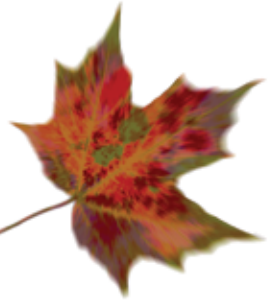


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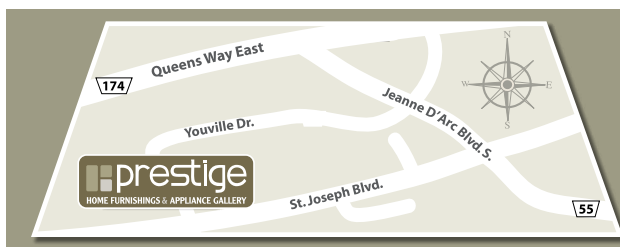
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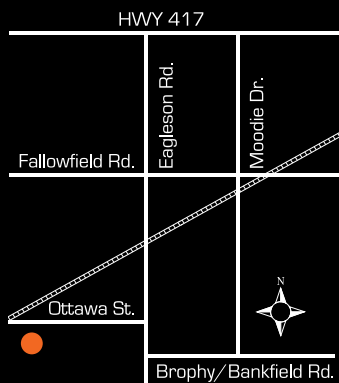


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## NAFTA - Plus

**W**ith the rise of countries in the East, exporting nations such as Canada are scrambling to find more destinations — China, India, the Asia-Pacific — for their goods. We see an emphasis on trade with pretty much any country outside North America. But what of our continental relationship?

In our cover package, we look at the poorest partner in the NAFTA triumvirate, and for good reason. As Mexican Ambassador Francisco Barrio Terrazas argues, Canada, the U.S. and Mexico must adapt and strengthen the trade agreement the three signed 20 years ago. "Today," he writes in the package's opening piece, "the challenge is to deepen and expand the integration of our economies, so that we will be able to compete at the global level."

Further in our package, Mexican expert Andrés Rozental and Chamber of Commerce president Perrin Beatty teamed up to write a Centre for International Governance Innovation report, which we reprint, on how Canada and Mexico should forge a new relationship. The reasons are clear. Manufacturing is returning to North America, with more than a dozen auto companies investing in new plants in Mexico. In addition, half of Mexico's population is 26 or younger and its wages are competitive. Mining and oil also thrive and Mexico's current population of 110 million is expected to balloon to 150 million by 2050. To round out the package, we have a piece on Mexico's history and

another on the Mexican drug war.

Also in our Dispatches section, we have an article from London, England. Our books editor, George Fetherling, travelled to the big city to interview Canada's high commissioner, Gordon Campbell. Mr. Fetherling also wrote a piece on the history of Canada House and the story of the people who've been at its helm.

Feature writer Wolfgang Depner gives us an international take on the long-running program *America's Most Wanted* — except Mr. Depner takes us around the world with his list of fugitives, including mobsters, drug lords and terrorists.

We have an eye-opening interview with newly arrived Tunisian Ambassador Riadh Essid. He tells *Diplomat* publisher Donna Jacobs why the Koran (Qu'ran) and Islam are compatible with democracy, modernism and women's rights. And he predicts that Tunisia, birthplace of the Arab Spring, will triumph in its aspirations for democratic rule and human rights.

Up front, columnist Fen Hampson joins retired diplomat Leonard Edwards to offer a cautionary tale on the rise of China and countries in the Asia-Pacific while Harry Sterling borrows a line from Napoleon as he compares China to a sleeping giant who, if woken, could "move the world." We also have a provocative piece by former trade commissioner Michael Hart, who argues Kyoto was "the silliest of high-minded gestures."

In our Delights section, Margaret Dickenson takes us on a culinary tour of Jamaica while writer Margo Roston and photographer Dyanne Wilson drop in on newly arrived Finnish Ambassador Charles Murto and his wife, Ritva, and get a glimpse of their architecturally interesting residence. Wine writer Pieter Van den Weghe revisits the place of his recent honeymoon, Tuscany, while Croatian Ambassador Veselko Grubisic accompanies us on an armchair excursion to his beautiful country.

Jennifer Campbell is *Diplomat's* editor.

## CONTRIBUTORS

### Perrin Beatty



Perrin Beatty is president and CEO of the 192,000-member Canadian Chamber of Commerce. Prior to joining the chamber in 2007, he was president and CEO of Canadian Manufacturers & Exporters (CME). From 1972 to 1993, he served as a Progressive Conservative MP and held seven cabinet portfolios: minister of state (treasury board), national revenue, solicitor general, national defence, health and welfare, communications and secretary of state for external affairs. From 1995 to 1999, he was president and CEO of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. In 2008, Mr. Beatty was named chancellor of the University of Ontario Institute of Technology.

### Andrés Rozental



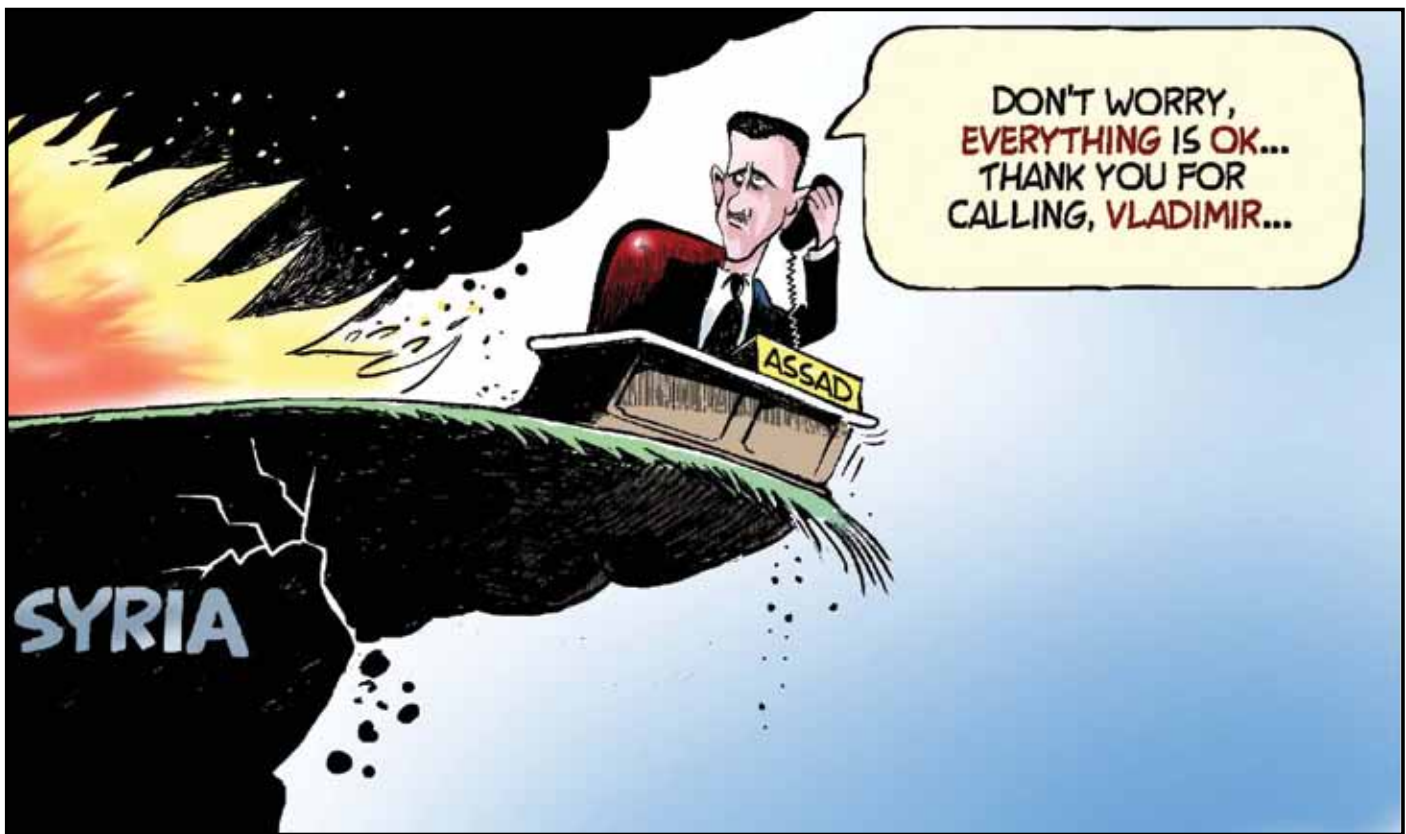
Andrés Rozental is a member of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), serving on the international board of governors and operating board of directors. A Mexican diplomat, he's served as ambassador to the United Kingdom, deputy foreign minister, ambassador to Sweden and permanent representative of Mexico to the UN in Geneva. Since 1994, he's held the lifetime rank of eminent ambassador of Mexico. President of the consulting firm Rozental & Asociados, he is a senior non-resident fellow at The Brookings Institution, senior adviser to Chatham House in London and board member of the Woodrow Wilson Center's Mexico Institute.

## UP FRONT

The migration of the Aztecs from the north into central Mexico before 1200 fulfilled a tribal prophecy that they would build a city where they saw an eagle with a snake in its beak resting on a cactus. The prophecy was fulfilled at a site that is now Mexico City. The legend lives on as the national symbol of Mexico and today, the same Mexican Golden Eagle adorns its flag and its coat of arms. Our Report on Mexico begins on page 36.



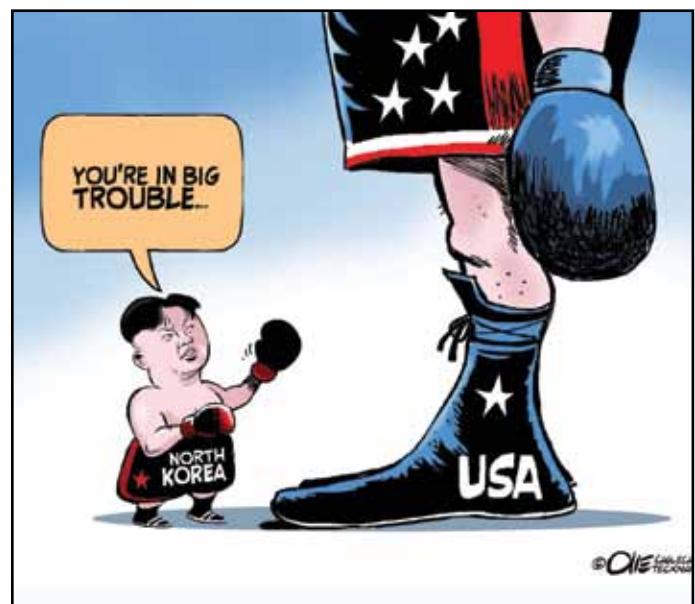
## Political commentary from around the world



"Thank you for calling" by Olle Johansson, Sweden



"Kim Jong Un" by Adam Zyglis, *The Buffalo News*



"Big trouble" by Olle Johansson, Sweden





"Currency war threat" by Paresh Nath, *The Khaleej Times*, UAE



"CANADA Pastagate" by Cameron Cardow, *The Ottawa Citizen*



"Dialogue with Assad" by Emad Hajjaj, Jordan



"Pope Slippers" by Cameron Cardow, *The Ottawa Citizen*

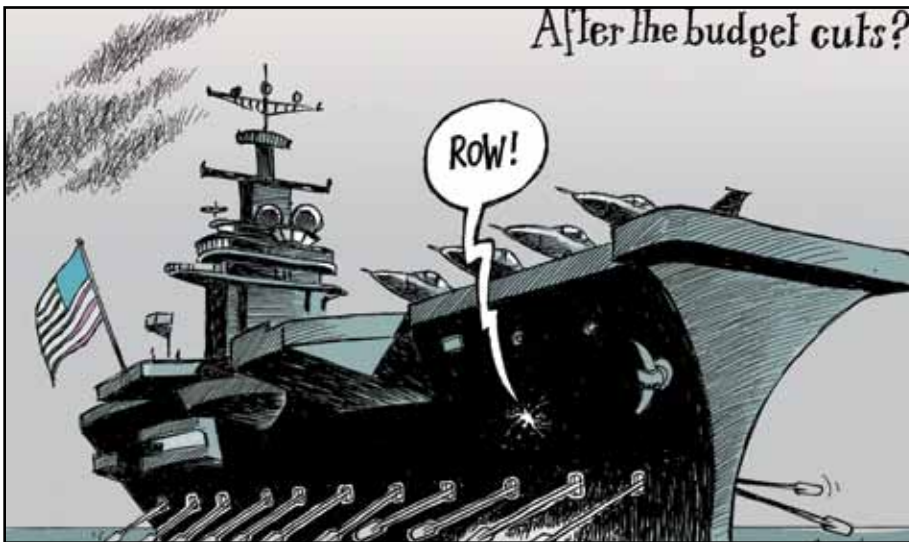


"Spending cuts" by Luojie, *China Daily*, China



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"Aid to Syrians" by Emad Hajjaj, *Jordan*



"Egypt Revolution" by Emad Hajjaj, *Jordan*

# It's fear that causes war. Ask Thucydides



By Fen Osler Hampson  
and Len Edwards

It is now a matter of official government policy that Canada sees itself as a nation of the Asia-Pacific in what many are now calling “the Pacific century”—a century that will be increasingly dominated by China and many of the emerging economies of the Asia-Pacific region such as India, Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand and the Philippines.

The policies of the government of Prime Minister Stephen Harper are now primarily focused on developing and strengthening our trading and investment ties with key countries in the region, including Japan, which has long been an ally and close friend of Canada.

However, as it courts the different countries of the region, Canada is fast discovering that there is every expectation that our relations will also include a strong security dimension. In the Asia-Pacific, prosperity and regional security go hand-in-hand. Our new partners won't just let us “do” economics. They want a much broader and deeper set of engagements in our evolving partnerships.

In the past, Canada was an energetic and deeply committed security partner in the region. This July marks the 60th anniversary of the armistice, that ended the Korean War — a war in which our navy and army were actively deployed in a military action against an aggressor nation and 516 servicemen gave their lives in combat.

In the 1980s, under the government of Brian Mulroney, Canada's creative diplomacy in Northeast Asia laid the conceptual foundations for what eventually came to be known as the Six Party Talks on North Korea, though we were not a party to that exercise.

In the 1990s, Canada, with its Indonesian partners, conducted “informal diplomacy” for conflict prevention in the South China Sea by fostering dialogue among East and Southeast Asian nations on a wide range of issues that included putting some imaginative ideas for environmental protection and joint resource development on the table — ideas that were welcomed at the time by senior Chinese participants in those talks.

In the harsh fiscal climate of the late 1990s, our enthusiasm for innovative engagement in the region waned. Our security commitments today operate on a much narrower bandwidth that is essentially limited to those areas where we have compelling national interests such as combating the scourge of human smuggling, counterterrorism and nuclear non-proliferation (through our membership in the Proliferation Security Initiative — PSI — that was launched under the administration of George W. Bush in an attempt to thwart North Korea's nuclear ambitions).

The major challenge today is that the security dynamics of the region are changing dramatically with uncertain consequences that create their own dilemmas for our future engagement.

In the period 1945-1975, the Asia Pacific region was the most violent and conflict-ridden of the globe. It has since become one of the most peaceful as the countries of the region have embraced capitalism and economic growth with a vengeance. But will the region's peace and prosperity last?

The tectonic plates of the international system are now shifting with the rise of China and the unsettling consequences of China's newfound assertiveness vis-à-vis its neighbours. Some commentators



A citizen-soldier of Ancient Greece. Thucydides said the Peloponnesian War began from the Spartans' fear after the rise in power of Athens.

believe that history is not on the side of a peaceful transition with China's rise. That is because, since the times of ancient Greece, great power transitions in world politics have typically had deeply unsettling consequences. As Thucydides wrote about the origins of the Peloponnesian War, it was the rise in the power of Athens and the fear created in Sparta that led to war. Since the origin of the modern Westphalian inter-state system, such massive transformations experienced as major and unanticipated shifts in the tides of history have stoked the fires of great power war in five out of the six occasions.

Those same commentators believe that this drama is now being re-enacted in the U.S.'s relations with China. Like Athens, which bullied its smaller neighbours in the Aegean Sea, China is now doing the same as it asserts its territorial claims in the South and East China seas.

To others, there is much more stability in the international system because of the deep bonds of economic interdependence and global production value chains. In terms of great power relations, they argue that the U.S. and China have simply too much at stake to re-enact Thucydides' account of the origins of the Peloponnesian War.



Related to this view is the notion that China is likely to continue along a path leading to greater integration into the international system. Despite a revolutionary period in the early history of the People's Republic, China is now reconciled to modern diplomacy and international law; indeed, it is rapidly becoming more skilful in employing these practices.

There is, in our opinion, more truth to the second proposition than the first.

Nonetheless, however much war has been devalued and delegitimized as an instrument of national policy over the decades, it may be unwise to discount the chance that major state rivalry, structural tests of strength or sheer miscalculation could trigger outbreaks of inter-state war, including in the Asia-Pacific.

We also cannot take continued domestic political stability in the region for granted. Writing in 2005, former U.S. national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski foresaw that "the central challenge of our time is posed not by global terrorism, but rather by the intensifying turbulence caused by the phenomenon of global political awakening. That awakening is socially massive and politically radicalizing." This scenario foresaw that the world's somnolent would rise into political awareness and demand change in the relation between rulers and the ruled.

Most attention has focused on the roots of this regional phenomenon and on predicting the future of this explosion of Arab street power. However, this awakening movement is a global phenomenon that is being experienced in places as diverse as the post-Soviet states and other autocracies, including China. The behaviour of

leaders in these places suggests that — whatever we may think of the likely scenarios — they consider themselves to be much more vulnerable than previously to spontaneous pressures from "below" and may seek to divert popular discontent by manufacturing foreign policy crises with neighbours, especially on territorial issues about which public sentiment is the most intense.

A careful examination of scenarios that could draw the U.S. and China (or China and various combinations of neighbours, such as Japan, the Philippines, India, or Pakistan) into armed hostilities leads to the recognition that peaceful co-existence is not inevitable. And it likewise leads to a heightened appreciation of the importance of managing and deflecting these risks through imaginative diplomacy and regional confidence-building measures of the kind that reduced tensions between East and West during the Cold War and allowed for a peaceful transition when the Soviet Union collapsed and the Cold War ended.

Many western countries, Canada among them, are now handicapped by deficits, debt and investor pessimism. Budget cuts and loss of popular support for the wars tightened the schedule for military withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan despite the continuing violence in both countries.

In the U.S., the increased focus on Asia implies a very different kind of fighting force than has been produced in the last 10 years. No matter how the relationship with China is worked out over the next decade, from a military point of view, the focus will probably pivot from emphasizing large land-based forces toward highly

mobile and technologically capable naval and air forces.

Canada will have to decide whether it wishes to follow the U.S. security pivot to Asia, recognizing that as we engage China economically, our own national interests are not necessarily in complete alignment with the U.S. on all security and economic matters.

Those countries in the region that are in transition may also need a variety of responses, including help countering violent extremism, talking to unpalatable opponents, strengthening regional organizations and their capacity to manage conflict and training local police and security forces.

Beyond great power and regional rivalries, there is a wide range of new security challenges, such as cybercrime and espionage, natural disaster management, transnational crime and drug trafficking that will command policymakers' attention.

There is no shortage of things Canada can do with the myriad new challenges of this fast-changing security environment in the Asia-Pacific. But we can't do everything and we are going to have to make some tough choices in terms of where we engage, with whom we work, and, more fundamentally, what we do.

Len Edwards retired as a career diplomat after 41 years, the most recent of which were spent as the prime minister's G8 and G20 representative and as deputy minister of foreign affairs. Fen Osler Hampson is Distinguished Fellow and Director of Global Security at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and Chancellor's Professor at Carleton University.



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# China, the awakened giant

By Harry Sterling

**"C**hina? There lies a sleeping giant. Let him sleep! For when he wakes he will move the world."

Although Napoleon Bonaparte made his prophecy about the eventual rise of China two centuries ago, it turns out he intuitively understood that one day China would, in fact, become a major force to be reckoned with on a global basis.

Few would question the dramatic increase in China's international trade and economic importance. Last year, it eclipsed the U.S. as the world's largest trader. Now, 124 countries consider China their lead trading partner. China's trade and investment policies influence world markets — even the prosperity of a number of nations — especially resource-rich countries such as Canada, which regard exports to China as a top priority.

However, a number of countries, especially in East Asia, are increasingly concerned about China's emergence as an international powerhouse, especially its growing military strength, which some regard with trepidation.

Such concern has reached the point where, despite Japan's occupation of the Philippines in the Second World War, the Philippines' foreign minister paradoxically stated publicly in January that his country would welcome a greater Japanese military role in the East Asian region to bring more balance.

In some East Asian states, such concerns have been reinforced by perceived hardline positions Beijing has adopted regarding territorial disputes with several of its neighbours, some involving tiny uninhabited islets in the East and South China seas.

In September, one such territorial dispute resulted in a tense showdown between China and Japan, following the Japanese government's decision to purchase, from a private Japanese citizen, the only non-state island among the disputed islands (Diaoyu Dao to the Chinese and Senkakus to the Japanese), which Japan has been administering under an arrangement with the United States since 1971, but which Beijing, as well as Taiwan, claim historically belong to them.

Tokyo's "purchase" of the islands and their "nationalization" unleashed large-



Some of the tiny uninhabited islets in a territorial dispute between China, Japan and Taiwan.

scale anti-Japanese demonstrations in China, plus a boycott of Japanese products, followed by provocative naval and air moves by the two countries near the disputed islands.

During an address to China's Communist Party Politburo in January, that country's new leader, Xi Jinping said, "No foreign country should expect us to make a deal on our core interests and hope we will swallow the bitter pill that will damage our sovereignty, security and development interests."

Some observers regard Xi Jinping's remarks as linked to China's refusal to accept Japan's claim over the disputed islets — thought to have potential underwater oil and gas deposits — and an intended slap on the wrist directed at the Obama government for emphasizing Japan had been given the right to administer the islets.

There's no reason to believe either country wants to see its differences escalate to armed conflict, though such territorial disputes have, in the past, done exactly that, as in 1988 when a naval clash between China and Vietnam over the Spratly Islands resulted in the deaths of more than 70 Vietnamese sailors.

There is also fear that any significant economic downturn in China — Chinese banks reportedly had to recently roll over

\$482 billion in loans to local governments to avoid embarrassing defaults — could further harden Beijing's approach to disputes with Japan and other neighbours. Recent seemingly pointed comments by senior Chinese military staff that China should be better prepared to defend its national interests haven't gone unnoticed.

One new factor, which could potentially complicate the situation, is the perceived threat posed by the purported rise of nationalism in Japan. In recent times, sectors of Japanese society have been calling for Japan to be more forceful in pursuing policies that reflect its economic importance and independent identity.

Many on the right maintain that Japan's military expansion in East Asia before and during the Second World War has been falsified to serve the interests of the victors.

One who publicly shares that opinion is Japan's newly elected prime minister, Shinzo Abe, whose Liberal Democratic Party, LDP, won a sweeping victory in December.

In the past, Mr. Abe, a former prime minister, infuriated Japan's neighbours, particularly China and the two Koreas, when he visited the Yasukuni Shrine that honours Japan's war dead, including those executed by an Allied War Crimes Tribunal for committing war crimes. He has also publicly denied that the Japanese military forced thousands of women from East Asian countries, especially Koreans, into becoming "comfort women" (sex slaves) for Japanese troops.

His return to power, accompanied by a number of ultra-nationalists in his cabinet, plus others who share his right-wing views, could have an adverse effect on relations with China if not handled carefully.

The fact that Mr. Abe wants to revise Japan's U.S.-imposed constitution committing Japan to pacifism is also a move that won't go unnoticed by Beijing, with unpredictable implications for the East Asian region as Japan's new ultra-nationalist government attempts to restore Japan's once dominant economic clout and prominent global role.

Harry Sterling, a former diplomat, is an Ottawa-based commentator who writes on East Asian issues. This article first appeared in *The Toronto Star*.

# Kyoto: 'The silliest of high-minded gestures'

By Michael Hart



CGIAR CLIMATE

The driving force for conferences such as COP18, held in Doha, is the work of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, which was set up to document the human fingerprint of climate change.

**D**ecember 15, 2012 marked the end of what has been a less-than-stellar chapter in Canadian diplomatic history. No, I am not referring to the fact that Canada has pulled out of one of the silliest of the many high-minded gestures that increasingly characterize United Nations diplomacy. Rather, I am taking some satisfaction in Canada's decision to pull out of the Kyoto Climate Change Protocol.

As a former Canadian negotiator of international trade agreements, I could always take pride in Canada's long history of honouring its international obligations. Canada may, at times, have been a little too eager to join international organizations and regimes, but there was never any doubt that we did this with a seriousness of purpose and a full commitment to any treaty's goals and objectives.

This began to change in the 1990s as UN moral grandstanding reached new heights, from such laudable but futile goals as banning child soldiers to eliminating poverty by the turn of the century, and none more so than in the area of environmental protection and climate change.

Earlier generations of Canadian diplomats would have found UN efforts to govern climate a puzzling development. The idea that the world's governments could

control climate had been born a decade earlier as activists contemplated the vagaries of the globe's ever-changing climate. Untutored in the finer points of physics and geology and unmoved by the fact that climate change still lacks a convincing explanatory theory due to its irreducible complexity, activists had convinced themselves that human activity was fundamentally changing global climate for the worse and that concerted action was needed to save the planet.

This novel idea proved immensely appealing to the progressive mindset. It fit in well with its attitude toward nature and the role of humans in corrupting it. From this perspective, the world's climate has been stable for centuries until humans began to interfere with it, particularly as a result of rising emissions of carbon dioxide from the burning of fossil fuels. To people of this disposition, a trace gas in the atmosphere serves as the planet's thermostat, threatening to raise global temperatures to unprecedented levels unless steps are taken to control emissions. The lack of real-world evidence to substantiate this looming threat is irrelevant; computer programs have "proven" the thesis. All the world's scientists say so, at least those who pay little heed to that familiar programming adage: garbage in, garbage out.

To the world's progressives, this is an idea whose time has come: an organizing principle for addressing all that threatens the environment — too many people, their modern technology and their concern with economic growth and rising incomes. Like Thomas Malthus two centuries earlier, they are convinced that the Earth's carrying capacity has long been passed and that further growth is unsustainable. Now is the time to act. Major cuts in carbon-based energy usage, the main source of carbon emissions, have thus become the vehicle for putting the world on a more sustainable ecological path, at least from their perspective.

At the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, world leaders duly adopted the UN Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), none more enthusiastically than Canada's Brian Mulroney. Despite progressives' general reservations about many of Mr. Mulroney's policy preferences, they continue to hold him in high esteem for his leadership at the 1988 Second World Climate Conference in Toronto and at the Rio Summit in 1992.

On its face, the UNFCCC does little damage to Canadian interests or Canada's reputation for taking its treaty obligations seriously. It is, after all, little more than a framework for future action. It contains, however, the seeds for continued mischief.



It calls for annual Conferences of the Parties (COPs), a process that began in 1995 in Berlin and has continued every year since, including last December's 18th COP in Qatar.

The driving force for these conferences is the work of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), set up in 1988 jointly by the UN's Environmental Program and the World Meteorological Organization following the Toronto conference. It has a mandate to summarize the science of human influence on global climate change. This last point is critical. It was not set up to summarize the science of climate change, but to document the human fingerprint. From the beginning, its mandate was more political than scientific, although it was sold to the public as an authoritative scientific body, counting on a scientifically illiterate media and a public not appreciating that in science, authority comes from the evidence available to substantiate a theory, not from official pronouncements.

