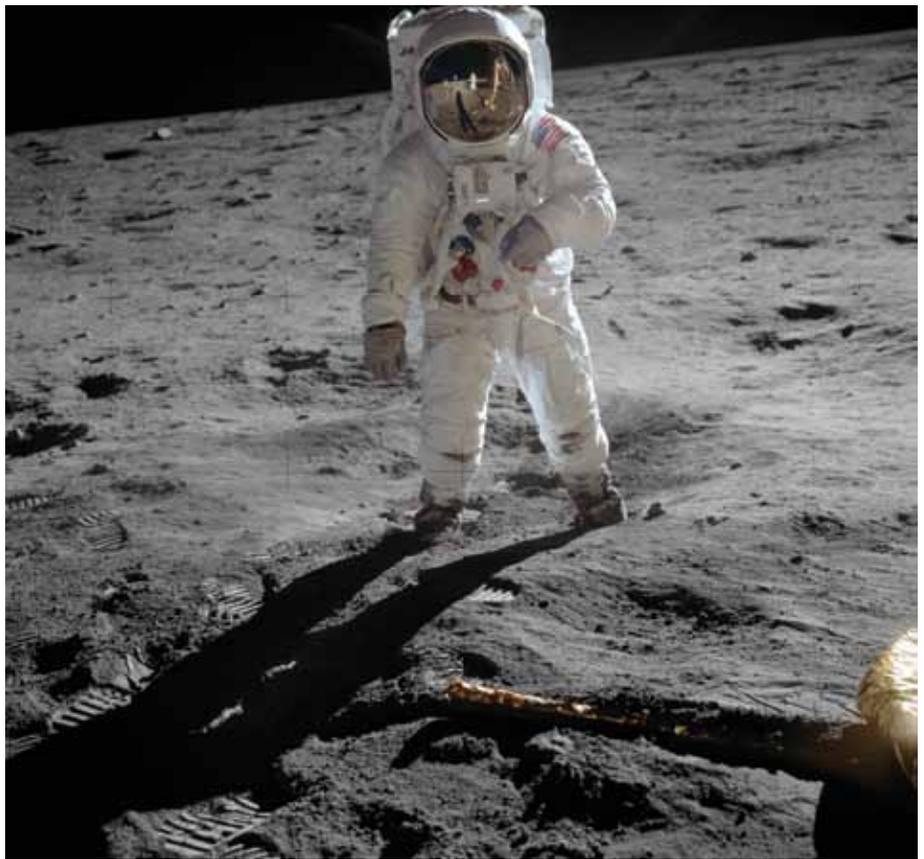
The Potsdam Conference was held in the summer of 1945. From left, Winston Churchill, Harry S. Truman and Joseph Stalin.

vinced that the peril of great-power war is long in the past; yet, to the surprise of some, there is little evidence that the end of alliance can be expected any time soon.

NATO keeps on going, defying many prophecies of impending demise. Bilateral defence and security ties abound in the contemporary system. Many of these link the U.S. with lesser partners (for example, its alliances with Japan and Israel, both dating from the 1960s), but some also involve such other countries as Russia (with its 1992 pact, misleadingly called the Collective Security Treaty Organization, linking it to Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan). Therefore, while it may be an easy matter to implicate alliances in conflicts, including great-power conflicts in days gone by, it is much more difficult a thing to imagine a world without alliances, or even to speculate that a world without alliances must be a peaceful world.

In the end, the ethical merits of alliances, in general, get assessed against the record of the one alliance that seems to matter so much more than all of the others put together, and that, of course, is NATO. The thinking is that if NATO is doing some good, then alliances cannot be said to be all bad. So, the fourth and final question assesses the manner in which this particular alliance has evolved. Earlier, I referred to the confusion that has often attended discussions of NATO activities after the ending of the Cold War — activities that in the judgment of some observers constituted proof that NATO's purpose had now become collective security. There are reasons for the confusion, even if not good ones. Some who mistake today's NATO for a collective-security organization might suffer not from lack of memory but from remembering too much, for they would be recalling that the Declaration of the United Nations (January 1, 1942) was emphatically a pronouncement of alliance — of collective defence — pitting our side (Canada, the U.S., Britain, the Soviet Union, and myriad other partners) against their side (Germany, Japan, Italy and several lesser states). But this UN was radically different in purpose from the UN that emerged in October 1945.

Others who commit the fallacy of deeming NATO to be a collective-security organization reason, not incorrectly, that much of what the Western alliance has actually been doing in recent decades, starting with its involvement in Yugoslavia in the 1990s and continuing today (for



Competition for space exploration supremacy was part of the Cold War. The U.S. reached the moon in 1969.

instance, in Libya this past year), resembles missions that the UN itself promotes. Indeed, at times it looks as if the UN has contracted out some of its heaviest lifting to NATO.

Ergo, conclude these observers, if NATO does the things that the collective-security organization itself does (or wishes to see done), then the alliance must also have been transformed into a collective-security organization. The problem with this reasoning is that what the UN does, and what it has been doing almost exclusively since its inception, is something quite different from collective security, a dream that died once Cold War rivalries sundered the prospect of unity on the Security Council, and a dream that only once since then (in 1991 with the war to chase Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait) was allowed to flicker briefly.

Whatever we choose to call the security endeavours of the UN — preventative diplomacy and peacekeeping were, for a time, the names of choice, and later these became human security and humanitarian intervention — the endeavours are far removed from the logic of collective security. You could almost say they turn on its head that very logic, for collective security was

envisioned as a means of safeguarding the sovereign integrity of the member-states, while humanitarian intervention, especially in its current guise as a “responsibility to protect,” presupposes that it might be necessary to use force to violate the sovereignty of member-states. That NATO itself may be undertaking similar missions to the UN is, therefore, absolutely no basis for claiming it has given itself over to collective security.

Exactly what, then, has NATO been doing ever since the demise of the adversary that had been required for it to have come into existence — an adversary, moreover, whose disappearance many believed, we now know how wrongly, would lead to NATO's disappearance as well? For starters, it never has renounced its collective-defence mandate, any more than the UN has abandoned its mandate of collective security. The organizations are similar in another, more relevant, way: They are each involved in undertakings that are only loosely deducible (if that) from those charter mandates.

If we can accept that NATO's primary function during the Cold War was to protect members from the prospect of Soviet territorial aggression against them,

U.S. NAVY NATIONAL MUSEUM OF NAVAL AVIATION



U.S. Navy Douglas R4D and U.S. Air Force C-47 aircraft unload at Tempelhof Airport during the Berlin Airlift circa 1948.

we surely have to acknowledge that ever since the disappearance of the USSR this function has ceased to make any sense. Nor would simply replacing the Soviet Union with Russia really do much to account for the survivability of the alliance, even if it is true that some of NATO's current 28 members are primarily worried about Russia when they scan their security horizons. But this applies to only a small minority — four states in particular (the three Baltic republics and Poland); as for the rest, when they think of how NATO relates to their respective national interests, they produce a variety of responses, all of which have little or nothing to do with Russia.

Indeed, if we had to generalize, the safest thing to claim about the post-Cold War activity of this regional security organization is that it has busied itself with two primary functions, neither of which can be even remotely subsumed under a collective-security or a collective-defence mandate. The first of these, put into practice through NATO's partnership and enlargement initiatives from the early 1990s to the present, can be classified under the rubric "cooperative security," or perhaps even better can be expressed as an injunction to spread the "democratic zone of peace" by enhancing the prospects of liberal-democratic institutions taking root in newly democratizing member-states. Often this process is accompanied by ini-

tiatives aimed at "security sector reform" in the new and aspirant member-states.

The second function, glimpsed initially first in Bosnia in 1995 and then four years later in Kosovo, concerns conflict management, encapsulated more and more under the heading of "stabilization" operations. This applies, in spades, to NATO's most ambitious commitment of the past two decades, the mission in Afghanistan, but it can also be discerned in the recently concluded air operations in Libya.

Does this mean that there is nothing left to the old garment of collective defence, and that Athos, Portos and Aramis have little to say about today's alliance? Yes, more or less; for a bit like nostalgia, collective defence is not what it used to be. In fact, it never was what some people think it was, and this for two reasons. First, there has been an unfortunate tendency for interpreters of NATO's collective-defence mandate, encapsulated in the Washington treaty's famous Article 5, to read too much into the solidarity commitment. I would be a rich professor indeed if I had a nickel for every time I have heard it remarked that Article 5 obliges member-states to take military reprisals against anyone who dares to attack an ally. The article does not do this. Some allies, for instance Iceland, do not even have a military; others, as in the majority, are keen on nothing so much as limiting the liability that might be theirs if they really did have to go to war when-

ever an ally happened to be under attack. What Article 5 actually commits each ally to do is to "tak[e] forthwith, individually, and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force." In other words, allies may use military force to support an attacked ally, but they do not have to. They can do whatever they deem it best to do, including hardly anything at all.

In any event, it bears stressing that Article 5 has been invoked a grand total of once in the alliance's 63-year history, following the attacks of 9/11, and that the American response to this declaration of solidarity was, to put it mildly, one of restrained gratitude, a "thanks, but no thanks" reaction on the part of a government that was still smarting from the negative "lessons learned" regarding the NATO (aka committee) way of war — lessons gleaned from the Kosovo war two years earlier. The bad news here may be that the solidarity of allies is less than total. (If it were more genuine and widespread, NATO would have long ago ceased to worry about the problem of "burden sharing".) The good news is that it is as unlikely as it has always been that allies will be "entrapped" into going to war because one (or more) of their NATO partners happens to be fighting — unless, of course, they wish to join their ally in combat. This simply means that NATO is a coalition of the willing, not of the dragooned.

As such, this particular alliance shows little sign of ending, for what it would take to close the book on NATO's existence would be a willingness of the membership to fold it up. Despite a provision in the Washington Treaty (Article 13) specifying the means by which a member can leave the alliance, no state has ever thought of decamping, not even France in 1966 when it (temporarily) withdrew from the integrated military command of the alliance but not from the alliance itself. Just the reverse: More states have wanted to join. Barring an unlikely American defection from NATO, it is difficult to the point of being impossible to imagine this alliance disappearing.

David Haglund is a professor of political studies at Queen's University in Kingston. His most recent books are *The North Atlantic Triangle Revisited: Canadian Grand Strategy at Century's End* (2000); and *Over Here and Over There: Canada-U.S. Defence Cooperation in an Era of Interoperability* (2001).

# Sunrise over Yemen



EMAIL/MOBILE

Protests at Sana'a University start with hundreds in February 2011 and grow to thousands in March and hundreds of thousands in April.



*By Khaled Bahah  
Ambassador of Yemen*

**Y**emen, an Arab country and one of the oldest centres of civilization, presides over one of the busiest and most crucial shipping routes in the world. Bordered by Saudi Arabia, the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea, the Gulf of Aden and Oman, it comprises more than 555,000 square kilometres with some 2,000 kilometres of coast and in excess of 200 islands (including the famous natural paradise of Socotra). Yemen's population is approximately 24 million, with a growth rate of 3.4 percent and a GDP per capita of US\$1,118.

Prior to 1990, there were two Yemens — the northern Yemen Arab Republic,

having attained Independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1918, and the southern People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, which had been under British rule from 1839-1967. On May 22, 1990, a united Yemen was formed and northern President Ali Abdullah Saleh became president of the new Republic of Yemen. However, the fusion of two countries with incompatible systems led to a bitter civil war in 1994. The South was defeated on July 7 of that year — a resentment that still lingers.

Sadly, true democracy eluded the people of Yemen under Saleh. A cunning political survivor, he structured an impenetrable power base of nepotism,



NATIONAL YEMEN NEWSPAPER

Ali Abdullah Saleh, right, hands Abed Rabbo Mansour Hadi the flag of Yemen.

placing his sons, brothers and nephews, along with members of his inner circle, in control of the main military and security forces. His outer circle encompassed the tribal and religious elite, with influence extending to key political and commercial stakeholders. His oppressive regime exploited Yemen's resources and people for a staggering 33 years.

In recent years, rumblings of discontent mounted against Saleh, with a strengthening of opposition parties, primarily the Joint Meeting Parties — a coalition which includes the southern Socialist Party and the powerful but fragmented northern Islah Party.

Tribal unrest is led by the Al Ahmar family of the powerful Hashid tribe, from which Saleh hails. Though they were allies of Saleh under the late Abdullah Al Ahmar, his son Hamid opposes the president and has been joined by several brothers who resigned from the Saleh regime.

Since 2004, the northern Houthis have led a rebellion against the government. Their grievances include religious and economic marginalization concerns; while in the south, an independence movement

has intensified since 2007 due to the regime's northern bias and discrimination.

Yemen has also been a victim of terrorism since the 2000 bombing of the USS Cole in Aden Harbour. While the U.S. considers Saleh an ally in the fight against terrorism, many Yemenis argue that he collaborates with al-Qaeda when it is advantageous to him. The chaos of 2011 has served to strengthen al-Qaeda's presence in isolated southern pockets.

Saleh, a former military man with negligible education, is the most Machiavellian of Arab autocrats. Throughout his rule, he has been a capricious man of broken promises — justifying his erratic behaviour by likening the ruling of Yemen to “dancing on the heads of snakes.” However, a Tunisian fruit-seller's suicide began the chain of events that brought Saleh's dancing to an end.

Given such disenchantment with the regime, Yemen has been a vigorous participant in the contagious revolution known as the Arab Spring, which has mesmerized the world, altering the destiny of millions.

Rioting broke out in mid-January, 2011, signifying the start of Yemen's revolu-

tion. Demonstrators were critical of the president and demanded change. Violent crackdowns by security forces ensued. However, unlike former insurgencies, Yemenis refused to be silenced, and their numbers grew. The revolution was initiated by the determined courage of youth to fight for a better life, using the information highway as a pivotal tool to organize protest and create real-time witnesses all over the world. But ultimate change evolved through the heroic struggles of all Yemenis — standing united, demanding liberation.

Prior to January, Saleh had proposed constitutional amendments, relinquishing both his right to be president in perpetuity and the inferred inheritance of the title by his son. Once rioting broke out, he chose to withdraw these proposals. When this had no effect to bring calm, the regime manufactured pro-Saleh demonstrations outside the presidential palace. However, the demand for Saleh's resignation continued, joined by many tribal people.

Tragedy struck March 18, as troops massacred more than 56 civilians in Change Square, Sana'a. A state of emer-

gency was declared, and the following day, nine Yemeni ambassadors, including myself in Ottawa, wrote to the president condemning the massacres. International outrage was sparked, and by March 23, Brigadier Ali Mohsen al Ahmar declared support for the revolution, representing a serious high-level military rupture, while several Yemeni governorates split from government control.

In response to increasing violence, Yemen's Foreign Minister Abubakr Al-Qirbi was dispatched to the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), to hint that Saleh would sign an initiative outlining a roadmap to peaceful resolution, including power transfer, conditional upon immunity from prosecution. The GCC acted accordingly but, despite four promises to endorse the initiative, he reneged on his own proposal. The document remained unsigned and Yemen deteriorated.

On May 23, AQAP (Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula) members supporting Sharia law occupied the southern coastal town of Zinjibar, killing several people. Additional fighting occurred between the regime and defectors from military troops. Conflict broke out between Republican Guard Troops, under Saleh's son, and the Hashid tribe led by Sadiq Al-Ahmar, as military forces massacred peaceful demonstrators elsewhere.

The conflict motivated an assassination attempt at the presidential palace June 3. Several of Saleh's entourage were killed and the president himself, despite denials, sustained serious wounds including a collapsed lung and burns to his entire body. The following day, he flew to Saudi Arabia for emergency treatment. Vice President Abed Rabbo Mansour Hadi became acting president by default. On July 7, the anniversary of the Black Day of Southern Defeat in the 1994 Civil War, a frail and bandaged Saleh gave a confrontational speech from Saudi Arabia, vowing revenge and threatening to "confront challenge with challenge."

By mid-August, a National Transition Council was declared, consisting of 143 opposition members. However, roughly 20 from the south withdrew, citing unfair representation and lack of emphasis on southern issues. The massacres continued in September by the Republican Guard, led by Saleh's son and by the central forces of his nephew, Yahya.

Abruptly, on Sept. 23, Saleh returned to Yemen. The violence escalated and UN Security Council Resolution 2014 was issued in October, expressing grave concern over



Yemeni activist Tawakkul Karman's non-violent protest leads her to a Nobel Peace Prize. She dedicated it to the people of Yemen.

the bloodshed and calling for an immediate adoption of the GCC Initiative to end the crisis. Amid the chaos, the winners of the Nobel Peace Prize were announced on Oct. 7. Among them was Yemeni female activist Tawakkul Karman, whose non-violent protest garnered her international acclaim. In accepting this honour, she dedicated it to the people of Yemen.

Following an absurd number of promises and subsequent refusals, Saleh finally signed the GCC Initiative Nov. 23. Much credit is due to the herculean persistence and patience of Jamal Benomar, UN envoy to Yemen, and Secretary General Al Ziani of the GCC, in implementing the initiative and putting the Operational Mechanism in place. Accordingly, on Dec. 7, a coalition of current and opposition parties, known as the National Reconciliation Government, was established and interim elections were confirmed for February 2012.

