

Diplomat &

INTERNATIONAL CANADA

WINTER 14 | JAN-MAR



The world's woes

A Top-10 list of the most persistent problems facing the planet in 2014

RUSSIA:

- ARCTIC EXPANSION
- PIPELINES OF POWER

MULTILATERALISM:

- ARGUING FOR A D-10
- HOW TO FIX THE UN



George Fetherling on travel writing and North Korea and Somalia

Dual destinations: Travel to Greece and Portugal

Margaret Dickenson explores Mongolia's mysterious cuisine

Wine: warm whites and reds for winter



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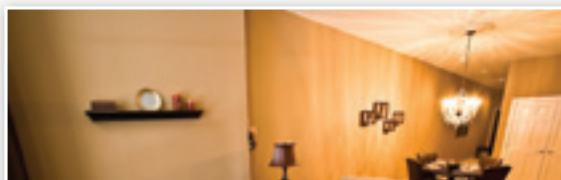


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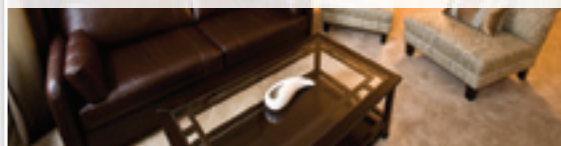
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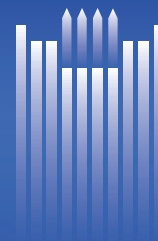
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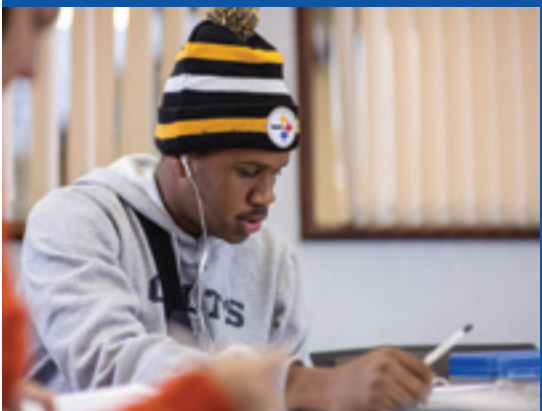
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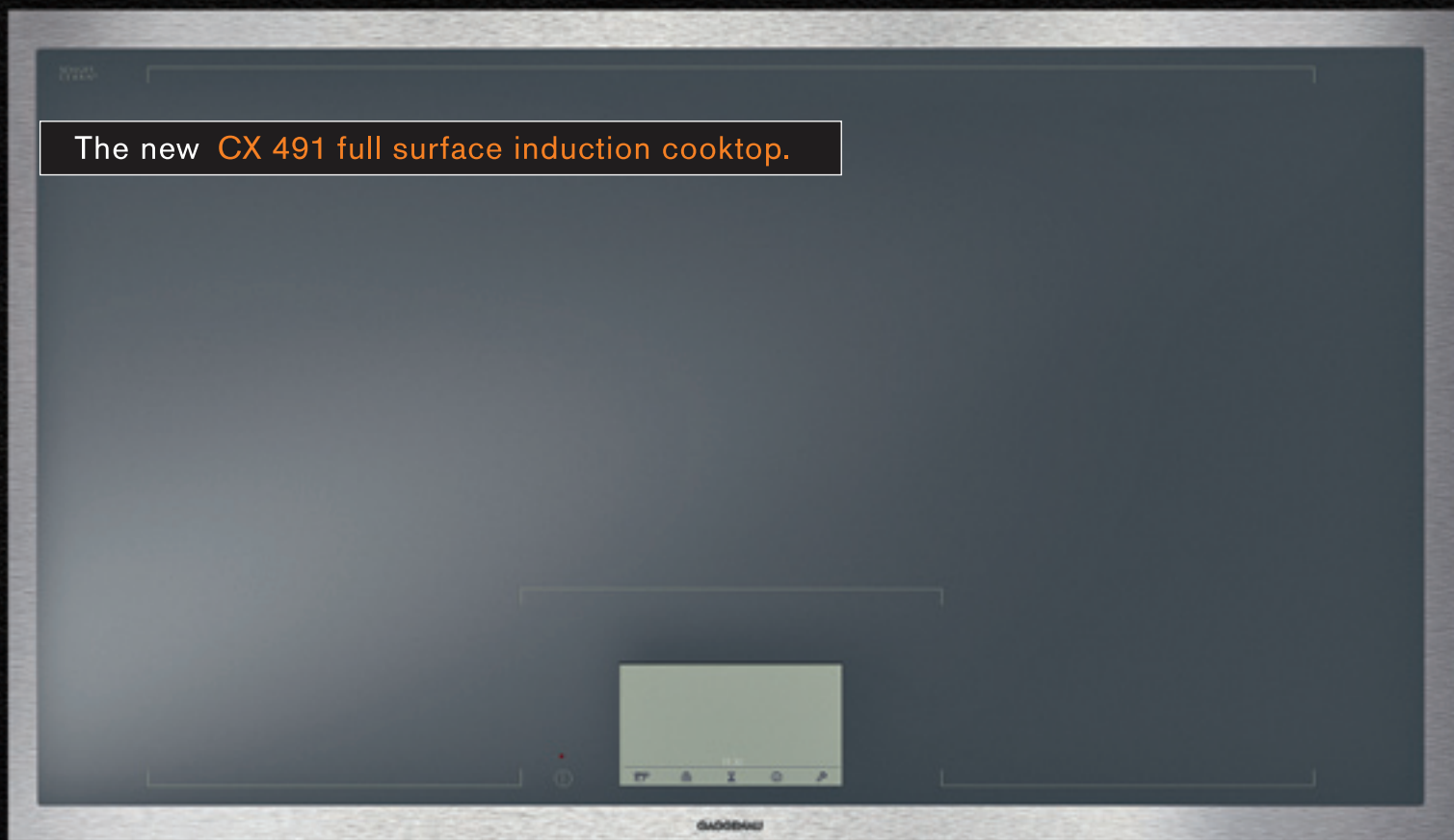
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PUBLISHER