The IPCC's political nature became clear with its first report in 1990. In addition to a generally balanced summary of the scientific literature, it was crowned with a contentious summary for policy-makers (SPM) prepared by government officials, many of them with little or no scientific background, but with a keen eye for advancing their agenda. Three subsequent reports, each with its own SPM, have carried the agenda to increasing heights, as traces of dissenting science have been scrubbed to make room for the global salvationism that now animates much of the UN's work. Its fifth report is due in 2014, but leaked drafts have already made clear that it will carry alarmism to new heights, ignoring the inconvenient fact that global temperatures have failed to rise for 16 years despite steady growth in the world's emissions of carbon dioxide.

Despite its limitations, the alarmist community chose global temperature as its signature metric. Temperature is a spatially and temporally bound phenomenon. Calculating an average for thousands of observations may yield an interesting metric, but one that has no physical meaning. Even then, warmists have to face the inconvenient fact that for the globe's 4.5 billion years of geological history, we only have an imperfect and scandal-marred instrumental record going back 150 years and a better satellite record going back 33 years. The former, based on dodgy, highly manipulated data, shows

periods of both increasing and decreasing temperature and an overall rise of about 0.7°C over that period, within a range of observed temperatures of nearly 150°C. Ottawa experiences a temperature range of approximately 77°C. The satellite record shows frequent day-to-day and month-to-month changes, but no statistically significant change since 1979.

Any signs of warming, of course, wherever they appear on the globe, are not evidence of anthropogenic warming, only of nature's ever-changing patterns. Despite billions of dollars spent on finding a human signature in climate change, no physical evidence has yet to be isolated. The much-sought-after signature is only



A plenary session in the main hall of the Kyoto International Conference Centre in Kyoto, Japan, in 1997.

found in highly controversial models.

Similar to other UN-sponsored regimes such as the UN Conference on Trade and Development, COPs have become the focal point for constant pressure by the world's never-satisfied armies of progressives, including its very vocal environmental brigades. Every year in the late fall, environmentalists and officials gather in their thousands at some comfortable venue — Bangkok, Bali, and Durban, for example — to emote about the deteriorating state of the planet and the need for action. Between gatherings, officials, and the inevitable horde of NGOs, meet in preparatory meetings to set the stage for the main climate fest at the end of the year when, hopefully, governments will agree to advance the agenda a little farther.

At Kyoto, Japan, in 1997, the parties

agreed to a protocol to the UNFCCC establishing a regime for placing limits on carbon emissions by industrialized countries to be achieved by such means as carbon taxes, emission quotas and other techniques. In the world of UN climate science, economic reality is but a minor inconvenience, not to be taken too seriously. Development, however, is a serious matter. Emission reductions were a burden to be taken on by industrialized countries; developing countries — more than three-quarters of the parties to the UNFCCC — would not need to take action, but if they did, they could sell emission credits to industrialized countries that were finding it difficult to meet their own targets. The UN had found a new technique for achieving one of its main goals — redistributing wealth from the industrialized North to the developing South, one endorsed enthusiastically by virtually all governments. To some, it had become unclear whether the exercise was about redistributing wealth or saving the planet.

The U.S. delegation, led by vice-president Al Gore, was among those pushing hardest for a climate regime, but when it became clear that the protocol would not distribute the burden among all parties, the U.S. Senate, by a vote of 95 to 0, indicated it would never ratify such an unbalanced treaty. This should have been a warning to Canadian officials. Nevertheless, Canada was among the first to sign the protocol in 1998.

It took eight years for enough parties to ratify the protocol and bring it into effect, the U.S. and Australia conspicuous by their absence, but Canada prominent among the ratifiers. Once the EU had dangled enough carrots in front of Russia's Vladimir Putin, he overcame his initial skepticism and accepted the protocol in 2005, bringing it into force.

Canada's ratification at the end of 2002 had raised considerable eyebrows in the provinces. Climate and energy policy fall under provincial jurisdiction, and in preparation for Kyoto the provinces had made it clear that Canada was in no position to accept reductions in emissions. In the intervening years, this lack of readiness had become ever more painfully evident. Canada is a large, cold country with an energy-intensive economy. No reliable substitutes for fossil fuels exist. Emissions had grown even further, and the idea that Canada could reduce them to six percent below the 1990 baseline by 2012, the target Canada had accepted, had become patently ridiculous. No plans existed even

to make a beginning, let alone reach the target. Then-prime minister Jean Chrétien, however, was determined to make a legacy statement before his departure, and ratifying Kyoto qualified.

When Canada deposited its instrument of ratification with the UN secretary general, few pointed to the hollowness of the gesture. Canada had no plans to meet its target; for Canada, ratification was symbolic at best, the solemnity of treaty obligations of little moment to Mr. Chrétien and his ministers.

When Stephen Harper took office in 2006, Canada's plans had moved no farther than the rhetorical flourishes of Liberal ministers. Stéphane Dion, Mr. Chrétien's last environment minister and Paul Martin's successor as Liberal leader in 2007, campaigned on the need for a carbon tax in the 2008 election and was soundly defeated. For Mr. Harper, the path was clear. Canada would take such steps as it could to reduce carbon emissions on a sound and economically sustainable basis, but getting out of Kyoto became a critical goal, not least because Mr. Harper wanted to restore the integrity of Canada's treaty obligations.

At the Durban COP in 2011, Environment Minister Peter Kent announced that

Canada would not participate in any extension of Kyoto. He was not alone. Japan and Russia similarly announced their intentions to withdraw. Brave talk continued at Durban, and a year later in Qatar, about the need to negotiate a viable replacement for Kyoto. All that could be managed at Qatar was agreement to extend the Kyoto regime for five years, without any new commitments, while discussions continued on a successor agreement. At the UN, nothing ever dies, but veterans recognize when a UN regime's useful life is over. The future points to lots of pious talk but little concrete action. And Canada is no longer bound by any commitments on emission reductions.

Was anything achieved by Kyoto? EU leaders can claim they managed to reduce EU emissions by 16 percent, double their target. Most of this resulted from the absorption and conversion of the dirty and inefficient legacy of Soviet energy policy in Eastern Europe. Shutting down coal plants in favour of gas also helped, as did moving energy-intensive production to developing countries. Wind and solar made a tiny contribution, providing Europe with one percent of its primary energy needs as the result of a massive

investment in these wildly expensive and inefficient technologies. The EU's carbon-trading scheme has cost consumers \$285 billion, and carbon permits are now worth virtually nothing.

Globally, emissions rose by 50 percent above 1990 levels, as developing countries such as China, India, Indonesia and others ramped up their energy usage as their economies grew by as much as 10 percent per annum. Coal, the least efficient, but most available, was the fossil fuel of choice throughout the developing world.

As for Canada, by 2012, emissions had grown by 30 percent above 1990 levels, and the government has indicated that any future efforts will be determined by developments in Washington. Facing a skeptical, and even hostile Congress on climate change, U.S. President Barack Obama has taken a leaf out of the Chrétien playbook: much sterling rhetoric, but little useful policy. Welcome to climate change politics in 2013.

*Michael Hart, a former Canadian trade policy official with DFAIT, holds the Simon Reisman chair in trade policy at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University.*



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# Celebrating an epic journey, 400 years later

If you know more about Samuel de Champlain come September, you can thank the French Embassy.

The embassy has been a key player in developing programs commemorating the 400th anniversary of the journey French explorer Samuel de Champlain undertook up the Ottawa River. The embassy wanted to breathe new life into this moment in history and decided to launch a series of cultural- and community-oriented events in Ottawa and Gatineau. To do so, it's cooperating with 23 community and governmental organizations.

"We are co-ordinating with the national capital commission and we wanted to get as many partners as possible in the national capital region," said Thomas Michelin, cultural counsellor at the embassy of France.

In addition to hosting the big kickoff for the celebrations, most of which will take place in September, the embassy is working on several projects. The first is an art installation to take place at the Samuel de Champlain statue on Nepean Point. Similar to the sound and light show on Parliament Hill, it will be an interactive light installation that people will be able to see from Sept. 19 to 29.

"It's a 4-5 minute show and the public will be able to interact with it," Mr. Michelin said. "For example, they will have to say words in English, French and Algonquin, words such as Champlain and Nouvelle France, and those words will activate sound and light. I think everyone in Ottawa will see it because the lights are so



Officials gathered at the French Embassy in January for the kickoff of Champlain 2013. From left, Ottawa Mayor Jim Watson, Gatineau councillor Patrice Martin, Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg Chief Gilbert Whiteduck, French Ambassador Philippe Zeller, NCC CEO Jean-Francois Trépanier and Algonquin Chief Kirby Whiteduck.

strong, they'll reach the sky."

The second project is a seminar in partnership with the University of Ottawa, Carleton University and Université du Québec en Outaouais. Mr. Michelin said it will look at the latest research on Champlain and Nouvelle France and the embassy is providing funding to bring in Champlain experts from France.

There will also be an event at the Museum of Civilization and another at Carleton that will answer questions about the significance of Champlain today and how to teach this history. The latter will involve school boards from across the region.

The embassy is co-organizing all events

and co-producing the art installation. Other events planned for the celebration include the launching of 100 canoes up the Ottawa River, a series of cultural and heritage activities on Petrie Island and a variety of exhibitions at the Museum of Civilization, the Centre d'interprétation du patrimoine de Plaisance and the National Gallery of Canada.

"We're involved in every step," Michelin said. "We want to promote French art, French creativity and the digital tools it uses. It has to be popular, creative and it has to show off French talent."

See [www.champlain2013.ca](http://www.champlain2013.ca) for more information. ■



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# Helping Afghan women find their place in civil society

By Dianne Rummery

**S**he was a small woman in an exquisitely embroidered Afghan jacket — but her message was powerful. When physician and activist Sima Samar came to Ottawa in 2010 to speak at the annual general meeting of the Canadian Federation of University Women, she made a lasting impression.

The chairwoman of the Afghan Independent Humans Rights Commission and former Afghanistan minister of women's affairs was, that same year — and again in 2011 and 2012 — nominated for the Norwegian Nobel Peace Prize. Last year, she won Sweden's Alternative Nobel Prize. The doctor, who has worked at Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan, and opened clinics and schools there, was a refugee during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan after her husband was arrested, disappeared and was never found.

In Canada, Dr. Samar opened our hearts and minds to the plight of Afghan women and gave us a sense of their resilience against the strictures of a society in which women's rights are fragile, and where in 2010, women were declared “secondary” by the Karzai government.

Her passion and courage motivated us to form a study group (University Women Helping Afghan Women) dedicated to understanding the issues facing the women of Afghanistan, making others aware of their vulnerability and supporting them financially where possible.

We began by inviting Senator Mobina Jaffer to speak to a downtown lunchtime session on the new Senate standing committee report, released in 2010, that promised to protect and preserve women's rights in Afghanistan. We heard from Canadian experts, NGOs, diplomats, Afghan university students and members of the Afghan diaspora now living in the capital. We attended lectures at the University of Ottawa and at the Aga Khan Foundation, which emphasized that grassroots strategies work best. We read articles and watched online videos featuring brave young activists in Kabul. We kept a book list for members to read.

We discovered the extensive network of Canadians already making a difference for Afghan women. Members of Canadian Women for Women in Afghanistan is an



JOHN MAJOR/POSTMEDIA NEWS

The work of Dr. Sima Samar inspired a group of Ottawa women to study the plight of women in Afghanistan and to raise money to help them.

example of a group whose members listen to Afghan women and work with Afghan partners to build and open schools for girls, train teachers, help develop curriculum, create portable libraries and science kits, launch internet cafés and so much more. Also exemplary is the dedication of Ryan Aldred, a military reservist whose work with Afghans has spearheaded the Canadian International Learning Foundation, which brings employment-oriented education to Afghan girls through distance-learning from Canada.

Our study has led to advocacy action. CFUW sent a letter to Prime Minister Stephen Harper, encouraging support for Afghan women's participation at the Bonn 11 Conference held in December 2011. Another letter to Mr. Harper expressed strong disapproval of the Karzai government labeling women as “secondary.”

We remind our politicians that we are watching where the money they designate to Afghan women at international conferences goes. And we remind our lawmakers that promises made — to include Afghan women at the international peace table and to push for their full human rights — must be kept.

Dr. Samar is still our eyes and ears in Kabul. In 2010, she opened the Gawharshad Institute of Higher Learning to prepare youth, particularly girls, to take a leading role in civil society. Our Ottawa group sponsors 10 young women to attend the institute and director Nasima Rahmani takes time to send us news of their triumphs and tragedies.

To support our girls we have held “musical lunches” at the National Arts Centre to raise funds and talk about this remarkable school. Another fundraiser, titled *Voices from Afghanistan*, was held one June evening in a member's garden and included many guests with an interest in the country and a panel of experts giving their thoughtful opinions.

When the International Federation of University Women meets in Turkey this summer, we will bring the Afghan women's story to the conference. A resolution to be forwarded to the UN, a seminar on gender inequalities in education and an associated workshop are being developed by our members.

Besides heartbreaking tales of brutality, we hear inspiring stories of the young, who make up more than half of Afghanistan's population. Young women have marched against oppression, championed women's rights and taken every opportunity to talk to their male peers. These leaders are tech-savvy, with access to the Internet, Facebook and mobile phones. We hope this demographic influence will make the difference when troops withdraw and any gains in health care and education become threatened.

The Canadian Federation of University Women has been keeping a wary eye on government since its founding in 1919. Today, 9,000 members in 110 clubs from coast to coast continue the task.

*Dianne Rummery has been a member of the CFUW-Ottawa since 1994.*

# Abenomics: Revitalizing Japan's economy



**FIRST NAME:** Kaoru

**LAST NAME:** Ishikawa

**CITIZENSHIP:** Japanese

**BECAME AMBASSADOR TO CANADA:**  
Sept. 23, 2010

**PREVIOUS POSTINGS:** Paris, Cairo,  
Geneva, Kinshasa.

**F**ollowing last December's general election in Japan, a coalition government was formed by the Liberal Democratic Party and the New Komeito Party. LDP leader Shinzo Abe was elected as Japan's prime minister to lead the coalition government. In his policy speech at the Diet (Japan's national legislature) Jan. 28, 2013, he identified three major tasks for his government. They included revitalizing the Japanese economy, rebuilding after the Great East Japan Earthquake and reshaping Japan's diplomatic and security environment. New policies pursuant to the stated goal of revitalizing the Japanese economy have attracted world-wide attention and will be the focus of my article.

The term "lost decades" is frequently used to describe the Japanese economy since the early 1990s when the bubble surrounding the stock market and the real-estate market burst. I have made no secret of the fact that I believe much of the negative commentary used to describe this period of Japanese economic history has been greatly exaggerated. While some industries clearly faltered, others were resilient and innovative and are flourishing, particularly in the area of science and technology, in a rapidly changing international economy. It should also be noted that even in these "lost decades," there were 11 Japanese Nobel laureates in physics, chemistry and physiology/medicine. *The New York Times* described the excessive negativity as "The Myth of Japan's Failure" (Jan. 8, 2012), noting, for example, that most analysis failed to take into account factors such as superior perfor-

mances in socio-economic sectors. A comprehensive and unbiased evaluation of the overall performance of Japan's economy over this period should temper the doom and gloom most commentators have used to

describe this chapter in Japanese history.

Having said this, there is no denying Japanese economic growth has been low

and we have experienced deflation for more than a decade. As a result of stagnated incomes, a new generation of Japanese workers is unable to fully enjoy the feeling of security and optimism that was taken for granted by their parents.

The Abe administration has attached the highest priority to ending persistent deflation and fostering growth. To that end, "Abe-nomics" will be characterized by the development and implementation of a three-pronged strategy consisting of aggressive monetary policy, flexible fiscal policy and a growth strategy that encourages private-sector investment. In implementing these measures, the Abe administration seeks to revitalize the economy by fostering



Japan and Canada have built a strong relationship in science and technology, including a collaboration at the International Space Station.

COURTESY OF JAXA/NASA



sustained growth and creating more high-paying jobs.

The government and the Bank of Japan jointly unveiled a bold new monetary policy strategy on Jan. 22, with the bank setting a price-stability target of two percent, year-over-year change in the consumer price index. Just days earlier, on Jan. 11, the administration unveiled its *Emergency Economic Measures for the Revitalization of the Japanese Economy* to provide support for business activity, including the implementation of public works projects designed to accelerate post-quake/tsunami reconstruction and to strengthen the nation's infrastructure. At the same time as it launched these emergency measures, the government has acknowledged the importance of pursuing fiscal sustainability in the medium- to long-term.

The government is determined to formulate and implement a growth strategy to strengthen the competitiveness of the Japanese economy, to overcome energy constraints and to enhance the innovation platform, while at the same time accelerating the removal of domestic institutional obstacles such as regulation. The Abe administration is planning to unveil its new growth strategy in mid-2013.

With regard to external economic policies, the government will continue to promote high-level economic partnerships, implement measures to secure energy and food, and encourage tourism and internal investment.

A clear commitment to these pro-growth policies by the Abe administration has already been reflected in financial markets, where share prices on the Tokyo Stock Exchange have begun to recover.

The main pillars of Japan-Canada relations are already focused on pro-growth areas such as the negotiation of high-level economic partnerships and the enhancement of bilateral co-operation in the field of science, technology and innovation. In a telephone conversation between Prime Minister Stephen Harper and Mr. Abe, which took place at the end of January, both leaders placed emphasis on the strong partnership that exists between Canada and Japan. In particular, they pledged to continue to work toward the conclusion of an economic partnership agreement.

In addition to economic ties, Japan and Canada have built a strong relationship in science and technology. One example is in the field of space co-operation. This was

demonstrated by the significant collaboration at the International Space Station (ISS), when Japan's unmanned transfer vehicle, Kounotori, launched by the Japanese rocket H-2B, successfully docked three times (to date) with the ISS to deliver food and other supplies — thanks in no small part to the Canadarm 2.

Other examples of bilateral collaboration in science and technology are nanotechnology and stem cell research. Both countries are leaders in these fields (Japanese scientist Shinya Yamanaka won a Nobel Prize in physiology/medicine for his stem cell work last year) and have held workshops and established a joint funding mechanism to promote future research.

The Abe administration has clearly indicated its determination to inject life into a struggling Japanese economy. It has taken short-term measures to stimulate growth and intends to introduce long-term structural changes in the months to come. Furthermore, all signs indicate that the new administration's pro-growth philosophy with regard to external relations will do nothing but positively impact the vital bilateral relationship that currently exists between Canada and Japan. ▢

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# Tunisia's bold gamble on democracy: 'One day or another, we will win'



DYANNE WILSON

In December 2010, the Arab Spring erupted through the impervious soil of authoritarian rule in the Middle East. The Arab awakening drove dictatorial and nepotistic rulers from power, first in Tunisia and then Egypt, Libya and Yemen.

Popular protests swept the region — Syria, Algeria, Morocco, Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, Jordan, and Sudan, with smaller demonstrations in Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Mauritania, Djibouti, Oman and Western Sahara.

It all began with the self-immolation of Tunisian fruit and vegetable vendor Mohamed Bouazizi, 26, who set himself afire after Fedia Hamdi, 46, a municipal inspector challenged him for operating without a permit. Her famous slap, heard around the world, and her confiscation of his produce, are disputed. She was found not guilty and freed after 111 days in jail. Bouazizi set himself afire because police would not return his confiscated cart and a governor would not hear his protest.

In two years, Tunisians have driven dictator Zine El Abidine Ben Ali from power (he now lives in Saudi Arabia), set up a provisional government, held fair elections and are now drawing up a constitution. The country has also experienced huge demonstrations, one assassination and harassment of journalists. A national election, initially scheduled for June, has been delayed. Nevertheless, compared with countries whose dictators have been toppled, Tunisia's post-revolution casualties have been mercifully light.

Tunisia's new ambassador to Canada, Riadh Essid, who took up his post in December, speaks frankly and passionately to *Diplomat* publisher Donna Jacobs about Tunisia's difficult assignment — how to be a moderate, modern and Muslim nation — and a stable democracy, too. All of these goals, he says, are compatible.

The following are edited excerpts from the wide-ranging conversation.

***Diplomat* magazine:** With so much at stake, how confident are you that Tunisia can be a model democracy in the Middle East?

**Riadh Essid:** We were pioneers in emancipating women, in abolishing polygamy,

in family planning, in developing tourism, in making education free for everybody after independence from France in 1956. We gave women the right to vote [initially in regional/local elections]. We instituted a Civil Code — a pioneering thing in the Arab world.

This gave Tunisia a distinction among other countries in the Arab world. And now it turns out that we are also pioneers in democracy.

**DM:** Was the revolution completely unexpected, or were conditions building towards a revolt?

**RE:** What happened was surprising for everybody — including for the Tunisian people.

We had some signs two years earlier. There were riots in parts of Tunisia, because the government was undemocratic and also because some marginalized areas in [the interior of] Tunisia did not profit from the industrial development.

The Mediterranean coastal areas have been developed because of investment and tourism since the early '60s — infrastructure, roads, hotels, promotion. Out of a population of 11 million, we used to welcome about 6 million tourists per year [before the 2010 revolution]. This is astonishing for a small country.

We didn't think the protests were so important because we were accustomed to having a dictator who had a stronghold on the population. Nobody dared to speak out. But after 23 years of dictatorship, of gagging free expression, something exploded in Tunisia.

We discovered that we could be like any people in the world and we were close to being a developed country. There were a lot of demands and expectations at the same time and everybody was pulling for freedom of expression and human rights. Democracy is a very good thing. I am sure that we are going to succeed. But I can't say the exact date.

**DM:** How do diplomats from other countries regard Tunisia's revolution?

**RE:** Even diplomats with postings in Tunisia are very, very enthusiastic. They are attending something historical, not only in the Arab world but also in the



AP PHOTO/JAMINE LANDOLISI

More than one million Tunisians attended the funeral of slain opposition leader Chokri Belaid in February. The government critic's assassination plunged the country into one of its deepest political crises since the overthrow of the dictatorship in 2011.

world. The internet played a huge and significant role in building up the revolution, in pushing people to say "no" to the dictator.

We are in an Arab and Muslim space. We are under the influence of what is happening in some parts of the Muslim world. And you know there is a tendency [in some these countries] towards extremism.

After the explosion of the dictatorship, it was easy for some people to come back to Tunisia and to bring new [radical] ideas. Because we had this new freedom of expression, everybody had the right, and still has the right, to express himself, which is a very good thing. But we don't know yet how to respect all the freedoms. We have to understand to play by the rules.

**DM:** Do other people from the Middle East, looking at what you have done in Tunisia, want this reform for their countries?

**RE:** We started the revolution but believe me, we didn't intend to give any lessons to anybody. But Tunisia was taken as a

model and, in a way, it is good for us. We proved that, at least, [the transition to democracy] can be more peaceful than in other parts of the Arab world.

Sometimes revolutions are associated with blood but Tunisia's revolution was not. We had martyrs on the ground and we revere them. Without them, we may not have made this gigantic step towards a democratic state. Between 300 and 350



Mohamed Bouazizi

people were killed. We give thanks for their sacrifice.

**DM:** You moved quickly after the revolution.

**RE:** We had fair and transparent elections on Oct. 23, 2011, observed by many foreign people.

**DM:** What was the effect of the Feb. 6 assassination of Chokri Belaid, a moderate leftist politician and reformer?

**RE:** It was a shock, because we are a very stable country. The public emotion, the public reaction was fantastic. The people said "No, we don't accept this violence."

The popular perception is that Belaid was an outspoken opponent of the government and had the right to criticize. People who decided to kill him made a mistake. We cannot [allow them] to remove a person like that.

It could happen in any other part of the world. But it happened in Tunisia and all political parties condemned it. We would like to continue in this democratic process with national consensus because at least there was the initiative from Prime



Minister Hamadi Jebali, who proposed to form [an interim] government composed of technocrats.

**DM:** But he resigned in February.

**RE:** Yes, he resigned because he consulted all the parties and failed to get agreement. The head of government can propose to the president. It was not accepted by the Troika.

[The Troika consists of a member from the three parties with the most seats in the National Assembly. The majority party, the Islamist Ennahda Party, chose Hamadi Jebali as prime minister, the Ettakatol party put forth Mustapha Ben Jaafer as president of the National Constituent Assembly (NCA), and Congress for the Republic party chose Moncef Marzouki as president.]

**DM:** There have been newspaper reports that the assassination was government-driven, that it was political. What can you say about the ongoing investigation?

**RE:** The information is not yet complete. It seems that two young people killed him. Of course, there would have been someone who told them to kill him, some one who resorted to killing an opponent. It was a mistake. It backfired.

After the assassination, I said to colleagues: "If, in the next two or three days, nobody is killed from any party, we will be fine." There was something else at stake: democracy, our tolerance, our stability.

These are very important for us. We have to find a way to convince extremists who are Tunisians but who have lived abroad and returned with new [radical] ideas. Some of the people who returned are peaceful. Some are not. So if they resort to violence, we have to find them, but not to kill them. Not to torture them. We don't use the same means [as the dictatorship]. We have to show the world that we are worthy of democracy. We have to show that we could be democratic. Whether you are Muslim or Christian or Jewish, you can be democratic. It is not a religion, democracy.

**DM:** When are the next elections?

**RE:** Before the assassination, the election was set for 23rd of June but the independent body for elections wanted to postpone it. Maybe the new government, the National Assembly, will decide when we have the elections.

It is very important to reassure the Tunisian people that the democratic process

is on track. But it is also important to reassure the international community to bring investors back and also to bring back tourists. These are interlinked.

**DM:** Has anything beneficial come out of the assassination?

**RE:** You see, in other parts of the world, that hundreds of people are killed every day. We had only one person killed — and it shook the whole population.

Half of the people who demonstrated were women. This is a good sign. Even if they [assassins] kill someone else, I am still optimistic because I know the Tunisians. I know they are peaceful. And one day or another, we will win. At what cost, I don't know. But let me tell you what I saw: 1.4 million people in the streets and 400,000 at the funeral including women, which is unusual in a Muslim country. This means that Tunisian women felt involved in the process.

Women are very afraid of losing their independence. Some segments of Tunisia would like to restrain women's rights. But the women are resisting. The Troika pledged to reinforce women's rights.

Sometimes from Afghanistan, from Iraq, from Saudi Arabia, from Iran, from Syria, preachers are invited by Muslim associations of Tunisia to give conferences and lectures.

And they are invited by very few people who say that the niqab [a face-to-shoulder veil only open across the eyes] is good for women. They say that females have to wear the niqab from the childhood. This is not good but you cannot prevent these preachers from entering the country. We don't want the niqab because it's not Muslim and it's not in our tradition.

In my opinion, women's freedoms are not going to be touched. They will be shaken but, in the end, they will be [secure] because the Tunisian woman is an educated woman. She knows about her rights. She is emancipated. And she would like to play a role. Even when the government organized demonstrations to protest the assassination, also there were a lot of women — many, but not all — who were veiled.

The people who killed Belaid — they must be biting their fingernails because they turned him into a hero, along with his wife, Basma, who incarnates modernism. She is a lawyer. She was criticizing and accusing. Nobody talked to her about it because they knew she was emancipated.



UN PHOTO

Human rights activist Moncef Marzouki is interim president.



WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM

Prime Minister Hamadi Jebali resigned after failing to get a political consensus.



RAISE7

Chokri Belaid was assassinated Feb. 6.



SAMIR ABDELMOUJEN

Mustapha Ben Jaafer is president of the National Constituent Assembly.