January 2012 signified the end of unrestrained revolution and the beginning of inner transformation — the objective was to establish an environment of security, unity and reform prior to multi-party elections in 2014. This process began Feb. 21 with the people formally electing to remove Saleh and appoint acting vice-president Hadi as transitional president for two years. Saleh's agreement to relinquish power was attained upon the condition of his full immunity from prosecution. While

immunity continues to be a sore point for Yemenis, it was the only means to an end. In Northern Yemen, voter turnout was significant and the election was peaceful. The south called for rejection of the election and, as a result, voter turnout was low, consisting almost entirely of northern troops stationed there. Although this underscores the massive efforts required to create future cooperation and trust, it's important to note that only a few months ago, it would have been inconceivable that on Feb. 25, 2012, a new president would be sworn in after 33 years, seven months and four days of oppression. Equally remarkable, on Feb. 27, the first presidential ceremony in Yemen's history was held, attended by the new leader and the former president, whose presence, strategically orchestrated by loyalists, was fiercely unappreciated by the prime minister, opposition parties and youth.

As the Operational Mechanism stipulates, President Hadi and the new coalition government will create a military committee to restore legitimate security forces. They will also form a dialogue committee, comprised of members of political parties, civil society, southern movements, tribal members, Al Houthi and youth, among others. Based on their discussions, a constitutional committee will draft a new constitution and prepare the country for authentic democratic parliamentary and presidential elections in 2013 and 2014.

Yemen's problems are largely systemic, emanating from a leader who played the rifts within the country as a political chess game. However, though Saleh may be gone, his ghost remains through the continued presence of military control by his family and former allies such as General Ali Mosen al Ahmar and the backward tribal contingent still loyal to the late Abdulla al Ahmar. It is essential that these individuals relinquish their power immediately or they will find themselves the new target of the revolution. They must step aside in order to show the people that they are part of the cure rather than symptoms of the disease.

Yemen is a work in progress, but its victory over oppression has inspired a spirit of optimism not felt for more than three decades. While much remains to be done, genuine hope springs that on the horizon, a brilliant new sunrise is about to shine over Yemen.

Khaled Bahah is Yemen's ambassador to Canada.

# Hard talk: a conversation with Iran

'In such a dire situation,' says Chargé d'Affaires Kambiz Sheikh-Hassani, 'cool heads should prevail'

By Donna Jacobs

Iran has provoked widespread international concern over its controversial pursuit of nuclear power and its suspected pursuit of nuclear weapons. It is also criticized for its unjust imprisonment and execution of its citizens, including children, as well as for its suppression of political dissidents and opposition candidates. Most recently, it faces censure for supporting Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad against the call for international action to stop his deadly suppression of protesters.

In this wide-ranging interview, Iranian Charge d'Affaires Kambiz Sheikh-Hassani tells *Diplomat* publisher Donna Jacobs why the West is wrong about Iran, and why the West should get out of the Middle East and mind its own business.

**Diplomat Magazine:** The Canadian government's "Controlled Engagement Policy" has limited discussions with the Embassy of Iran to four topics since May 2005: (1) the human rights situation in Iran; (2) Iran's nuclear program and its lack of respect for its non-proliferation obligations; (3) the case of Mrs. Zahra Kazemi, who was killed in an Iranian prison by government officials in 2003; and (4) Iran's role in the region.

Please comment on the status of each of these topics and indicate what you would say to open a dialogue with the Canadian government on them.

**Kambiz Sheikh-Hassani:** I have been a pro-dialogue diplomat and I came here to kick-start a meaningful, result-oriented dialogue. I have been here for a year, and I keep working [toward] that objective. I cross my fingers for success because I find such an approach a win-win for both Iran and Canada. At the same time, governments form their own policies and, as diplomats, we cannot interfere with the policies.

As I have said before, Canada used to be seen as a part of the solution internationally — an honest broker, a lateral player — [and has now] taken a different approach. I read in articles in your media that even your academics and your [intellectuals], who are active in foreign-policy issues, also long for the old Canada.



Kambiz Sheikh-Hassani

I think we are in a very volatile, sophisticated and complicated transitional period in global history. In such a dire situation, cool heads should prevail. We are obliged to use our intellectual faculties more than our muscles. As an optimistic diplomat, I am working for that. I haven't been able to influence your government's foreign policy much so far. But I remain optimistic and I work as hard as I can to achieve [progress] in the four areas that you mention.

**DM:** The Canadian government will discuss human rights with representatives of the Iranian embassy. What will you say to them on this issue?

**K S-H:** Human rights is a serious issue for us. We attach a lot of importance to the issue but we emphasize we are people of different cultures. When the Declaration of Human Rights was adopted in the United Nations [in 1948], a large propor-

tion of the global community was not party to drafting it, including Muslims and countries such as China and India. We believe that if you want to have a true universal human rights charter, you have to include the views, cultures, beliefs and the way of life of all people.

**DM:** You did you sign this declaration, though, as it is?

**K S-H:** Well, it was signed [and] we tried to respect the elements which do not interfere with our way of life and our beliefs. But some elements of the declaration do interfere. If we want a global view [on human rights], we have to reconsider and to take the views of other countries into consideration. This is an urgent need and I think many countries will endorse it.

**DM:** Speaking in specifics, what does the West want from Iran in terms of human

rights? The West wants you not to imprison opposition leaders. It wants open elections and candidacies. It wants you to move to democracy.

**K S-H:** We are doing that. We have established a system of government during the last 33 years. It is perfecting itself. But these processes take time. We have to be courageous and patient. We also need courage and patience from the outside world. Your system took many centuries to perfect so give us time. [Our system] will work — definitely — but as a system compatible with our way of life.

We cannot copy liberal democracies. We are different people. Let us have our own system, our own values and our own culture and adapt the laws and regulations according to our own way of life. Then we will have no problem with human rights, no problem with democracy.

**DM:** You may be moving towards a more democratic system. It seems imperceptible to us. If people are jailed as dissidents — among them, students asking for democracy — how can this democracy get kick-started?

**K S-H:** Our democracy kick-started 33 years ago because we moved from a royal dictatorship to a republican system which every four years chooses its president, 290 members of parliament, assembly of experts, members of city council and other councils that run the affairs of the country. We [had] another parliamentary election [March 2].

Now we have our laws, and within the boundary of those laws people can act and interact, which is going on. But if the laws of the country are violated, then people should be dealt with according to the law.

**DM:** Violations such as large protest gatherings?

**K S-H:** Gatherings are allowed if you get permission in advance. If you don't get permission in advance, you cannot have a gathering. For instance, [Canada had violent incidents] in the G20 [in Toronto] and the G8 in Vancouver. What did your police do? When people transgress the boundaries of law, they should be arrested and they should be accountable to the law.

**DM:** What about the case of Zahra Kazemi?

**K S-H:** I am very disappointed for this loss of life. And since this is the first time I am speaking to your media about this issue, I want to extend my condolences to

her family and remind [people] that the late Zahra Kazemi travelled to Iran as an Iranian on her Iranian travel documents. According to Iranian civil law, adopted more than 50 years ago, Iran does not recognize dual citizenship.

The Iranian government thinks that its citizens should be dealt according with Iranian law. We cannot be accountable to foreign governments.

**DM:** So you can never leave Iran and not remain an Iranian citizen, no matter where you are in the world?

**K S-H:** Unless you renounce your citizenship — and I haven't seen anyone renouncing it. Any Iranians who want to go back to Iran, we give them passports and they go back as Iranians.

**DM:** There is ample evidence that Zahra Kazemi died from wounds inflicted on her by government agents while she was in prison custody. When you offer condolences, do you also offer an apology?

**K S-H:** I extend my condolences. I can add that this issue was and is very important for the Iranian government. That is why the case is not closed yet. If you remember, the president at the time appointed a five-member council consisting of different ministers to investigate the issue. Several lawyers represented the late Zahra Kazemi.

As the representative of Iran in Canada, I am responsible for the safety, rights and well-being of all Iranians. If the late Zahra Kazemi's family asks me for help, I will definitely, with my best ability, respond to that.

**DM:** Have they asked you?

**K S-H:** Not yet.

**DM:** Her family wants her body returned to Canada.

**K S-H:** We do not discuss details here but if the family asks me for help, as the envoy from Iran, I see my duty to do my utmost to help them. And I will.

**DM:** Iran's role in the Middle East is the other matter the government will talk to you about. I think they mean your influence, your support for Hezbollah and your brinkmanship with Syria.

**K S-H:** Iran is a legitimate regional power in the Middle East. It has its own legitimate interests. What we are doing, in a very volatile region, is to make sure that our interests are preserved. At the same time, we try to develop our own country,

which is the right of the Iranian people.

We think that the major problem of our part of the world is foreign intervention, the presence of foreign troops and foreign countries. We believe that the countries of the region are well capable of ensuring their own security and the stability of their own region. But the last 400 years tell us that foreign intervention and foreign meddling in our affairs has worsened the situation.

**DM:** If Russia (the former USSR) had not invaded Afghanistan, the 9/11 al-Qaeda attack would not have happened. Russia's invasion led to the creation and arming of the Taliban. The Taliban turned on the West, morphed into an international terrorist organization, al-Qaeda. You say that Afghanistan can take care of itself. Yet as soon as the West pulls out its troops, al-Qaeda and/or the Taliban will be there [to try and take over] again.

**K S-H:** It will not happen overnight. We opposed Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan because we thought it was wrong. We also oppose the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan because we also think it is wrong. Iranians have been living in that part of the world for many centuries. We think we understand the dynamics of the region better.

The Americans created the Taliban to fight the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. You created a monster and then, when the Soviets left Afghanistan, you also left. The monster came back to you after they killed our diplomats. You know nine Iranian diplomats were killed in Afghanistan before 9/11. We are the victims of Taliban ourselves. And that is why we helped the Americans to defeat the Taliban.

**DM:** And the Taliban has reportedly taken up residence in your country under your protection?

**K S-H:** We categorically deny that. Now the Americans are negotiating with Taliban. We think this is insane. The Taliban are the same elements who caused this chaos. How can you negotiate with the people who killed your nationals in the United States? We think these policies are wrong.

**DM:** You categorically deny working with Taliban?

**K S-H:** Of course. They were an enemy.

**DM:** But now insurgents in Iraq and Afghanistan have weapons from your country.



DREAMSTIME

Post-election turmoil in Tehran in 2009.

**K S-H:** Iran sells weapons to 40 countries. [On the other hand], Saudi Arabia can buy \$60 billion of American weaponry. But we do not give weapons to the Taliban. Maybe they secure it from elsewhere. You never empower your enemy.

**DM:** Please describe Iran’s view of the Arab Spring, including your country’s statement of regret and concern over the way Syrian President Bashar al-Assad is killing his people.

**K S-H:** First of all, what you call Arab Spring, we call Islamic Awakening. We believe the lifetime dictatorial governments are over. They cannot continue any more.

We believe that this situation was created by the help of the United States. I can quote Condoleezza Rice, secretary of state, on June 20, 2005. She was speaking at the American University in Cairo: “For 60 years, my country, the United States, pursued stability at the expense of democracy here in the Middle East and we achieved neither.”

We object to American hypocrisy because the U.S. worked with those dictators who brutalized their own people, including my country. In 1953, the United States and the United Kingdom designed and carried out a coup d’état in Iran, toppling an elected Iranian government and bringing back the dictator who had fled the country, inflicting 16 years of very brutal repression on Iranian people while the Shah of Iran was the close ally of the United States.

The United States fully backed Hosni Mubarak for many decades while he was running a very repressive regime.

The United States and United Kingdom and many Western countries worked closely with Libya and Muammar Gadhafi. He was a brutal dictator.

We believe that the time for such behaviour is over. Now the people of the region want to take their destiny in their own hands. Iran is their example. We started 33 years ago. We have inspired people of our region and now they are revolting against dictators.

**DM:** Do you think you inspired them? Or do you think it was the Tunisian university graduate, Mohamed Bouazizi, who became a fruit peddler to support his family and who burnt himself in desperation?

**K S-H:** He was the ignition. But Iran definitely has inspired changes in the Middle East and in North Africa. I can tell you that the people of the region want three main things.

No.1, they want to be independent. Why? For many decades they have been belittled and subordinated to big powers through dictators who were supported by Western countries. Now that they have their destiny in their hands, they want to be more independent. They will be more independent.

No. 2, they will be more democratic because, when the dictator is gone, people want to participate and to form their own type of governance. So the new system

will definitely be more participatory and more democratic.

No. 3, they will be more Islamic. Those dictators backed by the West imposed secular dictatorship on Muslims. Now the dictator-imposed secularism is gone, these people will return to their Islamic principles.

**DM:** Iran’s foreign minister, Ali Akbar Salehi, asked Bashar al-Assad to stop killing his people and to call free elections. Why, if this is part of the Islamic Awakening, are you not putting more pressure on your close ally?

**K S-H:** We support change when the change is home-grown. We do not believe in foreign meddling. If the change is home-grown in Syria, our officials have asked that the Syrian president pay attention to the wishes of his own people.

**DM:** Are you content to let a civil war continue, with people wounded and gunned down in the streets without UN intervention? Direct foreign intervention is not driving these demonstrations.

**K S-H:** But hooligans and anti-government forces are being equipped with weapons. They are fighting their own government. Why should a legitimate government be fought by elements who are supported, equipped and armed by outside countries? This will worsen the situation. This will not lead to democracy. We hope for a peaceful outcome. But things are not very promising at the moment.

**DM:** The people’s will has been awakened in Syria. The demonstrations are a protest in the same sense as the 2009 protest in Iran over what the people felt was a rigged presidential vote — “Where is my vote?”

**K S-H:** No [the Iranian demonstrations] were not an uprising. I disagree with you. People were asking about the result of the election. And there are lawful ways for asking — which is the recount of some percentage of the votes. This was carried out. If you ask for something outside the boundaries of law, it is not acceptable.

**DM:** Many Iranians do not feel represented by your system in which the mullahs decide who may run for office. Iranians are forbidden or intimidated or kidnapped or imprisoned if they run as opposition leaders. The people cannot revolt because they are forbidden to meet. How can you be inspiring other Arab Springs when you squashed your own?

**K S-H:** We do not squash anyone. We have a system of government. This system has its own institutions. In these institutions, elections are run according to the law. Every country has its own laws. In Canada, if you are not a member of a party, you cannot run for Parliament.

**DM:** This is specious reasoning.

**K S-H:** What I am saying is that there are different systems. The Iranian system is not a political-party, Westminster system. But it is a representative system. Why should our criteria be exactly like yours? You cannot assimilate. People have their own systems. Your system is different from the U.S. and France. France is different from the UK. If you want to make a comparison, participation of Iranians [in elections] is far higher than in Canada. In the last presidential election in Iran, 40 million people voted. And the president got 63 percent of the votes.

**DM:** That vote was much disputed.

**K S-H:** No, it was not disputed.

**DM:** Perhaps not by you.

**K S-H:** Not by anybody who is worth listening to — because the elections in Iran are run according to Iranian law. It is not good that you like the democracy that delivers the result that you like. The West has a very bleak history for this. In Algeria, there was a free election. The Salvation Front won. It was crushed but nobody objected. In Gaza, there was a free election. Hamas won but the West didn't like the result so they objected and tried to impose sanctions on the elected government of Gaza.

[Can you] tell me that 100 percent of Canadians agree with their prime minister now? No. He has the support of only 40 percent of eligible voters. This is the framework in which elections are run. So I adamantly disagree with you if you say the Iranian government is not representative or is not democratic.

**DM:** It is the method [we are talking about]. Leaders in democratic countries are selected by the people and make their way through the electoral process. Your leaders are selected by mullahs — they have to be approved.

**K S-H:** In the United States primary system, only very few people elect the nominee. Some of the people are selected by 100 votes.

We respect your democracy; we also expect you to respect our democracy.



Iranian supporters of defeated reformist presidential candidate Mir Hossein Mousavi demonstrate in June 2009 in Tehran. Iranians protested against what they believed was a rigged vote that put President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad back in power.

That is why Russia is opposing the Western approach to Syria — arguing that what you are imposing will worsen the situation.

**DM:** Mr. al-Assad has said he is not going to step down, any more than Muammar Gadhafi, who said he was going to fight to the end. At what point do you say this is enough?

**K S-H:** You cannot compare President Assad with Colonel Gadhafi. Definitely not.

We have advised President Assad to pay attention, to accommodate the lawful wishes of his people. If you take up arms, it is not a lawful wish. It is an insurgency which is unacceptable. I would like to see the Syrian government and opposition work out the solution themselves. I think they are capable of doing that.

This is why I say it needs patience. The case of Libya, do you think it is resolved? The supporters of Muammar Gadhafi have claimed a city. The chaos goes on. We should help stability and home-grown solutions.

**DM:** Does Iran recognize Israel's legitimate right to nationhood? If so, why did Iran's president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, say in June 2008: "You should know that the criminal and terrorist Zionist regime, which has 60 years of plundering, aggression and crimes in its file, has

reached the end of its work and will soon disappear off the geographical scene."