Donna Jacobs

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Neil Reynolds

EDITOR

Jennifer Campbell

ART DIRECTOR

Paul Cavanaugh

BOOKS EDITOR

George Fetherling

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

Don Cayo

CULTURE EDITOR

Margo Roston

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS

Eleftherios Anghelopoulos

Smail Benamara

Eugene Chausovsky

Wolfgang Depner

Margaret Dickenson

José Fernando Moreira de Cunha

David Gordon

Fen Osler Hampson

Ash Jain

Gita Kalmet

Robert D. Kaplan

David Kilgour

Darcy Knoll

Patrick Leblond

Robert L. Rotberg

Pieter Van den Weghe

Anthony Wilson-Smith

Andrew Zhalko-Tytarenko

CONTRIBUTING PHOTOGRAPHERS

Ulle Baum

Mike Beedell

Larry Dickenson

Ashley Fraser

Sam Garcia

Lois Siegel

Dyanne Wilson

BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

Jessie Reynolds

WEBMASTER

Gilles Laberge, www.redrocket.ca

DISTRIBUTION

Pierre Pagé and Peixian Han

ADVERTISING INQUIRIES

Contact Donna Jacobs

donnajacobs@gmail.com

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Diplomat & International Canada is published four

times a year. Subscription rates: individual, one year

\$35.70. For Canadian orders add 13 per cent HST.

U.S. orders please add \$15 for postage. All other

orders please add \$25.

SUBMISSIONS

Diplomat & International Canada welcomes

submissions. Contact Jennifer Campbell, editor, at

editor@diplomatonline.com or (613) 231-8476.

PRINTER

Diplomat & International Canada is printed by Dollco

The Lowe Martin Group.

DIPLOMAT & INTERNATIONAL CANADA

P.O. Box 1173, Station B

Ottawa, Ontario Canada K1P 5R2

Phone: (613) 422-5262

E-mail: info@diplomatonline.com

www.diplomatonline.com

Published by Sparrow House

Enterprises Inc.



Volume 25, Number 1

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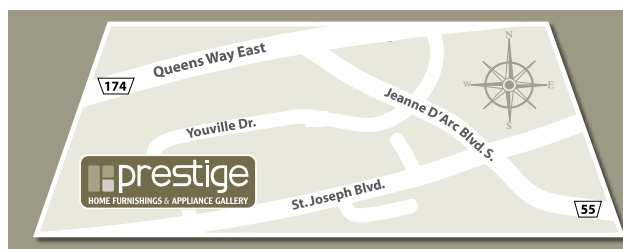
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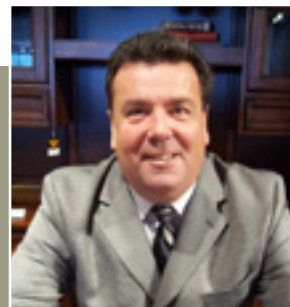
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Fixing the world

It's the beginning of 2014 and this issue of *Diplomat* is all about looking ahead — sometimes at the next year, sometimes at the next several.