We don't have proof, but extremism comes from everywhere and [is backed by] some money, some weapons. Weapons also come from Libya because of proliferation of weapons there. Many things have come together to be against the revolution in Tunisia.

The people who rule Tunisia now, most of them used to be in prison. They knew torture and sometimes they don't want to give orders to torture and [seize] people. And the Salafists [fundamentalist Muslims] are profiting from this, which they see as weakness.

Some Salafists are extremists, some are not. We are not here to judge them. We would like this trend to be under the control of democracy. We would like to let all people express themselves, whether they talk about religious things or not. But we want them to do it peacefully, because it is in accord with our traditions and our religion.

**DM:** What are the biggest problems you have faced?

**RE:** We helped the Libyans a lot [during their revolution]. It took from us a lot of energy, a lot of money also, because we had to deal with about 900,000 refugees,

which is not easy for a tiny country like Tunisia. The foreign aid helped but it did not cover these costs. We lack milk, juice and diapers. We have a shortage of pharmaceutical products. Do you know where they are going? They are going to Libya.

Add these problems together — extremism, external debt, reduction of tourist numbers, falling industrial and agricultural production with unemployed people going on strike or people striking for higher wages. Small Tunisia couldn't bear all this.

**DM:** What was your economic situation before the unrest and the revolution of 2010?

**RE:** We had quite a prosperous economic situation as a country which was relying more on human resources rather than natural resources. We had developed tourism and the economy. We even had an agreement of partnership with the European Union, which started in 2008 and was working well.

And we discovered there is no difference between a Tunisian and an Italian, or a Frenchman or German and we were aspiring to this.

Tunisia's image abroad is amplified in

negative aspects. In some parts, yes, there are riots. Many, many tourists in the last few years did not have any problems.

**DM:** And unemployment?

**RE:** We used to have unemployment, but it was not so bad. It became worse because more than 150,000 Tunisians who were employed in Libya returned during the Libyan revolution and would like to have jobs. But we cannot distribute jobs like bread. This is a very, very painful situation for us.

And jihadists are coming from abroad. [They] are used to participating in civil wars. These are new notions which were not present in daily life in Tunisia. Tunisian people are not violent people. They are not jihadists. So we are going to become another society. If we do not accept [jihadists], there are going to be some differences, some conflict, even some violence from time to time. They will find people are discontented and stir them up.

If you have a national dialogue with them and convince them that they are outnumbered — and they are outnumbered — they cannot impose anything on us. They numbered about 3,000 [demonstrating] the day after the funeral. During



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the funerals, the demonstrations, there were about 1,400,000 people. It gives you an idea of the [real] picture.

We would like to conciliate Islam with modernism. Islam is not against democracy. Even the Prophet Mohammad, when he used to take decisions, most of the time, he used to consult the Comité des Sages, the wise people — a form of parliament. In Carthage, about 3,000 years ago, we had a kind of parliament even before Rome was founded. Rome's senate was inspired by ours. So we have in our DNA this kind of experience.

I know the Koran. I know Islam, and it is not against democracy. Extremism doesn't exist in [the] Koran. Koran says if you kill someone, whomever this someone, you go to Hell, because you don't have the right to remove a life. Only God can do it.

Jihad is something else. It's war, maybe Holy War, with certain conditions. Let's say that you are an Iraqi in Iraq and you are going to put a bomb in a market. This is not a jihad. You are going to kill an Iraqi civilian; you cannot be called martyr or jihadist. Islam, Christianity and Judaism are all speaking from the same God: You cannot kill anybody. God gives you permission only if you are defending yourself.

These jihadists who are 22 or 23 didn't even finish high school. They go to school where they are taught precepts. I am sorry, this is not an education. It is a behaviour. I am a Muslim and I am profiting from my state as a Muslim but modern at the same time. I am living in my century, in my world. These are backward ideas that have come to Tunisia and they are facing modernism.

Take the American embassy attack [by some 5,000 protesters who set fires and looted equipment that injured dozens of people and left four demonstrators dead] last September.

What happened that day was the result of a long process which started in the Middle East and involved a response to a film about our Prophet Mohammed. The numbers of protesters were much bigger than we expected. And it wasn't spontaneous. Things got out of hand. Tunisian forces had not faced a threat of that dimension. We were very shocked because we never consider Americans or Europeans as enemies. Never.

**DM:** With your constitution partly drafted, what do you need to become a full-fledged democracy?

**RE:** We are on the right track but we



Carthage is home to what may be the second-best preserved colosseum in the world.



Tunisia, with a population of 11 million, welcomed six million tourists in 2010, before its revolution. The revival of the tourist industry is essential for Tunisia's economic recovery, and perhaps, for its democracy.

should maybe turn [more] to some democratic countries, like Canada, to know more about the democratic experience.

We have quite a regular exchange of parliamentary delegations but we need more because Canada can contribute a lot. During the recent visit of Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird in December, he discussed this with the prime minister, speaker of the house and foreign minister.

[Mr. Baird also met with Leila Bouazizi, sister of Mohamed who set off the Arab uprisings, to wish her well during her studies in Canada.]

Mr. Baird could see there were very positive steps on the way to democracy. We are learning. Some Tunisians are not satisfied with the current process. So we need to be accompanied by our partners,

like Canada, the European Union, the United States, Latin America, Asia and Africa — places that have had a positive experience with this such as East or Central Europe, Argentina, Brazil and South Africa, where I was a diplomat.

But we are insisting that ours should be a democracy tailored to local criteria. We are not only Muslim, but we are a North African country, a Mediterranean country and an African country.

**DM:** Amnesty International published a report last year titled *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back? One Year since Tunisia's Landmark Elections*. It documented excessive, sometimes lethal, force used by security forces against demonstrators and other civilians, suppression of evidence



DREAMSTIME



Olive oil is Tunisia's No. 1 agricultural export.

by military courts and anti-democratic articles in the penal code.

[The Ennahda party proposed a bill with punishments of up to two years in prison or a fine for offences against "the sacred." "These articles," says Amnesty International, "date back to the Ben Ali era which prescribe punishments for violating sacred values, disturbing public order and morals and have been used to stifle journalists, bloggers and artists."]

If Tunisia doesn't change these, how can there be freedom of speech?

**RE:** I am against this legislation. It is a reaction because a few people, especially in the arts, wanted to provoke the extremists and deliberately committed offences against Islam.

My president [Moncef Marzouki] won the 2012 pro-democracy Chatham House prize and was second in *Foreign Policy's* 100 Global Thinkers in the World award. When I served as his diplomatic counselor, I met Hillary Clinton, Alan Jupé and Lech Walesa, who said every revolutionary process takes six years.

I know my president. Two hours after a journalist was arrested, he wanted a press communiqué issued by the presidency against this arrest. He did it for journalists who used to insult him. And when they were arrested, he objected.

[In March, Canadian Journalists for Free Expression sent a letter, signed by some 25 international media-freedom organizations, to Ambassador Riadh and cc'd to Foreign Minister John Baird and Canada's trade commission office in Tunisia. It cited the ban on journalists

DFAIT



Foreign Affairs John Baird, centre, met with Moncef Marzouki in December. They were joined by Sébastien Beaulieu, Canada's ambassador to Tunisia.



covering the National Constitutional Assembly, death threats and physical attacks on journalists, anti-media rhetoric in some mosques and during rallies of the ruling Ennahda party and the granting of broadcast licenses to Ennahda party supporters. It called for implementation of the media laws guaranteeing media freedom.]

**DM:** What are the solutions for Tunisia?

**RE:** We have in the Arab world, and even in Africa, the biggest proportion of diploma holders and they don't have a job. We would like to find projects, such as factories and companies so people can work. When you work, when you have a roof over your head, when you have a car, you don't make revolution.

We need investment and we need tourism. Last year, we had about four million tourists but it is not enough. Tourists who went there discovered that it is still a peaceful country. We have beautiful beaches and have developed archeological tourism. Tunisia has three very famous stages of history: The first was Carthage, where you'll find perhaps the world's second-best preserved colosseum.

The second was the Christian era, which lasted about six centuries. And the



Last year, Tunisia received four million tourists, "but it is not enough," the ambassador says.

third period was the Muslim stage where, for about four or five centuries, Muslims were at the forefront of science and poetry. When the Moors were expelled from southern Spain, they settled in Tunisia

for its similar climate and agriculture and they brought their science, technology and agricultural skills with them.

We have one of the best-quality olive oil in the world and have been cultivating olives since the Punic Wars. We export olive oil to Europe. In countries like Italy, they take our olive oil and they put it in bottles and that say: "Made in Italy." Everybody in the Mediterranean knows about this.

**DM:** You export textiles, food products, petroleum and chemical products, including phosphates.

**RE:** We are one of the world's major producers and exporters of phosphates. And we do have problems. People who are unemployed are blocking the work of these kinds of factories because the workers there are not from the region. And after the revolution, people demanded that they be able to work there. It is their right. It is not a state-owned industry, but close to it. Since the revolution, we have recruited a lot of people to ease the tension.

**DM:** What investments are you pursuing?

**RE:** We have called for some countries to come to Tunisia. Delegations from Tur-



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key, U.S., Germany and France toured the south, the inner part of Tunisia where we had problems. They made feasibility studies to open factories. If they only recruit people from there, it's enough for us. It can be agriculture, textile factories, phosphates.

You invest not only in an economy. The western world has to understand that it is an investment for democracy first. We are



PRESIDENCIA DE LA NACION

Dictator Zine El Abidine Ben Ali was driven from power.

not asking for money. If we recover our frozen assets from abroad, we won't need much money from abroad.

**DM:** How much in assets will you collect?

**RE:** We don't know. In terms of figures these people have assets here [in Canada] and in Dubai because those people ruling us unfortunately used to behave like Mafia. Why did they steal that money? They invested abroad and we cannot regain it because of very harsh judicial procedures, which we respect.

**DM:** Do you know where Ben Ali's friends and family invested in Canada?

**RE:** I don't want to give details because it is confidential. Negotiations are going smoothly. The Canadian government has already frozen the assets. I was talking to them and it seems that the Canadian authorities understand the problem very



well now. It takes a lot of time because some assets were well hidden.

**DM:** Ben Ali's brother-in-law, Belhassen Trabelsi, fled to Canada and is living here. What is his status?

**RE:** I don't want to talk about his case because it is under discussion. He came here to stay but his residence permit expired a few months ago. He asked the court to review it and he gained another year.

It is one of my missions to expedite things, to recover the assets, but also we don't want this kind of person to benefit from Canadian generosity. Canada is known for its hospitality. Political refugees we can understand as immigrants, but not this kind of person.

**DM:** What other solutions are you seeking internationally?

**RE:** We would like universities to open their doors to Tunisians because many Tunisians have studied here, or come through immigration or are directly recruited by companies. The people I met recently were in high positions and perfectly suited to their job.

I tell you, yes, there are certain things which are not good now in Tunisia.

You talked earlier about behaviour of the army. But don't forget the army was the country's salvation. Ben Ali ordered the soldiers to shoot people. The last days before the end of the revolution, when they were forced to defend the president, soldiers refused to shoot the people. The army chief of staff could have been killed for rejecting the order, but he refused to fire on the people because, he said, there was no threat to the country.

[Contrast this with] what is happening in Syria now, where you may have 300 people dying every day.

When Tunisia doesn't kill 10,000 people, the media don't speak about it because it is a small country. Because it is peaceful. Sometimes this is a very bad side of journalism. When you find people dying every day, you become important [to the media].

There are a lot of things to do in Canada. I want to change the perception of Tunisia.

If you don't accompany us on this democratic process, it will be much harder for us because we are being forced by a global tendency in the Middle East to change things in a radical manner. We have to avoid it.

Donna Jacobs is *Diplomat's* publisher.



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# Canada and Australia: natural trade partners



By Louise Hand  
Australian High Commissioner

**T**he Australia-Canada relationship is very close and works exceptionally well across a wide range of issues. We co-operate closely in international affairs, advocating human rights, democracy and freedom around the world, including through the United Nations and the Commonwealth. Almost daily, our political and business leaders use one another to benchmark policies and the outcomes that they are achieving on everything from the military to development assistance, health, science, investment, immigration and indigenous issues. (Find further commentary on Australia and Canada's relationship at [www.youtube.com/dfat](http://www.youtube.com/dfat) under "Our Ambassadors")

Australia's and Canada's economies weathered the global financial crisis well with positive growth rates (Australia 3.1 per cent in 2012) and low unemployment (Australia 5.1 per cent). This reflects our strong regulatory systems, particularly in the banking sector, our natural resource endowments and well-educated populations supporting a range of high-tech industries. We are fortunate to be so prosperous, and our social indicators such as life expectancy, education and employment are among the highest in the world.

The fact that Canada sits next to the world's largest economy, while Australia is part of the rapidly growing Asia-Pacific region, explains why neither country features in each other's top 10 trading partners for goods and services. In 2011-12, Australian goods exports to Canada amounted to \$1.6 billion and Canadian goods exports to Australia were \$2.1 billion. Australian services exports to Canada equalled \$829 million and Canadian services exports to Australia were approximately \$874 million over the same period. There are relatively few remaining barriers



An aerial view of the city of Canberra.

to doing business between our two mature, open and broadly similar economies. However, business groups, including the Canadian Council of Chief Executives and the Australian Industry Group, have identified a series of measures that governments could take to enhance trade and investment flows between the two countries. These efforts include eliminating remaining tariffs on goods and improving labour mobility through better recognition of each other's qualifications.

Australia's top exports to Canada last year included: nickel ores and concentrates (\$315 million), wine (\$237 million), waste and scrap of precious metals (\$152 million), lead ores and concentrates (\$133 million) and aluminium oxides (\$64 million). On the other hand, Canada's top goods exports to Australia included civil engineering equipment and parts (\$118 million), waste and scrap of precious metals (\$108 million), pork (\$96 million), sulphur (\$96 million) and aircraft (\$75 million).

But these trade figures are dwarfed by the bilateral investment relationship. Canada is now Australia's ninth largest source of foreign investment, with approximately \$17.9 billion of direct investment and a further \$8 billion of portfolio investment (shares, bonds, etc.) Similarly, Australian companies and superannuation funds have \$24.1 billion in direct investment in Canada and a further \$20 billion of portfolio investment. It is the similarities — mature, stable economies, with similar regulatory and legal systems and strong growth prospects — that have led to such strong investment flows between the two countries. Canadian companies and pension funds have been particularly keen to invest in Australia's forestry and mining industries, as well as long-term infrastructure assets. These

provide well-regulated, long-term, stable income-producing investments. They also provide Canadian investors with exposure to Asia's high growth rates.

With a small population, the Australian economy has always relied on outside sources of investment to develop our natural assets and improve our standard of living at a pace that would not be possible on our own. Our resources sector alone currently has 87 major committed projects and 277 projects in the planning stages, requiring \$277.8 billion in funding. Austrade, the Australian government's trade and investment promotion agency, is working closely with Canadian investors to help them meet this need for investment capital.

Australia and Canada are also parties in the negotiations for a Trans-Pacific Partnership free trade agreement. This agreement could be truly transformative for trade in the Asia-Pacific region in the future. At the APEC meeting in Honolulu in 2011 the leaders of the TPP countries set the goal of removing all tariffs between their economies. This could unlock as much as US\$520 million in gains annually. It could also increase trade in services by as much as 50 per cent between Australia and Canada (according to Australian Industry Group and Canadian Council of Chief Executives modelling). My colleagues and I at the Australian high commission will continue to work closely with the Canadian government and industry to highlight the benefits of a strong, comprehensive agreement.

Louise Hand has been Australia's high commissioner in Ottawa since January 2012. Follow her on Twitter @AusHC-Canada or connect with the Australian high commission at (613) 236-0841 or [www.canada.highcommission.gov.au](http://www.canada.highcommission.gov.au).

# Portugal: On the path of recovery



By *Pedro Moitinho de Almeida*  
Former ambassador of Portugal

**P**ortugal is currently undergoing an economic adjustment program, that is steering the economy on a path of recovery. With assistance from the IMF, EU and ECB (the Troika), a balanced program has been implemented, with the goal of promoting reforms to increase competitiveness and boost economic growth and to achieve fiscal consolidation, reduce public debt and ensure financial stability. We are meeting our targets and the positive Troika reports on our performance attest to the significant progress already achieved. It was encouraging when Portugal recently successfully returned to the financial markets and placed 2.5 billion euros of five-year bonds, primarily to international investors (more than 90 percent), at an average yield of close to 5 percent.

The EU, for obvious reasons, is our main trading partner, but we also sell goods to all continents. Much like Canada, we are committed to diversifying our markets and trade with non-EU partners is gaining strength.

Portugal's centuries-old historical connections with countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and the nearly 300 million people in the Portuguese-speaking world, make my country a gateway to those markets. The soon-to-be-concluded CETA agreement will create even more potential for Canadian companies to explore our location. By the same token, we look forward to the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement boosting Portuguese exports and investments into Canada.

Canada and Portugal have a long-established relationship rooted in history, after Portuguese navigators came to Newfoundland and Nova Scotia in the 16th Century. Today, Canada has a vibrant and



The riverfront in Porto, Portugal's second-largest city.

well-established Portuguese-Canadian community of more than 500,000.

Trade between the two countries is relatively small, but there is potential for growth. In 2011, Portugal's exports of goods to Canada reached \$357.5 million, and imports from Canada amounted to \$225.4 million. Data for 2012 (January-November) show a slight drop, with exports close to \$293 million and imports from Canada a little more than \$120 million.

Portugal exports Port and table wines, iron and steel, mineral fuels and oils, motor vehicles, cork, footwear, electric/electronic equipment, machinery and mechanical equipment, apparel and twine/cordage/ropes to Canada.

From Canada, we buy agricultural goods, newsprint, aircraft equipment, machinery, metal products, pharmaceuticals and other goods.

Bilateral trade in services has seen growth. According to Portuguese statistics, in 2011 bilateral trade in services amounted to more than \$348 million, with the tourism sector being the major contributor.

On the investment front, the numbers are relatively small. Still, the largest particleboard panel manufacturer in North America, Tafisa, is part of Soane Group, an important company in Portugal. In addition, Altitude Software, Martifer Solar, EDP Renewables, Logoplaste, ImatosGil and Cotesi have all established local operations in Canada.

Portugal has become an attractive location for Canadian investment, particularly in mining. Key Canadian companies have mining operations in Portugal and this industry could attract additional investment. To that end, a mining delegation will again participated in the prestigious

PDAC (Prospectors & Developers Association of Canada) show in Toronto in March. Within the energy sector, we are excited about possibilities for oil and natural gas exploration in Central Portugal. A number of Canadian companies are already partners in this venture.

Portugal today has a favourable investment environment with new measures that include regulations to boost labour flexibility, a simplified administrative process, reduced corporate tax, location and logistic optimization tools and the recently announced residence permit for investment activities. This measure is complemented by a new tax regime for non-residents, which offers attractive income-tax advantages for up to a 10-year period to qualified foreign individuals wishing to establish a permanent or temporary residence in Portugal.

We are exploring possibilities in other sectors in which Canada is a major importer. Industrial machinery and equipment, plastics and furniture show good promise. We are also looking at creating opportunities for our export-oriented auto and aerospace clusters. In advanced sectors, such as biotechnology, pharmaceutical, ITCs and renewable energy, our companies are also making excellent inroads. In all these areas, we are looking to foster partnerships with Canadian businesses.

In terms of services, we see great potential for mutually beneficial developments in co-operation with our maritime ports. The Port of Sines ("The Atlantic Gateway to Europe") is one of the few open deep-water ports in the world, equipped with shelter and berthing infrastructures, capable of receiving large-capacity vessels.

Finally, we mustn't forget tourism. Portugal is a small country on the shores of the Atlantic. It is beautiful, friendly and offers wonderful and diverse vacation options. Whether you're looking for history, palaces and castles, sandy beaches or wine tours along a majestic river, Portugal offers it all. To experience world-class golf courses, charming countryside towns and to escape or recover from the rigours of a Canadian winter, Portugal is your destination, topped off with mouth-watering food and fabulous wines. Come and visit.

*Pedro Moitinho de Almeida is the former ambassador of Portugal. Reach the ambassador's office at (613) 729-2922 ext. 229.*



# Canada's global quest for free trade

By Ed Fast



Over the past two years, I have had the privilege of serving as Canada's minister of international trade. It has been an incredibly busy and exciting time. Guided by the global commerce strategy (GCS) introduced in 2007, Canada has been undertaking the most ambitious trade expansion plan in our country's history. The strategy is a concerted effort to secure Canada's growth and prosperity by seizing our advantages in a fiercely competitive global marketplace.

Focusing on the strategy's priority markets — large and small — where opportunities for Canadian businesses and interests have the greatest potential for growth and success, we have intensified our pursuit of new and deeper trading relationships around the world. Since the introduction of the GCS, we have concluded and implemented new free-trade agreements with seven countries: Norway, Switzerland, Iceland and Liechtenstein (collectively known as the European Free Trade Association), Peru, Jordan (our first with an Arab country) and Colombia. We have also signed an agreement with Panama (a key regional gateway) and concluded negotiations with Honduras. Thanks to these actions and my government's free-trade leadership, Canadian workers and businesses now have preferred access and a real competitive edge in more markets than at any time in our history.

Yet our effort to expand Canadian access to the largest and most dynamic economies of the world has only just begun. Altogether, Canada is currently engaged in 19 free-trade initiatives, covering 74 countries. This number includes the European Union, the world's largest trading block, representing 27 countries, 500 million people and annual economic activity of more than \$17 trillion. It also



Canada has signed a trade agreement with Panama. Pictured here is Manzanillo International Terminal in Colon City, Panama.

includes India, a country of more than 1.2 billion consumers, where we expect a trade agreement would increase Canada's GDP by somewhere in the order of \$6 billion per year. We've just completed the first round of trade negotiations with Japan, the world's third-largest economy on a country-by-country basis. Canada has also recently joined negotiations with the Trans-Pacific Partnership, an alliance of 11 countries looking to leverage new trade

and investment opportunities within the fast-growing Asia-Pacific region. Finally, I would be remiss if I didn't mention our ongoing efforts to bolster our commercial relationship with the world's second largest economy, China.

There is no doubt that the United States and Mexico will continue to be Canada's most important trading partners. Indeed, our trilateral trade is now more than \$1 trillion a year. That said, we all know that



GEOFF ROBINS

Karel De Gucht, European commissioner for trade, visited Ottawa during negotiations for the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement.

this continues to be a tumultuous time for the global economy. Traditional economic giants are seeing new challengers emerge from all around the world. To retain and protect the fragile gains Canada's economy has made in recent months, our government is in the process of updating the GCS to reflect these shifting global economic realities. We're targeting dynamic, high-growth markets around the world and working to diversify Canada's eco-

nommic interests by focusing on the markets that hold the greatest promise for Canadian businesses — nations such as Thailand and Brazil, where economic growth rates are well above the global average.

We're also looking to the continent of Africa, where we have recently taken a number of steps to build a firm foundation for more intense engagement. For example, we're negotiating foreign investment protection agreements with countries such

as Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Tunisia and Zambia and have recently concluded negotiations with Benin, Madagascar, Mali, Senegal and Tanzania. Canada is also currently in free-trade negotiations with Morocco, and I led a trade mission to Nigeria and Ghana in February to help deepen our commercial relationships with these countries.

History has shown that free and open trade is one of the key drivers of a country's growth and prosperity. Indeed, the Canada we know today was largely shaped by our proud trading history. But trade is by no means a relic of that history. Our refreshed global commerce strategy will provide a roadmap to guide Canada's future trade activities. It will help refocus our efforts on proven partners and emerging powerhouses around the world to help Canadian companies, investors, importers and exporters alike to become more successful in today's increasingly competitive global economy. These efforts reflect our firm belief that when a Canadian company succeeds abroad, jobs and prosperity are created right here at home.

Ed Fast is the minister of international trade and minister for the Asia-Pacific Gateway.



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# Mexico on

Why Canada regards deeper partnership as ‘tremendously important’

**C**anadian Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird, in his mid-February tour of Latin American countries, succinctly explained Canada’s strategic interest in a more economically integrated partnership of the Three Amigos in the NAFTA free-trade agreement — and most urgently with Mexico, the poorest of them all.

“Mexico, in our lifetime, is going to be a Top-10 world economy,” Mr. Baird said. “Potentially, it will be a Top-Five world economy.”

“It’s tremendously important that we look at Mexico through our trilateral relationship with the United States but bilaterally, too, on security, on jobs and on values.”

The Three Amigo numbers speak just as succinctly — in demographic terms, in economic terms, in social terms. But many Canadians employ stereotypical assumptions to keep Mexico in its presumed place. In an editorial last year, *The Globe and Mail* resisted: “Mexicans are not southern trash.” The newspaper noted that the UN Human Development Index, which measures standards of living, ranks Mexico comparably with Canada, Britain and the United States.

## Population

U.S. population now: 315 million; U.S. population projected to 2050, 440 million.

Canada population now: 35 million; Canada population projected to 2050, 40 million.

Mexico population now: 110 million; Mexico population projected to 2050, 150 million.

From a population base of 460 million now, in other words, “America” could become a continental trade alliance with a combined population of more than 630 million.

## Gross Domestic Product

Goldman Sachs has predicted Mexico will become one of the world’s five biggest economies by 2050 with GDP of US\$9.3 trillion — a four-fold expansion of GDP per capita. The investment firm predicts that Canada will grow at a much slower pace: a doubling of GDP, rising from \$1.4 trillion to \$3 trillion. With \$3 trillion GDP, Canada would marginally exceed the Philippines. Taken together, the NAFTA economy would exceed \$50 trillion, an economy exceeded only by China (GDP: \$70 trillion in 2050).

This photo illustration, which combines Canada’s Peace Tower and Mexico’s National Palace (the seat of the Mexican president and the federal executive), was produced by CIGI for its report, *Forging a New Strategic Partnership Between Canada and Mexico* which we reproduce on page 41.



# the rise





# From the Arctic to the Usumacinta



SAM GARCIA

Even before Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto was inaugurated, he visited Prime Minister Stephen Harper in Canada.

Mexican Ambassador Francisco J. Barrio Terrazas celebrates the astonishing successes of the North American Free Trade Agreement, now approaching its 20th year. But he finds the world's most vibrant free-trade agreement has now "fallen short" of meeting the next-generation needs of the Mexican, Canadian and U.S. peoples. Here, Ambassador Barrio Terrazas calls for fundamental reform of NAFTA — ranging from much deeper economic integration to a more profound sense of the three-country North America in which (as he once put it) the common border "crosses the Rio Grande and the Great Lakes and runs from the Usumacinta River to the Arctic." The Usumacinta River marks Mexico's southern boundary with Guatemala.

*By Francisco Javier Barrio Terrazas*

**M**exico and Canada have enjoyed an immensely stable and friendly relationship for nearly 70 years, although during the first 50 years, relations were characterized by extremely limited exchanges. It was a cordial relationship, but not a significant one.

That changed in 1992 when Mexico and Canada signed, along with the United States, what would for several years be the world's largest free trade agreement: NAFTA.

The great incentive to signing the agreement? By gaining preferential access to the markets of the other two countries, we strengthened our own economies.

The results achieved during the lifetime of the treaty speak to its success: more than 40 million jobs created; trade flows tripled (surpassing \$1 trillion per year); a combined Gross National Product that has more than doubled; and the development of some of the most competitive production supply chains in the world.