Why did Iran's presidential website make these statements? No. 1: "The Zionist regime of Israel faces a dead end and will under God's grace be wiped off the map." No. 2: "The Zionist regime that is a usurper and illegitimate regime and a cancerous tumour should be wiped off the map."

**K S-H:** I don't know where you found those [quotations]. But many people dispute the translation of these phrases, including scholars in the United States. Iran's official position on this issue,



Ali Akbar Salehi, Iran's permanent representative to the IAEA, and Mohamed ElBaradei (left), then IAEA director general, speak to the press in Vienna in 2003. Mr. Salehi is currently foreign minister of Iran.



U.S. NAVY PHOTO

The aircraft carrier USS Carl Vinson crosses the Strait of Hormuz in February.

which is a very democratic solution, is that in a referendum, by the participation of all people of Palestine, including the Muslims, the Jews and others, they decide the system of government they wish to have. Iran will fully respect that.

Of course, we disagree with more than six decades of occupation, invasion, imprisonment of the Palestinians in their own land, a situation that even [President] Jimmy Carter of America has called “a prison camp.” We see this as one of the gravest injustices to humanity in contemporary history.

[As for] rhetoric, we have been threatened with military action on a daily basis [with] contingency plans for attacking Iran. Why does nobody object to this? We don’t understand this. If threatening others is bad, why — when Iran is threatened, a noble, civilized, cultured people — nobody objects?

**DM:** Has Israel ever said to Iran what Iran has said to Israel — that, no matter which way you parse the words: “We will drive you into the sea. We will wipe out your country. You don’t deserve to exist.”

**K S-H:** The Israeli deputy prime minister [Moshe Ya’alon] has said that “we can attack all Iranian facilities and all Iranian facilities are penetrable.” And they say, “We have planned to carry out an attack against Iran.”

**DM:** Israel is surrounded by forces that are antagonistic to it, wish it gone, have attacked it. Given Israel’s size, it would

be easy to wipe out it out militarily — which is why Israelis say Iran poses an existential threat. Israel is not saying it wants to wipe Iran off the map. It is saying, “Stop the development of nuclear weapons because they could be used to wipe Israel off the map.”

**K S-H:** I don’t know if you have studied the history of Palestine and what happened to Palestine when it was partitioned. [Despite] UN resolutions, a lot of territory has been occupied by the force of arms by Israelis since 1967.

We have seen systematic occupation by Israel, systematic invasion by Israel of Palestine, of Lebanon. We have seen very brutal wars and crimes against innocent people. These are facts. Iran has never been party to any fighting between Israel and its neighbours.

**DM:** Iran is using threatening words — no matter which way you look at them.

**K S-H:** I call them rhetoric. We never had plans to attack anybody while they say at the highest level they have plans to attack Iran. U.S. President [Obama] said this. Israelis are saying this. Nobody objects.

**DM:** Because Iran is threatening the existence of Israel.

**K S-H:** It is not Iran. I told you Iran’s official position. But the market for rhetoric is very hot. Rhetoric is [found] on both sides. We have been threatened by military attack more than 300 times. It is coming on a daily basis now. Why do you not worry about Iranians? We are hu-

man beings. And the Israelis have at least 200 [nuclear bombs] in [their] arsenal. Iran has peaceful nuclear energy. Who is threatening whom?

**DM:** Israel wants to take out your nuclear weapons because they are afraid you will use them on Israel.

**K S-H:** We have no nuclear weapons. Why are you repeating that? We have no nuclear weapons. Any idiot knows that. We have a peaceful nuclear program. It is an inalienable right of all members of the NPT (Non-Proliferation Treaty]. The IAEA in more than 20 of its reports has declared that there has been no diversion in Iran’s peaceful nuclear activities.

Please for once believe us. We say nuclear weapons have no place in our military doctrine because we saw the Soviet Union collapse while it had thousands of nuclear weapons. We can see Israel is not feeling safe while it has hundreds of nuclear weapons.

We believe that power is not nuclear weapons. If you study defence budgets of the world, Iran has one of the least military spending. Because we believe if your people support you, then that is the real strength. And the majority of our people support us. Why do people want to deny Iran access to science and technology?

**DM:** They suspect military application.

**K S-H:** I suspect every movement of the United States because what it has done to my people, and the people of this region, is sheer brutality.

**DM:** What will Iran’s response be to a confrontation with the U.S. Sixth Fleet if Iran makes good on its threat to block the Strait of Hormuz, or if Iran’s nuclear facilities are bombed by one or more countries? In January, U.S. Secretary of Defence Leon Panetta speculated that within the next three months, your country will be physically attacked.

**K S-H:** First of all, I wish that cool heads will prevail. [We] do not need any adventurism by the United States or anybody else. Iran is doing whatever is permissible according to the rights of NPT — the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Iran’s nuclear program is peaceful. I don’t see any reason whatsoever for any country to even think about attacking Iran.

But if they want to repeat their mistakes of the past, Iranian people have proved that they are capable of defending themselves. Iranian officials have said that we have no plans for blocking the Strait of



DREAMSTIME

Grffiti at the former U.S. embassy in Tehran where 52 Americans were taken hostage for 444 days during the Iran hostage crisis, from November 4, 1979 to January 20, 1981. The Iranians released the hostages on Jan. 20, 1981, the day Ronald Reagan took office.

Hormuz. But if you want to attack Iran, Iran has every right to defend itself.

**DM:** Why do Prime Minister Stephen Harper and many people in the West consider Iran the most dangerous country in the world?

**K S-H:** They are wrong.

**DM:** All of them are wrong?

**K S-H:** Yes, because in the last 250 years, Iran has never invaded or threatened its neighbours. We have been invaded five times in that period. Twice by Russia, which attacked Iran and annexed a large part of the country (which today are independent republics). Then twice in the course of World War I and World War II, England and Russia jointly invaded my country when we had announced officially that we were neutral.

They occupied the country by force of arms for five years each time, bringing about famine, killing millions of Iranian people. Then we come to very recent history when Iraq invaded Iran. Iraq had the full support of the United States and many other countries. We have never attacked anybody. We have always opposed invasions. But when we are attacked, we are capable of defending ourselves.

**DM:** You did take Americans hostage [for 444 days in 1979-1980] and memories are long on both sides. Iran may not be an

invasive country but it is an asymmetrically invasive country through Hezbollah and some of its other — as we would call it — terrorist activities.

**K S-H:** You would call it terrorist but we would not. The people who would fight for the independence of their country and for their land, we do not call them terrorists. The people who are fighting occupation, we do not call them terrorists. And we think we should revise the definition of terrorism. States who kill systematically the citizens of other countries, and are proud of their behaviour, they are terrorists in our view.

**DM:** Hezbollah is a well-organized military, paramilitary and social organization around the world. It is well-established in the Caribbean and Latin America and is actively raising money in Canada and the United States. It has been documented that Hezbollah can be blamed for terrorist acts in hijacking, attacks and murder [on a U.S. airline, U.S. barracks, Israeli embassies and an Israeli cultural centre].

If Iran's nuclear facilities are attacked, the West is concerned that Hezbollah will activate its cells and carry out attacks. Please describe Hezbollah's world-wide presence and the acts for which it has claimed responsibility or proven to be responsible?

**K S-H:** I am not an expert on Hezbollah. What you say are your words.

As far as I know, Hezbollah is a part of reality in Lebanon. They have members of parliament, they are a political force and they have ministers in the cabinet. At the same time, they have the courage to defend their own country which was occupied by Israel until some years ago. I do not accept and agree with what you say about Hezbollah.

**DM:** The November IAEA report talks about the likelihood of Iran developing various weapons. It gives nuclear weapons a "likely" grade, based on different criteria. The IAEA report cites Electromagnetic Pulse (EMP) weaponry as the next "most likely."

Apparently, using advanced laser technology, you were able to guide to earth, without damaging it, the U.S. drone. EMP weaponry could knock out the West's communications systems, possibly before or during an attack, giving Iran almost a first-strike advantage.

The IAEA consensus in *Attachment 2: Analysis of Payload*, re-published on page 66) is that Iran is probably working on military application of its nuclear program.

**K S-H:** No, I disagree with that. If you carefully read the IAEA report, it speaks about alleged studies in the past.

**DM:** It also mentions studies and findings from 2008 and onward.

**K S-H:** It is based on foreign intelligence.

The IAEA was in Iran this week [early February]. Iran's facilities are under IAEA surveillance 24 hours a day.

**DM:** According to the IAEA, not every facility is fully under surveillance. The IAEA referred to a 2010 Security Council resolution calling for Iran to provide access to the IAEA without delay to all sites, equipment, persons and documents requested by the agency. It said that since August 2008, Iran "has not engaged with the agency in any substantive way on this matter."

**K S-H:** No. This is not what I understand from IAEA reports. Non-diversion of [nuclear materials] has been confirmed. Even in the latest report, which is very biased, these alleged studies [on which conclusions are based] were provided to [former IAEA Director-General] Mohamed ElBaradei many years ago but he was very wise not to circulate it because he concluded that the studies were not documented enough.

Iraq was invaded on a bunch of lies — that the country had weapons of mass destruction that they could mobilize in 45 minutes. So why believe U.S. intelligence now about the verified reports of the IAEA reports? [The IAEA] is definitely relying on those old intelligence reports. This is not acceptable. This is a double standard.

**DM:** In one section of the IAEA report, an Iranian scientist admitted that, in this one instance, [if the information on a nuclear payload option were true], it would constitute "a program for the development of a nuclear weapon."

[In another section, the report notes 2008 and 2009 studies in which Iran allegedly tested a nuclear device to determine "subsequent nuclear explosive yield" whose application to anything "except a nuclear explosive is unclear to the agency."]

**K S-H:** I think you should carefully read the IAEA report. We have the verified and substantiated parts, and [then] we have the "alleged studies," as they have come to be known.

Iran's nuclear program was started by the Shah of Iran in the 1960s and 1970s with the encouragement of the Stanford Research Institute in the U.S.

The institute encouraged the King of Iran by advising him to plan for 20,000 megawatts of nuclear energy "for the future need of your people." The Iranian program started. The U.S. was to build



Iran's controversial heavy water production facility in final stages of construction in 2004, in Arak, south Tehran.

eight nuclear reactors for Iran, France, two and Germany, two. The Germans started to build the Bushehr Nuclear Power Plant, which was 90 percent complete by the time of the Iranian revolution. After the revolution, all this cooperation stopped.

Another fact is that Iran, as a member of NPT, like all other members, has a full right to enjoy peaceful nuclear technology, including enrichment. And 120 NAM (Non-Aligned Movement) members support this right.

Another fact is that Iranian people have seen that they have been discriminated against in this regard and they cannot accept that.

Another fact is that Iran needs to increase its power production because we have an increasing demand for electricity power. We are working on wind energy, solar energy, geothermal energy and also nuclear energy.

Another fact is that a lot of investment has been made in this industry and the absolute majority of the Iranian people fully support it. Our approach is to cooperate with the IAEA according to our Safeguard Agreements. We are doing that.

"We are also open to any negotiation without any pre-conditions. Our foreign minister has said that we will respond to the IAEA's questions. The IAEA said that their February visit to Iran was a positive one and they would return on February 21 and 22. We have also said to the 5+1 [United States, Britain, France, Russia,

China plus Germany] that we are open to negotiations without any pre-conditions. So we think we have kept every avenue open. There [should be] no excuse or alibi from anybody.

[The IAEA report from that late February visit said that Iran had stepped up uranium enrichment, blocked inspectors' access to the Parchin military testing site near Tehran, and had not provided long-sought answers about weapons-related work.]

**DM:** What negotiations are you referring to? The IAEA says you have not implemented the Additional Protocol which means a whole area of your program is not under surveillance, an observation made in previous IAEA reports.

**K S-H:** You have not studied the Additional Protocol carefully.

**DM:** I read it.

**K S-H:** First, Iran has not signed the Additional Protocol, as many other countries have not signed it. [The Additional Protocol grants the IAEA an expanded right of access to information and sites to check on declared and possible undeclared activities.]

To build confidence, we accepted the Additional Protocol without ratifying it, to temporarily and voluntarily implement it for a short period of time. The IAEA responded to our good faith with a very bad response, which disappointed many Iranians. Our Safeguard Agreements [aimed at enabling detection clandestine nuclear weapons program] with the agency are what we signed and we are honouring that.

**DM:** What does Iran want from the IAEA?

**K S-H:** Iran wants, as a member of NPT, to fully enjoy its rights, and definitely honours its obligations.

**DM:** Why don't you open everything up to the IAEA completely so they can't keep saying they haven't been given access, they haven't had answers to their requests for information?

**K S-H:** We have had 4,000 man-hours of inspection of Iranian facilities, which is unprecedented in the history of IAEA. If they are not satisfied, it is not our problem; it is their problem.

**DM:** You were able to build an entirely underground facility near Qom, a facility almost impervious to attack without anybody knowing about it. IAEA said

IAEA estimate of Iran's military payloads

	BIOLOGICAL	CHEMICAL	HIGH EXPLOSIVE	EMP	SATELLITE	NUCLEAR
Applicable Mass and Dimensions	UNLIKELY	UNLIKELY	POSSIBLE	UNLIKELY	IMPOSSIBLE	LIKELY
Contains a HV generator box	UNLIKELY	UNLIKELY	POSSIBLE	LIKELY	UNLIKELY	LIKELY
Airburst <3000'	LIKELY	LIKELY	POSSIBLE	LIKELY	IMPOSSIBLE	LIKELY
Multiple Detonators Present	UNLIKELY	UNLIKELY	POSSIBLE	POSSIBLE	IMPOSSIBLE	LIKELY
No Capability for Release of Chamber from Capsule or Load from Chamber and no Antenna(s)	UNLIKELY	UNLIKELY	LIKELY	IMPOSSIBLE	UNLIKELY	LIKELY
Presence of 400m Shaft in Test Sketch	UNLIKELY	UNLIKELY	UNLIKELY	POSSIBLE	IMPOSSIBLE	LIKELY
Total Package Taken as a Whole	UNLIKELY	UNLIKELY	UNLIKELY	POSSIBLE	IMPOSSIBLE	LIKELY



This chart was published on the final page of the IAEA's November 18, 2011 report on Iran's nuclear program. In a comparison of six categories of possible weapons, it indicates that a nuclear bomb is the most likely choice for Iran.

Below is an explanation of the chart by William S. Andrews, professor of chemical and nuclear engineering at the Royal Military College of Canada in Kingston.

**At the top of the chart:** Iran's weapons options range from biological, chemical, and high explosive through nuclear. They also include two options that require explanation:

**1) EMP (electromagnetic pulse)** refers to an electromagnetic surge that can overload electrical/electronic circuits, rendering military and civilian electronic-dependent equipment and systems inoperable, including weapons delivery systems and civilian power grids.

**2) Satellite** refers to a missile launch of a satellite for communications or observation purposes.

**On the left side of the chart:** Criteria for predicting Iran's choice of weapon

**Applicable mass and dimensions:** The size of the warhead container and the missile mass capable of carrying the payload, designated by the appropriate column.

**Contains a HV generator box:** The high-voltage generator is needed to detonate a nuclear implosion device for EMP or other nuclear weapon effects (blast, thermal radiation and nuclear radiation).

**Airburst less than 3,000 feet (0.9 kilometre):** To generate this explosion in air, rather than on impact with the ground or an object, would require initiating a fuse and could be used for a variety of payloads. If detonation is at too high an altitude, the effects are not as localized. Strategic weapons would have higher heights of burst and larger payloads than more local tactical weapons.

**Multiple detonators present:** Sufficient capacity to trigger an implosion since implosion is how criticality is achieved. The detonation of explosive "lenses" compresses the fissile material to form a critical mass capable of fission from a safer sub-critical mass in a nuclear device.

**No capability for release of chamber from capsule or load from chamber and no antennas:** The warhead would detonate on the missile itself. This is in contrast to the missile ejecting its payload which, in turn, would explode.

**Presence of 400-metre shaft in test sketch:** The shaft into the earth could be used for warhead testing and would most likely be needed for a nuclear warhead.

that, until they knew about it, Iran did not mention these facilities.

**K S-H:** According to those Safeguard Agreements, any member state *can* inform the agency about nuclear facilities six months prior to feeding gas to it. Iran announced to IAEA many, many years before that.

We told them about Qom last year and they have installed the cameras, whereas we were not obliged by Safeguard Agreements to tell them, except six months before feeding gas into our centrifuges.

I want to add one point. Since 1974, Iran and Egypt have co-sponsored the Middle East nuclear free zone in the United Nations General Assembly. And this resolution, since 1980 every year, is adopted in the UN General Assembly. We think that not only the Middle East, but also the whole world, should be free of nuclear weapons. And we are very surprised to see why NPT is not implemented in its disarmament leg. And definitely Iran is a party to any activity for disarmament.

**DM:** The November IAEA report includes an analysis of the payloads Iran could be planning for its Shehab 3 missile and the agency's assessment of Iran's likelihood of using these various weapons.