In our cover story, Wolfgang Depner enumerates the world's most significant woes. Some on the list — proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, HIV/AIDS and drug abuse — are no surprise. But others, such as the need for basic infrastructure and the protection of arable land, don't capture as many headlines.

Also in our dispatches section, Robert D. Kaplan and Eugene Chausovsky write that argues that the pressures Europe currently faces from the east are easily portrayed by a map of energy pipelines. And there we find Russia again — purveyor of one-quarter of all of Europe's energy.

Also in this section, consultant Andrew Zhalko-Tytarenko offers a forward-look at Russian Arctic expansion and what the country's irrepressible oil ambitions mean for Canada, Europe and indeed the rest of the world. The Russian economy, Zhalko-Tytarenko argues, is virtually driven by oil exports — total Russian oil exports for 2012 were \$180 billion US with another \$130 billion in oil products. From a total export figure of \$525 billion, that makes up a whopping 60 percent.

We also devote a portion of our Dispatches section to a map that details political risk across the globe. You could spend hours studying all the rankings from its info-graphics, which list the places where risks of political interference and supply-chain disruption, among others, are rife.

Still in our Dispatches section, former secretary of state for foreign affairs David Kilgour gives his prescription for restoring the health of the UN, and Ash Jain and David Gordon argue for the creation of a new multilateral body (to include Canada) to be known as the D10.

Up front, Fen Hampson writes about Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous country. We also interview Andrew Bennett, Canada's first ambassador of religious freedom. He shares some candid observations on his job. Finally, professor Robert I. Rotberg notes that Africa is at a critical point in its history and has suggestions for how it can help itself.

In our books section, George Fetherling shares his observations of several new books about travel — from 20th-Century Prague to today's Calcutta, San Francisco and Mexico City. He also writes about books on Japan and the dangers of North Korea and Somalia. Culture editor Margo Roston tours the stately and historic home of Peruvian Ambassador José Antonio Bellina and his wife, Rosa Garcia Rosell, while food writer Margaret Dickenson travels — virtually at least — to Mongolia, where she discovers that meat and dairy products dominate the diet.

From the ambassadors' desks, we have two travel pieces from two fine European destinations caught in an economic downturn. The first is a warm-hearted tour of Greece, a country that has always depended on tourism and wants to build on its recent resurgence, by Ambassador Eleftherios Anghelopoulos. The second, by Portuguese Ambassador José Moreira da Cunha, is a descriptive region-by-region guide to a country seeking even more tourists than it usually attracts. Both pieces should prompt some winter dreams of travel.

On our back page, we feature Canada's majestic polar bear, photographed by Mike Beedell in -40C in Manitoba's Wapusk National Park. We invite your photos of wildlife for this page.

Jennifer Campbell is *Diplomat's* editor.

UP FRONT

Preparing for population pressures — some of which push people to massively co-exist in slums — requires multiple, simultaneous solutions and it's just one of the 10 world woes in our cover story. The package, which also includes HIV/AIDS and gender equality, begins on page 34.



CONTRIBUTORS

Robert I. Rotberg



Robert I. Rotberg is Fulbright Research Professor at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, distinguished research associate at the North-South Institute, and senior fellow at CIGI, the Centre for International Governance Innovation. He is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences, founding director of the Program on Intrastate Conflict at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, president emeritus of the World Peace Foundation, and a former academic vice-president of Tufts University and president of Lafayette College. His most recent book is *Africa Emerges: Consummate Challenges, Abundant Opportunities* (Polity Press, 2013). He has also written frequently for the *Globe & Mail*.

David Gordon and Ash Jain



David Gordon, a former director of the U.S. Secretary of State's policy planning staff, is head of research at the Eurasia Group, an international political risk research and consulting firm. Ash Jain, a former policy planning staff member, is a non-resident fellow at the Washington, D.C.-based German Marshall Fund and author of *Like-minded and Capable Democracies: A New Framework for Advancing a Liberal World Order* (Council on Foreign Relations, January 2013).