The United States is the top market for Canada and Mexico. Canada and Mexico are the No. 1 and 2 markets for American products. Since NAFTA came into effect, trade between Mexico and Canada has multiplied by nine times, to exceed \$35 billion in 2012. In summary, NAFTA continues to be, even today, the most important international trade instrument for each of our three countries.



The World Trade Centre building in Mexico City.

By eliminating tariffs and multiplying trade exchanges, our political leaders of the time had the vision and courage to place our three nations on a very successful path of integration and growth.

There have been, nevertheless, factors that have impeded a deeper, more complete integration. In Mexico and Canada, there are some who think that agreements aligning the economic policies of the three countries could jeopardize economic and political sovereignty, while fears have arisen in the U.S. and Canada that greater aperture could result in a more marked flow of migrants from Mexico. Thus, in terms of regional integration, NAFTA has seen far more modest advances than the European Union. In fact, NAFTA does not have free movement of the labour force, common external tariffs, a Customs Union or a common market — all attributes of the EU.

But, while trade among our three countries has grown rapidly, other countries did not sit still. Since NAFTA's launch, 500 other FTAs have been negotiated around the world.

At the same time, some of the most populated countries on the planet, with

hundreds of millions of available workers and extremely low wage scales, embarked on aggressive programs to reform their economic systems, bolstering to an astonishing degree their huge competitive advantages and becoming, in the short space of two decades, some of the world's most thriving economic engines.

These developments took place during an offshore and outsourcing boom. The large corporations of the West, in a frenetic avalanche, leapt to relocate or subcontract manufacturing and service operations in developing countries. Millions of jobs were transferred from the three North American countries to other parts of the world, at the same time, transferring significant portions of our region's economic activity, competitiveness and growth.

This trend urges us to move faster by adapting our strengths and experiences to the new global conditions and challenges. Unfortunately, our response in the face of this changing scenario has fallen short of meeting the true needs of our industries and citizens; our leadership in the international context has faded.

The emergence of security as a top priority and the new economic global

order, in which emerging economies will lead growth, have diverted our focus as a single, integrated block. Canada has evolved. The U.S. has changed. Mexico has transformed. Contrary to the spirit of NAFTA, though, the new dynamic emerging in North America seems to run in the opposite direction.

Those factors, among others, explain how North America's share of global markets has dropped from 19 percent in 2000 to 12.9 percent in 2010 — while the market share of the Asia-Pacific region (including India) rose from 29.6 percent to 35.4 percent over the same period.

Today, new economic realities are taking shape: the wage gap is closing, shale gas exploitation is decreasing energy costs in North America and high oil prices are increasing the impact of freight charges on the price of certain products. Together, these factors are showing the importance of manufacturing location and proximity to consumer markets over labour costs and availability.

We see, then, that the trend has begun to reverse and that many manufacturing operations are returning to North America. In the last 24 months, more than a dozen





CHAD TEER

Oil and gas are big business in Mexico. This rig is in the Gulf of Mexico.

American, European and Asian auto assembly companies have invested in new plants in Mexico and some have done so in the U.S., in a clear “inshore” movement. Operations that sought cheap labour in Asia now find that their total costs can be competitive, upon re-assessing proximity to North American markets. In this new trend toward regional hubs, North America has an exceptional opportunity.

Today, the three North American economies complement one another wonderfully. In Mexico, half the population is age 26 or under and wages are highly competitive. Canada and the United States have abundant capital and sophisticated technologies. We are also geographically close, we enjoy good communication and we’re trading partners.

This has led such sectors as the automotive and aerospace industries to integrate in such a way that production chains have become clearly regional. A car assembled in any of our countries comprises thousands of components that, in the production process, have crossed the borders between our countries several times, incorporating further elements of added value at each new crossing.

This allows us to create products that not only compete in North American markets, but can also be successfully exported to other regions of the world. As if that were not enough, advances in shale oil and shale gas exploitation could make the North American region, in a few years, a



DREAMSTIME

Ancient installations of the mine La Ojuela, in Mapimi Durango, Mexico. Mining continues to be an economic engine in the country.

net energy exporter, paving the way for other promising possibilities.

But, as is often the case in the changing economic dynamics of the 21st Century, the windows of opportunity can be fleeting. Right now, we are fully immersed in negotiations over the Trans Pacific Partnership, the most ambitious free-trade agreement of all time. This alliance, of course, offers huge possibilities, but the obligations we will assume with our new partners will very likely limit our ability to act as a region. Thus, the opportunity to benefit from our status as a vigorous regional hub could find itself reduced, or even eliminated, in just a few years.

If the three NAFTA partners fail to act with the speed and assertiveness the moment requires, it will be other countries, through their companies, that benefit. Japanese, European and even Chinese companies are already investing in new plants in Mexico — to sell to consumers throughout North America.

Twenty years ago, our three countries signed NAFTA to give market access to the entire region. Today, the challenge is to deepen and expand the integration of our economies so we will be able to compete at the global level.

The most renowned economic researchers have recognized Mexico as one of the largest economies in the coming years. We can supply the U.S. and Canadian markets in shorter times and we can jointly produce efficiently under competitive cost conditions. These realities must be recognized by our North American partners. It is imperative that we urgently mobilize to work together in a streamlined approach aimed at recovering our global presence and influence.

The three countries share borders and an entrepreneurial culture that obliges us to co-operate and recoup our joint position. Canada, Mexico and the U.S. must work together, transforming institutions, creating common strategies and renewing trilateral dialogue mechanisms.

In 2013, as two decades ago, the current situation demands that we take the same bold steps, with the same clear vision and the same courage that led us to sign NAFTA. This is a defining moment in which the region’s future could clearly take incredible turns. Our position through the first half of the 21st Century may depend on the skill and resolve with which we act in the very short term.

**Francisco Javier Barrio Terrazas is Mexico’s ambassador to Canada.**

# Forging a new strategic partnership

By Perrin Beatty and Andrés Rozental

Canada and Mexico, living alongside and often in the shadow of the colossus of the 20th Century, have long seen their place in the world as deeply coloured by the reality that they are of the Americas, but not Americans. The two countries have benefited from their proximity to the largest economy on Earth and shelter under its security shield, but have been equally determined to maintain their separate identities and values. As a result, they have honed the skills of idea shapers, coalition brokers and bridge builders. Unlike Americans, they have had to learn how to speak softly, but convincingly, in the full knowledge that they do not carry a big stick.

What surprises is that Canada and Mexico have accomplished so little together, given their similar interests in learning how to live in harmony with, but remaining distinct from, the United States, and their analogous experiences as middle-level powers. While they can celebrate nearly 70 years of diplomatic relations, those years have not been distinguished by many major achievements. Relations have been cordial and harmonious, but they cannot be said to have been productive. The potential for more has always been there, but until recently, that potential never seemed capable of being translated into concrete results.

The 1994 NAFTA provided the opportunity to redefine the bilateral relationship. While Canada may have joined the NAFTA talks to preserve the gains from the 1988 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, this “reluctant” decision proved to be remarkably rewarding (Bugailiskis and Dosma, 2012). Canada not only succeeded in protecting its primary market with its most important trading partner — the United States — but it also found a new partner in Mexico. Since NAFTA, Canada’s trade with Mexico has grown nearly six-fold. Today, Mexico is Canada’s third-largest trading partner, with two-way trade reaching \$34.4 billion in 2011. Canada’s exports to Mexico reflect the breadth of the Canadian economy and run the gamut — from pulses to airplanes.

Growth in bilateral trade started slowly,



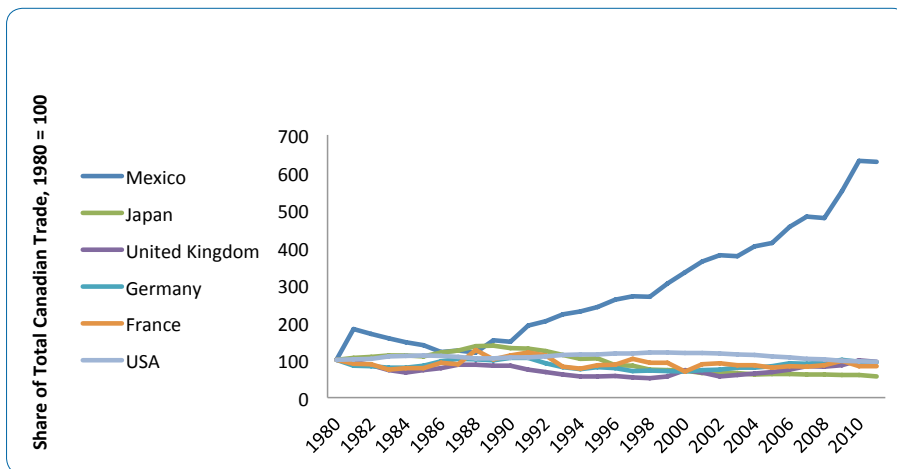
GILLES LABERGE

but has picked up speed over the past decade as Mexico put the peso crisis of the mid-1990s behind it and learned to take advantage of NAFTA’s opportunities. Increasingly, Mexico has become an integral part of North American-based supply chains, and much of its trade with its NAFTA partners is inter-corporate. As the *Financial Times* points out: Mexico is

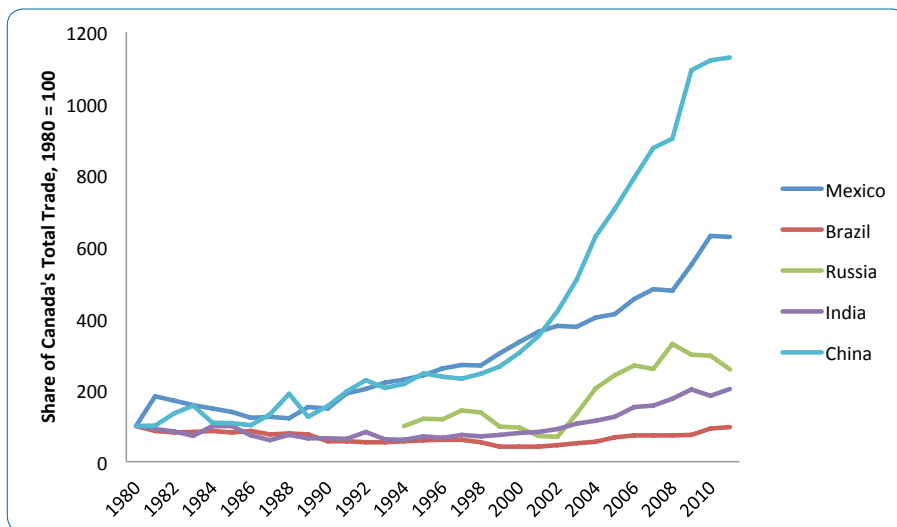
now vying with China as the manufacturing hub of choice for U.S., [Canadian], and other multinational companies — it is as economically integrated with the U.S. [and Canada] as any two members of the euro-zone are to each other. Much of this is driven by the rise in the cost of oil, which makes transport costs increasingly pricey for U.S. companies to make goods



Canada's Trade with Mexico and Traditional Economic Partners: Relative Growth



Canada's Trade with Mexico and the BRICs: Relative Growth



for domestic consumption as far away as East Asia. And most of the rest is driven by Chinese wage inflation. In 2000, the average Chinese worker was paid 35 cents an hour versus US\$1.72 in Mexico, according to HSBC. Now the Mexican gets paid US\$2.11 an hour and the Chinese US\$1.63. Pretty soon Mexico will have the lower labour costs. (Luce, 2012.)

The growth in the bilateral economic relationship has not been limited to trade. Canadian investments in Mexico have more than doubled since the late 1980s, as Canada has become one of Mexico's largest sources of foreign direct investment (FDI). More than 2,600 Canadian companies have offices and operations in Mexico, including major firms such as Bombardier, Goldcorp and Linamar. Companies in industries ranging from finance to pharmaceuticals, such as Scotiabank

and Apotex, have used their Mexican operations as launch pads to reach other markets in Central and South America. Mexican firms such as Cemex, Grupo Bimbo and Univision have begun to make significant inroads into the United States, but to date have not shown much interest in expanding to Canada.

After the United States, Mexico is now the largest foreign destination for Canadians. The majority of these are short-term visitors, but there are also a growing number of business, student and other long-term residents living in Mexico. In the other direction, Mexico is the second-largest source of temporary foreign workers for Canada, boosting the productivity of Canada's agricultural sector through the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program. As Canada's labour force continues to age, Mexico offers a rich

source of younger workers upon which to draw. The earlier flood of illegal migration across the Mexico-U.S. border has slowed to a trickle, while many older Mexicans are now returning home to pursue new opportunities closer to their families. Agreed labour mobility programs have become much more attractive. Mexicans are also studying abroad in increasingly large numbers, yet Canada attracts only five percent of this market.

Despite these growing levels of economic interaction, most Canadians and Mexicans still hold largely stereotypical images of each other. Many Canadians see Mexico as sun, sand and margaritas, while others focus on criminality, corruption and drugs (Jiménez, 2012). Mexicans, meanwhile, when polled, often reply that Canada is their favourite foreign country, but as the editor of the Mexican daily *Excelsior* puts it, "we know nothing about Canada and that may be the reason we like it" (Carreño Figueras, 2012). In short, the two countries have much to learn about one another, and there is a tremendous opportunity to increase that knowledge by, for example, increasing exchanges between Mexicans and Canadians through labour and student mobility agreements and initiatives.

The election of Mexico's new president presents an opportunity to recalibrate bilateral relations and look for ways to upgrade and change those relations to a strategic partnership. The ongoing shift in global economic power from Western Europe and North America to the emerging economies of Asia and Latin America and their burgeoning middle classes provides a compelling reason to strengthen Canada's engagement with Mexico. Everyone, including Canada, may be preoccupied with the fast-growing economies of China, India and Brazil, but the success of these economies remains a mixed bag for Canada. On one hand, they offer new investment and trade opportunities. On the other, multinational firms from these economies increasingly do not "play by conventional, market-based rules," and their governments are unafraid to guide these firms to act in the state's interest. (Burney et al., 2012).

As global competition becomes more intense, Canada and Mexico could each benefit from taking a broader view of North American relations and from thinking about how to strengthen regional economies. The three North American economies enjoy enormous complementary potential. Canada and the United

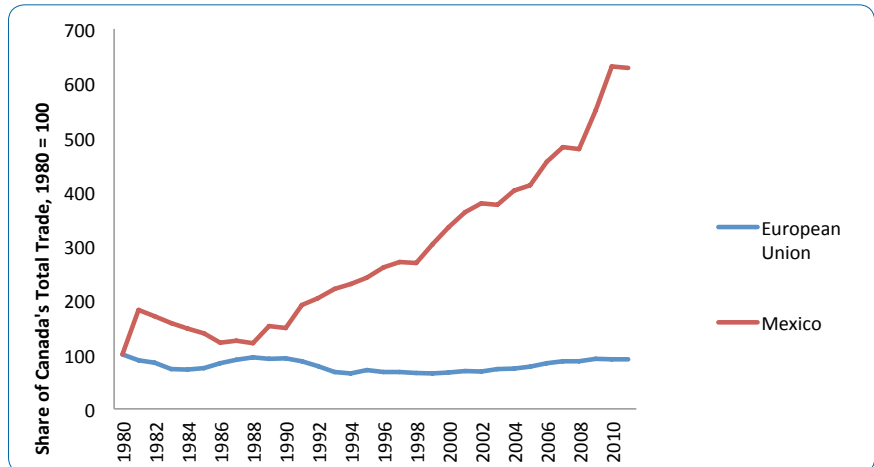
States are rich in skilled labour and value-added industries, Mexico boasts a young and growing workforce, and all three are rich in natural resources. An enhanced economic partnership among Canada, Mexico and the United States will make North America as productive and competitive as any other major economic area. To make such an enhanced partnership a reality, Canada and Mexico must first strengthen their bilateral bonds.

To that end, the two countries should realize that despite growth in bilateral trade and investment, they may be leaving economic opportunities lying on the table. Today, Canada's economy is larger than Mexico's, but within a few decades the relative position of the two countries will switch. PricewaterhouseCoopers projects that, on a purchasing power parity basis, Mexico's GDP will be US\$6.6 trillion by 2050 — the seventh-largest economy in the world — twice Canada's projected GDP of \$3.3 trillion (Elliot, 2011). Additionally, by 2050, one in six Americans will be of Mexican ancestry (Zubieta, 2012). In short, the Mexican economy and the Mexican diaspora will provide new and compelling opportunities for trade and investment far too large for Canadians to ignore.

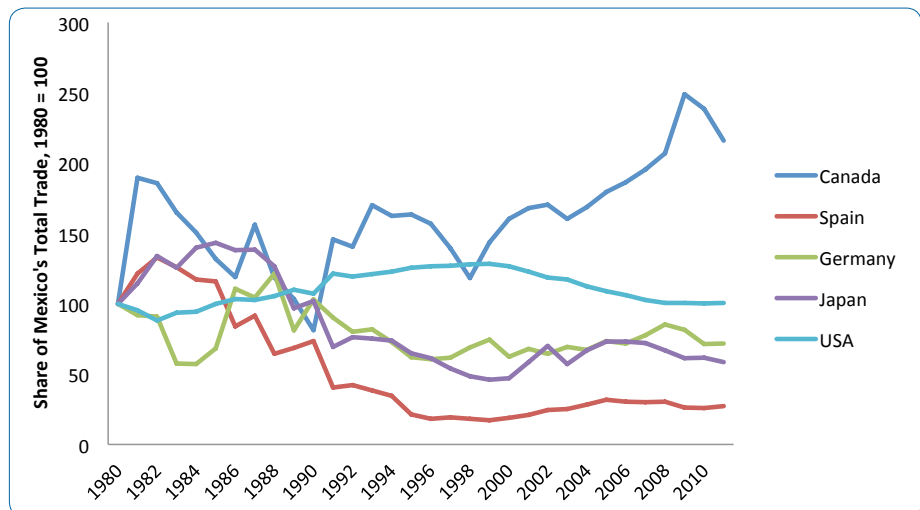
The Canada-Mexico relationship may also become progressively more important as a result of demographic factors. In many of Canada's traditional developed-world trading partners, population and economic growth have slowed; Mexico, on the other hand, enjoys the economic dividends that come from having a relatively young population and a growing middle class. Not surprisingly, while trade with Mexico has grown six-fold since 1980, Canada's trade with its traditional economic partners such as Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom and France has remained flat or declined. Even Canada's trade with the United States has declined as a proportion of total trade since the early 2000s. v

The two economies complement one another: Canada's older, relatively skilled workforce can provide research and design services, while Mexico's abundance of lower-skilled younger workers are ideal for manufacturing and resource extraction. Both countries also have large reserves of natural gas, oil and mineral resources that are being developed to their maximum potential. Additionally, Mexico is not just a lucrative market for Canadian businesses: it also offers a gateway to the U.S. Spanish-speaking market and the rest of Spanish-speaking Latin America.

Canada's Trade with Mexico and the European Union: Relative Growth



Mexico's Trade with Canada and Traditional Economic Partners: Relative Growth



Canada may also become an increasingly important source of capital for Mexico. The United States has traditionally been Mexico's principal investment partner, supplying more than 70 percent of foreign direct investment in Mexico in the early 2000s. The global financial crisis highlighted Mexico's need to diversify its FDI sources: as the United States fell into recession in 2009, Mexico's FDI inflows collapsed to 60 percent of their 2008 levels (Laudicina, Gott and Pohl, 2010). Canadian FDI in Mexico has doubled since NAFTA, and Canada is now Mexico's fourth-largest source of FDI. While this growth is important for boosting Mexican productivity and lessening its reliance on American capital, it is a modest increase when compared with trade growth. It also represents less than one percent of Canada's overseas FDI stocks, suggesting that

there may be mutually profitable investment opportunities waiting to be pursued.

In the immediate future, there are useful opportunities for Canada and Mexico to collaborate on regional and international issues. Both boast large hydrocarbon industries and both have relatively carbon-intensive economies. It may be in both states' interests, for example, to co-ordinate their planning for a carbon-pricing scheme that will eventually involve the United States. Given the gross inequality in power between the United States and Canada or Mexico alone, Mexican-Canadian co-ordination on some continental issues could help even the playing field. This applies, for example, to pursuing greater alignment in regulatory regimes.

At the same time, it is important not to lose sight of the significant transnational crime challenges confronting the govern-





DREAMSTIME

Tourism is one of Mexico's major industries.



DREAMSTIME

Agave, the plant used to make tequila, is another of Mexico's resources.

ment of President Peña Nieto. Mexico has suffered 55,000 drug-related deaths since former president Felipe Calderon launched the "war on drugs" in 2006, although Mexico's drug-related murder rate is still lower than that of Colombia, Venezuela, Honduras, Guatemala and other parts of Central America and the Caribbean. The cartels have responded to the war on drugs by spreading their business throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. Mexico's drug violence may be largely confined to the border areas with the United States, but the continued violence and corruption that accompanies the drug trade corrodes public confidence in Mexico's security services and its potential as a strategic partner. Canada already assists Mexican efforts to train and upgrade the skills of Mexico's judiciary and police, but increasing assistance would be a natural complement to Canada's own anti-drug efforts. In the long run, strengthening the relationship will require Canada to continue to support Mexico's efforts at governance and security sector reform.

Ultimately, turning the bilateral relationship into a strategic partnership will mean realizing that what is good for Mexico can also be good for Canada. Further strengthening Mexico's economy will not only help the 52 million Mexicans who live in poverty, but will also enhance Canada's ability to service Mexico's growing middle class. A concerted effort by both parties to build and improve upon the existing relationship could multiply existing benefits several-fold.

From a Canadian perspective, several policy initiatives should contribute to strengthening the bilateral relationship. To that end, the recommendations take two views of what needs to be done: In the short-run, Canada and Mexico should strive, wherever possible, to reduce barriers to the movement of goods and people between the two countries. Longer-term, Canada should support Mexican efforts to further reform the Mexican economy and to deal with organized crime. A stronger, wealthier, less-violent Mexico will, ultimately, make for a stronger, more prosperous Canada-Mexico relationship.

This report, a joint effort by The Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, is published with permission. It is available online <http://www.cigionline.org/publications/2012/11/forging-new-strategic-partnership-between-canada-and-mexico>.

## That's no way to treat a friend!

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky



Citizenship and Immigration Minister Jason Kenney

Trade between Mexico and Canada is significant and includes a wide range of products — from airplane and auto parts to crude oil and tequila. In NAFTA's first decade, trade between the two countries more than doubled from \$6.5 billion to exceed \$15 billion. Mexico now ranks fifth among Canada's trading partners.

Goods do not comprise the only movement between our countries; 1.3 million Canadian tourists visit Mexico each year and more than 10,000 of the 26,000 seasonal agricultural workers who come to Canada each year come from Mexico. By all measures, Canada and Mexico have a friendly relationship. Until 2009, that is, when Canada imposed a visa requirement on Mexican tourists and visitors entering the country. The Harper government's rationale was that visas were necessary because refugee claims from Mexico nearly tripled from 3,400 in 2005 to 9,400 in 2008.

The "Mexodus" included a mass withdrawal of well-off Mexicans whose wealth made them extortion targets for narco-gangs such as Los Zetas, a notorious cartel infamous throughout Mexico. The visa restriction

greatly reduced the number of asylum claims; in 2011, there were only 651 applications.

The visa requirements disturbed Canada's association with Mexico and checked tourism. In late 2012, Canada began working with Mexico's new president, Enrique Peña Nieto, to restore the relationship between the two countries. By February 2013, Canada had added Mexico to its list of designated countries (those that do not normally produce refugees). Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird observed that NAFTA "has proven there is an immense value in knocking down barriers to trade."

As of early March, however, Mexicans travelling to Canada still required visas. And while Mexico is still struggling to deal with drug gangs, still has a questionable justice system and its human rights record remains spotty, it could be a linchpin in talks concerning Pacific trade. In short, Canada needs Mexico again.



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# The people of the sun

A brief history of Mexico

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky



A Diego Rivera mural from the Palacio Nacional in Mexico City, titled *Exploitation of Mexico by Spanish Conquistadors*.

To many, Mexico is merely a holiday destination, a place of sun, sand and cerveza, its people represented by the smiling members of the service industry at resorts, shops and tourist traps. Outside the perfectly landscaped resorts are intriguing Mayan and Aztec ruins, as well as drug cartels and the rampant corruption within the police and government. Officially *Estados Unidos Mexicanos* (United Mexican States), Mexico is a complex country that feels the weight of its authoritarian history. It has been shaped by revolution, violence and assassinations — so says author Jaime Suchlicki, *From Montezuma to NAFTA and Beyond* — but its history also includes high levels of culture, learning and innovations of tremendous magnitude.

Mexico's earliest inhabitants can be traced back to at least 11,000 BC. Although the best-known early civilizations were the Maya of the Yucatan Peninsula and southern Mexico, and the Aztecs of central Mexico, there were many significant indigenous civilizations with different social and economic systems. Among them were the Chichimecs, Toltecs, Zapotecs, Tlaxcalans and Tarascans. Many early groups developed high civilizations with elaborate urban centres that served religious, political and commercial purposes, including the Mayan city Chichén Itzá and the Aztec capital Tenochtitlan, both now must-see tourist destinations.

## Mexico's "Mother Culture"

Anthropologists consider the Olmec

people as Mexico's "mother culture," the political, social, economic and religious models of subsequent civilizations. Their culture flourished between 1200 and 400 BC near southern Veracruz and western Tabasco. Although trade and conquest were significant, religion spread Olmec culture. Their two cults, the jaguar and the serpent, influenced succeeding religious thought.

## The Maya

Mayan civilization arose circa 2600 BC. (Tourists know the Yucatan Peninsula as the Mexican Riviera.)

The Maya gained prominence by AD 250; their territory covered what is now southern Mexico, Guatemala, Belize and parts of Honduras and El Salvador. The

Maya developed astronomy, hieroglyphic writing and systems of calendars, including the Long Count (52-year) calendar. They are also noted for elaborate architecture that included pyramids, palaces and observatories. Farming required clearing large sections of rainforest and constructing underground reservoirs for rainwater. The Maya cleared routes through jungles and the swamps of the coastal wetlands to establish extensive trade networks for agricultural products, including cacao, cotton, salt and honey and handicrafts. In the interior Yucatan, where the landscape changes to arid scrub, they found henequen, a native agave plant they used to make ropes, nets, fabric, hammocks and other items of everyday use and trade.

Mayan civilization mysteriously declined around 900 when the southern Maya abandoned their cities. By 1200, the northern Maya had been assimilated into Toltec society, which derived from the Chichimecs. The Mayan dynasty ended, although some peripheral centres continued until the Spanish Conquest.

#### The Aztecs

*"They came in battle array, as conquerors, and the dust rose in whirlwinds on the roads, their spears glinted in the sun, and their pennons fluttered like bats. They made a loud clamor as they marched, for their coats of mail and their weapons clashed and rattled ... they terrified everyone who saw them."* This Aztec account, which was translated by Miguel León-Portilla and appears in *A Brief History of Mexico* by Lynn V. Foster, clearly describes the strength and intensity of the Aztecs. However their history before the 14th Century is unclear. They probably migrated from the north into central Mexico before 1200 and were, for a time, dominated by other peoples, including the Toltecs. Their migration fulfilled a tribal prophecy when they established a city where an eagle with a snake in its beak rested on a cactus. This became Mexico's national symbol and today adorns the flag and official seal.

Tenochtitlan, which was built about 1325 at what is now Mexico City, was the centre of an empire that controlled most of the central region through a system that extracted tributes — taxes — and political allegiance from conquered groups. Built on an island accessed by causeways, the city featured avenues, temples and religious monuments symbolizing Aztec power. Larger than any European city, it was a wondrous sight to the Spanish when they arrived to destroy it.