**K S-H:** This is what the American intelligence service is [putting out.] IAEA has re-circulated the intelligence they have received from the U.S. intelligence service. In 2007, 16 American intelligence services confirmed that Iran had no military weapon program, and that the program was for nuclear energy.

**DM:** And then they rescinded that report [the National Intelligence Estimate].

**K S-H:** But the IAEA says there is no diversion.

**DM:** Is there anything you want to say in closing?

**K S-H:** I want to request the people of the world, including Canadians, to be fair and to treat Iranians without discrimination. Iranians are a civilized, noble people who have decided to live independently, to take their destiny in their own hands and to ask the people to respect and allow us to evolve and perfect our new system of governance which is participative and representative and can be a great help for the Middle East and North Africa.

Donna Jacobs is *Diplomat's* publisher.

## Four famous fully-engaged French writers



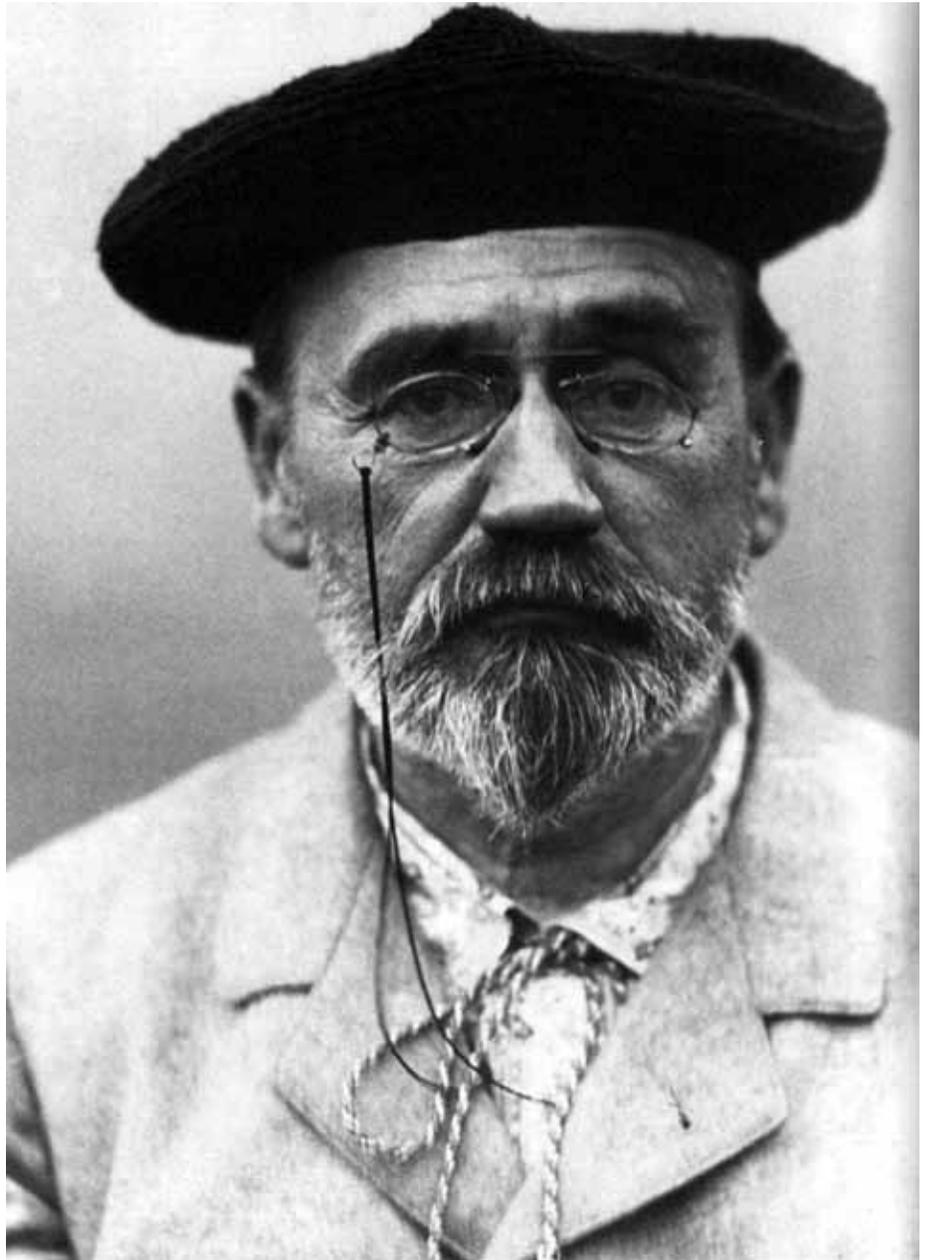
GEORGE FETHERLING

**W**riter/activists are coming back into fashion. It's time to revisit their French ancestors.

When I was about 15, I stumbled on a book no one else seemed to have checked out of the public library in decades: *Emile Zola, Novelist and Reformer: An Account of his Life and Work*. It was published in 1904, a couple of years after the French novelist's tragic end. (He died at his writing desk after accidentally kicking open an unlighted gas jet, as depicted by Paul Muni in the last scene of *The Life of Emile Zola*, a once-famous Hollywood film.)

The book I pulled from the stacks turned out to be straightforward to the point of being simple-minded but it had the advantage of having been written by someone who had known the subject personally: Edward Vizetelly, who like his father before him had been Zola's English translator and publisher. Vizetelly once went to prison for publishing a translation of one of Zola's novels, which were widely held in the late 19th Century to be as risqué as they were popular, particularly the one entitled *Nana*, which scandalized our great-grandmothers and titillated our great-grandfathers. In 1898, when Zola himself was sentenced to jail by a French court for his role in the Dreyfus Affair, he fled to England where Vizetelly helped him hide.

I admired Zola mostly for his role as a writer-citizen who dived right in to issues of the day, most notably *l'affaire Dreyfus*. At his best, he was a tough-minded and honest critic of French society, yet also a person of great humanity and compassion. He was, as the French say, an *engagé* writer: one whose desire to change political or social conditions is a big part of his writing, and vice versa. As we are beginning to see another wave of such people



Emile Zola in 1902

today, it's perhaps not unreasonable to look back on a few of the famous French ones of the past. Not Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir or Albert Camus, but some others who show the whole range of what it meant to be *engagé* as a writer.

After putting up with years of accusations and public abuse, Zola was honoured with a state funeral. To understand this posthumous honour one has to recall Alfred Dreyfus, a captain in the French

army and a Jew, who had been drummed out of the military on a phoney espionage charge that was actually, as Zola and others proved, an anti-Semitic frame-up. This incredibly intricate tale begins in 1894 when French army intelligence intercepted a memo about military secrets sent to the German military attaché in Paris by an unnamed French officer. One of the first in a series of handwriting experts, who was also a vicious anti-Semite, concluded that

the author was Dreyfus, who thus found himself in a cell awaiting court martial. Bolstered by secret files given them by the war minister, the judges condemned him to Devil's Island, the dreaded penal colony camp in French Guiana on the northeastern coast of South America.

Dreyfus's family lobbied for another investigation, and new evidence was found that seemed to point to a French officer named Esterhazy who was later tried and acquitted. But that was countered by still other documents (forged, as it happened) that swung suspicion back to Dreyfus. The first pamphlet in defence of the prisoner was by a young Jewish intellectual in 1896, by which time the scandal had animated the newspapers, consumed the army and imperilled the Third Republic. As the whole ugly business spun out of control, it produced a mysterious woman in a veil, a duel, numerous ruined careers (and the start of others), and at least one suicide.

Zola had been a famous public figure for years because of his 20-volume *roman fleuve* published under the general title *Les Rougon-Macquart*, one of the great milestones of naturalism. He was busy with other causes and pursuits. But when he did jump into the Dreyfus case, in November 1897, his articles in *Le Figaro* and elsewhere galvanized the public. The turning point was an article (later a separate pamphlet), "J'accuse," published in 1898. Within weeks, three handwriting experts sued him for libel. In short order he was found guilty and sentenced to a year in prison, though the verdict was overturned on appeal. Whereupon he was tried on the far more serious charge of *criminal* libel. Once found guilty, Zola decided that a visit to Britain would be timely.

The author returned to France in 1899, two days after Dreyfus was shipped home from South America for a new trial. Poor Dreyfus was found guilty again. This time, however, he was sentenced to only 10 years. The French president, hoping to put an end to the whole business, soon pardoned him; later, the verdict was overturned. Over the next few years, Dreyfus, who lived until 1935, was reinstated, promoted, compensated and awarded the Légion d'honneur on the same spot where he had had his epaulets torn off in disgrace. Yet in the same period there was an attempt to assassinate him, as simply exposing the current of anti-Semitism in French life had, of course, done nothing to eliminate it. It is also interesting to remember that Zola went to England at about the same time Oscar Wilde relocated

in France, for the two countries, rather like Canada and the U.S., have a long history of taking in each other's exiles.

Wilde was a friend of André Gide, the French novelist and *littérateur* who became sufficiently old and respectable to receive the Nobel Prize. I, for one, had not thought much about this in years until I came upon a mildly startling sentence in Jason Epstein's memoir and polemic, *Book Business: Publishing Past Present and Future*. The sentence comes where Mr. Epstein is paying tribute to Bennett Cerf, Horace Liveright and other New York publishing pioneers of the 1920s who "introduced the literature of modernism to American readers by risking their fortunes and their destiny on Faulkner and Joyce, Proust, Gide, Lawrence, Stein, Stevens, and Pound..." Was there really a time when Gide (1869-1951) seemed so dangerously *avant-garde* a writer as to be a big gamble? Of course there was. But he dropped off the roster long ago, and it is interesting to speculate why.

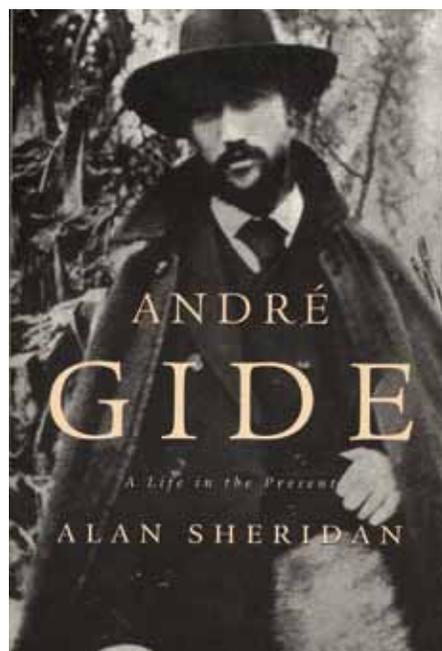
For one thing, he was the oldest of the lot. Even Proust was younger. Yet Gide acquired a large international audience rather late in his life and was 78 when he got the Nobel Prize, which left him frozen in time as an ancient and impossibly distinguished figure. For the English-language audience, there is also the matter of translations. Although new biographies come out every now and then — the most recent was Alan Sheridan's *André Gide, A Life in the Present* (1999) — the key works are translated comparatively seldom, as is true of most such authors. Relatively new translations of his very short novel *The Immoralist* come along now and then, but *If It Die*, his autobiography, was last translated into English in 1935.

Stylistically, *If It Die* is a book solidly in the Puritan tradition, reminding us that Gide was almost as famous a Protestant in Catholic France as his contemporary and opposite number G.K. Chesterton was a Catholic in Protestant England. Traces of cleverness in *If It Die* are so few that they stand out in bold relief ("Every Swiss carries his glaciers inside him"). At times the book reads like one of those lesser novels of Daniel Defoe from his late long-winded period. The narrative ends in the 1890s with Gide's Algerian exile, his relationship with Oscar Wilde and his determination to marry his cousin, Madeleine Rondeaux, who "was the only light left me by which to guide my life."

That seems a curious place to stop, because his existence was just about to



Alfred Dreyfus



turn dramatically. Madeleine left him in horror on discovering his homosexuality, and he dealt with her leaving by telling the whole story in *The Immoralist*, in which he calls her Marceline (whereas in the autobiography she is Emmanuelle). This first novel, which he paid to have published in an edition of 300 copies, is now recognized as a little masterwork of straight autobiographical fiction, though it was not considered a success at the time. It led him to intense productivity as a novelist and as the founder and editor of France's most influential literary journal, *La Nouvelle Revue Française*. This, his most

energized period, interrupted only by the First World War, ended in 1924 when his novel *Corydon* created a scandal with its homosexual content, causing him to liquidate his property and go to the Congo. No doubt somebody somewhere has written a comparative study of the Congo as a place of refuge and menace in Joseph Conrad, Graham Greene and André Gide.)

In colonial Africa, Gide began thinking seriously about left-wing politics, but by the time of his autobiography he had been to and denounced the Soviet Union, so that he was alienated from both the right and the left. His response was to withdraw from politics of any type. During the Second World War, he set what he believed was a good example for writers everywhere by refusing to be a part of current events one way or another, living quietly in the South of France.

Although his external life was often dramatic and indeed melodramatic, his personality was chilly and reserved. Living on to a great age and reaching enormous eminence seemed to instil the impression of someone who was hyperdignified and with good reason. Like Zola, he was a critic of the French legal system, though justice and not injustice is what interested him.

He especially liked to observe the mechanics of the courts. Other busy people might scheme and fib to get out of jury duty, but Gide plotted and pleaded to be chosen. He once wrote a memoir of happenings he witnessed in the Assize Court, which under the French system is the top-level criminal court and the only one

involving jurors from the community.

Gide served on juries so often that he acquired stature within the system, as when his fellow jurors instantly chose him to be their foreman. "As the only *intellectuel*, more or less, I feared hostility, despite the great effort I made to prevent it. I was quite touched by this sign of esteem." Whether in Paris or on the road, he collected and carefully filed great numbers of press clippings about individual crimes. They were, of course, research material for his fiction.

Neither Zola nor Gide was in the least like Jean Cocteau, who was born in 1889, the same year as that other Parisian landmark, the Tour Eiffel, and who enjoyed a good long run. Mordecai Richler wrote of meeting him at a party in the 1950s, for example. By then, to judge from his published diaries from that decade, he was tired and, no doubt, depressed. One entry reads: "Wednesday, I'll leave France, happy to be at sea. Our France of 1953 is like a little 'literary' café, filled with smoke, pretentiousness, and stupidity." Another entry from the same year states that "America has nothing to look forward to but ruin. Now it's Brazil's turn (and Canada's)." His heyday was in the 1920s, his own 30s, when he dazzled Europe with the spectacle of his genius, like — it seems to us now — some weird Gallic combination of Orson Welles, Noel Coward and Leonard Cohen.

He was bourgeois by origin and aristocratic by accent. He called his family "too artistic for me to be able to rebel against them, and not artistic enough to give me



Jean Cocteau in 1923

useful advice." His father was a failed *homme d'affaires* who committed suicide, his mother a constant booster of her remarkable son's career. When Cocteau was 18, for example, she arranged for one of the most famous actors of the day to give a public reading of her son's poetry. That was a ticket to success. From that point forward, he met everybody who was important.

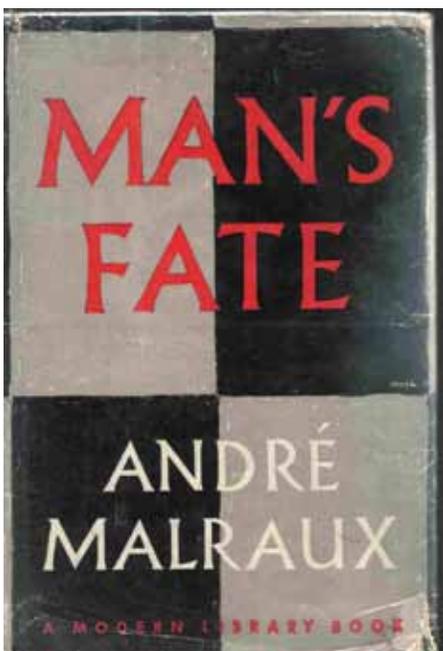
By the time of the Great War, in which he drove a field ambulance, Cocteau was a friend of the poet and art critic Guillaume Apollinaire, the dancer Vaslav Nijinsky, the composer Erik Satie and nearly all the other leaders of the *avant-garde*.



Malraux's enthusiasm for flight, combined with his love of art and his weakness for pretend archaeology, sent him searching for the ruins of Marib, the ancient capital of Sheba, pictured here.



André Malraux



Typically, he once wrote the libretto for a work for which Satie wrote the score and Picasso, another lifelong friend, designed the sets. Although his main means of expression were poetry and fiction — he operated quite a literary factory — he also became a visual artist (though only infrequently a painter), a choreographer, a composer, a musician, an actor, a singer, a designer, even a maker of masks — and much else besides. In short, he felt he could add to his own catalogue of talents anything on which someone he admired concentrated, and, what's more, tried to hold all the elements together by force of

his style and personality.