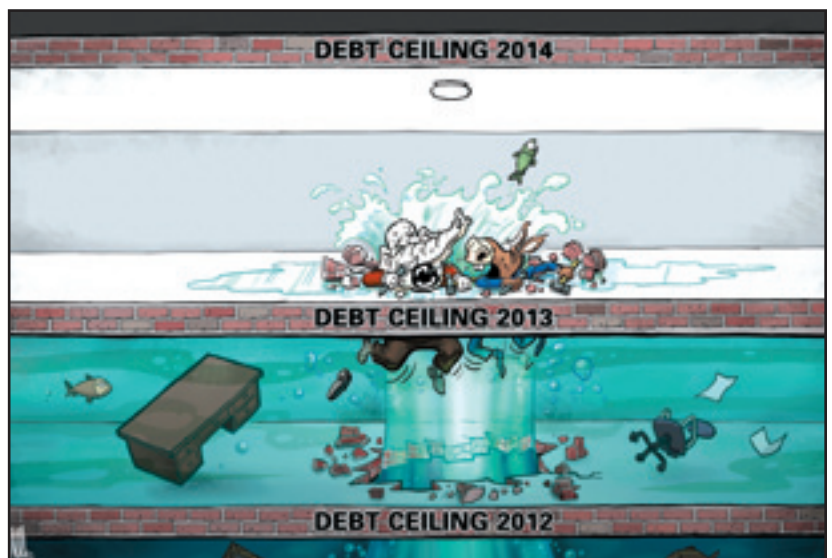
Political commentary from around the world



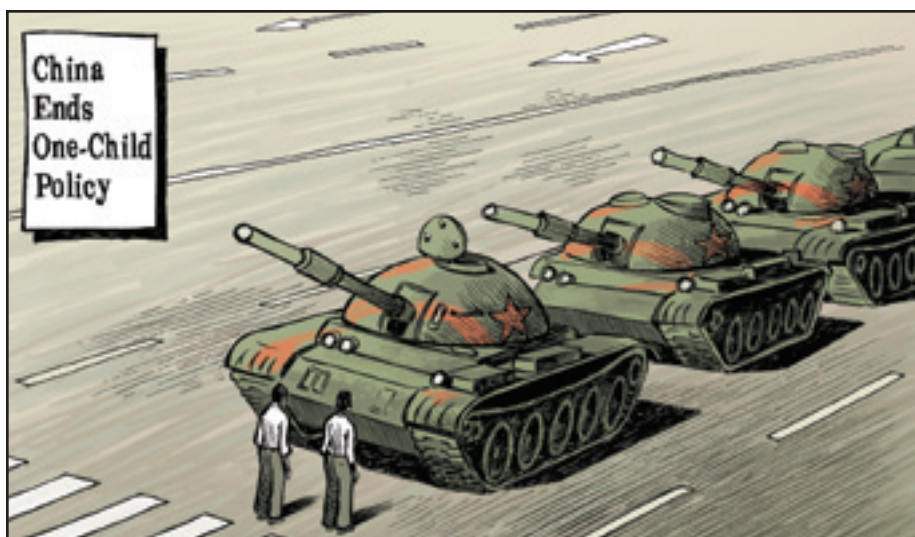
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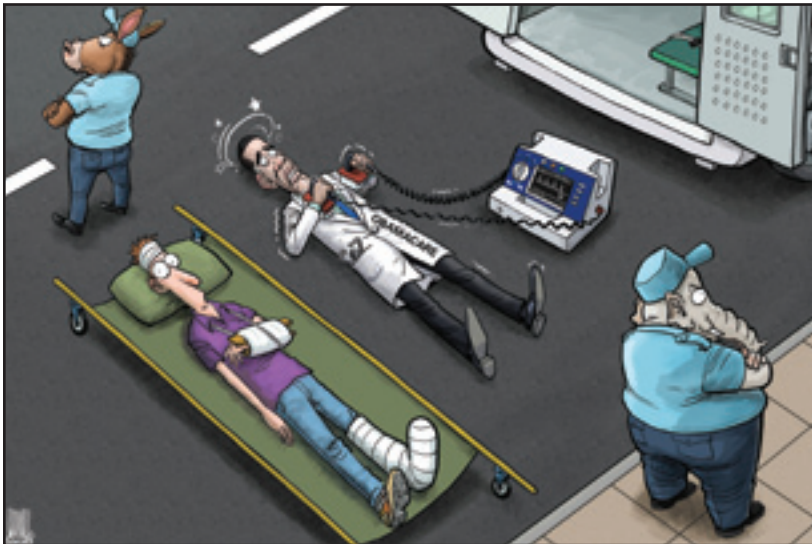


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Indonesia: Canada's interests in the Asia-Pacific's Muslim juggernaut



FEN OSLER HAMPSON

During this century, all eyes have focused on Asia's two giants, China and India. But there is another juggernaut in the making. It's Indonesia. It's the world's fourth biggest country by population — a staggering 250 million and growing. It is also predominantly Muslim. Over the past several years, Indonesia's economy has been racing along with a growth rate in the 6- to 7-percent GDP range. That's a bit slower than China or India, but still impressive compared to developed and emerging economies. Its GDP is now getting close to \$1 trillion. Indonesia is also a member of the G20, the world's most exclusive economic club.