The Aztec empire was shaped by the reign of Montezuma I, who waged war for two decades to conquer the Valley of Mexico and beyond to the rich fields of the Gulf coast. The Maya and Toltecs influenced the Aztec calendar, mathematics, writing, art and architecture. The Aztecs' most significant innovation was their irrigated agriculture, which supported Tenochtitlan's population.

Religion was significant in Aztec society, which placed priests among the top social classes. They saw the sun as the primary source of life and worshipped animistic spirits symbolizing natural forces. The rhythms of life and death encouraged Aztec acceptance of the Toltec belief that the gods required human sacrifice, a practice much exaggerated by the *conquistado-*

*res*. Each Aztec city had a pyramid topped with a temple where priests honoured Huitzilopochtli, the god of sun and war.

#### The Spanish Conquest

Hernán Cortés reached Cozumel in 1519, lured by the vast wealth reported by Hernández de Córdoba, who reached the Yucatan in 1517. Spain's conquest of Mexico marks the rise of the modern nation of combined indigenous and European cultures.

Montezuma II ruled the Aztec empire when Cortés arrived in his ships with a few hundred soldiers and their horses, war dogs, armour, gunpowder and firearms, all of which were unknown and therefore intimidating. Uncertain, Montezuma hesitated to face the enemy



An Aztec statue of Coatlicue, the earth goddess. It resides at the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City.





A painting by Emanuel Leutze depicting the storming of the Teocalli pyramid by Cortés and his troops.



Hernán Fernando Cortés

and sent shamans and magicians to cast spells. When they failed, and receiving news that Cortés wanted to meet the great ruler, Montezuma stalled by sending gifts of gold and jewels, whetting the Spanish appetite further. Cortés and his army journeyed to Tenochtitlan. They were driven out on the *Noche Triste* (sad night), June 30, 1520, when the Aztecs overwhelmed the Spanish as Cortés led their retreat. Among the casualties was Montezuma. Cortés rebuilt his army and returned, taking the city on Aug. 13.

Between 1519 and 1521, aided by large armies made up of the Aztecs' enemies, Cortés and his *conquistadores* conquered the Aztecs. Over the next 10 years, they subjugated most of the other indigenous people and erected the capital of New Spain on the ruins of Tenochtitlan.

Cortés' activity was largely illegal; he was authorized to trade, not colonize, but he assumed that Spain's king, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, would not object to a wealthy conquered kingdom. He assumed correctly and ultimately became one of the richest men in Spain. Mexico remained a Spanish colony until 1821; the Spanish empire profoundly marked every aspect of Mexican society.

#### Mexican independence

On Sept. 16, 1810, the priest Miguel Hidalgo called for independence, exhorting Mexicans to rise up against the hated Spanish, and led a poorly organized rebellion on what is now marked as Mexican Independence Day. Hidalgo was hanged and another priest, José Morelos, took up the cause with a more methodical movement. He advocated equal rights and the end of the caste system, laying the foundation for a unified Mexican nation. Spain executed him in 1815.

The Spanish defeated the revolutionaries and independence was eventually won by conservative landowners. Mexico suffered a series of nearly catastrophic political and military defeats. Between 1836 and 1854, the United States acquired nearly half of Mexico's territory through the annexation of Texas and the Mexican-American War. Achieving independence left Mexico without a political centre and with a damaged economy and social system that would hold it back for decades.

#### Benito Juárez

In 1857, a civil war pitted liberals, under reformist Benito Juárez in Veracruz, against conservatives led by Félix Zuloaga in Mexico City. In 1861, Juárez' forces cap-

tured Mexico City, but the conflict coincided with growing foreign debt. Mexico was insolvent and Juárez had to suspend payments on its debts.

Spain, France and Great Britain occupied Veracruz to recover money owed to them. Napoleon III, wanting to revive France's global ambitions, set out to capture Mexico City; Spain and Britain withdrew when his plans became clear. Mexican armies won a major battle against the French on May 5, 1862, despite being severely outgunned; that victory is celebrated as *Cinco de Mayo*. France overthrew the Mexican government and installed Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, as emperor of Mexico in 1864.

The American government disapproved, but because of its own Civil War, was unable to enforce the Monroe Doctrine prohibiting European involvement in the Americas. Additionally, president Abraham Lincoln was wary of antagonizing Napoleon, fearing he would support the Confederacy. The American Civil War ended in 1865 as Juárez began to make headway against Maximilian. By then, the Mexican intervention had become unpopular in France and a burden on the French treasury. Napoleon withdrew and Maximilian was unable to retain power. His execution on June 19, 1867, marked the end of Europe's direct intervention in Mexico.

Porfirio Díaz, who had fought for the liberal side, became president in 1876 and ruled as an absolute dictator until 1911. He encouraged foreign investment, increased the GDP and implemented a program of industrial modernization. He also appropriated public money and gave land to friends and speculators until property had been expropriated from virtually all rural families. The economy boomed, but the lower classes laboured in abject conditions.

#### The Mexican Revolution

In 1910, Díaz announced a fair and free election, certain he would win. Reformist Francisco Madero opposed him. When it became apparent Madero would win, Díaz imprisoned him on false charges of insurrection. Madero escaped to Texas, declared himself victorious, and urged Mexicans to revolt. Central to the revolution's demands was land for the peasantry.

Armed revolutionary groups were led in the north by bandits-cum-revolutionaries Pancho Villa and Pascual Orozco and in the south by Emiliano Zapata. Villa and Orozco's armies attacked federal garri-



Women making cigarettes in the El Buen Tono factory in Mexico City.



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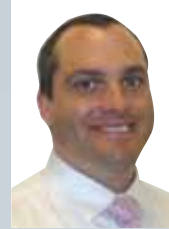
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Sub-comandante Marcos, spokesman for the Zapatista Army of National Liberation, and Comandante Tacho in Chiapas in 1999.

sons, attracting recruits and building their arsenals. Villa believed in a reformed and less corrupt Mexico; Orozco was an opportunist siding with the force he thought would win. Zapata and his followers, the Zapatistas, attacked haciendas and returned land to the peasants. Early in 1911, Madero joined the three generals as they neared the capital. By May, Díaz realized he was beaten and went into exile.

Madero's presidency was short-lived; he was idealistic, but inept, and had no real plan. He betrayed his supporters, who took up arms against him. By mid-1912, only Villa supported him. His biggest opponent was Gen. Victoriano Huerta, a ruthless leftover of the Díaz regime with presidential ambitions. He attacked Madero during a standoff with Díaz loyalists, executed him and declared himself president.

Huerta was opposed by Venustiano Carranza and Alvaro Obregón, who were united with Zapata and Villa. The only thing the "Big Four" agreed on was driving out Huerta. Before long, they were fighting each other. Huerta had Orozco's support, but it was insufficient. After Villa crushed them at the Battle of Zacatecas, Huerta and Orozco fled to the United States. The following years were chaotic. Zapata was killed, but his ideal of agrarian reform became the foundation of the revolution. Carranza overthrew Huerta and sent Obregón to defeat Villa, who retreated to Chihuahua and raided border towns in New Mexico, killing several Americans. Gen. John Pershing was sent unsuccessfully to capture him. Villa was assassinated in 1924.

Carranza became president in 1917. His major accomplishment was drafting a con-

stitution that remains the basis of today's Mexican constitution. It sought to destroy feudalism and to guarantee national ownership of mineral rights, social rights and distribution of land to the peasantry. Carranza was assassinated in 1920 by supporters of Obregón, who replaced him.

Obregón was re-elected in 1928, but was assassinated, the last of the Big Four. Gen. Plutarco Calles filled the office of interim president with three successive puppet presidents and founded the National Revolutionary Party, which became the Mexican Revolutionary Party and then the Institutional Revolutionary Party (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*, or PRI), which dominated Mexican politics for seven decades.

Because Obregón served a full term as president, many historians fix the end of the Mexican Revolution in 1920, but the country suffered terrible violence until Lázaro Cárdenas took office in 1934.

#### Post-revolutionary reforms and the contemporary state

Cardenas expelled Calles, advanced land redistribution, built schools, supported labour unions and nationalized the oil industry. Four decades of industrial growth followed, but in 1982, despite Mexico's oil wealth, the economy collapsed under a mountain of debt.

On Jan. 1, 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) went into effect. In Canada and the United States, critics and supporters predicted the pact's success or failure. In Mexico, the agreement was upstaged by an uprising in Chiapas by the Zapatista National Army (EZLN) protesting the government's treatment of its indigenous population. The

uprising spread across Mexico, including the capital, challenged national stability into the late 1990s and killed more than 300 people.

In March 1994, PRI nominee Luis Donaldo Colosio was assassinated. Ernesto Zedillo replaced him and in December, weeks into his first term, stunned Mexico and threw the economy into chaos by devaluing the peso because his predecessor, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, had depleted Mexico's foreign exchange holdings. Stocks fell; Mexico's importance was evident in global efforts to support its currency.

In 1997, the long reign of the PRI ended when it lost its majority in the lower house of the Mexican Congress. Political analysts declared it a sign that Mexico's political system was moving toward an authentic multiparty system and predicted the PRI would lose the 2000 election. Vicente Fox, of the National Action Party (*Partido de Acción Nacional*, or PAN), was elected on a platform of ending government corruption and strengthening the economy. He was president until 2006 and focused on improving trade with the United States and addressing corruption, crime and the drug trade.

Mr. Fox was succeeded by PAN's Felipe Calderón, who promised to be the "jobs president." He worked to reform Mexico's judicial system, increase employment and fight crime and drug cartels. The country remained in a recession with high unemployment and escalating cartel violence.

Enrique Peña Nieto brought the PRI back to power in 2012, assuming the presidency on Dec. 1. He was soon beset by protests, criticism and accusations that the party's repression would return.

Life in Mexico today is unbalanced. Standards of living are higher in the north than the rural south. Although Mexico's economy is the world's 14th largest, 40 percent of the population lives in poverty. The rates of infant mortality and of nutritional and infectious diseases are high. The proportion of the GDP spent on health services has increased, but it is still lower than in 1960. The country opened its economy when it joined the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in 1985 and since, NAFTA has established agreements with other markets including the European Union and Japan. However, Mexico still has many internal problems to address.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is a writer from Alberta.

# Mexico's drug problem

By Scott Stewart



A quiet protest for peace: This man's message is that "In Juarez even dogs live in fear."

**M**exico's new president, Enrique Peña Nieto, takes office at a very interesting point in Mexican history. Mexico is experiencing an economic upturn that may become even more pronounced if Mr. Peña Nieto's Institutional Revolutionary Party administration is able to work with its rivals in the National Action Party to enact needed reforms to Mexico's labour, financial and energy laws.

Another arrestor to further expanding Mexico's economy has been the cartel violence in Mexico and the dampening effect it has had on outside investment and tourism. Mr. Peña Nieto realizes that Mexico's economy would be doing even better were it not for the chilling effect of the violence. During his campaign, he pledged to cut Mexico's murder rate in

half by the end of his six-year term, to increase the number of federal police officers and to create a new gendarmerie to use in place of military troops to combat heavily armed criminals in Mexico's most violent locations.

According to Mexico's *El Universal* newspaper, Mr. Peña Nieto is also proposing to eliminate the Secretariat of Public Security and consolidate its functions, including the federal police, under the Secretariat of the Interior. This move is intended to increase co-ordination of federal efforts against the cartels and to fight corruption. The federal police are under heavy scrutiny for the involvement of 19 officers in the Aug. 24 attack against a U.S. diplomatic vehicle in Tres Marias, Morelos state. This incident has long faded from attention in the United States, but the inves-

tigation into the attack has been front-page news in Mexico.

Of course, there are also commentators who note that Mr. Peña Nieto's election is a return to power for the Institutional Revolutionary Party, which held power in Mexico for 70 years prior to the election of Vicente Fox of the National Action Party in 2000, and Felipe Calderón in 2006. This narrative claims that Mr. Peña Nieto will quickly return to the Institutional Revolutionary Party policy of negotiating with, and accommodating, the cartel organizations, which will solve Mexico's violence problem.

Unfortunately for Mexico, neither law enforcement reforms nor a deal with the cartels will quickly end the violence. The nature of the Mexican drug cartels and the dynamic between them has changed con-





DREAMTIME

The Mexican military has a presence, even at cruise ship ports.



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The cocaine market has declined slightly but the use of prescription drugs such as oxycodone is up, creating a lucrative profit pool for the Mexican cartels.

siderably since Mr. Peña Nieto's party lost the presidency, and the same constraints that have faced his two most recent predecessors, Mr. Fox and Mr. Calderón, will also dictate his policy options as he attempts to reduce cartel violence.

As Stratfor chairman George Friedman noted about the U.S. presidential election, candidates frequently aspire to institute particular policies when elected, but once in office, presidents often find that their policy choices are heavily constrained by outside forces. This same concept holds true for the president of Mexico.

Mr. Fox and Mr. Calderón each came into office with plans to reform Mexico's law enforcement agencies, and yet each of those attempts has failed. Indeed, recent Mexican history is replete with police agencies dissolved or rolled into another agency due to charges of corruption. The Federal Investigative Agency, established in 2001 by the Fox administration, is a prime example of a "new" Mexican law enforcement agency that was established to fight — and subsequently dissolved because of — corruption. Mr. Peña Nieto's plans for law enforcement reform will be heavily constrained by this history — and by Mexican culture. Institutions tend to reflect the culture that surrounds them, and it is very difficult to establish an institution that is resistant to corruption if the culture surrounding the institution is not supportive of such efforts.

Another important constraint on the Peña Nieto administration is that the flow of narcotics from South America to the United States has changed over the past two decades. Due to enforcement efforts by the U.S. government, the routes through the Caribbean have been largely curtailed, shifting the flow increasingly toward Mexico. At the same time, the Colombian and U.S. authorities have made considerable headway in their campaign to dismantle the largest of the Colombian cartels. This has resulted in the Mexican cartels becoming increasingly powerful. In fact, Mexican cartels have expanded their power over the global cocaine trade and now control a good deal of cocaine trafficking to Europe and Australia.

While the Mexican cartels have always been involved in the smuggling of marijuana to the United States, in recent years they have also increased their involvement in the manufacturing of methamphetamine and black-tar heroin for U.S. sale while increasing their involvement in the trafficking of prescription medications such as oxycodone. While the cocaine

market in the United States has declined slightly in recent years, use of these other drugs has increased, creating a lucrative profit pool for the Mexican cartels. Unlike cocaine, which the Mexicans have to buy from South American producers, the Mexican cartels can exact greater profit margins from the narcotics they produce themselves.

This change in drug routes and the type of drugs moved means the smuggling routes through Mexico have become more lucrative than ever, and the increased value of these corridors has intensified the competition to control them. This inter-cartel competition has translated into significant violence, not only in cities that directly border on the United States, like Juarez or Nuevo Laredo, but also in port cities such as Veracruz and Acapulco and regional transportation hubs such as Guadalajara and Monterrey.

The nature of the Mexican cartels themselves has also changed. Gone are the days when a powerful individual such as Miguel Angel Felix Gallardo could preside over a single powerful organization such as the Guadalajara cartel that could control most of the drug trafficking through Mexico and resolve disputes between subordinate trafficking organizations. The post-Guadalajara cartel climate in Mexico has been one of vicious competition between competing cartels — competition that has become increasingly militarized as cartel groups recruited first, former police officers and then former special operations soldiers into their enforcer units. Today's Mexican cartels commonly engage in armed confrontations with rival cartels and the government, using military ordnance such as automatic weapons, hand grenades and rocket-propelled grenades.

It is also important to realize that government operations are not the main cause of violence in Mexico today. Rather, the primary cause of the death and mayhem in Mexico is cartel-on-cartel violence. The Calderón administration has been criticized for its policy of decapitating the cartel groups, which has in recent years resulted in the fragmenting of some cartels such as the Beltran Leyva Organization, La Familia Michoacana and the Gulf cartel — and thus an increase in intra-cartel violence. But such violence began in the 1990s, long before the decapitation strategy was implemented.

Because the struggle for control of lucrative smuggling routes is the primary driver for the violence, even if the Peña Nieto administration were to abandon

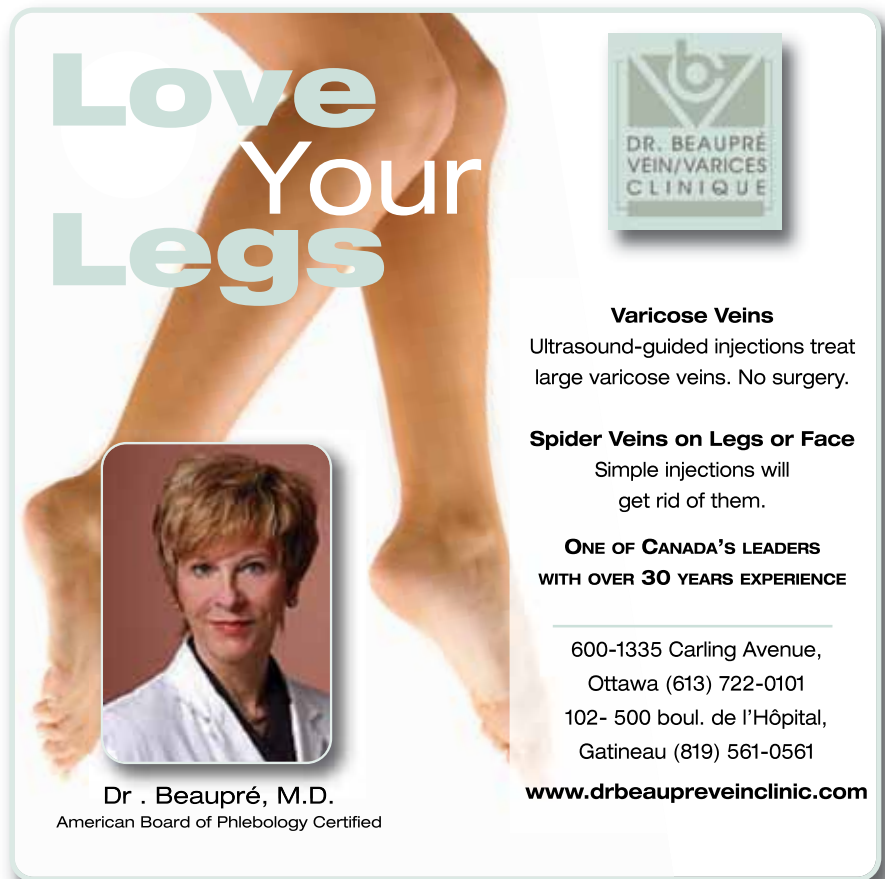
the decapitation strategy and order the Mexican military and federal police to stand down in their operations against the cartels, the war between the cartels would continue to rage in cities such as Monterrey, Nuevo Laredo, Guadalajara and Acapulco. Because of this, Mr. Peña Nieto will have little choice but to continue the use of the military against the cartels for the foreseeable future. The proposed gendarmerie will be able to shoulder some of that burden once it is created, but it will take years before enough paramilitary police officers are recruited and trained to replace the approximately 30,000 Mexican soldiers and marines currently dedicated to keeping the peace in Mexico's most violent areas.

One other way the cartels have changed is that many are now allied with local street gangs and pay their gang allies with product — meaning street-level sales and drug abuse are increasing in Mexico. Narcotics are no longer commodities that merely pass through Mexico on their way to plague the Americans. This increase in local distribution has brought with it a second tier of violence as street gangs fight over retail distribution turf in Mexican cities.

Finally, most of the cartels have branched out into other criminal endeavours, such as kidnapping, extortion, alien smuggling and cargo theft, in addition to narcotics smuggling. Los Zetas, for example, makes a considerable amount of money stealing oil from Mexico's state-run oil company and pirating CDs and DVDs. This change has been reflected in law enforcement acronyms. They are no longer referred to as DTOs — drug trafficking organizations — but rather TCOs — transnational criminal organizations.

With the changes in Mexico since the 1990s in terms of smuggling patterns, the types of drugs smuggled and the organizations smuggling them, it will be extremely difficult for the incoming administration to ignore their activities and adopt a hands-off approach. This means that Mr. Peña Nieto will not have the latitude to deviate very far from the policies of the Calderón administration.

Scott Stewart is vice-president of analysis for Stratfor Global Intelligence. This article is republished with permission of Stratfor. [www.stratfor.com/weekly/constraints-facing-next-mexican-president](http://www.stratfor.com/weekly/constraints-facing-next-mexican-president)



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# The world's most wanted

Wolfgang Depner lists the fugitives authorities would most like to apprehend and take to court.

**T**his list of the world's most wanted fugitives speaks of men who have employed their talents in the pursuit of criminal ends. There is the risk of upsetting some by giving a platform to people who seemingly deserve none, but such a response would deny the benefit of insights into the intricacy of human nature and the complexity of societies. The familiar tones of vanity, lust, greed, corruption, violence and religious fervour paint these portraits.

The list itself draws on a wide range of sources, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Interpol and the media, including the *Forbes'* list of the world's most wanted fugitives. It has also drawn on national most-wanted lists, the modern-day equivalents of the Wild West's Wanted or Wanted Dead or Alive signs.

Regionally and thematically diverse, the list acknowledges that these individuals garner disgust or fear or adulation. But whatever we might think of these men, their ambitions and their actions, to be so successful, they are dangerously effective in organizing and inspiring others, as foul and fleeting as their respective causes. Their presence on this list says as much.

## 1. Ayman al-Zawahiri (born June 19, 1951)

Be it catharsis, catastrophic despair or something in between, the death of Osama bin Laden at the hands of U.S. special forces triggered a wide range of reactions around the world two years ago.

Indeed, the recent release of Kathryn Bigelow's controversial *Zero Dark Thirty* has forced us to relive the entire emotional experience of the bin Laden era, from the collapse of the Twin Towers, arguably the apex of al-Qaeda's influence, to the apparent triumph of American arms. The eventual death of bin Laden's successor, Ayman al-Zawahiri — be it by remote-controlled drone or in some other manner — will likely trigger a much more muted reaction around the world. Bin Laden was not just the leader of al-Qaeda. He was a vessel for the revulsion or reverence of

# WANTED



**Ayman al-Zawahiri**

# \$25,000,000 REWARD

If bin Laden was the ideological leader of al-Qaeda, Ayman al-Zawahiri is its tactical leader. He remains at large.

millions, an icon to be smashed or honoured.

Zawahiri, however, underwhelms. Devoid of bin Laden's charisma and field experiences, he possesses a prickly personality that has antagonized subordinate leaders. Al-Qaeda's muddled messaging during the Arab Spring also speaks to the drift that has besieged the group. Yes, bin Laden was still in charge when youthful protesters toppled Egypt's Hosni Mubarek, one of Zawahiri's long-held ambitions dating back to his days with Egyptian Islamic Jihad. But if bin Laden was the ideological leader of al-Qaeda, Zawahiri was its tactical leader.

In this sense, he deserves a good deal of the blame for the absence of al-Qaeda

during the first few months of the Arab Spring. That said, Zawahiri is the guardian of al-Qaeda's institutional memory. A trained surgeon of great intellect and diverse interests, Zawahiri has already taken steps to make al-Qaeda relevant again. He has condemned the military intervention of France in Mali and, more important, sent money and troops into Syria, where the al-Qaeda-sponsored Nusra Front has arguably become the most effective group in the fight against Syrian President Bashar al-Assad.

The organizational mastermind behind 9/11 might not be able to pull off a similar attack any time soon, but his far-flung contacts, organizational skills and deep-seated hatred of the West more than justify

the \$25-million reward the United States has placed on his head.



## 2. Joaquín Guzmán (born Dec. 25, 1954)

More myth than man, Joaquín Guzmán is the Phantom of the Opiates, arguably the most notorious figure in Mexico's drug war, which has claimed 50,000 lives in the last five years (as of 2012).

Short of stature, schooling and scruples, Guzmán has survived more than three decades in the murderous underworld of the Mexican drug trade to become its undisputed ruler as head of the Sinaloa Cartel, historically the most important of the four major Mexican cartels. Its tentacles have strangled every part of Mexican society and are now reaching far beyond its shores. So Guzmán is no less a player in the world than its most important politicians and CEOs, a fact that has earned him multiple appearances on *Forbes'* Most Powerful People list, despite protests from the Mexican government.

Notwithstanding this critique, Guzmán deserves to be called a visionary, however dark, for his ability to anticipate new revenue streams and overcome obstacles. His cartel long ago broadened its palette of products and diversified its activities — many of which are perfectly legal. This acumen has earned a personal fortune of an estimated \$1 billion.

Adaptability has also characterized Guzmán's personal biography. During the 1990s, he stayed as a "guest" of the Mexican government at a maximum security prison, where his status earned him special favours: fine meals, drugs, prostitutes and so on. Tiring of such treatment, he escaped by hiding in a cart of dirty laundry. Or so the legend goes. Other parts of his personal life and his current hiding place are equally mysterious, if not subject to speculation. Rarely a week

passes without reports of Guzmán being seen in public. According to one account, he is hiding in the Mexican highlands. Guzmán (who recently fathered twins with a former model) has also developed a reputation for effective relief work and many Mexicans, including members of the elite, revere him. Does he really share his bed with a golden AK-47 as some say? Only his lady friends know for sure.



## 3. Dawood Ibrahim (born Dec. 27, 1955)

Long is the list of grievances that sour relations between India and Pakistan and Dawood Ibrahim being at large is near its very top. His syndicate, known as D-Company, stands accused of destabilizing the Indian government through acts of terrorism (including the 2008 Mumbai attacks) and New Delhi suspects that Islamabad has offered Ibrahim a safe sanctuary, a charge Pakistan has denied.

Recent events, however, have, shall we say, diminished the credibility of such denials. Indeed, U.S. officials claim Ibrahim had a working relationship with Osama bin Laden during the 1990s when D-Company supposedly shared smuggling routes with al-Qaeda. This symbiosis, if not kinship, has earned Ibrahim the requisite attention from Washington, which considers him one of the world's foremost terrorists.

He certainly ranks among the wealthiest criminals. D-Company (like so many other organizations of this sort) has diversified its activities and assets. They range from the shadowy worlds of drugs, prostitution and gambling through real estate to the garish glitz of Bollywood.

Details about Ibrahim (as with all of these men) are sparse. The son of a corrupt Indian constable, Ibrahim grew up in poverty with nine siblings. Few expected he would amount to anything. Yet Ibrahim has always shown an ability to seize

moments when they materialize. One occurred when he was just 20 years old. With Indian police cracking down on the established crime syndicates of Mumbai, Ibrahim filled the sudden vacuum by establishing his syndicate, which now reaches across the Indian sub continent into the Middle East and the United States. Ibrahim controls his far-flung operations with an iron fist, but also possesses a flamboyant touch, favouring designer suits and aviator shades.



## 4. Nasser al-Wuhayshi (born Oct. 1, 1976)

Timing is everything. U.S. President Barack Obama had taken his inaugural oath of office just days earlier when al-Qaeda released a video on Jan. 23, 2009, that showed four men. Two of them were former inmates of Guantanamo Bay, the controversial detention facility Obama was promising to close. The other two were Qassim al-Raymi and Nasser al-Wuhayshi, the men's leaders. The video — the very appearance of which reminded the world that al-Qaeda was still a force — had a rather corporate message. Al-Qaeda would merge its Saudi and Yemeni branches into a single unit: al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula.