One would suppose from reading the relevant memoirs and such that most everyone who met Cocteau was attracted to him or, at the very least, liked him: I sense that he was the Anti-Dreyfus. No less unworldly a person than Jacques Maritain, the great neo-Thomist philosopher and theologian, tried to help Cocteau kick his opium habit (unsuccessfully, for Cocteau spent the rest of his life striking the gong). The artist had a wonderfully open and triangular face that didn't change shape, or even expression, as he aged. No wonder so many of the great painters, such as Dufy, Modigliani, Picasso, Picabia and Rivera, painted portraits of him.

Cocteau was a magnet for photographers such as Man Ray, Irving Penn and Cecil Beaton, though one of the most famous images is by Philippe Halsman. It shows Cocteau, Shiva-like, with six hands: one holding a book, another a pen, a third smoking a cigarette, and so on. This is comment on his range of talents, of course, but it is also one of the many studies of his admirably beautiful fingers: long, slender and graceful. The critic Dominique Paini has pointed out that unposed photographs of Cocteau are rare. Even a shot of him on his deathbed in 1963 looks artfully arranged (and bears an eerie similarity to Cocteau's drawing of his backstage mother in her own last hours). One of the few candid photos shows him leaving the inquiry where he was acquitted of having collaborated with the Nazis simply because he refused to let them chase him out of Paris but stayed on throughout the occupation, working, keeping his elegant head down, in somewhat the same manner as Gide.

In the delicate postwar period, Cocteau showed himself a master of public relations, as distinct from mere publicity. He had to. Near the end of his life he was made one of the Forty Immortals of the Académie française. Typically for Cocteau, he was photographed fencing with the ceremonial sword that is part of the Prisoner of Zenda-like uniform worn by members. That, no doubt, deflected some of the accusations that he was taking his eminence too seriously.

Yet however likable he was personally, Cocteau suffered a great deal of professional criticism in his life. It is easy to see why: He could do too many things well. Dominique Paini remarked of him that "his insufficiencies seemed confirmed by the fact that he had a finger in every pie." Whether much criticism was inspired by

envy or aesthetic differences, the question brings us round to the matter of his standing today.

Writing of Cocteau more than a decade ago, a Paris correspondent of the *Economist* told readers that "few people have a bad word to say about him any more." Yet still they write about him, just as they write of André Malraux, a differently engaged figure who was also one of the great mythomanes of the 20th Century — a fact that was at the very heart of his life as a novelist.

Years ago, Janet Flanner, the long-time Paris correspondent of the *New Yorker*, began a profile of Malraux by describing his talent as a brilliant rapid-fire talker (rather than conversationalist). She recounted one of his prolonged outbursts of allusion and ideas on a street corner. Moments later, still talking, he jumped into the back of a taxi without stopping for breath. As the cab pulled away, he was heard carrying on, not pausing to acknowledge that his previous interlocutor had now been replaced by the driver: "In ancient Persia..." he was saying.

As a teenager, Malraux used his apparent brilliance to ingratiate himself to established Parisian literary figures such as André Breton and Max Jacob. Before he even reached his majority, he had set himself up as a publisher of expensive limited editions, including erotica. By 1922, when he was 21, he was a regular reviewer for the *Nouvelle Revue Française* — the famously influential NRF. He existed, one of his numerous biographers had written, in "a fairy-tale world of forced ingenuity." By then he had married an adventurous young woman with money (which he soon lost). In 1923, to recoup his fortunes, he went to Cambodia, where he experienced his first and greatest scandal.

Malraux had earned a little money in the art galleries and auction rooms of Paris, as a commission-based go-between linking artists and collectors. Now he resolved to become his own supplier. He knew that a certain type of statuette of a Buddhist apsara [a celestial nymph], for example, could bring the equivalent of US\$12,000 in New York. So he and a colleague, posing as serious archaeologists, went to the ruins of Banteay Srei, northeast of the temples at Angkor, and pried loose seven sandstone bas-reliefs.

French intelligence agencies were already on to Malraux (just as British and American ones would be in subsequent years). He was arrested, tried and sen-



Claude Lorrain's painting of the Queen of Sheba disembarking.

tenced to three years. Back in Europe, his wife orchestrated a campaign of getting leading intellectual figures to petition for his release. Surprisingly, the effort was successful. A couple of years later, Malraux returned to the colonies to start a pro-independence newspaper called *L'Indochine*, which the French authorities closed down. Out of his temple-robbing experiences came his novel *La voie royale* (1930).

What happened next is that Malraux entered a period of mysterious activity in China, out of which came the other truly important novel in his oeuvre, *La condition humaine*, usually known in English as *Man's Fate* (1933). When the American critic Edmund Wilson once pressed him for details of his life, Malraux replied: "I went to Asia at 23, as leader of an archaeological project. Then I abandoned archaeology, organized the Young Annam movement, then became commissar in the Kuomintang in Indochina and eventually in Canton." None of this is quite accurate. But then, in fairness, he did also admit to Mr. Wilson that "the role of objectivity in my books is not placed in the foreground."

He wanted to be at the centre of events as well as ideas and, moreover, to erase the distinction. In 1934, a Trotskyite now, he was in the Soviet Union (where Sergei Eisenstein pondered making a feature film of *La condition humaine*). Another never-realized project was collaborating with Maxim Gorky on an encyclopedia. "Not a battleship of an encyclopedia, like the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*," Malraux explained, "but a submarine of an encyclopedia." Instead, he went to Africa. French intelligence picked up his scent again, sending out warnings that he was in Djibouti and was, in some unspecified way, up to no good.

Malraux had become interested in aviation, for the first decade after Charles Lindbergh's solo crossing of the Atlantic was a time when aviators were seen as romantic adventurers; ones as different as Albert Camus, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry and Amelia Earhart became public heroes. His enthusiasm for flight, combined with his love of art and his weakness for pretend archaeology, sent him searching for the ruins of Marib, the ancient capital of Sheba and the royal seat of its monarch,

the Queen of Sheba, who is mentioned in both the Bible and the Qur'an. Many believe that he hoped an important archaeological discovery in that part of the world would heal the wound of his failure in Cambodia. His plan was to take aerial photographs of the ruins he expected to be discernible as straight lines crosshatching a patch of Arabian desert. Such images would be valuable instruments of publicity and profit.

That there once indeed was an important city called Marib, about 140 miles [225 kilometres] from the Gulf of Aden on the trade route to India, seemed clear enough. Its most notable feature was said to be a huge dam that was thought to have been one of the great engineering projects of its day, which was the 6th Century BCE (but whose collapse in the 6th Century CE wrought a terrible flood on the region). The existence of Sheba's monarch was a murkier question.

The region was called Sheba (the Hebrew spelling of Saba — residents of Sheba were called Sabeans) after a person of the same name who is variously identified in the Bible as a descendant of

Noah or Abraham. The Queen of Sheba, called Bilqis by Muslims, is known almost entirely for her calling on Solomon after hearing of his wisdom. In Arabic lore, the two married and their son became Ethiopia's first king, from whom all later ones descended. This is significant because Ethiopia was near the forefront of public consciousness in the mid 1930s, immediately before, during and after Mussolini invaded it with the intention of establishing an Italian empire. In any event, Malraux photographed the ruins of something, in more or less the place where Marib should once have been, but experts dismissed his claims out of hand. His capers were much more successful in wartime.

When Francisco Franco led the Spanish army in revolt against the elected government in Madrid, igniting what was soon known as the Spanish Civil War, Malraux was among the many thousands of anti-Fascists around the world, ranging from mildly liberal democrats to dedicated communists, who rushed to the anti-Franco cause. His role was to organize the purchase of warplanes and recruit both volunteer and mercenary pilots to fly them under his command. This despite the fact that he had never fired a weapon

before, much less piloted a plane.

The events in Spain are now usually seen as a dress rehearsal for the Second World War, which followed almost immediately. Malraux, back in France, joined the Résistance and served usefully and bravely, helping to harry and harass the Nazi occupiers, while also, in the words of one chronicler, acting like "an energetic door-to-door salesman of himself." Near the end of the war, he incurred a wound, which he listed in the official record as three wounds, and was taken prisoner by the Germans, only to be freed when the Allies swept in.

But the most significant event that befell him during the war was meeting Charles de Gaulle. The dashing dark-haired novelist and the leader of the Free French forces took to each other. What de Gaulle liked in Malraux is less important than what Malraux admired in de Gaulle. As one critic phrased it, "The novelist sees, standing and sitting amiably before him, behind his little mustache, an unquestionable Great Man of history and legend." For indeed anyone who wishes to be considered a Great Man himself must first of all believe in this simplistic concept. But then, as former French President Jacques Chirac, once said, "In every civilization,

leaders have a fool. It relaxes them...."

In the first year after the war, Malraux was information minister in de Gaulle's provisional government. When de Gaulle became president of the new Fifth Republic in 1958, he asked Malraux to take on the cultural affairs portfolio. To say that Malraux threw himself into the task is wholly inadequate. He turned everything upside down, starting new museums, reinventing old ones, undertaking a national inventory of art works, cutting down on the number of hideous public statues, sending the Mona Lisa on a visit to the New World and saying, "It seems to me vital that culture should cease to be the privilege of people who are lucky enough to live in Paris or to be rich." He was a special favourite of Jacqueline Kennedy, which made him a public figure in the U.S. During this period, he also turned his attention to a series of lavish art books, of which *Museum without Walls* is the best known — books Chirac says are without "scientific rigour" but show nonetheless that "nobody spoke better than he about fetishes" — that is, about primitive carvings.

In brief, Malraux went on being his highly charged, brilliant and charismatic self. He was old now, and addicted to amphetamines and opiates. And there were other flaws. When visitors tried to secure appointments to see Malraux, they would sometimes be told that the minister was indisposed with a recurrence of his old malaria. The phrase was code for his being drunk as a monkey. Through it all he remained the wonderful and unstoppable talker, the presenter of a lifelong monologue that, as François Mauriac, speaking with the authority of a Nobel laureate, said, "puts too much trust in our stupidity."

In 1967, Malraux published his memoirs, which he straightforwardly entitled *Antimémoires*, for he was at no pains to disguise the fact that they mixed fiction and non-fiction. Such was his method as a novelist. Why should he act differently when writing autobiography? Twenty years after his demise, his ashes were transferred to the Panthéon to rest with the remains of the great French heroes down through the centuries. The *Economist* used the occasion to pronounce that the long-serving bad boy of French culture had grown harmless since his death.

George Fetherling's most recent book is *Plans Deranged by Time* (Wilfrid Laurier University Press).



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# Yonge Street: Governor Simcoe's military road

By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky



Yonge Street looking North from Queen Street, Toronto, 1890.

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*I have ascertained by a Route hitherto unknown but to some Indian Hunters, that there is an easy Portage between York and the Waters which fall into Lake Huron of not more than thirty miles in extent.... and hope to compleat (sic) the Military Street or Road the ensuing Autumn."*

~ Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe to Secretary of State Henry Dundas, October 19, 1793

**J**ohn Graves Simcoe, first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, proposed the "military street" as a strategic route to help protect Upper Canada from American invasion.

The Toronto Passage on Lake Ontario, known by the First Nations as the Carrying Place Trail, was the site of Fort Rouillé, which was burned down in 1759 by French troops retreating from British forces. It was a minor site for trade and settlement, but gained importance after the American Revolution.

Loyalists moving northward to British territory established settlements along the upper Saint Lawrence and lower Great Lakes, leading to the creation of Upper Canada and the establishment of York (Toronto).

When war broke out between England

and France in 1793, Simcoe realized that the capital Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake) and its Lake Erie trade route would be vulnerable to attack should America support its French allies. He transferred the capital to Toronto Bay, establishing York as the capital, and planned major roads, both for defence and for expanding development. He strengthened his proposal for the military route by pointing out its commercial advantages as a trade route.

Simcoe embarked on Sept. 25, 1793, with a group of soldiers and Aboriginal guides to explore north of Lake Ontario, following the Carrying Place Trail portage route from Lake Ontario to Lake Simcoe and along the Humber and Holland Rivers. The trail was a necessary route, since the shallow Humber was often difficult to navigate, it froze solid in winter and its steep banks offered little defence against attack.

Simcoe and his party traversed the difficult marshland to Lac aux Claiés, which he renamed Lake Simcoe to honour his father. He determined that the portage was an unsuitable route to Georgian Bay, perhaps because his guides got lost on the return trip. They returned from Holland Landing by way of Bond Lake and branches of the Don River. Simcoe had found his route and

wrote with great excitement to Dundas.

Simcoe's strategic route did not follow the natural contours of the land but was truly a military road, running arrow-straight from York to Holland Landing. Simcoe named the road Yonge Street, after Sir George Yonge, secretary of war in the British Cabinet and a family friend.

Augustus Jones, a United Empire Loyalist from New York State, was assigned to survey and clear the way. He and the Queen's Rangers began at Holland Landing and worked their way through the dense forest south to York. The difficulty of clearing the road was partially solved by charging each settler along the route to clear six acres of land within 12 months, including a section of Yonge Street. Simcoe set convicted drunks to removing tree stumps as part of their sentences.

The completion of Yonge Street was announced on February 20, 1796. Today, what was once Simcoe's military road stretches some 1,900 kilometres.

Today, what was once Simcoe's military road is part of a road system that stretches some 1,900 kilometres and has been mythologized as the world's longest street.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is associate editor of *The Canadian Encyclopedia*.

## Exploring Norway's fresh-food culture



MARGARET DICKENSON

A country's culture rests in a composite — language, dress, music, dance, architecture and traditions. A country's character reveals itself also through its food, what was, and is, cultivated in various regions, coupled with methods of food preparation and preservation.

My next series of articles will explore the national cuisine of various countries through my own personal experiences and research, conversations with heads of mission of embassies and high commissions, often with their chefs. The series begins with Norway.

Norway, like Canada, enjoys a great diversity of geography and topography, plus an enviable wealth of food products from both land and water. A country of magnificent fjords, mountains, rivers, lakes, forests and grasslands, Norway has more than the upper third of its length stretching beyond the Arctic Circle. However, unlike Canada, its climate is greatly influenced by the warm Gulf Stream. Also, with the entire country being situated so far north, all regions experience long summer days. These factors, of course, influence Norwegian food culture.

In Norway, what one eats today is closely related to what was available decades ago, even centuries ago, when "eating local" was the only choice. Historically, most Norwegians lived modestly in small villages where "nose-to-tail" eating was popular. That tradition hasn't faded.

Norwegian Ambassador Else Berit Eikeland recalls with fondness her mother's home-cooked meals. To this day, she loves dried leg of lamb (a definite "must have" at Christmas) and all the "exotic treats" retrieved from boiled lamb heads. Yes, eyes, cheeks and so much more. Interestingly enough, despite the amazing

wealth generated in recent years from the oil and gas industry and easy access to international products, Norwegians continue to relish recipes drawn from local ingredients with an emphasis on fish, game, lamb, fruits and vegetables. And though there is great emphasis on "freshness," culinary traditions linger. Many favourite recipes use cured, dried, salted, smoked and marinated products, reflecting and respecting long-established traditions of preserving seasonal products.

Norway's long and varied coastline offers a bountiful supply of fish (cod, salmon, halibut, herring, trout and pollock). With their secluded areas and favourable water temperature thanks to the Gulf Stream, the fjords along the coast provide excellent conditions for salmon and trout farms.

Norwegians love fish. In the south, locals wait for spring when the mackerel spawn along the coast. They set the table and enjoy a festive meal of fried mackerel and rhubarb soup. Regardless of the region, traditional fish soup served with something on the side is a favourite. Ms Eikeland animatedly recalls eating fish five times a week as a child — fish caught by her own family or by neighbours.

For special occasions, there is shrimp. "Back home, it is boiled in sea water and flash frozen on the fishing vessels, and thus is quite salty," she says. "The bigger the shrimp the better." Guests feast on thawed shrimp presented in large bowls. They peel and eat the shrimp with fresh bread, lemon and homemade mayonnaise

as well as suitable quantities of beer and a spiced spirit called *aquavit* [derived from Latin *aqua vitae*, "water of life"].

Turning to the land, game is abundant and part of the local diet. In the serenity of the north, reindeer is prepared and preserved in countless ways. Further south, the meat is elk and moose. To this day, Norwegian families enjoy dishes with names such as "bits and pieces" — made with what Canadians would call "leftovers." Ms Eikeland proudly confirms "when food was scarce, we learned to use everything and to add a touch of luxury after frying everything in one pan, we would top the dish off with one fried egg."

Because Norway is located so far north, Nordic summers provide a slow ripening process of everything that grows during those cool, long-light days (virtually 24 hours at one point). This imparts a depth of flavour and aroma to berries, fruits and vegetables. Even animals grazing on the succulent grass and herbs, similarly have a distinctive flavour. Indeed, Norwegian lamb ranks among the best in the world — finely muscled, always tender with a unique but mild flavour.

Respecting their traditional food culture, creative Norwegian chefs today are showcasing their country's ingredients by devising innovative recipes and menus (often applying classical methods of French cuisine) and being recognized as international award-winning chefs.

Enjoy a touch of Norwegian food culture with my very popular marinated salmon. Bon Appétit!