This is reason alone for Canada to ramp up its engagement with the Asia-Pacific's Muslim newest juggernaut, but there are other reasons that extend to our mounting security interests in the Asia-Pacific and our desire to advance democracy and pluralism in the world.

Much of Indonesia's growth now comes from its booming industrial sector. According to one recent study, industry now accounts for the largest share of Indonesia's GDP (47 percent). That sector is dominated by manufacturing as Indonesia now competes with China with its comparatively lower wage structure. Indonesia's natural-resource sector, which is concentrated in mining, accounts for 12 percent of GDP although this sector is still the country's largest employer. The country has also become an important hub for tourism, particularly the lush tropical island of Bali, which is something of a Shangri-La for Australian tourists who take advantage of its low-cost hotels and resorts where they can enjoy some of the finest beaches in the world. The tourist sector alone contributes some 14 percent

to Indonesia's GDP.

PriceWaterhouseCoopers, in a recent analysis of Indonesia's economic prospects, notes the country has one of Asia's fastest-growing middle classes, projected to reach 90 million by 2030. Recent reforms to its industrial and financial sectors have contributed to its impressive economic performance. So, too, have a series of reforms, which have opened up the political system to greater public scrutiny, transparency and accountability.

For many years, the country laboured under military rule and the increasingly heavy-handed and corrupt ways of General Suharto, who governed the country from 1967 until 1998. Following massive public unrest after the Asian financial crisis that sent Indonesia's economy into a tailspin, he was forced out of office. One could almost say that the "Arab Spring," which engulfed the Arab world 15 years later, had its precursor — at least in terms of the Muslim world — in Indonesia and Suharto's overthrow. However, unlike the Arab world today, Indonesia's political and economic transformation has been generally successful.

President B.J. Habibie, who succeeded Suharto, moved quickly to do what the International Monetary Fund had asked Indonesia to do in terms of economic stabilization and financial reforms. He also responded positively to donor calls to liberalize the political system by holding elections in local, provincial and national parliaments in 1999 and by allowing for greater freedom of speech and association.

Indonesia's military also returned to its barracks. Its soldiers can't vote in order to prevent them from being manipulated by unscrupulous generals and politicians.

But all has not been smooth sailing since, by any stretch of the imagination. Habibie's successors confronted a series of domestic crises as mounting inter-ethnic and religious strife wracked the nation and separatist movements, notably in Aceh and Irian Jaya, gathered momentum while East Timor successfully fought for its independence in 2002. Recent upticks in economic nationalism and a slight weakening in the economy and investor confidence (the World Bank projects a growth rate at 5.3 percent in its latest report) are perhaps more related to political posturing and poor policy-making exacerbated by the lead-up to the 2014 legislative and presidential elections. (President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono ends his second and final term this year.)

However, what is remarkable is that these events have not derailed Indonesia's steady internal path towards democratization and growth. And economically, the deck is stacked in Indonesia's favour with its relatively young population and rapidly growing levels of urbanization.

One of Indonesia's biggest internal challenges today is religious radicalization and the growing influence of vigilante Islamic groups in its big cities. As Khairil Azhar of Paramadina Foundation in Jakarta points out, Indonesia has had a long history of religious "puritanism" dating back to the 18th Century and groups that are similar to the Wahhabi radical Islamic movement on the Arabian Peninsula. In addition to the constant threat of terrorism that comes from radical Islamist extremists, the country also has to contend with growing Islamization in ordinary daily life. Islamists are targeting Indonesia's educational system just as the government is expanding access to education across the country and making real progress to achieve its Millennium Development Goal targets for basic education, including gender parity and literacy.

The paradox of Indonesia's political scene today is that Muslim-based parties, which adhere in some form to Islamic religious tenets, are actually losing public support as measured by their performance in recent elections at the civic or legislative level. In the 2009 election, they only reaped 26 percent of the popular vote compared to 44 percent in the country's first free election shortly after Indonesia gained its independence. However, the country's mainstream political parties are increasingly wrapping themselves in Islamist garb by, for example, supporting Sharia law in basic legislation.