Four years later, the group around Wuhayshi is still a long way from its goal of turning Saudi Arabia and its into a single theocratic state. Yet there is little doubt that Wuhayshi has emerged as a leading light within al-Qaeda following the elimination of Osama bin Laden, whom he served as personal secretary. Still, Wuhayshi appears to be an unlikely leadership figure. In sharp contrast to his former employer and fallen idol, Wuhayshi stands less than five feet tall with ordinary features. His video taped appearances lack a minimum level of animation, bordering on the catatonic. Yet his followers vener-



ate him, partly because of his knowledge of Koranic verses, partly because of his cunning and courage in the face of dangerous circumstances, such as the 2001 Battle of Tora Bora. While other *Mujahideen* ran, Wuhayshi remained at the side of bin Laden, earning his trust. Perhaps Wuhayshi's most persuasive trait is his ability to manipulate public opinion — or at least the opinions of those who matter in Yemen, a complex eco system of tribal loyalties, religious tensions and foreign interference.

Al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula frequently releases audio-visual material of good quality and publishes an online magazine whose slickness belies the ruggedness of Yemen, the poorest country in the Arab world whose deeply conservative Muslim population of 23 million possesses neither means nor inclination to surf the Internet. It does speak, though, to the ambition of Wuhayshi. His audience lives beyond Yemen, among the dispossessed and disaffected of the Muslim world, a vast reservoir of discontentment. While most of them reject Wuhayshi's approach, he may be just powerful enough to inspire the radical few in reviving the premier franchise of global terror.



## 5. Matteo Messina Denaro (born April 26, 1962)

Most of the men on this list possess a moniker, a nickname if you will, that says something about their past or personality. Denaro has not one, but two — Rolex and Diabolik. While the first acknowledges Denaro's taste for expensive time-keeping accessories, the second is more revealing.

It references an Italian comic character, a violent anti-hero whose viciousness only exceeds his ability to disguise himself. Denaro has displayed both of these traits

to the extreme as head of the Cosa Nostra, the best-known branch of the Italian mafia. The scion of a powerful Italian boss who joined the family business at an early age, Denaro supposedly killed his first victim at the age of 18. Italian officials now hold him responsible for at least 20 deaths. One contested account even accuses him of having strangled his pregnant girlfriend with his bare hands.

This level of brutality is, of course, only one of the reasons Denaro ranks among the most-sought criminals in the world. As head of the most notorious crime oligarchy, Denaro's bloody hands reach far beyond the shores of Sicily. This influence has also required a premium of personal security and safety. Denaro has been on the run since 1993, so images of him are rare. One shows a youthful punk with small lips and sharp features hiding behind dark glasses, another depicts a middle-aged man with a drooping, even defeated demeanour. Perhaps the most unusual image of Denaro is also the most indelible — a Warholian pop-art mural that propels Denaro into a perverse, mythical world in which vicious villains are cherished folk heroes. Denaro is indeed Diabolik incarnate.



## 6. Félicien Kabuga (born 1935)

It appeared as if the full force of the law had run its course on Dec. 20, 2012, when the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) sentenced Augustin Ntirabatware to 35 years in prison for his role in the Rwandan genocide. A former government minister, Ntirabatware was found guilty of genocide, direct and public incitement to commit genocide and rape as a crime against humanity. With this ruling, the ICTR completed its last trial case since its inception in 1994.

But this procedural milestone hardly

marks an end to the pursuit of Ntirabatware's father-in-law, Félicien Kabuga, Rwanda's most-wanted man. If Ntirabatware had a hand in the genocide by equipping Hutu militias with the machetes they eventually wielded against Tutsis, Kabuga supposedly paid for the same with his fortune, made in part through cash crops. On the run since 1994, Kabuga has reportedly sought sanctuary in several European and African countries, including Kenya, whose government stands accused of sheltering him and his business interests.

No less than then-U.S. senator Barack Obama levelled this charge, when he claimed the Kenyan government was "allowing him to purchase safe haven for a time and robbing all humanity of the opportunity to bring the criminal to justice" while visiting the birthplace of his father in 2006. Kenya, naturally, has denied this explosive charge. Kabuga is among nine at-large accused still wanted by the ICTR and its chief prosecutor, Justice Hassan B. Jallow, has vowed the tribunal will continue its work, even after its formal end. "(The) search for these fugitives will continue and will not cease until they are found and until they are brought to account," Jallow told Reuters. Good. Kabuga's personal freedom mocks his victims with privileged impunity.



## 7. Semion Mogilevich (born June 30, 1946)

With his bald head, thick neck and bulging girth, Simon Mogilevich practically caricatures the post-communist Russian mobster. But his beefy appearance belies the nimbleness of his mind. The man many have called the most dangerous gangster in Russia was born in Ukraine, where he completed a degree in economics, a feat that earned him his nickname: Brainy Don.

A self-confessed, instinctual capital-

ist, Mogilevich's criminal career reached an early climax in the 1970s when he was jailed twice for currency manipulations. While minor, these offences helped Mogilevich develop a large network of contacts, which he leverages to this very day in running his far-flung criminal enterprise. Spanning Russia, Ukraine, Central Europe, the United Kingdom, the United States and Israel, its activities include prostitution, money laundering and drugs. Mogilevich's reach also extends into the world of politics, where reports have linked him to the illegal trading of oil, arms and nuclear material.

Mogilevich's criminal reputation among North Americans rests on his role in a fraudulent stock scheme that robbed American and Canadian investors of some \$150 million in the mid-1990s. Russian officials actually arrested Mogilevich on unrelated tax evasion charges in 2008, but released him in 2009 because the charges were "not of a particularly grave nature so investigators had no particular reason to keep (him) imprisoned," according to a Russian government official. American efforts to extradite Mogilevich have so far fallen short, because the Russian constitution prevents Moscow from extraditing citizens.

Mogilevich, for his part, continues to live unbothered in Russia. His sheltered existence deftly demonstrates the corrupt symbiosis between politics and crime that eats away at Russian society. If Russia were truly committed to the rule of law, if it were truly interested in improved relations with the western world generally and the United States specifically, it would move heaven and earth to find some technicality to apprehend Mogilevich. Alas, he remains a free man, living comfortably in the shadow of a corrupt regime, which sees the line between the legal and the illegal as a fluid suggestion.

## 8. Chang An-lo (born 1948)

Former Communist Chinese president Hu Jintao could not have chosen clearer words for his farewell address last November. Speaking at the opening of the 18th Communist Party Congress, he warned his comrades about the cancer of corruption. "If we fail to handle this issue well, it could prove fatal to the party, and even cause the collapse of the party and the fall of the state," Hu said. Indeed. But it is not very likely that Communist

China will be able to combat corruption in any meaningful manner, as long as its officials continue to coddle figures such as Chang An-lo, one of the most powerful Asian crime lords. Chang currently counts himself as a fugitive from Taiwanese law for his former leadership role in the Bamboo Union Gang, the largest of



**BUT IT IS NOT VERY LIKELY THAT COMMUNIST CHINA WILL BE ABLE TO COMBAT CORRUPTION IN ANY MEANINGFUL MANNER, AS LONG AS ITS OFFICIALS CONTINUE TO CODDLE FIGURES SUCH AS CHANG AN-LO, ONE OF THE MOST POWERFUL ASIAN CRIME LORDS.**

the three Taiwanese triads, a mafia-like organization that claims 15,000 members. His alleged place of exile? Shenzhen in Guangdong province, just north of Hong Kong, where he has been seen sharing sumptuous meals with senior Communist officials, while supervising operations outside and inside the region. While this activity has not gone unnoticed, "Big Brother Chang" remains a popular figure with the political leadership in Beijing because of his politics.

Born in Nanjing, Chang favours Taiwan's reunification with China. He is even willing to lend a hand. In his spare time, he has apparently designed a logo that combines the respective flags of the two rivals. "One country, two systems is a great idea," Chang told the *Washington Post*. "It is the way forward for Taiwan." This long-term perspective however assumes that the Communist system will survive in its current form and people such as the White Wolf (as Chang is known) are doing plenty to undermine it through the very sort of corruption Hu Jintao has lamented.



## 9. Isnilon Totoni Hapilon (born March 18, 1966)

"Is Southeast Asia the Second Front?" *Foreign Affairs* asked this question in the summer of 2002 after Washington had sent 600 troops into the southern Philippines on the false premise that this highly unstable and inaccessible region centred on the Island of Mindanao could attract al-Qaeda and its allies. Notwithstanding this questionable deployment, developments elsewhere eventually relegated the Philippines to a secondary theatre in the "War on Terror" — if it ever truly was one.

Groups such as the leading Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MNLF) were largely fighting for independence from Manila, not for a global caliphate centered on Mecca. This, however, should not blind us to the fact that this conflict has claimed 150,000 lives over four decades. Exhausted, both sides recently signed a framework agreement that grants Mindanao a good measure of political autonomy. This said, not all Islamist insurgents are prepared to put down their arms.

One such group is Abu Sayyaf, under the leadership of Isnilon Totoni Hapilon. A trained engineer, Hapilon is one of Abu Sayyaf's founders. The group, which references an Islamist scholar who fought the Soviets in Afghanistan, first made major international headlines in 2000 when it abducted and held several foreigners for ransom, its primary source of revenue. (The group has also apparently received funding from al-Qaeda.) Far more radical than the relatively tolerant MNLF from which it split, Abu Sayyaf staged several deadly attacks on civilian targets throughout the region during the 2000s. This activity eventually encouraged the aforementioned deployment of American troops in the region. The group — which claims up to 400 members — remains active, but has suffered setbacks. Hapilon, for his part, has apparently suffered a stroke.





## 10. Adam Yahiyeh Gadahn (born Sept 1, 1978)

The personal story of “Azzam the American” mirrors, in many ways, some of the broader themes of our millennial era. They include the search for some form of certainty in an age of cultural diversity that is bound to cause confusion; the asymmetrical struggle of the Muslim world (or corners thereof) against the perceived ills of western modernity as symbolized by the United States; and the powerful influence of the media.

Born in Oregon as Adam Pearlman, Gadahn received a Christian home-school education on an isolated goat farm in California, from parents with religious roots in Christianity and Judaism, including Zionism. Outside his studies, Gadahn played baseball and death metal music, hardly unusual passions for a teenager. Yet he also complained about a spiritual emptiness, a condition that eventually led him into the charge of Islamic fundamentalists, first in the United States, then in Pakistan, where his sympathies soon swung toward the Jihadist cause.

Gadahn produced videos for Osama bin Laden — as a committed and competent comrade-in-arms whose familiarity with American culture and mass media allowed al-Qaeda to cater its appeals towards American audiences, appropriate accent included. He has called on Muslims to carry out attacks in Detroit, London and Paris. Incitement by Gadahn, the first American wanted for treason since the aftermath of the Second World War, continues. On June 4, 2011, he urged American Muslims to buy weapons at gun shows to carry out lone-wolf attacks. Speaking amid clips of bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri, he also included logos of Exxon, Merrill Lynch and Bank of America as exemplary targets. And on Sept. 11, 2012, Gadahn appeared in a video to celebrate the 11th anniversary of

the 9/11 attacks.

Samuel Huntington’s theory about clashing civilizations had an epic scope. The journey of Gadahn, now the first American wanted for treason since the aftermath of the Second World War, suggests the scale of this conflict is far more personal and private.

### CANADIAN FUGITIVES

#### Omid Tahvili



Born in Tehran, Tahvili’s criminal career began early in life and reached a climax in 2008 when he cracked *Forbes’* list of the Top 10 Most Wanted Criminals for his illegal activities, which have

ranged from mail fraud, wire fraud and telemarketing fraud to drugs. Tahvili — who apparently arrived in Canada in 1994 — is also known as the “Tony Soprano of Vancouver” for his leadership in the Iranian-Canadian mafia. On Nov. 15, 2007, Tahvili escaped from a British Columbia prison, where he had been in custody since July 2005 on an unrelated kidnapping and assault charge. Dressed as a janitor, he received help from prison guard Edwin Ticne, who was offered a \$50,000 bribe. The guard subsequently received a prison sentence of three years and three months in 2008. According to B.C. Corrections, it was the first time in the history of the organization that a guard has been charged with helping an inmate escape. Tahvilin remains at large and may have fled to Germany or his native Iran.

#### Maiwand Yar



A former student of mechanical engineering at the University of Manitoba, Maiwand Yar is currently wanted for participating in the activity of a terrorist group and conspiracy to participate in the activity of a terrorist group. This rather formal wording alludes to Yar’s alleged involvement with the Taliban and al-Qaeda, groups with which he has apparently spent time. According to the RCMP, he and fellow Winnipegger, Ferid Ahmed Imam, left Canada for Pakistan in 2007.

#### Ferid Ahmed Imam

Like his alleged Taliban comrade Maiwand Yar, Imam studied at the University

of Manitoba. Said to be a well-liked member of the community with no criminal record, Imam eventually left Canada in 2007 for Pakistan, where he trained would-be



terrorists at a camp linked to al-Qaeda. According to the RCMP, he was last seen in the town of Miran Shah, Pakistan. He is not out, however, out of the public spotlight.

Imam stands accused of training Adis Medunjanin, a would-be suicide bomber who was born in Bosnia and grew up in Queen’s, New York. He was recently sentenced to life for his role in the plot to stage suicide attacks in 2009 in the subways of New York.

#### Salman An-noor Hossain



A former student at the University of Toronto in Mississauga, Hossain fled the country after Ontario Provincial Police charged him with two counts of advocating genocide and three counts of promoting

hatred in 2010. Police believe he is hiding in Uganda or his native Bangladesh. The charges against him relate to a website that called for the mass execution of Canadian Jews. The site accused Israel’s Mossad of creating terrorist groups, such as the Toronto 18, in an attempt to discredit Muslims. Hossain is also alleged to have blogged that “he would cheer the death of Canadian soldiers in Afghanistan.”

#### Jean Judes Faucher



Known as “le Flo,” Faucher appears on Interpol’s list of fugitives for drug-related and international crimes stemming from his long-time involvement with the Quebec Chapter of the Hell’s Angels. Po-

lice are looking for Faucher under the auspices of the SharQc (Stratégie Hells Angels Région Québec) Operation that aims to destabilize Quebec’s Hells Angels criminal actions. While RCMP and Quebec provincial police have been able to make some high-profile arrests over the course of the program, several of the higher-ranking chapter members remain at large.

Wolfgang Depner is a doctoral candidate at the University of British Columbia-Okanagan.

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# His Excellency, Gordon Campbell

Meet Canada's top diplomat in his London office in historic Grosvenor Square.



JIM ROSS

Canada's high commissioner to Britain, Gordon Campbell, re-creates the Beatles' famous Abbey Road photo.

In 2011, after a decade in the position, Gordon Campbell resigned as the Liberal premier of British Columbia. His departure followed a stunning loss of popularity resulting from his government's introduction of the harmonized sales tax (HST). But he was ending on a high note as well — a very high one indeed. The Winter Olympics, held in Vancouver and Whistler in February 2010, were innovative in their organization, and were executed with few of the major problems, and none of the big scandals, that so often plague Olympiads. They brought Mr. Campbell praise and respect. Even the British press, so skeptical, not to say insulting, at the outset, changed its

collective mind. In June 2011, Mr. Campbell was appointed Canada's high commissioner in London. *Diplomat* books editor George Fetherling recently interviewed him there, at his office in Grosvenor Square. Edited excerpts of the conversation follow.

**George Fetherling:** Prime Minister David Cameron's announcement that his government, assuming it wins the election in 2015, will hold a referendum on Britain's role in the European Union was a startling one in many quarters. What was the extent of Canada's foreknowledge of it?

**Gordon Campbell:** [The idea had] been a subject of ongoing discussion for some

time in the United Kingdom, and certainly we anticipated there would be a referendum call from Mr. Cameron and the Conservative Party. How the Labour Party or the Liberal Democratic Party would respond was another issue. I think he crafted a very good balance by saying that he wanted to be in the European Union, that there were certainly benefits, but that he wished the British people to have a say in what the role would be. There wasn't too much that was unexpected in his speech. I think the British need to have a discussion of the challenges they face in the European Union and the benefits they enjoy as part of the



JIM ROSS

High Commissioner Campbell says the British people need to have a “fulsome” discussion about the pros and cons of European Union membership, which will be the subject of a referendum if Prime Minister David Cameron wins the 2015 election.

European Union. It’s important that it be a fulsome discussion. None of these decisions is without consequences. Europe itself is evolving right now, going through a significant transition phase. I think he’s saying “We’re going to protect the City and our other strengths.” In a federated union such as this, it’s important that no member thinks it’s giving up what’s most important to its own well-being in order to satisfy the group.

**GF:** Taken as a whole, yet giving full weight to the exceptions, the EU’s economy has been precarious for a long time. How would a dramatic further worsening of its prospects affect Canada?

**GC:** Hard to say. What we know right now is that Europe is going to stay together. They’re struggling with how to maintain their focus. But there are challenges [to all of us] in how things fit together as we go through this very significant period of change. Since 2008, there have been substantial changes, but there were changes going on way before 2008 that are coming to the fore.

It’s common parlance to talk about emerging markets, but typically what we mean by “emerging markets” is markets

that have already emerged and are having an enormous impact on the global economy. You can’t suggest that India doesn’t have a huge impact on the world economy or that China doesn’t or that the ASEAN countries don’t. It’s a big shift away from a Eurocentric — or Atlantic-centric — world.

In British Columbia, I talked constantly about how the world had shifted to the Pacific. There’s a tendency for us to look at all the old-world structures and suddenly say they’re in a state of flux. They were always in a state of flux. Now we have all this uncertainty. For example, is there going to be a two-tier euro or a three-tier euro or a north euro and a south euro? The challenge is knowing how to deal with such big questions in open, democratic societies.

**GF:** One hears less than one might expect concerning Canada’s role in helping to forge a Canada-EU free trade deal: the Canadian-European Economic Trade Agreement, or CETA. One does, however, hear conflicting indications from the Harper government about the possible timetable. The so-called Doha round of talks that began in 2001 seems to have

been stalled since 2008.

**GC:** I’m not sure the Doha talks are going to pick up momentum, but the CETA between [Canada the entire EU as a whole, with the U.K. as part of the package] is one of the most ambitious trade agreements that either side has done. It’s part of the new world, part of recognizing how much a bigger flow of people, goods and services can actually add to the various economies. So, in Canada, we’re expecting significant additional economic benefits, with thousands of new jobs and an economic lift.

If a country like Canada, so vast and so rich in human as well as natural resources, doesn’t have an open trade agreement, then our quality of life is gradually reduced. An example: B.C. itself can consume the production of only one of its many sawmills; it’s only by Canada’s being the world’s biggest exporter of softwood lumber that we maximize the benefits of our forests. Our country’s mineral and energy resources are in demand all over the world. Europe is a \$17-trillion marketplace. This trade agreement will be very positive for Canada and for Europe. And, of course, we’re looking to open up trade with the Transpacific Trade Partnership as well.





Wolfe and Montcalm flank an entrance to the historic "High Commissioner's Room."

As we move forward, the U.S. will be watching what's taking place. Of course there's been a net shrinkage in [global] trade as we went through 2008, 2009 and even into 2010. But as I look out at the square there [he points to the window] and at the American Embassy across from us, I see the trees. Right now they're interesting natural sculptures. When spring comes, the leaves will begin to sprout and there will be different colours, and in the summertime, we'll have a wonderful shaded area. That's [a symbol of] the U.S.-U.K. relationship. But the roots under the ground — that's the Canada-U.K. relationship. We're their third-largest investor, they're our third-largest investor. This relationship will continue to grow. There's real interest here in Canadian enterprise.

**GF:** What about the Commonwealth? Many of the countries in the group are, of course, minor economic players, yet annual trade among members is \$4 trillion. And whatever happened to the quaintly named Eminent Persons Group, which some of the members established in 2009 with a view toward improving the status of the Commonwealth and their own individual places within it?

**GC:** The Eminent Persons Group reported out, as they say, at a Commonwealth heads-of-government meeting. The overwhelming majority of their recommendations were accepted, and a new Commonwealth charter was written and signed very late in 2012. Canada is

actively involved in the Commonwealth including Commonwealth reform and revitalization. You have to recognize that one of the strengths of the Commonwealth is the variety of the membership. It goes from India to St. Lucia, to take two extremes. Uniformity is not the strength. We must look for the areas where we'll find agreement rather than disagreement. If you don't do that, you typically discover, in today's world, that you run out of resources before you run out of agreement.

Part of the glue that holds us together is Her Majesty and her commitment to democratic reform, human rights and the rule of law — as a foundation for economic and social development as we go forward. But there are different approaches in different parts of the Commonwealth, different approaches, such as those between the Caribbean and the South Pacific, for example, or between New Zealand and Singapore, say. I think that, potentially, the Commonwealth has a very strong role to play. Consider that we have the Rwandans asking to be a part of the Commonwealth because they see the principles on which we stand as ones on which they wish to stand as well [Rwanda joined the Commonwealth in 2009, one of only two member countries that do not have historic ties with the U.K.]

I think the Commonwealth is still an important force in the world, and Canada is both an active and engaged member, though I'm not sure that Canadians look



This plaque explains the building's history.

on the Commonwealth in the same way as they used to. Senator [Hugh] Segal, who is our special envoy for the Commonwealth, is a very articulate spokesman for Canada's place in the organization. I hope we can have more discussion of the Commonwealth in Canada because it's a way for us to have a positive impact on, literally, hundreds of millions of people around the world. Yet the Commonwealth has a limited budget and we have to consider how we can use it to do the most good for most of the people most of the time.

**GF:** As you know, a large segment of the Canadian population is more than comfortable with — even delighted with — the country's rising militarism, while another big portion mourns — perhaps even grieves over — the end of the era when our military focus was on peacekeeping. How important, or dangerous, is this division?

**GC:** Canada-U.K. security agreements form a very strong partnership, and Canada is an important player in security and an advocate in protecting human rights and democratic governments around the world and for helping various groups, as in Syria right now. We have to remember that when we were peacekeepers we were also putting our people in harm's way. We've been in very difficult places, and our forces do Canada proud across the board. You can talk about Canadians in Afghanistan, but consider this: Are there vexing problems there? Sure there

are. But there are individuals there whose lives have completely changed because of the interaction they've had with Canadians on the ground. We are international participants who stand on principle and do so in partnership with such countries as the United Kingdom, the United States, France and others.

**GF:** Canadian artists of all kinds, more and more of them each year, are acknowledged throughout the world and recognized as Canadians. But Canada has never had an equivalent of the British Council, the Alliance Française or the Japan Foundation: a not-quite-arm's-length institution for the purpose of promoting Canadian culture and Canadian values overseas. In recent years, there have actually been severe cuts in such individual programs as did exist for something like this purpose. Why doesn't Canada do more cultural outreach, what I sometimes like to call "cultural peacekeeping"?

**GC:** During the London Olympics there were 24,000 people coming through Canada House for sports and cultural activities. The first major event I went to as a diplomat was a show of the Group of Seven at the Dulwich Picture Gallery — pictures that hadn't been here for 95 years, a phenomenal show, hugely successful; people loved it. Now there's talk of a big Emily Carr exhibition. The other night at Canada House, we had a great evening with Margaret Atwood speaking to maybe 300 people. Then we had Michael Ondaatje come in. The ballet is coming in the spring. So we're looking at ways of doing such things and making a place where [the artists] can be identified as Canadian. As high commissioner here, I'd like us to be [culturally] assertive, but not aggressive; confident, but not cocky. We're Canadians. I used to be an elected official, as you know. [Smiles shyly.] When you're elected there's no end of people who come to you and say, "With my brains and the government's money we can do great things." [Laughs.] I think we should go to the artists and say, "What can we do for you?" I think that our culture defines us.

**GF:** So, in effect, the Canadian government isn't sending Canadian culture out into the world so much as it is asking the world to come see for themselves, at such places as Canada House in Trafalgar Square — which a previous government seriously considered selling off.

**GC:** Roy MacLaren, who was high com-



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missioner in the late '90s, is really the one [who prevented Canada House from being closed]. He did everyone a great service. Canada House is the best diplomatic address in the world, right in the heart of one of the great international cities, perhaps the greatest. It's a fabulous piece of real estate but, more importantly, it's a place that Canadians think of as home. I can't tell you the number of times I've had Canadians tell me, "Oh, I met my future husband there!" It's "Canada House" this and "Canada House" that. Its presence, its proximity to Whitehall and Westminster, are exceptional. It's across from the National Gallery and at the other end of the street is Buckingham Palace. It's the second-oldest property in Trafalgar Square, after St. Martin-in-the-Field. It's a huge asset that you couldn't put a price on.

**GF:** Since the earliest days of the American republic, the most important U.S. diplomatic posting has been that of ambassador to the Court of St. James's. For at least a century and probably much longer, the most important posting in the foreign office in Whitehall has been the position of British ambassador in Washington. Thus, Canada makes up the third side of a great diplomatic triangle. But because the triangle is an isosceles one rather than an equilateral, many people who should know better have only a

foggy idea of what Canada's high commissioner in London actually does. On an imaginary pie chart, how do you divide your time?

**GC:** It's probably easier for me to think of an ordinary week or month. We try to have an ongoing, consistent voice on Europe. We work on things that raise Canada's head. We're about to take on the chair of the Arctic Council, for example. I would say that about 50 percent of my time concerns commercial partnerships, investments, those sorts of things. Then, obviously, there are international [political] issues that show up; I'm occasionally part of those. Then there's welcoming Canadians. One of the things I say to people is: "You're already paying my salary, you might as well tell me what to do." We have an immense network of Canadians living throughout the United Kingdom. Many, many young people.

When I became high commissioner, I thought I'd lie low for a while and learn how things fit together. After a couple of months, I thought: "I know what I want to do. I want Canada to be out there, to be more recognizable." Later, I learned that every high commissioner who's ever been here has said exactly the same thing!

George Fetherling's book, *The Writing Life: Journals 1975-2005*, was published in April by McGill-Queen's University Press.



# How Salada Tea built Canada House

By George Fetherling



DAIT

Canada House, situated on the west side of Trafalgar Square, is one of London's most prestigious addresses. It will be renovated with the proceeds from the sale of Macdonald House. The latter houses offices and also the residence of the high commissioner.

**F**or the first 50 years or so, Canada conducted its diplomatic, consular and trade affairs in London from a variety of rented addresses ranging from the Strand to Charing Cross Road. In the 1920s, however, prime minister Mackenzie King launched a plan to consolidate

all such functions under one roof, and sent High Commissioner Peter Larkin to carry out the task. Larkin, nearly 70, had made himself stupendously rich as the founder of the Salada Tea Company and had given financial support not only to the Liberal Party, but to Mackenzie King

personally.

His pockets stuffed with money, Larkin engineered the purchase of a century-old building in Trafalgar Square whose architect had also designed the British Museum. Before the structure became Canada House, one part of it was being used as

a private gentlemen's club, whose early members had included the Duke of Wellington. (The remaining portion, which served as the home of the Royal College of Physicians, was acquired much later in a separate transaction.) Restored, reconfigured and polished for the official opening by King George V and Queen Mary in 1925, Canada House was a showplace as well as a workplace.

Using his own funds, Larkin furnished the building top to bottom to the great benefit of high-end antique and art dealers in Bond Street. One bit of furniture was a cabinet with many drawers and, on its top, an elaborate mosaic of the type known as *pieta dura*, dating from the Renaissance. The piece seemed to have disappeared when High Commissioner Roy MacLaren, the author of *Commissions High: Canada in London, 1870-1971* and other historical works, arrived to take up his duties 17 years ago. He finally tracked it down to the bedroom of the naval attaché's teenage son, who had been using it for his socks and underwear. Gentle cleaning by conservators from the Victoria and Albert Museum revealed that the cabinet was once owned by a member of the Medici family. It is valued at hundreds of thousands of dollars and is now in safe storage.