Norwegian marinated salmon

LARRY DICKENSON

**Marinated Salmon**

Marinated salmon is most often presented as an hors d'oeuvre or appetizer. However, served with a mustard drizzle and creamed potatoes (i.e., diced cooked potatoes gently tossed with a cream sauce), it makes a creative main course.

1 lb (450 g) fresh salmon fillet (deboned), with skin attached  
 2 tbsp (30 mL) granulated sugar  
 2 tbsp (30 mL) chopped fresh dill weed  
 2 tbsp (30 mL) vodka  
 1 1/2 tsp (8 mL) anise seed  
 1 1/2 tsp (8 mL) crushed black peppercorns  
 1 tsp (5 mL) crushed dried tarragon  
 1 tsp (5 mL) salt  
 4/5 cup (200 mL) Mustard Drizzle\*

1. Place salmon fillet in a flat glass baking dish (slightly larger than fillet) with skin side down. In a small bowl, mix together sugar, chopped dill, vodka, anise seed, crushed peppercorns, tarragon and salt; rub mixture into flesh of salmon (upper flesh side and edges). Cover surface of salmon with plastic wrap and place dish of salmon into a loose plastic bag.

2. Locate a weight of suitable size to cover entire surface of salmon; place weight on salmon. (Note: Weight is placed on exterior surface of plastic bag that encloses salmon.)

3. Refrigerate for at least 12 hours or up to a couple of days, turning salmon fillet over in dish from time to time.

4. Before serving, remove marinated fillet from dish and drain. (It is not necessary to remove herbs and spices that stick to flesh.) Carefully cut skin and any dark central fatty areas away from flesh, and discard. Cut marinated fillet into thin vertical slices (thickness: 1/5 inch or 0.5 cm).

\* To make a quick mustard drizzle, in a medium-sized bowl, whisk together 2 tbsp (30 mL) of both Dijon mustard and a grainy mustard, 1 tbsp (15 mL) of sugar, 2 tsp (10 mL) of cider vinegar and 2 egg yolks. Whisking constantly, gradually add 1/2 cup (125 mL) of canola oil in a thread-like manner until the mixture is emulsified.

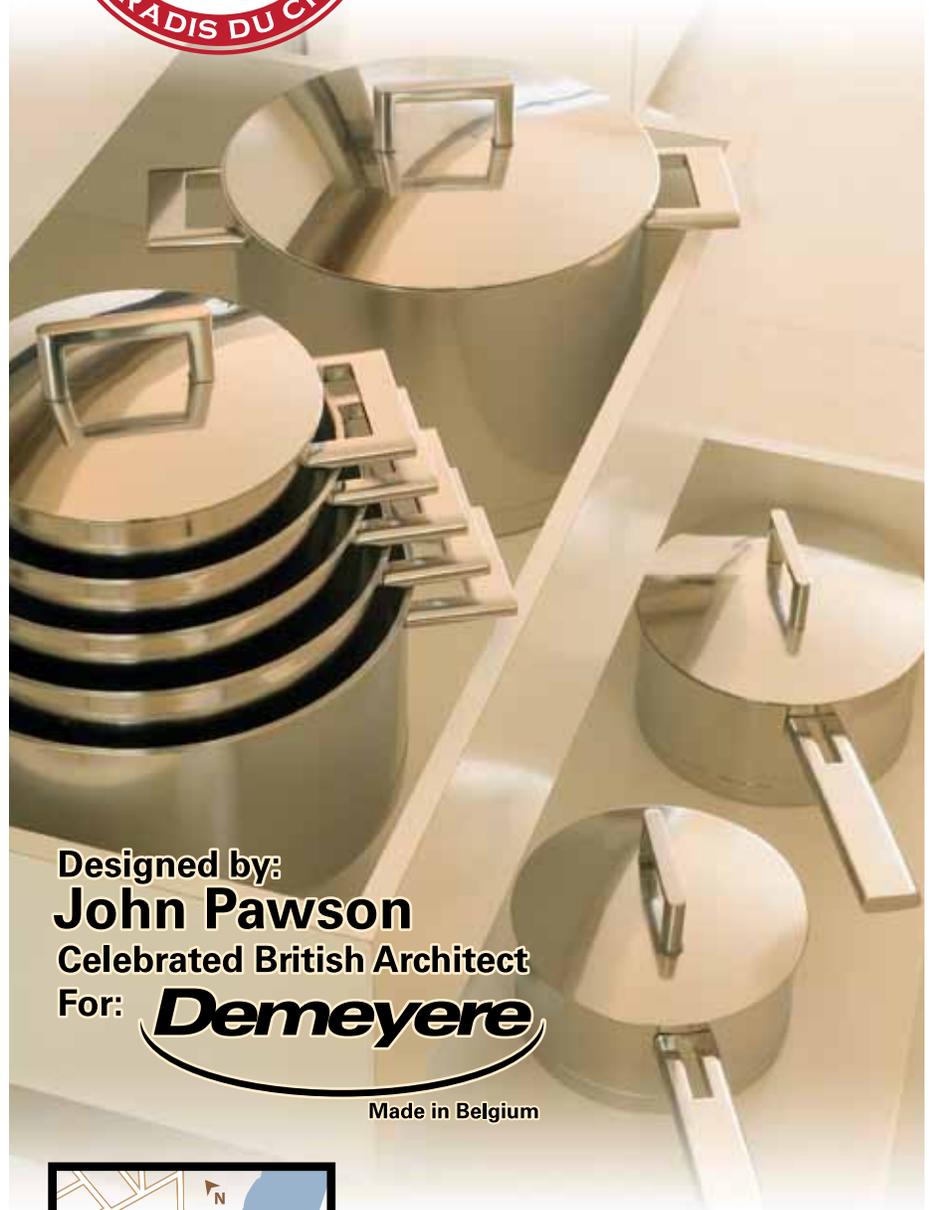
Margaret Dickenson is author of the international award winning cookbook, *Margaret's Table*, also creator and host of the TV series, *Margaret's Table*, and recipient of the University of Guelph's 2011 Alumnus of Honour. See [www.margaretstable.ca](http://www.margaretstable.ca).



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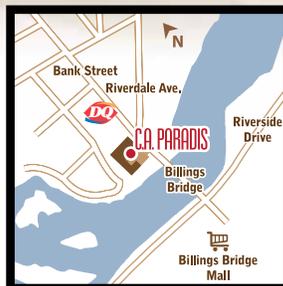
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# An elegant Egyptian renovation

By Margo Roston



ALL PHOTOS BY DYANNE WILSON

The main reception room at the grandly renovated Egyptian ambassador's residence

The Egyptian embassy residence is a treat for the eye. But it's tucked away up a lane off Acacia Avenue so it's a treat that casual passers-by might well miss.

Attractive wrought-iron gates lead up the long driveway to the front entrance of a house built in 1913 by Allan Keefer, the architect for Stornoway and for many residences that are now owned by embassies. This house was for his wife Claire, a

local beauty, and their three children. The site is special, on a hill facing east over the Ottawa River and the lovely National Capital Commission's Rockeries.

His own family house was designed in the same popular Tudor Revival style that the society architect used for other Rockcliffe houses — many of which are now owned by foreign governments.

Not long after his home was complete, prominent Ottawa photographer William

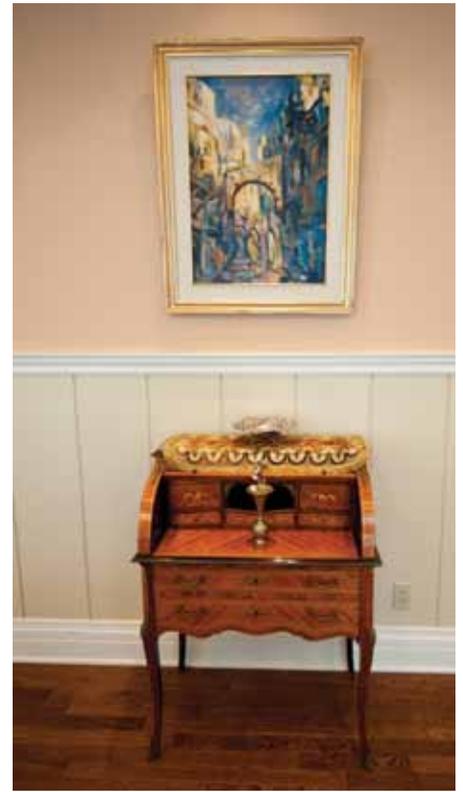
de Courcy Topley, who named the house Bonnycrest, lived there from 1919-1953 (according to *Rockcliffe Park: A History of the Village* by Martha Edmond.)

Following its years as a private home, it was bought by the Egyptian government, which decided in 2006 that it was too small to fulfil its duties as an official residence. So Egypt embarked on a major renovation, almost tripling the size of the original building but with a respectful eye

ALL PHOTOS D'YANNE WILSON



The sunporch/entrance to the residence



An Egyptian secretary desk and a painting that shows an alley in Egypt



The dining room is part of the large expansion and features new wood paneling that matches the old perfectly.



Ambassador Wael Aboul-Magd and his wife, Hanan Mohamed Abdel Kader



The silver bowl in which Ambassador Wael presented a wedding gift.

to the heritage values of the home and the area. The \$3 million renovation received an infill award from the City of Ottawa.

The first thing that catches your eye is the original double-height bay window in the front. Half-timbered multi-paned windows, a stepped parapet and a recessed entrance sheltered with triple-arched porch show off Keefer's elegant design.

The original entrance has been enhanced by glassing in the arches, adding a marble floor, sculptures and an Egyptian fountain, along with a small oriental carpet and a table and chairs. This charming entrance leads into the original two-storey wood-panelled entrance hall with a large fireplace and a filigree wooden screen that runs along the second-floor landing.

"It could have been found in a casbah ... quite amazing," says Ambassador Wael Aboul-Magd. "It was really quite a small house."

Now it's tripled in size from its original, with a large addition out back. The original small living room gives way to an enormous reception room lined with French doors and full-length windows. Colourful paintings, most from the ambassador's personal collection, adorn the cream-coloured walls. A combination of five large chandeliers, many pot lights and several skylights give a sense of light and space, even on the darkest days. Sliding doors can be opened or closed to make the large reception room suitable for different occasions. Egyptian furniture is a feature of the room and there is a large silver collection belonging to the family, including the silver bowl in which the ambassador presented the dowry to his fiancée's father.



The exterior of the Acacia Avenue home

ALL PHOTOS DYANNE WILSON



A sunroom in the residence

"We are a thoroughly modern Egyptian couple," says his wife, Hanan Mohamed Abdel Kader, "but we enjoy traditional things." They take the silver bowl everywhere they go, including former postings in New York, New Delhi and Washington.

Behind the reception room is a glassed-in sunroom which looks out over a large patio and garden.

The dining room is an amazing creation in a large extension added to the original space. Lovely new wood panelling has been expertly matched with the original work so it's almost impossible for the casual eye to spot the difference.

As for bedrooms, Mrs. Magd says, with a laugh, that she not sure how many there are. "I have counted five."

The house was updated with a commercial-style kitchen and is commanded by Lebanese chef Rafik Girges, who has worked at the residence for 11 years. And while the couple likes to entertain in a modern style, they also enjoy serving favourites from home. If you are lucky enough to be invited for dinner, you might enjoy stuffed grape leaves and peppers, veal and lamb chops with garlic and "lots of mint," lentil soup and baklava. A house specialty is Turkish coffee and melt-in-your-mouth *balah el sham*, sweet oriental fritters. Four staff members look after the house, its occupants, and driving duties.

With his country in turmoil, the ambassador is hard at work on the diplomatic front, but at his Ottawa residence he and his wife and young son have an historical and elegant retreat in which to ponder world events.

Margo Roston is *Diplomat's* culture editor.

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1. Senator Marjory LeBreton, left, attended Australia Day, hosted by High Commissioner Louise Hand at the National Arts Centre in January. 2. To mark the national day of the State of Qatar, Ambassador Salem Mubarak Al-Shafi hosted a reception at the Hilton Lac-Leamy Hotel. From left, Al-Shafi, Chief of Defence Staff Walter Natynczyk and his wife, Leslie. 3. Brunei High Commissioner Rakhiah Lamit, right, hosted a national day reception at the high commission in March. Thai Ambassador Udomphol Ninnad attended. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 4. Haitian Charge d'Affaires Natalie Menos-Gissel hosted a national day celebration in February. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 5. Cuban Ambassador Teresita Sotolongo hosted a national day reception in January, which Green Party leader Elizabeth May attended. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 6. Taipei economic and cultural office representative David Lee, right, hosted Taiwan Night at the Chateau Laurier. The event was attended by numerous parliamentarians, including House of Commons Speaker Andrew Scheer, left.



1. Serbian Ambassador Zoran Veljic hosted a national day event at the embassy in February. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 2. To mark the 64th national day of Sri Lanka, High Commissioner Chitranganee Wagiswara and her husband, Duleep, hosted a cultural performance and reception Feb. 8 at the Museum of Civilization. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. To mark the 51st anniversary of the national day of Kuwait, Ambassador Ali H.S. Al-Sammak hosted a dinner-reception at the Ottawa Convention Centre Feb. 27. He's shown with Saudi Ambassador Osamah A. Al Sanosi Ahmad. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 4. In February, Estonian Prime Minister Andrus Ansip and his daughter, Reet Pallas, successfully finished their fourth cross-country ski marathon together, and their first in Canada. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 5. The Chinese embassy hosted a Chinese New Year event at the Mandarin Ogilvy restaurant in February. Minister-counsellor Liu Jin spoke. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 6. To mark the launch of next year's festivities surrounding the 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Canada and South Korea, Ambassador Joo-Hong Nam, left, and his wife, Mi-Sook Um, right, hosted a dinner and cultural event attended by chief of protocol, Margaret Huber, centre. (Photo: Korean embassy)



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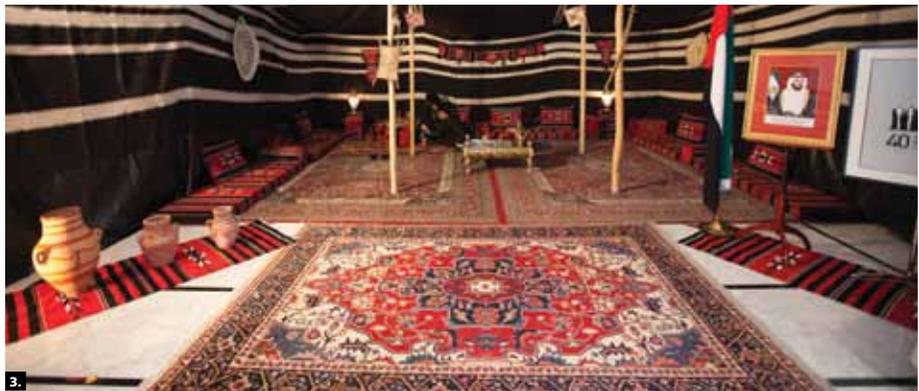
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1. The Embassy of Azerbaijan commemorated the 22nd anniversary of Black January 1990, when the Soviet Union stormed Baku. The embassy hosted a concert at Library and Archives Canada featuring the Toronto Mendelssohn Trio (from left, Roudat Amiraliev, Teimour Sadykhov and Rachad Feizoulav). (Photo: Sam Garcia) 2. The embassy of Ukraine held a reception to mark Armed Forces Day. From left, Korean defence attaché Col. Soo Wan Lee, Ukrainian defence attaché Col. Ihor Likarenko, Ukraine chargé d'affaires Mykhailo Khomenko, National Defence director Capt. S.C.Bertrand and Ukraine's second secretary Denys Sielik. 3. To mark the United Arab Emirates' national day, Ambassador Mohamed Abdulla M. Bin Mutleq Al-Ghafli set up a traditional tent within the embassy's walls.



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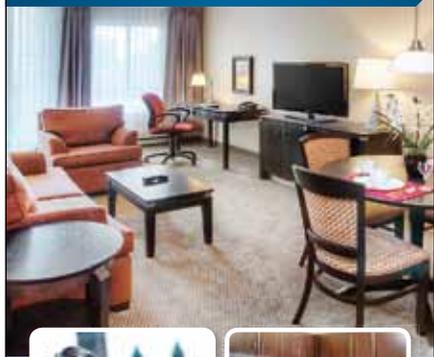
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1. The Canada-China Cultural Development Association (CCDA) partnered with the Heart & Stroke Foundation and presented a show featuring a Chinese performing arts group at Centrepointe Theatre. (Photo: Rudy Gao) 2. Jose del Carmen Urena, ambassador of Dominican Republic, hosted an independence day event March 3 at Tetreau Community Centre in Gatineau (Hull). From left, MP Jose Nunez-Melo, Ambassador Urena, Arelis Medina, vice-president of the Dominican Cultural Association and Silfredo Almonte, president of the Dominican Cultural Association. (Photo: Danilo Velasquez) 3. The Sir Winston Churchill Society of Ottawa launched at Earncliffe, home of British High Commissioner Andrew Pocock and his wife, Julie. From left, Ron Cohen, Wendy Cohen, the Pococks, Allen Packwood, director of the Churchill Archives Centre at Cambridge University and the inaugural speaker.