Canada is a major investor in Indonesia. Canadian foreign direct investment, much of it concentrated in the natural resource sector, now exceeds \$3.2 billion. Two-way trade amounts to roughly \$3 billion annually. A recent survey of business attitudes by the Asia-Pacific Foundation finds Canadian companies rank Indonesia as the best place to do business in the region, alongside Singapore.

Indonesians have not forgotten that Canada for many years was — and continues to be — an important source of foreign aid to the country, which has bolstered economic growth and political stability. Our official development assistance (ODA) has helped alleviate the significant disparities in wealth and income in a country that is fragmented and divided by thousands of miles of ocean. Much of our current aid is now directed to helping one of the poorest regions, the island of Sulawesi, the country's third most populous.

There is still unrealized economic potential to tap in our relationship with Indonesia. However, the need for strategy and engaged leadership is critical, including the involvement of key groups such as the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and the Canadian Council of Chief Executives to promote stronger business ties between the two countries. Canada cannot afford to continue to fall behind, as it has in other Asian markets, by yielding ground to its competitors and arriving late — if not last — to the game. Government and business must move quickly to seize the potential in this key emerging market. Although Canada and Indonesia are not about to initiate free trade talks any time soon, they



Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

have been discussing a Foreign Investment Promotion and Protections (FIPA) agreement that would promote and protect investment within a legal framework.

As a champion of human rights, pluralism and democracy, Canada has much to contribute to Indonesia's own political development and consolidation of democracy. Indonesia is also a key ally in the area of counter-terrorism co-operation, where

our authorities continue to work closely with their Indonesian counterparts, and in defence, through Canada's Military Training Co-operation Program (MTCP).

To the extent that Canada wants to be a bigger and more significant player in the Southeast Asian region as a whole and in the region's evolving security architecture, Indonesia is a *sine qua non* to that engagement. Indonesia's support will be critical to Canada's bid for membership in security councils in the region, particularly the ASEAN defence ministers meeting-plus (ADMM-Plus) which is now the key venue for strategic dialogue on defence and security issues among ASEAN and its eight dialogue partners, Australia, China, Japan, India, Republic of Korea, New Zealand, Russia and the United States.

As Canada rises to meet the demands of a rapidly changing world, Indonesia must be central to that strategy and the re-shaping of our international economic and security policies and priorities.

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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COPLEY APPAREL COLLECTION F/W 2013/14

CANADA'S RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AMBASSADOR:

'Human rights are not a Western liberal democracy preserve.'

Andrew Bennett is Canada's first ambassador to the office of religious freedom, a position he accepted in February 2013.

A devout Catholic, he studied history at Dalhousie University and McGill University and completed a PhD in political science at the University of Edinburgh. He then worked for Natural Resources Canada, Export Development Canada, the Privy Council Office and was a professor at Augustine College in Ottawa. Today, he serves as subdeacon and cantor with the Holy Cross Eastern Catholic Chaplaincy and St. John the Baptist Ukrainian-Catholic Shrine. He's vice-president and chairman of the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute Foundation and is a godparent to five children. He sat down with *Diplomat's* editor, Jennifer Campbell. This is an edited transcript of their conversation.

Diplomat Magazine: How do you define your job?

Andrew Bennett: I received a fairly broad mandate: to promote and defend religious freedom overseas as part of Canada's foreign policy. We've done that by setting up the office and defining roles.

[We've defined it as] threefold. There's the advocacy side, which is my role as the ambassador — to go overseas to countries where there are significant issues and violations of religious freedom and to gather information about what's going on there and also to speak out and present the Canadian view of why it's so important that freedom of religion is defended. And then, it also means engaging our allies, who are strong defenders of freedom of religion.

Then there's the policy side, the other classic aspect of diplomacy, which is beginning to engage through different policy tools for, first, raising awareness about why it's important that Canada is defending free-

dom of religion and then looking at how we can engage countries where there are significant challenges.

The third aspect of the mandate is what we are going to do on the ground in terms of concrete outcomes. What kinds of concrete actions can we take? What kinds of programs can we launch? We have an annual budget of \$5 million, of which \$4.25 million is to be dedicated to programming in these countries. The rest goes toward running the office. We have a team of five, including myself.

DM: Freedom of religion or conscience is in our Charter of Rights; freedom of religion is also in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. You've called it a base freedom. So why is your position just being created now?