The dynamic of Canada House changed when the government once again required more space and found an additional (not a replacement) home in Grosvenor Square. For years, the phrase "Grosvenor Square" has been a metonym for the U.S. Embassy there, in the same way that "Bay Street," for instance, is a metonym for the Toronto Stock Exchange. From 1938 to 1940, Joseph P. Kennedy Sr. was the first American ambassador to reside there (accompanied some of the time by his son Jack, the future U.S. president). During the Second World War, when Vincent Massey occupied the enormous High Commissioner's Room at Canada House — a room that Charles Ritchie (who served from 1967-71) once compared to Benito Mussolini's office — Grosvenor Square acquired even more of an American presence. Gen. Dwight Eisenhower's headquarters were there; so was the U.S. Navy's European operations centre.

In 1960, the United States built a far larger and more demonstrative embassy on the other side of the square, recognizable at a great distance because of its gilded aluminum eagle with a wingspan of more than 11 metres, not to mention the



JIM ROSS

Prime minister William Lyon Mackenzie King called Canada House, shown under the protection of Mounties here, "the finest site in London and, being in London, the finest in the world."



JIM ROSS

High Commissioner Gordon Campbell and his wife, Nancy, stand with Gov. Gen. David Johnston and his wife, Sharon, in front of a portrait by Paul Glen, given to the Queen on her diamond jubilee in 2012.





JIM ROSS

Canada House has been renovated and restored to its present “dignified opulence, with its grand staircase, enormous crystal chandeliers and all the rest.”



JIM ROSS

nearby statue of president Ronald Reagan. Because of growing security concerns, the U.S. announced in 2008 that it will be abandoning Grosvenor Square altogether and constructing a new, even more heavily defended embassy on the South Bank of the Thames.

When the Americans moved to the embassy that's still in use now, Canada bought the previous property, designated Nos. 1 to 3 Grosvenor Square. It was virtually gutted and, in 1961, christened Macdonald House, in honour of Sir John A.

Part of it is the official residence of the high commissioner and isn't seen by the public. The rest of it, behind the graceful 1930s faux-Georgian façade, is much like any other federal government office, with telephones ringing and people going swiftly from room to room and floor to floor, carrying armfuls of documents. Presumably, the activity must be at least a little less frantic than it was in 2010-2012. That's when, post-Vancouver Olympics, the consular and notarial duties carried out at Canada House were moved temporarily to Macdonald House so that the Trafalgar Square property — which Mackenzie King called “the finest site in London, and being in London, the finest in the world” — was renovated and restored to its present dignified opulence, with its grand staircase (it really is grand), enormous crystal chandeliers and all the rest.

The latest twist in the story of Canada's London real estate became public during Question Period on Feb. 8 this year. John Dechert, the parliamentary secretary to Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird announced that Macdonald House (worth an estimated \$500 million) will be sold and the proceeds used to renovate Canada House and to buy an adjacent building for about \$100 million to create office space for the high commission's staff. So, once again, all Canada's business will be consolidated, neatly and permanently, in one location. The timetable for the move isn't yet clear. The newly added property, built in 1929, was originally the office of Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada. Later, during the Second World War, it was Canadian army headquarters in London.

At the moment, Canada House and Macdonald House combined employ approximately 250 people, both Canadian and British citizens. The latest realignment, when it comes, probably won't change that figure.

— GF

# Canada's 26 men and one woman in London



ALL PHOTOS: CANADIAN HIGH COMMISSION LONDON

High Commissioner Norman Robertson, left, joined Mackenzie King when the prime minister was attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in 1944.

Canada didn't leap to send a diplomat to Britain immediately following Confederation. After all, communicating with Ottawa and London on matters affecting the new Dominion was the job of the governor general. But in 1869, Sir John A. Macdonald picked Sir John Rose, a Montreal banker and railway magnate, to be, not an orthodox diplomat, but what his new hosts tactfully called "a Gentleman enjoying the confidence of the Canadian Government." Later, he was given the title "financial commissioner." As was common among diplomats in the 19th Century, he conducted his own private and highly profitable dealings while also negotiating various agreements and promoting emigration. So skilled was he

at insinuating himself into British society that he became the financial adviser to the Prince of Wales (the eventual Edward VII).

By 1880, both countries felt their relationship needed to be put on a more sophisticated footing, and Macdonald appointed Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt, another railway man and one of Macdonald's fellow Fathers of Confederation, to run his London-based diplomatic commission. There arose the question of what the new institution should be called. As Canada wasn't a foreign country, "embassy" was out of the question, as was "legation." The two sides came up the more familial-sounding "high commission" and the other dominions followed suit: New Zealand in 1905, Australia in 1910, and

South Africa in 1911.

One result of the Great War (1914-18) was that many such states, having fought beside the Mother Country, grew increasingly nationalistic and demanded greater say in their own international relations. The Balfour Declaration of 1926 established, among other things, that governors general were not representing the British government, but rather the monarch. This led Britain to start appointing high commissioners of its own — to Canada in 1928, South Africa in 1930, Australia in 1930, New Zealand in 1936. Since 1938, when South Africa sent a high commissioner of its own to Canada, such diplomatic reciprocity has prevailed in many, but not all, the countries of the Common-





As was common among diplomats in the 19th Century, Sir John Rose conducted his own private and highly profitable dealings while also negotiating various agreements and promoting emigration.



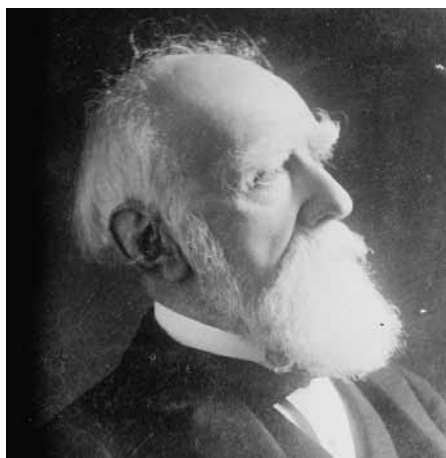
Montreal banker and railway magnate Sir John Rose was chosen by John A. Macdonald to represent Canada in London, first with no title and later as "financial commissioner."

wealth, which now has 54 members.

Canada has had between 26 and 28 high commissioners in London, depending on how you count one who was "acting," but never confirmed and another, Norman Robertson, who held the position twice. Some, such as Robertson and Charles Ritchie, were career foreign service officers; diplomacy was their profession. Most high commissioners, however, have been former federal or provincial politicians, though not always members of the same party as the prime ministers who selected them. Paul Martin Sr. (served 1974-79) is an instance of one drawn from the national stage; Roy McMurtry of Ontario (1985-88) an example of one from the provincial. To a remarkable degree, all of them faced many of the same hurdles, though that's not to deny that times changed.

Early commissioners were often busy convincing rich individuals to help finance construction of Canada's railways and enticing poor ones to fill up the immense areas of the Prairies and West that the railways had made accessible. (Galt, to his credit, arranged for the arrival of thousands of Jews from Russia where they were miserably mistreated.) Trade matters were the other abiding concern. What Canada had to sell, other than hard

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Donald Smith, the driver of the CPR's last spike, was high commissioner from 1896 to 1914.

commodities, was food. For generations, however, Britain banned the importation of, for example, Canadian beef, a fact that led Galt's successor, Sir Charles Tupper (1883-96), a financier and former cabinet minister, to fight back in an unusual fashion. When the British denied entry to yet another herd of Canadian cattle, claiming the creatures were diseased, Tupper, who was an MD as well as an MP, personally and publicly autopsied some of the animals to prove that they carried no pathogens. (Brilliant publicity, but the dispute remained unresolved for several more years.)

The length of the high commissioners' tenures varies considerably; one recent holder of the office, Jeremy Kinsman, a career diplomat, presided only from 2000 to 2002. Far and away the longest-serving was the redoubtable Donald Smith, the driver of the CPR's Last Spike. He started out as a Hudson's Bay Company fur trader and became a capitalist extraordinaire. "It was a great advantage to have a rich man in the post," a biographer wrote when Sir Donald, as he then was, became commissioner in 1896 (two years before being elevated to the peerage as Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal). He was the staunchest of imperialists, fearsome-looking and close-mouthed, without Tupper's subtlety or flair. Instead, he had longevity, professionally and literally. Born the year George III died, he lived to the eve of the First World War. In the last period of his life, back in his Montreal mansion, he entertained, by his own count, 21 earls, half a dozen viscounts, eight dukes, seven marquises, a royal prince and princess and one future king and queen. His fellow barons were evidently too numerous or humble to tabulate.

The names of some high commissioners



Sir Charles Tupper, a financier and former cabinet minister, was also a medical doctor and when the British denied entry to Canadian cattle under his watch, claiming they were diseased, Tupper himself autopsied some of the animals to prove them free of pathogens.



Queen Mary, Peter Larkin and King George at the opening of Canada House, 1925.





Princess Elizabeth and Prince Philip in Canada House, 1951.

of recent years will stir an assortment of memories. The late Jean Casselman Wadds (1980-83) was only the third woman to be elected to the House of Commons and remains Canada's only female high commissioner to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, to use the formal job title. Her successor, the late Donald Jamieson (1983-85), was a Newfoundland broadcaster. He served in Pierre Trudeau's cabinet — as did Donald Stovel Macdonald (1988-91), Liberal MP for Rosedale. Fredrik Stefan Eaton (1991-94) was the president, chairman and CEO of the soon-to-be-bankrupt T. Eaton & Co., the firm founded by his great-grandfather. He preceded the late Royce Frith (1994-96), another Trudeau-era Liberal, renowned for his charm and bonhomie, who became high commissioner after his time as minority leader of the Senate. Mel Cappe was a diplomatic professional with wide experience who served in London from 2002-06 and is now the CEO of the Canadian Institute for Research on Public Policy. His place was assumed by James R. Wright (2006-11), diplomat and civil servant — the predecessor of the current high commissioner, Gordon Campbell.

— GF

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# The war of 1812: A native hero named Norton

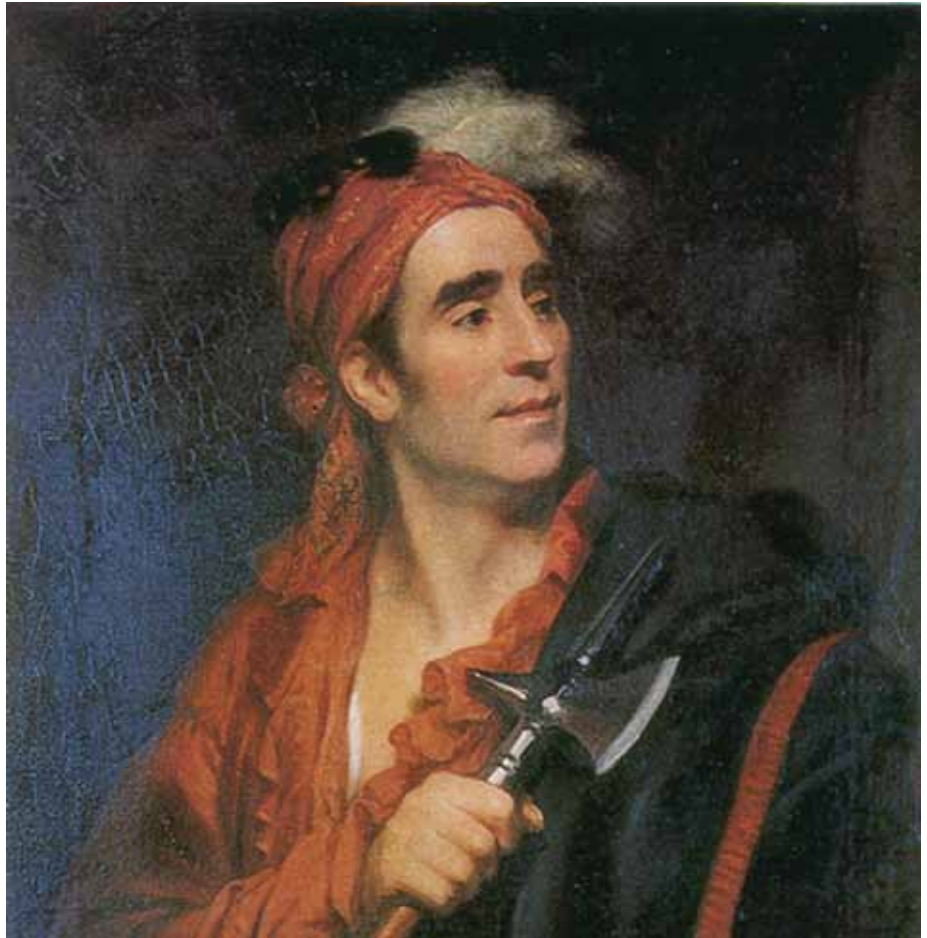
By Anthony Wilson-Smith

Canada is a country so vast that too often, it seems, our history is lost inside our geography. A striking example is our country's First Nations, whose long, rich history is well-preserved by them, but seldom gets the same attention on a broader scale, even when their stories affect us all.

Consider Mohawk chief John Norton's role in the pivotal Battle of Queenston Heights during the War of 1812. As we prepare for National Aboriginal Month in June and National Aboriginal Day on June 21, it is a particularly appropriate time to do so. It is also why the Historica-Dominion Institute has prepared a new Heritage Minute for release in June commemorating the heroism of Norton and other First Nations warriors. Without the efforts of Norton and about 80 Grand River warriors in repelling more than 1,000 American soldiers, the battle might have been lost, and the tide of war turned.

Norton was, by any measure, unique. Born in Scotland around 1760 to a Scottish mother and Cherokee father taken from North America by British soldiers, he enlisted with the British army in 1784, was posted to North America in 1785, and deserted the army two years later while serving in Niagara (he was later pardoned and received an official discharge). He became involved with the Six Nations of Grand River, and learned the Mohawk language and culture under its chief, Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), who adopted him as his nephew. That gave Norton the status of chief, and the name "Teyoninhokarawen," which in Mohawk means "open door." Despite his desertion, he kept close contact with the British, remained a devout Anglican, and was considered an ally by the administration.

With the outbreak of war, Norton (now in his early 50s) was made a captain by the British, and began recruiting Grand River Mohawk and others to fight. They had a reputation as fierce warriors and soon had a chance to prove it. On Oct. 13, 1812, more than 1,000 American troops crossed the Niagara, seeking to take control of Queenston Heights. Part of the force reached the top, circled the British artillery position and forced the Redcoats from the Heights. Gen. Isaac Brock, one of the most respected British military leaders of his



ROB FERGUSON JR.

Mohawk chief John Norton was born in Scotland to a Scottish mother and a Cherokee father. He went on to play a significant role in the War of 1812.

day, was killed leading a counter-attack.

With British troops in potential disarray, Norton, John Brant, and about 80 other Aboriginal warriors stepped in, and stepped up. Outnumbered more than 10 to one, they held back the Americans for hours — long enough for reinforcements to arrive so that the British could retain the crucial outpost.

That effort by Norton and First Nations warriors was a remarkable contribution to the war effort, but it was far from their only one. In the following year, as recounted in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Norton and his warriors covered the British retreat to Burlington Heights after the Americans took Fort Niagara, provided scouts before a successful night attack at the Battle of Stoney Creek and contributed to the rout of the Americans at the Battle of Beaver Dams.

After the war, Norton was given the brevet rank of major. Overall, First Nations people made up as much as 10 percent of British forces in the war. Last year, Prime Minister Stephen Harper announced the creation of the Canadian Forces War of 1812 Commemorative Banner and Medals to be given to successor First Nations and Métis communities. As the prime minister said: "Canada's Aboriginal People were, in every sense, key to the victory that firmly established Canada as a distinct country in North America." So, as we observe National Aboriginal Month, we also pay tribute to efforts that shaped not only our past, but also the nation that we are today.

Anthony Wilson-Smith is the president of the Historica-Dominion Institute.



# Jamaican cuisine: A delightful tangle of cultures



MARGARET DICKENSON

**J**oyfully vibrating to the beat of reggae, Jamaica is a lush tropical island paradise and, understandably, a popular tourist destination. While exploring the culinary history and culture of the island, I also learned of its uniqueness and delighted in the evolving historical puzzle that became more complex with each wave of new arrivals to its shores. The result? A lively mix of cultures and traditions.

The third largest island in the Carib-

bean (after Cuba and the island shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic), Jamaica has extensive agriculture, which makes it self-sufficient in foodstuffs, while offering variety to the island's cuisine. Indeed, the vast tracts of tillable land have played a significant role in the unusual and ever-broadening ethnic makeup of Jamaica's population and thus its food history and culture. To better understand it, one must first consider the origins of each ethnic group.

In about AD 1000, the Arawaks — Amerindians from South America's Orinoco region on the eastern coast of Venezuela — paddled to the island they named "Xaymaca" meaning "wood and water," both of which featured prominently in the lives of these settlers. Indeed much of Jamaica is limestone, providing a safe and natural filtration of drinking water that so impressed the Arawaks.

For nearly 500 years, the Arawaks hunted, fished, farmed and revelled through an annual series of festivals.

However in 1494, Christopher Columbus laid claim (for himself and for Spain) to "the fairest land ever eyes beheld." The Arawaks were forced into hard labour, which along with European infections such as the common cold, wiped out the entire Arawak population within 50 years. Despite the introduction of sugar cane and African slaves to do the cultivation, the Spanish allowed the island to sink into poverty for more than 150 years. Finally, in 1655, frightened by the arrival of British sailors and soldiers, the Spanish made a hasty departure.

The British ruled the island for the next three centuries and Jamaica flourished. British sugar barons prospered thanks to slaves they brought from Africa to work the plantations, and Jamaica became the world's largest sugar-producing colony. The slaves were harshly treated, provoking slave uprisings that were inspired by the Maroons, descendants of escaped slaves from Spanish times. The Maroons lived in the mountains, defying and out-



LARRY DICKENSON

Grilled jerk chicken

smarting the British authorities until they received some autonomy in 1739, which still exists today. When slavery itself was abolished in 1838, former slaves no longer wanted to work on plantations, prompting waves of cheap “immigrant” labour (first from Germany and Ireland, then India and China). As one ethnic group advanced from the lowest level of society, another followed.

Jamaica’s cuisine is a product of this cultural heritage, with food portraying the story of its people. As High Commissioner Sheila Sealy-Monteith acknowledges, “Jamaican cuisine, which is vibrant in colour and bold in taste, is an integral part of the expression of our culture.” It’s a mixture of flavours, spices, cooking techniques and influences from the Arawaks and those who followed. Other dishes are a fusion of tradition and techniques, using ingredients native to Jamaica and those that have been introduced.

The Spanish brought pigs to the island along with a number of dishes including the vinegary escovitched (marinated in lime juice) fish. To provide a cheap food for the slaves, ackee (a favourite breakfast fruit) arrived on slave ships from West Africa as did yams, breadfruit and several root vegetables. Citrus fruits and bananas were introduced by Europeans. The Irish not only introduced Jamaican Guinness Stout Punch, but also the notorious drink, Irish Moss, prepared from a Jamaican seaweed that originally was found in Ireland. Mostly men consume both drinks to increase their vigour (libido). New arrivals from India contributed spicy curries for which their British masters had already developed a passion. The Chinese added their own culinary specialties, such as sweet and sour pork. And so, the evolution of a dynamic Jamaican cuisine took hold.

Integral to the diversity of Jamaican cuisine is the Rastafarian influence. Most Jamaicans classify themselves as Christians; however, Jews, Hindus, Muslims and other religions also comprise significant portions of the population. Rastafarianism, a religion created in Jamaica, has a serious following. In brief, the Rastas consider themselves one of the tribes of Israel and believe late Ethiopian emperor, Haile Selassie, is the Messiah. They are strict vegetarians and eat only food grown locally without commercial fertilizers. (Although most Rastas do not eat meat, some do eat fish and chicken.) No salt, sugar or oil is used in cooking; manufactured food is avoided; pork and alcohol are forbidden.



An old oil barrel, fired with hardwood charcoal, for making Jamaican jerk fish and chicken.

As such, the Rastafarian approach to preparing food, cooking and eating, has introduced unique vegetarian dishes and has richly contributed to Jamaican cuisine. Particularly tasty are their crisp, raw vegetable rolls, green beans glazed with honey, mustard and sesame seeds, and Irie salad consisting of sweet potatoes, corn, apples, onion and the juice of grated kola nuts.

The Maroons, meanwhile, brought the island their “jerk” technique of pork preservation, which has been elevated to the status of a national treasure and has inspired cooks around the world. Originally, to avoid smoke being seen by British authorities, the meat was pierced with small holes, stuffed with a highly flavoured mixture of peppers and spices, wrapped in plantain leaves and buried in a pit filled with hot stones. Recipes and techniques have been modified over time from using pit fires to old oil barrels fired with hardwood charcoal to enhance the spicy, smoky flavour. However, today many cooks simply rub chicken, pork, fish, shrimp and even lobster with a jerk seasoning (or marinade) and grill it. High Commissioner Sealy-Monteith gently warns: “It is not for the faint of heart, rather, it is for the palate that desires a taste that is rich, spicy and unforgettable.”

In terms of meals, eating traditions established during British control saw the day begin with a cup of coffee, chocolate or tea (an infusion of some sort of local herb), with breakfast served later in the morning. A “second breakfast” was served at noon and dinner in the late afternoon or evening.

Today, Jamaicans still enjoy their early

morning cup of coffee or tea before a breakfast usually consisting of saltfish and callaloo (the leaves of taro root, similar to collard greens) or saltfish and ackee, plus yams, roasted breadfruit, boiled green bananas or fried dumplings.

Lunch generally features national dishes such as stewed peas, curried goat, oxtail, escovitched fish, brown stewed fish (pan-fried before simmering in brown sauce flavoured with spices and hot pepper), steamed fish or a satisfying “one-pot meal” type of soup.

Jerk meat, stewed beef, fish, fricasséed chicken or oxtail and beans are on the dinner menu. Rice, yams, green bananas, plantain and avocado are among the accompaniments. For dessert, favourites include fried sweet dumplings, ice cream (mango and soursop), puddings (sweet potato, bread and Christmas), cakes (often toto and grater coconut cakes) and tarts (plantain and coconut gizzarda), banana fritters, duckoono (a mixture of cassava and coconut milk poached in banana leaves) as well as an array of tropical fruits including otaheiti apples. The high commissioner adds, “and no Jamaican meal is complete without the world-renowned Blue Mountain Coffee. Of course, the crowning glory for many is the Appleton Jamaican rum. How much better can it get?”

Recently, Jamaica is experiencing yet another phase in its ever-evolving culinary scene as exciting new fusions are being created by island chefs determined to marry traditional flavours with new ingredients.

Now, for a taste of Jamaica, please enjoy my “not too spicy” version of jerk chicken. Bon Appétit!

## Grilled Jerk Chicken

Makes 4 servings

1 tsp (5 mL) each of dried thyme (crushed), ground allspice, minced fresh garlic and grated fresh gingerroot (peeled)  
 1/2 tsp (3 mL) of cayenne pepper and crushed black peppercorns  
 1/3 tsp (2 mL) each of ground cinnamon, ground nutmeg and kosher salt  
 2 tsp (10 mL) brown sugar  
 2 tsp (10 mL) lime juice  
 1 1/2 tbsp (23 mL) each of olive oil, red wine vinegar and soya sauce  
 3 tbsp (45 mL) orange juice  
 1 tsp (5 mL) finely chopped Scotch bonnet pepper (seeded)  
 1/4 cup (60 mL) finely sliced green onions





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4 boneless chicken breasts, skin on (each: 6 oz or 175 g)  
2 cups (500 mL) Black Bean Mango Salsa\* (optional)  
1/3 cup (80 mL) sour cream (optional)

1. To make jerk marinade, in a medium-sized bowl, combine thyme, allspice, garlic, gingerroot, cayenne pepper, crushed black peppercorns, cinnamon, nutmeg, salt and brown sugar. Whisk in lime juice, olive oil, vinegar, soya sauce and orange juice. Mix in Scotch bonnet pepper and green onion.
2. Place chicken breasts in a glass baking dish, bathe with marinade and refrigerate for at least a few hours or up to 24, turning breasts occasionally.
3. Allow chicken to come close to room temperature before placing it (skin side down) over indirect medium heat on a well-oiled preheated grill.\*\* (Keep hood down.\*\*\*)
4. After 10 minutes, baste as required with remaining marinade from chicken and discard the rest. Turn chicken over and continue cooking. For the last 5 or 10 minutes, grill chicken (skin side down) over direct medium heat until an instant meat thermometer placed in thickest part of the breast registers 170°F or 77°C and juices run clear when pierced with a fork. (Total time: 20 to 25 minutes.)
5. Serve with black bean salsa, rice and vegetables of choice (e.g., baked squash) and a generous dollop of sour cream to balance the spicy flavours.

\* To make the Black Bean Salsa, combine 1 cup (250 mL) each of fresh diced mango and canned black beans (rinsed and well drained), 1/4 cup (60 mL) of each of minced onion and chopped fresh coriander leaves, 2 tsp (10 mL) lime juice, 1 tsp (5 mL) liquid honey, 1/2 tsp (3 mL) minced Scotch bonnet pepper, as well as salt and crushed black peppercorns to taste.

\*\* Alternatively, grill chicken on a well-oiled preheated grill pan (or skillet) over medium heat. If desired, increase the crispness of the cooked chicken by placing it (skin side up) under a preheated broiler element for 1 or 2 minutes.

\*\*\* If using a "hoodless" grill, cooking will take a little longer.

Margaret Dickenson wrote the award-winning cookbook, *Margaret's Table — Easy Cooking & Inspiring Entertaining*. ([www.margaretstable.ca](http://www.margaretstable.ca))

# A little Frank Lloyd Wright in Rockcliffe

By Margo Roston



ALL PHOTOS BY DYANNE WILSON

The entranceway of the Finnish Ambassador's residence is immediately inviting and leads directly into a casual living room with 18-foot ceilings.

**A**lthough their house wasn't built to be their official residence, the feeling that they are home in Finland permeates the atmosphere for Ambassador Charles Murto and his wife, Ritva. They are completely comfortable in the California redwood house overlooking McKay Lake in Rockcliffe, a house actually built in 1953, but as modern-look-

ing today as it was 60 years ago.

Abundant trees may have grown big enough to obscure the original view, but the Frank Lloyd Wright-style residence is still as impressive and elegant as if the great architect had built it himself.

For the diplomatic couple, the sunlight that pours into the house from its many large windows to warm the slate floors,

along with the wood finishes and brick walls, speak of a casual style extremely close to that of their homeland.

"We love it," says the ambassador to Canada.

"It is natural and the proportions are beautiful," adds his wife. "It's a home, not a ceremonial house."

A student of Frank Lloyd Wright,





The residence has an essential Finnish fixture: A sauna in the basement.



Ambassador Charles Murto and his wife, Ritva.



The dining room, with redwood beams on the ceiling and limestone and redwood planks on the wall, features a modern Finnish table.



Finnish furniture and art are prominently displayed in the home.

architect William More designed the house for his brother, Francis, and his wife, in the "Usonian" style, a smaller version of Wright's famous Midwest mansions. These types of houses were created to be affordable, with open plans, soaring angled ceilings and generous windows.