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**New heads of mission**

**Louise Hand**  
High Commissioner for Australia



Ms Hand is a senior career diplomat with foreign affairs. Prior to her appointment to Canada, she was ambassador for climate change from 2009 until 2011. Previously, she served overseas as minister and deputy head of mission in Indonesia (2005 to 2009), ambassador to Cambodia (2000 to 2003), counsellor at the Australian permanent mission on disarmament in Geneva (1995 to 1998), third and later second secretary in Austria (1986 to 1989).

In Canberra, Ms Hand has been assistant secretary, arms control branch (1999 to 2000), director, ministerial and executive liaison section (1999), director, business affairs unit (1993 to 1994) and executive assistant to the secretary (1992 to 1993).

She holds a bachelor of arts, master's qualifying degree from the University of Queensland and an MBA from Deakin University. She is married and has two daughters. In January 2009, she was awarded a public service medal for her work in Indonesia.

**Non-heads of mission**

Argentina  
**Dario Javier Helbert**  
Third secretary

Australia  
**Russell John Page**  
Defence adviser

Chile  
**Elena Del Carmen Bornand Perez**  
First secretary

**Ramiro Navajas Santini**  
Defence attaché

China  
**Ji Yang**  
First secretary

**Ping Chen**  
Third secretary

**Yiqun He**  
Minister-counsellor

Cuba  
**Yunieski Morales Medina**  
Attaché

Dominican Republic  
**Briunny Garabito Segura**  
Minister-counsellor

France  
**Alexandre Aaron Vulic**  
Minister-counsellor

Iceland  
**Kristin Eva Jansson Sigurdardottir**  
Second secretary and chargé d'affaires, A.I.

Israel  
**Eden Avraham Attias**  
Minister-counsellor

Japan  
**Koichi Nakamoto**  
Attaché

**Chisa Takiguchi**  
Second secretary

Kazakhstan  
**Artem Kuzmin**  
Third secretary

**Daniyar Seidaliyev**  
Counsellor

Libya  
**Esam O. Ben-Zitun**  
First secretary

**Abdelaziz A. Almansouri**  
Counsellor

Madagascar  
**Philippe Velo**  
Counsellor

New Zealand  
**Michael Kelvin Pannett**  
Counsellor

Niger  
**Yacouba Mahamane**  
Chargé d'affaires

Peru Rodriguez  
**Roberto Rafael Max Arnillas**  
Minister and deputy head of mission

Philippines  
**Rhodora Manlapaz**  
Attaché

**Neil Frank Ferrer**  
Minister and consul general

**Miguel Luis Moreno**  
Attaché

Qatar  
**Hussain Ali S. Al-Fadhala**  
Second secretary

Russia  
**Varvara Dronova**  
Third secretary

Senegal  
**Aliou Diouf**  
First secretary

South Africa  
**Wida Ansoeis Cloete**  
First secretary

Turkey  
**Ahmet Ozel**  
Attaché

Ukraine  
**Natalia Holub**  
First secretary

United States Of America  
**Creg Dalton Paulk**  
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# Celebration time

A listing of the national and independence days marked by countries

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

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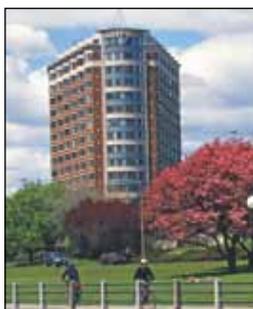
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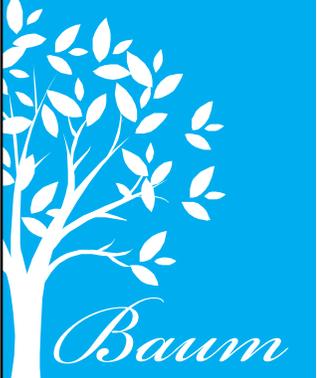
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## Savouring sake



PIETER VAN DEN WEGHE

Though delicious, sake can be challenging. From sommeliers to novices, many know exactly what they like to drink. We are familiar with wine, beer and spirits, and we have favourite situations we all like to enjoy them in. It can be a pint of lager at the pub, a glass of Pinot Noir at dinner, or a whiskey for some deep conversation. For most of us, sake is a great unknown and has no such context. It's often limited to a trip to a Japanese restaurant and perhaps ordered on a lark. However, this tremendous drink of complex aromas and flavours should be given a chance to be truly appreciated, especially as, over the last few decades, premium sakes have made their way to the market.

Sake itself dates back 1,000 years in Japan. It is made with a different kind of rice than dinner table rice, with the grains being longer, stronger and lower in protein. Of the hundred possible types of rice which can be used for sake, a dozen are most important, and, like grape varieties, each provides different flavours.

Before fermentation, the rice grains are milled to remove the exterior husk and leave the starch within. Generally speak-

ing, the more producers mill the rice, the better the sake will be. Correspondingly, with more rice milled away, the less raw material remains. It is this, combined with the additional labour required, that usually accounts for higher prices of premium grades of sake.

Though often called rice wine, sake's brewing makes it a closer relative to beer than wine. Also, like beer, the starch of the source material must be converted to sugar so yeast can turn it into alcohol. For beer, this conversion takes place during the mashing of malted barley with warm water before fermentation begins. However, as the rice for modern sake has had its husk removed, the conversion process must occur with the addition of a mold called *koji*. Before and during the fermentation, this mold acts to provide the sugar necessary for yeast to make alcohol.

This process is so vital to the production of sake that sake breweries have a warm humid room, called a *koji muro*, exclusively used for the production of fresh *koji*. With modern technology, machines now automatically produce *koji*, but the best sake is still created with hand-made *koji*.

In the final stage of brewing, most sake has distilled alcohol added to it. Though this is aggressively done with lower-quality examples to increase yields, it is also an important tool when used delicately for producing premium products. Many brewers believe it increases aromatic and flavour qualities. That said, a small amount of sake is still made in the traditional manner without the addition of distilled alcohol. These sakes are referred to collectively as *junmai*.

After pressing, filtering and pasteurization (though a very small amount of non-pasteurized sake called *nama-zake* is

also made), the majority of sake is allowed to rest for about six months. It's blended with water to bring the alcoholic level down to approximately 16 percent before being bottled and sold. The source of the water is important as it will greatly affect the resulting sake's flavour.

Three-quarters of sake is produced with rice which has less than 30 percent of its grain milled away and is classified as *futsu* sake. Though there are exceptions, this category of "table sake" is usually made with an eye towards quantity and not quality. Often, distilled alcohol is generously added and lower grades of rice are used. Those looking for a more compelling drink, should look to the premium levels of sake requiring milling of 30 percent and higher.

These premium levels of sake are collectively called *tokutei meishoshu* and have three ascending levels — from *honjozo* to *ginjo* to *daiginjo*. The minimum milling requirements for these levels are 30 percent, 40 percent and 50 percent of the grain removed. Also, these three levels are applied to sake which has not had distilled alcohol added to it, and they are called *junmai*, *junmai-ginjo* and *junmai-daiginjo*. Generally, the *junmai* premium levels of sake are not considered superior to their non-*junmai* counterparts.

When looking to purchase premium sake, look to the label for help. First, while all the classifications can be difficult to remember, look for the word *ginjo*. It will lead you immediately to the very top levels of the sake brewer's art. Second, a *seimibuai* number on a label indicates the amount of rice that remained after milling. For example, a *seimibuai* of 70 percent means that 30 percent of the grain has been removed. When trying premium sake, have it slightly chilled. While warm sake has its place, particularly in winter, it's best to explore those preferences personally to see what is best for you.

Three excellent examples of sake at the LCBO are Asamai Shuzo's beautifully textured Heaven's Door Tokubetsu Junmai (241752, 720ml for \$29), Gekkeikan's spicy, full and fruity Horin Junmai Daiginjo (603837, 300ml for \$17) and Okunomatsu's balanced and complex Sakura Ginjo (228684, 720ml for \$38).

Pieter Van den Weghe is the sommelier at Beckta dining & wine.



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## It's the perfect time to discover unforgettable Ukraine



Swallow's Nest is a decorative castle near Yalta on the Crimean peninsula in southern Ukraine. It was built between 1911 and 1912 in Gaspra, on top of the 40-metre-high Aurora Cliff, by Russian architect Leonid Sherwood.



By Natalia Holub  
First secretary, Embassy of Ukraine

If you have never visited Ukraine, you are missing a wonderful and an unforgettable experience. Although it is Europe's largest country, Ukraine has yet to be discovered by tourists. This may soon change, however, as Ukraine and its next-door neighbour Poland have been chosen as joint hosts of the 2012 European Football Championship (EURO 2012).

By all accounts, EURO 2012 (which runs from June 8 through July 1) is expected to attract millions of soccer fans

and tourists to Ukraine. The EURO 2012 soccer games will be played in the following four cities in Ukraine: Kyiv [Kiev], Lviv, Kharkiv and Donetsk. Once discovered, Ukraine will surely become a "hot" travel destination for tourists.

Ukraine has a lot to offer to tourists of all ages — historic architecture, ancient churches and fortresses, opera, ballet, classical as well as traditional folk music and dance, rock concerts, art galleries that feature works by world renowned painters and sculptors, delicious food and, most importantly, the opportunity to meet a warm, generous, kind and friendly people.

As background, Ukraine is centrally located in Eastern Europe and borders on Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Moldova, Russia and Belarus. The southern part of Ukraine includes the Crimean Peninsula which juts out into the Black Sea. I should note that the Crimea is known for its beautiful beaches and palm tree-lined streets and boardwalks. Its numerous hotels, nightclubs and restaurants offer

entertainment for everyone. Crimea is also famous for the unforgettable scenery of its picturesque mountains overhanging the Black Sea (which offers an assortment of water sports).

In addition to its beautiful beaches and mountains on the Black Sea, Ukraine also has the Carpathian Mountains. A large part of this mountain range is located in Western Ukraine and its numerous winter resorts provide an excellent venue for sports such as skiing (both downhill and cross-country), ice skating, sleigh riding, sledding and snowboarding.

I would be remiss if I did not mention Ukrainian traditional food. On the whole, you will find that the food is rich, hearty and very tasty. Much of this can be attributed to centuries of growing crops in Ukraine's fertile soil. One thing I can promise: You will never feel hungry after eating a Ukrainian meal.

The two most popular and beloved dishes in Ukraine are *borsch* and *varenyky*. All Ukrainians, including myself, were



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The Odessa Opera House is one of Odessa's prized buildings.

raised on these foods. Borsch is a thick beet soup filled with chunks of meat and vegetables. *Varenyky* are large stuffed dumplings. They are usually filled with potatoes and smothered in fried onions and sour cream (known as *smetana*). However, they can also be filled with meat, cheese, cabbage and mushrooms. When served as a dessert, they are filled with apples, cherries, strawberries, poppy seeds and raisins. Other traditional Ukrainian foods include: *holubtsi* (stuffed cabbage covered with a mushroom sauce or a tomato sauce), *salo* (lard which is usually cut into small strips and served with bread) and *deruny* (potato and mushroom pancakes).

The dishes described above can be found in any restaurant that specializes in Ukrainian food. If you are in the mood for ethnic dishes other than Ukrainian, in our larger cities you can easily find restaurants that specialize in French, Italian, German, Chinese, Vietnamese, Japanese, Turkish and many other ethnic dishes.

Here's a sampling of the four cities that will be involved in hosting the EURO 12 games.

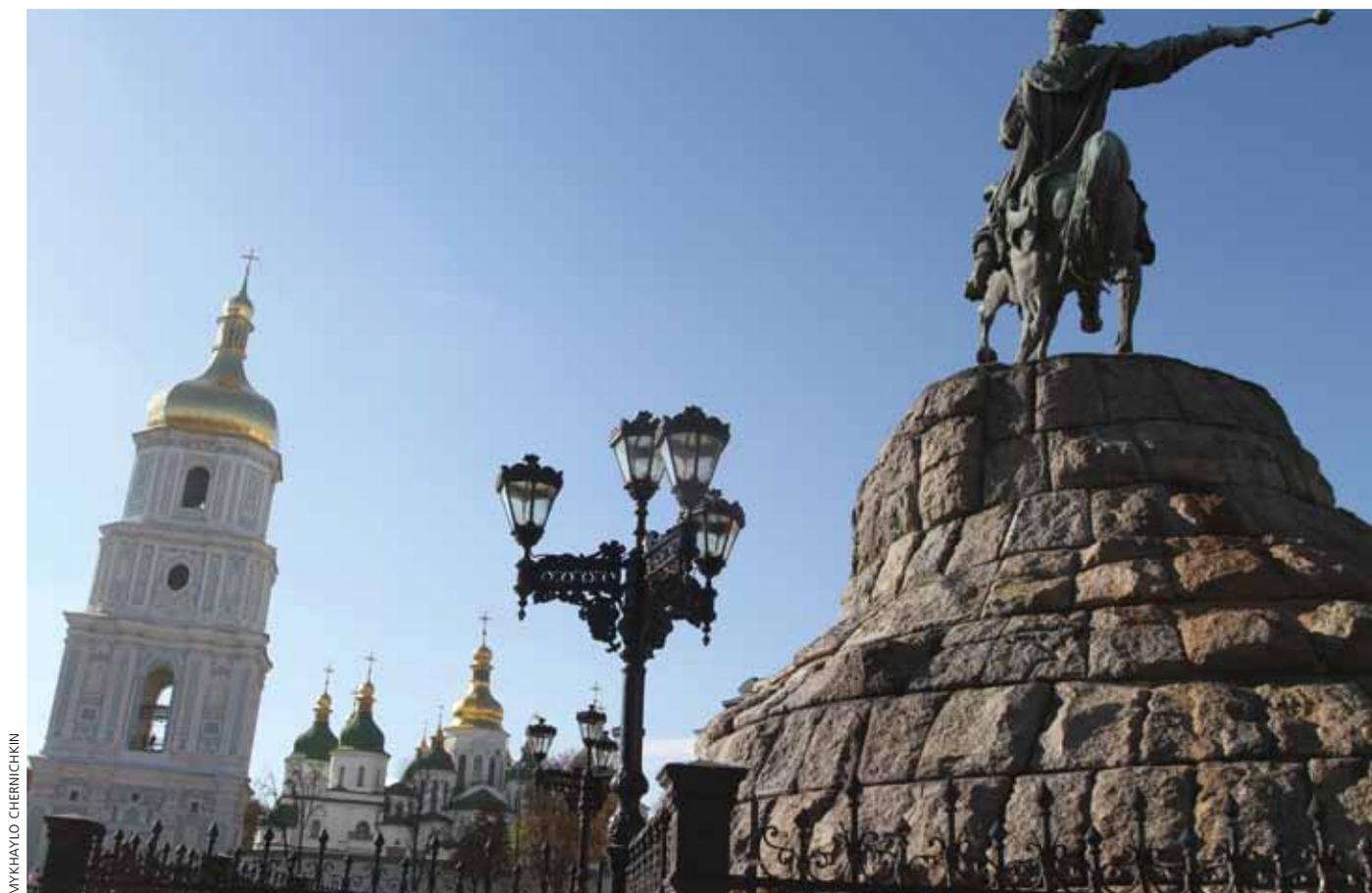
The first city, my hometown, is Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine. Kyiv is an ancient city founded approximately 560 AD. Legend has it Kyiv was founded by a Viking family — three brothers (Kyi, Schek and Koriv) and their sister Lybed. Kyiv was named after the eldest brother Kyi. The city was situated on top of a number of hills overlooking the Dnipro River. Due to its strategic location, Kyiv grew into a prosperous, lively and secure trading post. By the 10th Century, Kyiv became one of the most powerful cities in Europe. In contrast, London at that time was half the size of Kyiv. In 988 AD, Prince Volodymyr brought Christianity to Ukraine by baptizing his entire nation in the Dnipro River.

When visiting Kyiv, a "must" visit is Kyivo-Pecherska Lavra, also known as the Monastery of the Caves. Founded in the 11th Century, the vast network of underground tunnels and cells was built to house the ever-expanding number of monks and disciples who spent their entire lifetimes praying and writing. At street level, the Lavra consists of numerous beautiful old buildings and churches. Needless to say, it is Kyiv's No. 1 attrac-



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A monument to 17th-Century Ukrainian military commander Hetman Bogdan Khmelnytsky stands in front of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv.

tion for pilgrims, tourists and locals alike.

Since its founding, the Lavra has been the centre of Orthodox Christianity in Eastern Europe. Its numerous churches, bell towers, and underground cave systems with their narrow corridors, living quarters and chapels, are architectural masterpieces. Relics of saints, preserved in the catacombs, have been drawing devoted Christians to worship here over the last 1,000 years.

There are other churches worth visiting. St. Sophia's Cathedral is Kyiv's oldest standing church. It was built in 1037 by order of Kyiv's Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise to thank God for protecting Kyiv against the invasion of the Pechenegs, a semi-nomadic Turkic people. The church contains a large amount of original frescoes and well-preserved Byzantine mosaics. Both St. Sophia and Kyevo-Pecherska Lavra are UNESCO World Heritage sites.