AB: That's a perfectly valid question. I think the reason it was created at this juncture is because we're seeing significant increases in violations of religious freedom around the world. Pew Research is a Washington-based, non-advocacy NGO that focuses on religion and public life and conducts quantitative and qualitative analysis that looks at the situation of freedom of religion in the world. They've developed two very useful indicators around two components that lead to violations of religious freedom. We see in their research, and that of the Hudson Institute, that the degree of religious persecution has been increasing over the last decade.

Pew's latest research demonstrates that 75 percent of the world's population live in countries that have high or very high restrictions on religious freedom. That's one-third of the countries in the world, but a lot of them are very populous — China, Pakistan. And we're also seeing increasing social hostilities against communities and so I think in looking at that, the Canadian government decided Canada's been a long-time defender of human rights, here's a right coming under increasing threat. There's an insistence that Canada would want to take action. It's what Canada does.

DM: Is atheism something you feel you need to protect?

AB: It's in a unique position. When we speak of freedom of religion, implicit in that is the freedom not to have a religious belief. Some will talk about 'freedom of religion or belief' to encapsulate that but I believe freedom of religion suffices. Freedom of religion is your human free will in matters of faith and that includes the freedom not to have any particular religious faith. I will defend [that]. When you look in the world, you do find atheists — who are in certain countries where there is an official religion that is enforced by the state — who are open about it and face persecution for that. There's a situation right now in Kazakhstan, where an atheist blogger is being targeted and I spoke out on that in a recent speech at the Ukrainian Canadian Congress in Toronto. We will speak out on it but I think it's important to realize that the vast majority of people who are being persecuted because their freedom of religion is violated are people of faith, so that is where our principal focus will be.

DM: Your mandate is to speak to and about other countries in defending freedom of religion. What about the Charter of Quebec values?

AB: My mandate is to focus on freedom of religion being violated abroad and when we're talking about that in other countries, we're talking about people being killed by their governments or by communities within that society that are targeting them because they disagree with their religious beliefs. That's not happening in Canada. We are able to promote freedom of religion as Canadian diplomats because in Canada we have robust institutions — parliament, legislatures, the courts, civil society — that have also stood up to defend freedom of religion. As citizens in Canada, we all have a responsibility to uphold all freedoms, regardless of what they may be. With regards to the situation in Quebec, there are other people within the government of Canada who have the mandate to speak out on that issue. I'll leave it to them to do that work.

DM: How do you decide where your budgetary priorities should be?

AB: We rely heavily on the missions to advise of the situations in those countries and we ask if there are partners — NGOs, civil society groups — that are doing work to advance inter-religious dialogue, sponsoring projects that support education, to get people to see the others as fel-

low citizens. We work actively with our missions to engage those partners to see if they'd be willing to propose a project that would be funded by the religious freedom fund — the \$425 million. They submit proposals [through a website] and we evaluate them. We also receive proposals from multilateral organizations.

Minister [John] Baird, at the end of August, announced a number of projects, one of which is with the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). They'll be working with countries in Central Asia and the South Caucasus to talk to governments about how you need

We're also working with an Indonesian group called Setara. They are going to be developing different mechanisms to monitor violations of freedom of religion in Indonesia.

We aren't trying to cover the whole waterfront, but we're focusing on certain countries where we can have a deep level of engagement, where we can speak with governments, civil society and faith communities. Nigeria would be one. We hope the same for Indonesia and Pakistan. There are other countries where we won't be able to have that level of dialogue, such as Iran, where it will be very pointed and



Egyptian Copts, those who've followed these monks, photographed at the beginning of the 20th Century, are on Andrew Bennett's radar.

to have a full understanding of what freedom of religion is. They can also submit proposals for us to assess. We also have different faith communities, civil society groups in Canada, who do work abroad. They can also submit proposals. The proposals go to an intra-departmental project selection committee made up of the different geographic desks at DFATD, people with programming expertise, and people from the finance and legal side. We decide which to recommend to the minister.

We've received a lot of proposals, upwards of 100, over the last number of months. We announced a bunch in August and we'll be announcing more in the coming weeks and months. We have one announced for Nigeria, in Plateau State, which has been the scene of significant sectarian clashes between Christians and Muslims, where thousands have been killed over the last decade. This project was initially launched under CIDA. It brings these groups together for dialogue.

frank statements by myself and [John Baird] to condemn violations of religious freedom. Dialogue, I think, would be very difficult, although we're always looking for ways to have dialogue with the Iranian people. China is obviously a very difficult country with regards to religious freedom. There's a very high level of government restrictions on almost all religious groups. There we hope to have a dialogue and find work that will broaden the understanding of why it's so important.