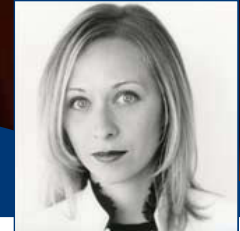
The Finnish government acquired the residence in 1975, and since then, has made two major changes to the original design. The first was an addition, to make it more suitable for entertaining, and in 2001, the government added three bedrooms and an office.

The entranceway is immediately welcoming, with slate floors warmed by radiant heating and a skylight to brighten up the wood-panelled walls. The foyer leads directly into the 18-foot-wide living room decorated simply with white sofas and a colourful area rug, all highlighted by a stunning stone hearth, another centrepiece of Frank Lloyd Wright's Usonian homes. The hearth was seen by Wright to be the focal point of the house and designed to enclose spaces with a natural palette of stone and wood.

A high-sloped wooden ceiling rises two-and-a-half feet from the northwest side to the sunny southeast façade where a wall of glass-panelled doors opens onto the slate-floored balcony. Modernistic Finnish art complements the style of the room. Soft creams and oranges round out



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the colour palette. Among the paintings are lovely watercolours by Finnish painter and graphic artist Inari Krohn.

The bright dining room, with redwood beams on the ceiling and limestone and redwood planks on the wall, is separated from the living room by a wood screen partition. The modern Finnish dining room table, with strips of glass down the middle, was made especially for the residence. The room seems warm and simple, enhanced by the light from floor-to-ceiling windows. The windows are covered with modern wooden blinds instead of heavy drapes.

When guests come for dinner, they can expect to dine on Finnish specialties. But Ms Murto laughs as she adds that other Scandinavian countries also take credit for many of the same dishes as the Finns. To ensure the food at the residence reflects the country of origin, their Canadian cook went to Finland and learned the techniques for cooking dishes such as salmon soup and pastries filled with wild mushrooms and berries. Cured fish and fish roe as well as crayfish, wild duck, elk and reindeer are also Finnish favourites.

Finnish-Canadian architect Harry Alakantti added a large reception area to the house by removing the interior walls of a second-storey bedroom wing, creating a generous space with another large stone fireplace that fits in so well, it seems part of the original design. It is decorated with the same colours as the living room and is home to a piano, which has been the centrepiece for many concerts — both classical and jazz — in recent years. During the construction, a third level was added for a private family area.

"We didn't need to bring anything," says Ms Murto. "The house doesn't need anything."

But everyone has a favourite spot and on the ambassador's list is the slate-covered, wraparound terrace surrounding the lake side of the house.

And of course, there is the sauna, located in the basement along with a guest bedroom and a plaque in Finnish and Swedish. Finland is a bilingual country — more than five per cent of its citizens speak Swedish. Every Finnish embassy comes with a sauna, for the comfort of the ambassador and his family.

The reindeer may be hard to come by, but for the well-travelled diplomatic couple, home is definitely where the heart is, even in Ottawa.

Margo Roston is *Diplomat's* culture editor.



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# Wine from under the Tuscan sun



PIETER VAN DEN WEGHE

For most of us, the mere mention of Tuscany easily stirs up romantic imagery. We see the rolling hills. We feel the warmth of the Mediterranean sun. We walk the narrow streets of ancient fortified towns. However, besides inspiring daydreams, the true power of Tuscany is its strong sense of authenticity. This is particularly seductive to wine drinkers. Few other wine-producing areas, even elsewhere in Europe and other parts of Italy, can bring such an influence to bear on wine drinkers.

Much of our awareness of Tuscan wines exists due to the reputations of such traditional wine appellations as Chianti, Brunello di Montalcino and Vino Nobile di Montepulciano. However, the last two decades have seen more and more wines created outside the parameters of the more classical categories. As we explore them, we get to experience the serious and exciting shift taking place in the identity of Tuscan wines.

Thanks to a wine history reaching back thousands of years, wine is deeply entrenched in the Italian identity and, as such, production literally covers the whole country. Much of the structure of Italy's modern wine identity results from wine laws enacted in 1963. These laws quantified the wine-making traditions, which created and defined Italy's classic wines. Every aspect of viticulture and viniculture was regulated, including permitted grape varieties, how they were converted to wine and how the wine was aged. The same wine laws established the Denominazione di Origine Controllata (Denomination of Controlled Origin) or DOC classification of wine, and the even more stringent wine designation Denominazione di Origine Controllata e Garantita (Denomination of Controlled and Guaranteed Origin) or DOCG. Wines bearing these appellations must be the result of ap-



DREAMSTIME

proved cultivation methods while yields, alcohol content and aging all have to be within specified parameters.

In the 1970s, wine producers, especially those in Tuscany's Chianti region, saw the status quo as too restrictive, and they grew restless. Limitations, particularly involving grape-blending restrictions, helped spur the birth of wines made outside the scope of regulations. Made either solely of Sangiovese (a then-forbidden proposal for Chianti) or including international grape varieties such as Merlot, Cabernet Sauvignon and Syrah, these wines had to be classified as *Vino da Tavola* (table wine), the lowest and most basic category of wine in Italy. However, because of their production quality and popularity, the prices of these wines soon rose above their esteemed regulation-laden brethren. By the 1980s, this "Super-Tuscan" movement was well-established, and a change had begun in the appreciation of Italian and Tuscan wines.

This shift was so profound that, in 1992, a new wine classification was created to allow for these *Vino da Tavola* wines to be considered more legitimate. This new category was *Indicazione Geografica Tipica* (typical geographic indication) or IGT. Falling between *Vino da Tavola* and DOC, IGT was intended to provide an outlet for the existing wines and allow for a continuing movement of experimentation.

Over the past 20 years, many excellent examples of IGTs have appeared in Canada and their numbers continue to increase, particularly at an entry-level price. Various factors of late have played a part in this: a weakened Euro, lessened demand in other markets due to economic difficulties, and even the lower cost of having wines classified as IGT versus DOC or DOCG. The greater variety and choice of Tuscan IGTs has been a boon to

the Ontario wine drinker.

An excellent starting point to explore IGT wines is the 2009 *Vignemastre Dardo*. This great wine speaks clearly and strongly about both varietal character and point of origin. As such, *Dardo* is fermented in stainless steel and sees no oak aging. Composed of 85 percent Sangiovese, 10 percent Syrah and 5 percent Merlot, this wine has an exuberant and fresh character with flavours of red berry, leather and anise. It's tremendous value for \$16.89 a bottle and is available in Ontario from the Le Sommelier wine agency ([www.lesommelier.com](http://www.lesommelier.com)).

Another interesting IGT is *Tenuta di Ghizzano's 2009 "Veneroso."* The winery is passionate about their organic practices and strives to maintain harmony with the nature. The 2009 *Veneroso* has a huge expression of plum and berry and amazing weight and balance. It will benefit from a little time in the cellar. You can find it at the LCBO for \$29.95.

Tua Rita is a fantastic, family-run winery that focuses on IGT wines. Their wines have received extensive accolades — their 2000 *Redigaffi* was the first Italian wine to receive 100 points from critic Robert Parker. Currently, one of their most captivating wines is the 2010 *Perlato del Bosco*.

Consisting of 60 percent Sangiovese and 40 percent Cabernet Sauvignon, it is dense but beautifully textured with generous dark fruit and aspects of leather, smoke and anise. While certainly capable of aging, it is very delicious now. The 2010 *Perlato del Bosco* is available in Ontario for \$45.75 through The Small Winemakers Collection consignment agency ([www.smallwinemakers.ca](http://www.smallwinemakers.ca)).

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



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## New heads of mission

**Nicolas Lloreda-Ricaurte**  
Ambassador of Colombia



Mr. Lloreda comes to diplomacy from the field of law. Between 2001 and 2010, he was senior counsel on international business transactions, trade and investment policy and international dispute resolution at Crowell & Moring.

For him, diplomacy started when he was appointed to serve as deputy chief-of-mission in Washington.

Prior to law, he served as director general of the Andean Community (1997-2000), the Free Trade area comprising Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela. In that capacity, he supervised the legal department, ensured compliance by member states and prosecuted and defended cases before the Andean Court of Justice. He also has experience in trade — he spent four years with the Colombian trade bureau in Washington.

**Nirmal Verma**  
High Commissioner for India



Admiral Verma (Ret'd) joined the Indian navy in 1970 and became the 20th chief of the naval staff in 2009. He retired from service after commanding three ships, including an aircraft carrier.

Over his career, he served on vessels in the former Soviet Union and studied at the Royal Naval Staff College in Greenwich (United Kingdom) and in Rhode Island. He completed post-graduate defence studies at a university in Chennai, India.

He is a recipient of the Param Vishisht Seva Medal and the Ati Vishisht Seva Medal, awarded to him by the government of India for his meritorious service.

Admiral Verma is married to Madhulika and they have two sons.

**Riadh Essid**  
Ambassador of Tunisia



Mr. Essid began his career as a French teacher in 1984 but joined the foreign ministry's Asia desk within a year. He attended a nine-month training course in diplomacy in Madrid before being posted to Jakarta as first secretary. On his return, he took over the directorate general for Asia and the Americas before being posted as deputy-head-of-mission in South Africa. He returned as deputy director of the Africa desk before being appointed head-of-mission in Cameroon.

He served as assistant to the secretary of state for the Maghreb, Arab and African countries before being appointed diplomatic counsellor to acting president Fouad Mebazaa in 2011.

Mr. Essid has a master's degree in translation. He is married and has two children.

**Tuncay Babali**  
Ambassador of Turkey



Dr. Babali joined the foreign ministry in 1995 and, one year later, paused for military service for eight months. He returned to the ministry as an attaché and soon after took a posting as third secretary in Bulgaria. Over the following 15 years, he has served as vice-consul in Houston, counsellor in London, counsellor in Washington, as a fellow at Weatherhead Centre for International Affairs at Harvard University and in various postings at headquarters, including head of human resources, minister and deputy director general for treaties.

Dr. Babali, who has a PhD in political science from the University of Houston, speaks English, Bulgarian and Russian. He has authored numerous academic papers and a book about Caspian energy diplomacy. He is married and has three children.

**Vadym Prystaiko**  
Ambassador of Ukraine



For Mr. Prystaiko, his posting to Canada is déjà vu. He was here from 2003 to 2006 as chargé d'affaires.

Mr. Prystaiko began his career in the private sector as co-founder of the IT company Electronni Visti. He joined the foreign ministry in 1994 as deputy head of trade and economic relations. Three years later, he became deputy head of the Asia Pacific desk and then consul general in Sydney, Australia.

He returned to the ministry as the president's foreign policy consultant before his first posting to Canada. On his return, he was deputy director of the NATO section before becoming minister-counsellor in Washington.

Mr. Prystaiko has a master's degree in foreign trade. He is married and has two sons.

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**Domingas Pedro José de C. Teixeira**  
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Second Secretary

Australia  
**Toy Johnson**  
Second Secretary

Bangladesh  
**Muhammed Muksud Khan**  
First secretary

Bulgaria  
**Desislava Petrova Dragneva**  
Second secretary

Cameroon  
**Elie Banbara**  
Defence attaché

China  
**Xinxin Kong**  
Second secretary

**Boyong Wang**  
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**Adrian Betancourt Maden**  
Attaché

Egypt  
**Maher A. Mohamed Elkholy**  
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**Christelle Diane T. Sarnelli**  
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Germany  
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**Wedlyne Pierre**  
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Japan  
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Minister-counsellor

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Minister

Myanmar  
**Than Htwe**  
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**Ti, Cho**  
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**Joao Paulo Marques Sabido Costa**  
Minister-counsellor

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**Oleg Zhiganov**  
First secretary

**Ivan Valov**  
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**Samia Muhsen H. Al Jabri**  
Attaché

**Falah Abdullah M. Alqahtani**  
Attaché

**Abdullah Khalid Abdullah Bin Khamis**  
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**Abdulaziz Saud A. Almasoud**  
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**Emad Abdullah A. Alhoushan.**  
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**Osman Abufatima Adam Mohammed**  
Deputy head-of-mission

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**Annika Maria White**  
First secretary

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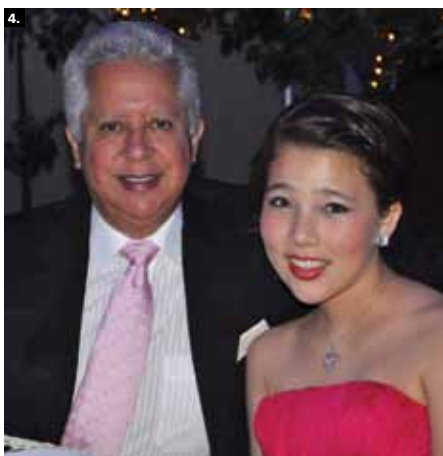


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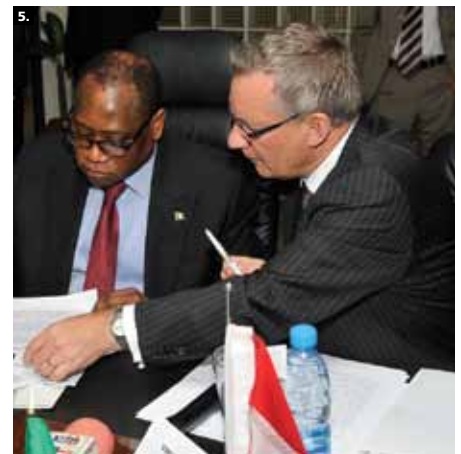
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From left: 1. The Ottawa Diplomatic Association elected a new executive at its AGM. From left, Hikmat Moeljawan, of Indonesia (member); Cindy Shavani, of Trinidad and Tobago (deputy secretary general); Macedonian Ambassador Ljuben Tevdovski (member); Haitian Ambassador Frantz Liautaud (first vice-president); Bob Dechert, parliamentary secretary to the minister of foreign affairs; Zambian High Commissioner Bobby Samakai (president); Habiba Chakir (second vice-president); Palestinian head-of-mission Said Hamad (member); Australian deputy high commissioner Bruce Soar (treasurer). (Photo: ODA) 2. The French and German embassies hosted a reception to mark the 50th anniversary of the Elysée Treaty. From left, Madeleine Brinkmann (EU), Federica Lehner (Switzerland), Claudette Hamad (Palestine) and Florence Liautaud (Haiti). (Photo: Bill Blackstone) 3. At right, Chih-Kung Liu, representative for the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office, and his wife, Huey-Pyng Liu, hosted Taiwan Night at the Château Laurier. MP John Weston, chairman of the Canada-Taiwan Parliamentary Friendship Group, attended with his wife, Donna. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 4. Dominican Republic Ambassador Jose Urena attended Elmwood School's father-daughter dinner and dance with his daughter, Aya Yoshizawa. 5. The Ottawa Diplomatic Association's annual ball took place at the Chateau Laurier. GM Claude Sauvé and his wife, Deborah, attended. 6. Zimbabwean Ambassador Florence Chideya and Michaëlle Jean attended the ODA Ball. (Photos: Sam Garcia) 7. Igor Girenko, counsellor at the embassy of Russia, speaks on behalf of the embassy at the opening of Moscow in Evidence at the now-closed Michael Genniss Gallery.





1. Several diplomats took in Ottawa Fashion Week. From left, Cicilia Rusdiharini (Indonesia), Ottawa Fashion Week director Bruno Racine, Indonesian Ambassador Dienne Moehario and Lois Lee of Rogers TV. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. Peruvian Ambassador José Bellina spoke at Carleton University as part of the Ambassadors Speakers Series. (Photo: Larry Lederman) 3. Qatar Ambassador Salem Mubarak Al-Shafi hosted a national day event at the Casino Lac-Leamy. He's shown with Kazakhstan Ambassador Konstantin Zhigalov. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 4. Angolan Ambassador Agostinho Tavares da Silva Neto hosted a national day reception at the Château Laurier. He's shown with Guyanan High Commissioner Harry Narine Nawbatt. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 5. Trade Minister Ed Fast travelled to Nigeria with 29 Canadian investors on a trade mission. He met with counterpart Olusegun Aganga. 6. The diplomatic hospitality group toured Winterlude. From left, Vladka Bartonova (Slovakia), her daughter, Hana, Miguel Luis Moreno (Philippines), Boenaflor Cruz (Philippines), Joice Tamayo (Philippines) and Cicilia Rusdiharini (Indonesia) with the Korean lanterns in Confederation Park. (Photo: Ulle Baum)





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1. Several MPs attended Japan's national day event and were invited to join Ambassador Kaoru Ishikawa for a ceremonial "opening" of the sake. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 2. Swedish Ambassador Teppo Tauriainen hosted a Music to Dine For event, put on by the Friends of the NAC. From left, Mikael Marin, Olov Johansson, Mr. Tauriainen, Anna Morena and Roger Tallroth (Photo: Lois Siegel) 3. The Canada Korea Society held a Winterlude event at the Korean Palace restaurant. From left, Song Oh, minister at the Korean embassy, Guy Laflamme, senior vice-president of the NCC, Chang-Hee Lee, mayor of Jinju City in Korea, Young-Hae Lee, president, Canada Korea Society, and Gye Hyeon Yu, chairman of Jinju city council. 4. Ashley Lawrence and Isla MacIntosh, both children who received wishes from the Children's Wish Foundation, receive gifts from Inna Prystaiko, wife of the Ukrainian ambassador and Marta Grubisic, wife of the Croatian ambassador. The Head of Mission Spouses Association hosted an information session and collected donations for the charity. 5. U.S. Ambassador David Jacobson, and his wife, Julie, centre, hosted a holiday party. At left, Finance Minister Jim Flaherty. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 6. Thai Ambassador Udomphol Ninnad hosted a national day reception at the Château Laurier. He greets Sri Lankan High Commissioner Chitranganee Wagsiwar. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 7. Masako Ishikawa, of Japan, took part in the RA Centre Curling Club's second annual fun with curling event at the RA Centre. The event was organized by the Ottawa diplomatic hospitality group. (Photo: Ulle Baum)





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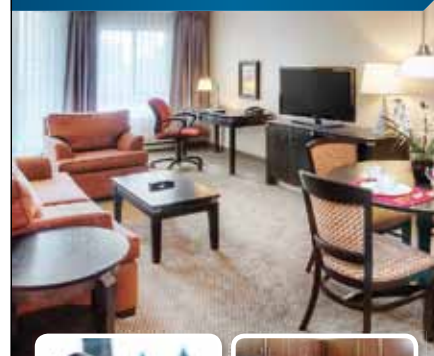
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1. Southern African Development Community Day was held at City Hall. From left, Zimbabwean Ambassador Florence Chideya, Angolan Ambassador Agostinho Tavares da Silva Neto, Lesotho High Commissioner Mathabo Tsepa and Mozambique High Commissioner Amelia Matos Sumbana. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 2. Egyptian Ambassador Wael Aboul Magd and his wife, Hanan Abdel Kader, hosted a Music to Dine For event. From left, Ms. Abdel Kader, Irene Layton, Robert and Louise Lafleur. (Photo: Lois Siegel). 3. Benin President Thomas Yayi Boni came to Ottawa to meet with Prime Minister Stephen Harper. (Photo: Sam Garcia)

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# Celebration time

A listing of the national and independence days marked by countries

April		
4	Senegal	Independence Day
16	Denmark	Birthday of Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II
17	Syria	National Day
18	Zimbabwe	Independence Day
19	Holy See	Election of the Pope
26	Tanzania	Union Day
27	Sierra Leone	Republic Day
27	South Africa	Freedom Day
27	Togo	National Day
30	Netherlands	Birthday of Her Majesty Queen Beatrix
May		
1	Marshall Islands	National Day
3	Poland	National Day
7	Israel	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
6	Sweden	National Day
10	Portugal	National Day
12	Philippines	National Day
12	Russia	National Day
17	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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# Croatia: See, Feel, Enjoy



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Split is a Mediterranean city on the eastern shores of the Adriatic. A well-known song says the Roman emperor Diocletian built his palace, pictured above, in “the most beautiful part of the world, in the heart of Split.”

By Veselko Grubišić  
Ambassador of Croatia

*“On the last day of the Creation, God desired to crown His work, and thus created the Kornati Islands out of tears, stars and breath.”*

**W**hen describing my country, I often borrow this famous quotation made by Irish playwright George Bernard Shaw when he visited the Kornati archipelago off the Dalmatian coast. One could suggest that as a Croatian ambassador, I am biased when it

comes to my country’s beauty, but this is why I chose the words of Mr. Shaw to help me convince you to visit.

Less poetically, Croatia is a central European and Mediterranean country that extends from the easterly edges of the Alps in the northwest, through the Pannonian lowlands to the banks of the Danube in the east. The Dinara mountain range extends over its central region (its highest peak is 1,831 metres above sea level), while the southern region ends on the Adriatic coast. Croatia has a surface area of 56,594 square kilometres and 4.4 mil-

lion inhabitants. It has no fewer than 1,244 islands, and 6,278 kilometres of coastline — surely impressive figures.

Some of you may not know Croatia’s cultural and natural heritage as well as that of some larger countries, perhaps because we only regained our statehood in 1991. Since then, Croatia has been involved in the process of Euro-Atlantic integration. My country became a NATO ally in 2009, and will be joining the EU as a full-fledged member in July 2013. The fact that it coincides with Canada Day is another big reason to celebrate together.



RENCO KOSINOŽI / CROATIAN NATIONAL TOURIST BOARD



Pula is the largest town in the region of Istria. Visitors will be impressed by the Roman amphitheatre, the sixth largest in the world.

BORIS KRAGI / CROATIAN NATIONAL TOURIST BOARD



Bol is renowned for its most popular beach, the Zlatni Rat or golden cape.



Croatia is becoming increasingly noteworthy, especially as an attractive tourist destination. Only last year, more than 12 million tourists visited my country, among them 60,000 Canadians. I often joke that in Canada, I have encountered only two groups of people — those who have been to Croatia and those who are eager to go.

My country is characterized by exceptional diversity in its cultural heritage. It boasts monuments from all periods of civilization — ancient history to recent times. There are ancient Roman and Greek monuments and medieval Christian and Renaissance monuments as well as those of the middle European baroque and modern secessionist eras.

The six most important places that showcase Croatia's cultural heritage are: the Old City of Dubrovnik, a historic complex in Split with Diocletian's palace, the historic town of Trogir, Euphrasius' basilica in Poreč, the Cathedral of St. James in Šibenik and Starigradsko polje on the island of Hvar. Each is a UNESCO World Heritage Site. You can imagine how hard it is for me to begin with one region, or with a specific monument, so instead, I shall simply begin with the capital — Zagreb.

Zagreb is a modern capital city with a preserved medieval heritage. It ranks among the oldest cities in Central Europe, a fact borne out by documents from 1079, when a diocese was established. Its old core is comprised of the medieval Gradec — today the seat of the Croatian government and parliament — and Kaptol, the seat of the archbishop. Following the administrative unification of the two entities in the 19th Century, the city experienced a surge in the construction of prestigious buildings, squares and fountains, as well as the establishment of beautiful parks that make it one of the greenest cities in Europe. Zagreb attracts visitors with its lively streets of coffee shops, restaurants and shopping. It is worth visiting at least one of its numerous museums and galleries and tasting some of its culinary specialties. Try the prized roast turkey with *mlinci* (boiled rolled pastry), roast lamb, roast suckling pig and boiled and baked *štrukli* (thinly rolled pastry, stuffed with fresh cottage cheese and cream).

From Zagreb, you can easily reach the historical region of Slavonia, in the east, known for its wide plains, oak forests, picturesque vineyards and old cellars. Slavonia has a couple of natural parks, the most famous being the *Kopački rit*. You must try unique culinary delicacies, such as *Slavonski kulen* (a spicy cured pork). Or



The Old City of Dubrovnik is one of the six most important places showcasing Croatia's cultural heritage.

go north of Zagreb, and in less than an hour by car, you will find yourself in the small, well-preserved Baroque town of Varaždin (Croatia's 18th-Century capital). Don't miss *orehnjača* or *makovnjača* (walnut loaf, or poppy seed loaf) and cheese or fruit strudel.

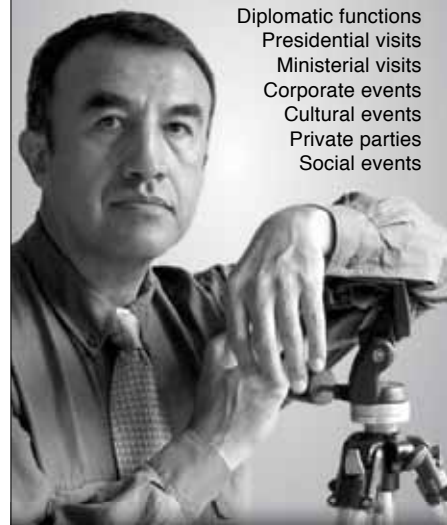
Most visitors go to the Croatian coast — to Istria, our biggest peninsula, located on the north coast, or Dalmatia, the central coastal region, or Dubrovnik in the south. You can take a short flight from the capital with Croatia Airlines to the major cities on the coast or you can easily reach the area via our new motorways. On your way to the south, don't miss Plitvice Lakes National Park, another UNESCO World Heritage Site, blessed with the natural beauty of a string of lakes and waterfalls.

Istria is often described as Croatia's Tuscany. It is separated from the rest of Croatia by the massive mountain, Učka. Cultural richness and heritage abound on this magical peninsula and are perhaps most apparent in the town of Rovinj. Istria's largest town, however, is Pula, where visitors will be immediately impressed by the Roman amphitheatre, the sixth largest in the world, and also one of the best preserved. Going inland is equally breathtak-

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ing. Don't miss the romantic hilltop town of Motovun. Truffle hunting is a must while in Istria.

Dalmatia is the largest and most famous historic region of Croatia. It is also culturally the richest part of Croatia. Here you'll find five of the six previously mentioned UNESCO World Heritage sites. The largest city in Dalmatia is Split, the heart of the Mediterranean. From here, the main Dalmatian islands are easily reached by ferry. A well-known song says the Roman Emperor Diocletian built his palace in "the most beautiful part of the world, in the heart of Split," and believe me, it is not far from the truth. In Zadar, where my family has a summer residence, you can enjoy the most beautiful sunsets (so said film director Alfred Hitchcock), while sitting

on the sea organ, the first of its kind in the world. It produces sounds using only the power of wind and sea waves. Younger visitors will probably go to the island of Hvar, known for its superb beaches and parties. For a more quiet vacation, one can go to the island of Vis, or visit the island of Korčula, the birthplace of Marco Polo. While in Dalmatia, indulge yourself with dishes based on fish and other seafood, or meat dishes such as *pašticada* (a stewed beef dish) or Dalmatian prosciutto.

Dubrovnik, "the pearl of the Adriatic," according to UNESCO, hardly needs an introduction. It is one of the most attractive and best known cities in the Mediterranean, with the preserved state of its rich heritage inside of the famous Gothic-Renaissance town walls.



ZELIKO KR ADINEC / CROATIAN NATIONAL TOURIST BOARD

The cathedral in Zagreb, the largest city and capital of Croatia.

For souvenirs, track down some *licitarsko srce*. A gingerbread biscuit made from honey pastry, dyed bright red and colourfully decorated, it is traditionally presented to one's beloved or to a dear friend. Or you can buy a cravat. Croatia became known as the "homeland of the cravat" after the look was embraced by 17th-Century soldiers. In 1667, during the reign of Louis XIV of France, a special regiment was formed and named after Croats: the "Royal Cravates." The new fashion attribute, worn *à la Croate* was adopted by the people of Paris and soon the expression became the root of the new French word, "cravate."

Veselko Grubišić is Croatia's ambassador to Canada. Reach him at [croemb.ot-tawa@mvep.hr](mailto:croemb.ot-tawa@mvep.hr) or (613) 562-7820.

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