St. Mikhail's Monastery of the Golden Domes was originally built in 1108-1113 and was recently reconstructed, adhering to the Byzantine-style architecture.

If you are interested in art, be it classical or contemporary, Kyiv has numerous

museums and art galleries. Some of my favourites include Mystetsky Arsenal, a huge new museum and art gallery complex which houses temporary and permanent art exhibitions, both classical and contemporary; Pinchuk Art Centre, a large privately owned gallery that features contemporary world-renowned artists, sculptors and photographers; the National Museum of Art and the National Museum of Ukrainian History.

I recommend that, on a sunny day, you visit the Museum of Folk Architecture and Life. It is an outdoor museum that contains more than 300 architecturally and culturally significant buildings.

If you are in the mood for walking, take a leisurely stroll on Andriyivsky Uzviz, a bohemian section of Kyiv, sometimes referred to as the "Montmartre of Kyiv." As you meander down the Andriyivsky Uzviz, you will pass antique shops, art studios, galleries, theatres, small museums, hotels and cafes. It is a great place to shop for Ukrainian crafts and art work.

If you stroll along Volodymyrska Street, you will come upon the famous Golden Gate of Kyiv, which was modeled on the

Golden Gate of Constantinople. A bit further beyond the gate you can get a glimpse of the National Opera House, built in the early 20th Century. Further still are other architectural treasures, such as the Kyiv National University and the monument to the great 19th Century Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko in a beautiful park across from the university.

Kharkiv is Ukraine's second largest city. It is a comparatively young city as it was only founded in 1653. The city is known for its achievements in science, industry, art, education and technology. It should be noted that it has the largest student population in Ukraine. Due to the availability of technical expertise, Bill Gates sought out programmers in Kharkiv to develop the Ukrainian version of Microsoft Windows.

Another city, unlike any other, is Ukraine's most sophisticated city, Lviv. It is truly European and cosmopolitan in all aspects — music, art, history and culture. Today, it is a favoured destination for many Europeans and Ukrainians. Lviv's numerous open squares, wide boulevards and distinctive architecture are reminiscent of Paris, Florence and Vienna.



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Lviv was founded by Prince Danylo of Halychyna in honour of his son, Leo. The name Lviv is derived from the Slavic root for “lion” which is the symbol of Lviv. You can see statues of lions all over the city. Lviv is considered to be the keeper of Ukrainian culture, traditions and statehood.

Through the centuries, due to its proximity to Western and Eastern Europe, Lviv grew into a wealthy, intellectual and cultural metropolis. It underwent a large building boom during the 16th and 17th Centuries and was heavily influenced by the Italian Renaissance. As a result, Lviv has a feeling of a medieval city and this adds to its attraction. Many tourists consider Lviv to be Ukraine’s most tourist-friendly town. The hotels are abundant and offer excellent accommodations in a range of prices. Cafés and restaurants offer a wide variety of foods and are highly service-oriented. It is no wonder that Lviv is Ukraine’s No. 1 tourist destination.

There are, of course, churches in Lviv. They number in the hundreds and represent an unbelievable diversity of faiths and architectural styles. Some of the more significant churches include the Armenian Cathedral (built in the 14th Century), Bernadine Cathedral (Greek Catholic with black and gold interior), Church of the Transfiguration (decorated with traditional Ukrainian embroidery and a gold iconostasis — a wall of icons), St. George’s Cathedral (Greek Catholic Church that

marked the beginning of the Pope’s visit to Ukraine in 2001), Latin Cathedral (Lviv’s largest Roman Catholic church) and others too numerous to mention.

UNESCO designated the entire city of Lviv as a World Heritage site in 1998.

Finally, we come to Donetsk, which is situated in the Donbass, Ukraine’s coal mining region. It was founded in 1869 by a Welsh man named John Hughes. Though the city is mostly known for its coal-mining operations, it is also known for its energy, chemical and metal production. As you can imagine, the city attracts mostly business travelers. Interestingly, Donetsk has actually been recognized by UNESCO as the world’s cleanest industrial city. Five rivers flow through the city and the Sea of Azov, the world’s shallowest, is only an hour away. Donbass Arena is Ukraine’s first stadium built for the European Football Championship 2012 in accordance with the Five-Star (Elite) standards of the Union of European Football Associations.

If you do happen to attend the Euro 2012 games, I encourage you to return and visit Ukraine’s primordial landscapes — Askania Nova, the Black Sea and the Carpathian Mountains and more.

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## Albania's story: sun, sea and antiquity



ALBANIAN TOURISM

The sights in the Valbona River Valley's national park, on the eastern side of the Albanian Alps, are breathtaking.



By *Elida Petoshati*  
Ambassador of Albania

**A**s a diplomat, I have had the privilege of travelling the world, getting to know places, cultures and civilizations that have enriched my life. Albania remains my first love. Wherever I go, I always return as if for the first time, eager to discover it again and again.

The country is simply beautiful. In only 28,000 square kilometres, running from north to south, you can experience not only Albania's varied landscape, but also its rich cultural heritage and historic treasures.

If you are looking for an active holiday, you will find plenty of places to discover: mountain treks, deep valleys, national parks, lakes, archaeological sites, museum cities, castles, a marvellous coastline and much more. Located in a very important area of the Balkan Peninsula, facing "ancient Rome" and en route to Byzantium, Albania's treasures — and the remains of the region's great civilizations — are still visible today. Hellenes, Romans, Byzantines, Ottomans, Venetians and modern Italians have all left their mark. The castle towns of Berat, Gjirokastra and Butrinti Park are among UNESCO's World Heritage sites.

The scenery of the country is fascinating and complex. The sun rises from behind the majestic Alps, and sets on the calm waters of Adriatic and Ionian seas. This sunlight paradigm becomes a symbol of the travel through Albania. With more than 250 bright days a year, the country could truly be called a gateway of sun.

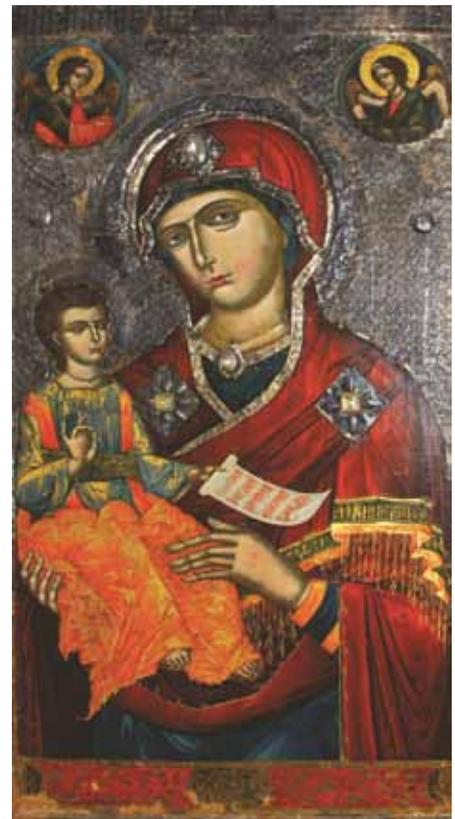
I invite the reader to follow the sun's

path from behind the Alps. I got to know this northern-most area relatively late but I can assure you that the pristine beauty of these places is unique. My favourite itinerary is the Valbona River Valley. The sights of this national park of 8,000 hectares, located on the eastern side of the Albanian Alps, are breathtaking and inspiring. Before entering the Valley you will find the spring waters of Shoshan rushing through limestone fissures on the way to meet the Valbona River.

Then you come to a chain of picturesque villages namely: Dragobia, Selimaj, Rrogam with their traditional alpine-style houses where you may have the opportunity to enjoy a hospitable breather (or stay, for the inhabitants' generosity and hospitality are well known). You could relish the characteristic regional cuisine with specialties such as *mazja* (a delectable custard), *flija* (a many-layered pancake dish cooked outdoors over open coals, steamed and often served with local honey) and *pitja* (a thick cheese pie).



A view of a church in the mountain at Berat



An icon of Saint Mary, at the Onufri National Museum in Berat

A nature lover myself, I have enjoyed, during my leisure excursions there, the pristine plants and trees, the resplendent rare colours reflected on the crystal-clear waters of the Valbona. On the other side of the Alps, you'll find rugged and verdant mountain slopes. Known for heavy snowfall, which starts in early November and lasts almost until May, the Valley and the park offer many outdoor activities, such as skiing, mountain-climbing, fishing, trekking and canoeing along parts of the river.

The Albanian coastline remains the real kingdom of the sun — a gorgeous 450-kilometre coastline rich in sand or fine gravel beaches, capes, coves, covered bays, lagoons and sea caves. Along the coast you come across towns rich in traditions and history. Shkodra boasts a Rozafa citadel, deeply rooted in old Illyria. Lezha is known for its history and rich ecosystem. Durrës, Albania's main seaport, has its own reputation as one of the oldest Adriatic towns, established as an Illyrian settlement 3,000 years ago.

Further down, in the South, you come to Vlorë, a seaport and tourist site. This is my favourite destination, not because I was born there and spent my childhood there, but because I have spent nearly all my vacations there. It has become a spiri-

tual oasis and a favourite retreat.

Vlorë is one of the largest and most populous parts of Albania and home to the second-largest port. It is rich in history and antiquity and serves as the largest gateway to the marvellous Albanian Riviera.

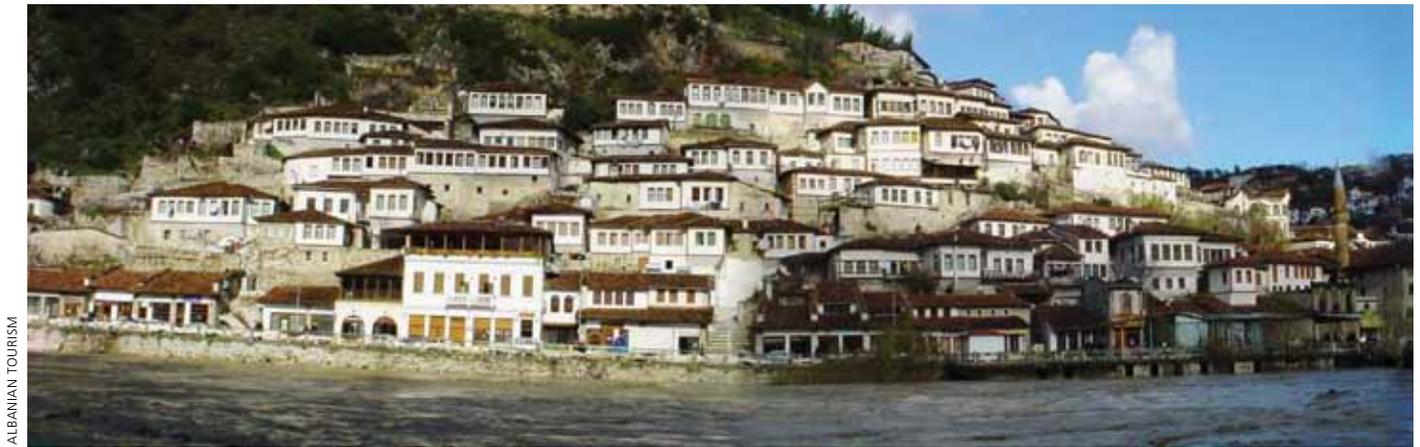
Situated alongside the Adriatic shores and deep blue Ionian waters, the Gulf of Vlorë represents one of the most beautiful places to explore. The Narta lagoon is rich with hundreds of species of waterfowl and is a fine fishing area. The village of Narta stands south of the lagoon, on the water's edge, and is surrounded by low hills covered with vineyards that produce one of the best homemade wines in Albania. My absolute favourite place is the nearby island of Zvërnec, which hosts the Byzantine-style Church and the Monastery of Saint Mary.

Continuing the journey south, you will see the scenic view of this part of Vlorë Gulf. After going through a tunnel in the place known as Uji i Ftohtë (Cold Springs), named after a nearby mountain stream that flows into the sea, you will reach the tourist area of Jonufër, with its chain of tiny rocky beaches famous for crystal-clear waters. Beyond Jonufër lies Rradhima, with its countless beaches,



The Zverec Monastery

displaying vividly contrasting colours between the deep blue of the sea and the green lush hills, all covered in Mediterranean olive groves and citrus plantations. The walk along the coast, with the breeze blowing through the olives, carrying rich



ALBANIAN TOURISM

The old town of Berat has been designated a UNESCO World Heritage site.



DORI

The magnificent Vlorë coastline

perfumes, and the scent of the sea offers a time for retreat and meditation.

A few kilometres further south, the road takes you to the small antique town of Orikum, one of the most important settlements of the ancient Mediterranean world. In the ancient history, it was the main port of the Amantian tribe. This ancient town was a major stage during the civil wars of Rome and battles between Caesar and Pompeii. During the Middle Ages, it adopted the name Jericho because of the Jewish community living in it and the Vlorë area. For me, Orikum carries the most spiritual experience of the region of

Vlorë Bay.

As a child, I loved this fairytale landscape's white limestone and ruins of the ancient shrines, the sumptuous vegetation surrounding the antique Orikum amphitheatre and the wildlife. I still remember the amazing decoration on the carapaces of the tortoises. Our family would end up at the Byzantine church of Marmiroi for a spiritual rest and cosy pilgrimage.

Orikum connects with the majestic Karaburun Peninsula, where the Adriatic Sea meets the Ionian Sea with its gorgeous views, competing with the best vistas of what the Mediterranean has to offer. Lau-

rel bushes and cacti adorn the mountain-side beaches — often small sandy shores beside ultramarine waters.

A main attraction along these shores is the marine cave of Haxhi Alia (a 17th-Century sailor from Ulqin) located on the northern part of the Karaburun Peninsula, a genuine natural monument. There, one can find purple sea corals similar only to those of Corsica. Scuba diving here would be fantastic. In fact, all of Vlorë Bay is perfect for diving. There are sunken ships, including the Italian ship that sank in 1941 during the Italian-Greek war. You can also dive into the waters of Zhiron to



DREAMSTIME

Ruins at Butrint National Archeological Park

observe the green and black algae.

A vacation in the Vlora area would be incomplete if we do not add the local tastes and flavours. The food is unique. Along with the olive groves and citrus

plantations, one finds excellent restaurants offering locally grown meats, fish and vegetables. The smell of cooked lamb lures the tourist into richer menus of olives, feta cheese, wild cabbage pies (cooked in special slow-coal fires). A range of picturesque villages amidst the orange trees (such as Radhima, Tragjas and Dukat) offer beautiful dining places by the sea. The wine is locally made.

The Florida-like weather is excellent but if you like it a bit on the fresh side, you can trek the National Park of Llogara nearby. The mountain peaks rise to 2,018 meters. With the breeze loaded with the scents of pine, wild teas and flower, it is ideal for walking, trekking or just relaxing. If you get hungry after walking, gliding or biking, you can enjoy lamb roasted on the spit or barbecued, lamb and goat cheese dishes and desserts made of nuts, honey and very thick yogurt made of sheep milk.

Driving downhill southward from the Llogara Pass, the winding road unfolds into the magnificent vista of the Ionian Sea below. Again, you will visit villages along the shores; again you will experience the warm hospitality of friendly people. Crystalline beaches extend to the southern-most (and beautiful) Albanian

town of Saranda. Nearby lies Butrinti National Archaeological Park, a world heritage site and the Ramsar Wetland Site of International Importance. Butrinti Park is just minutes away from the seaport town of Saranda and is a popular one-day excursion for tourists on the nearby Greek island of Corfù. You will find superb antique ruins and a remarkable range of archaeological sites and remains from the Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Angevin, Venetian and Ottoman eras. Its habitats include coastal wetlands, saltwater lagoons, rivers, lakes and open grazing lands. This unique combination of archaeology and nature creates a special remote and “undiscovered” atmosphere found at no other significant archaeological site along the Mediterranean.

Albania is also a cradle of cultural diversity. Before I was appointed as ambassador to Canada, I had the privilege of serving as general secretary of the UNESCO National Commission. Part of the function was to contact and visit the towns of Gjirokastra and Berat, already part of UNESCO’s World Inventory of Historical Heritage. It is a pleasant coincidence that the town of Berat was registered as such in the summer of 2008, in Quebec. Both these sites bear remarkable witness the harmony and peaceful co-existence among Albanians of different religions, gathered from centuries of history.

You will want to visit the southern town of Gjirokastra. The greatest Albanian writer, Ismail Kadare, glorified this legendary stone town in his book *Kronikë në gur* (*Stone Chronicles*). Here, you will experience the warm character of the people and enjoy the medieval architecture of the houses, along with the town’s Ottoman bazaar, ancient fortress and steep cobblestone streets, which form a dramatic urban landscape. These complexes are, for the most part, undisturbed by 20th-Century buildings. The historic town of Berat, 120 kilometres south of Tirana, with more than 2,400 years of history is another jewel of Albanian civilization and culture. With its houses built along the steep hills, the so-called city of the floating windows is towered over by the majestic citadel, housing the most attractive churches and mosques of Albania. As a group, they are a testament to Albania’s history of tolerance and peaceful co-existence over centuries.

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