DM: How many countries have you been to, or reached?

AB: In terms of countries I've visited: Kazakhstan, Poland, Hungary, Turkey. I've also visited countries that are allies, such as the UK, France, the U.S. For the first half of 2014, we're looking at Nigeria, Pakistan and then we'll probably do a swing through southeast Asia. Again, [we're] looking at countries where we can have a deeper impact. My policy and

programming officers can also go and lay groundwork. We also reach out to foreign representatives here in Canada. I've met with representatives of all our allies: Germany, France, U.S., Holy See, the Netherlands, Norway. I'd say I've met a good few dozen [heads of mission] in total. I've got a good relationship with the Turkish ambassador, the Indonesian ambassador, the Ukrainian ambassador. The Russian ambassador [Georgiy Mamedov] reached out to me, and the [former] Israeli ambassador [Miriam Ziv] did, too.

So even though I don't have a domestic mandate, there is reaching out to the diplomatic corps and also to the different faith communities here in Canada. You have faith communities that are in the diaspora from these countries where there's a lot of persecution going on. I want to understand their concerns, what they're hearing. They're good sources for intelligence-gathering. When Minister Baird told me he wanted me to reach out to them, I told him that I wanted to do more than that — that I wanted to get to know them, and pray with them. So I've had a chance to meet with almost all the religious communities in Canada at least once. There are dozens — just Christians alone. I've met the major ones. We've had contacts with Catholics, the United Church, the Copts and other Middle Eastern Christian communities. I've had good meetings with the Sunni and Shiite clerics, with Tibetan Buddhists, the Baha'i community, the Sikhs.

I enjoy meeting these groups. I'm a devout Catholic and I think there's some skepticism about how a devout Catholic will fit in when he has to protect and defend all these different communities. A lot of these groups didn't know me from a hole in the wall and I think they thought 'ambassador, civil servant' but then when they find out I'm a man of faith and I'm very devout, any barriers that are there come down immediately. I've had very deep dialogues with these communities. We've talked about religious freedom but also what it means to have faith. It's also important to engage a lot of the different faith communities well-established in Canada, whether the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church, the Mennonites, the Jewish community, because they typically have organizations that can sponsor projects abroad. We want to work with them.

DM: When you're travelling, can you describe the general conversation back and

forth, especially if you've spoken with leaders from countries where religious persecution is a serious problem? Was Kazakhstan one?

AB: Yes. Turkey as well. That wasn't the easiest conversation to have with government there. One thing that kind of guides me is that we talk a lot about having principled foreign policy and the principles that guide that are Canadian values, freedom, democracy and human rights. I would take that even further and say these are universal principles that speak to a particular truth. What we believe in Canada and what we champion in terms of human rights and freedoms, these are not simply the preserve of Western Liberal democracies. These rights have a universal character and we need to be able to speak confidently about those rights in countries where they are violated.

In Kazakhstan and Turkey, I was raising issues where freedom of religion was being violated, including very specific cases where different communities were facing significant government restrictions on their ability to fully live out their faith, publicly and privately. It's not always very well received, but we shouldn't shy away from our principles by saying 'Well, that's just how that country does things.' If that country is violating fundamental freedoms, we need to be there to point to those truths.

Sometimes they'll throw things back in your face — basically 'How dare you come and preach to us?' Often they get their backs up a bit, but again, I think it all has to be couched in saying 'These are the issues we see, we're raising them with you and we'd like to do that in an ongoing

dialogue.' In some countries that won't be possible, but I think in most, we will be able to have that dialogue.

DM: Have you made any progress? If so, what?

AB: I'm not so naïve to think that things are going to change overnight but I think by having continuing dialogue, we can sort of move the yardstick a bit. One initial success we did have was in Sri Lanka. There's a case where a prominent Muslim leader was arrested by the Sri Lankan authorities and was held and not being given full access to family. He was brought in on a prevention of terrorism-type act, on some fairly spurious charges. We protested immediately, issued a statement, had a conversation with the Sri Lankan high commissioner. A few weeks later, he was released and his first stop was at our high commission in Colombo to thank Canada for speaking out.

We also released a statement about the imprisonment of Grand Ayatollah Boroujerdi in Iran. He's a moderate Shiite cleric who has challenged the Khamenei regime's approach to fusing Shia Islam with the state. He's been held in the notorious Evin prison for quite some time. Calling for his release, we received tremendous feedback from the ex-pat community here, thanking us for taking a stand. So it's important that we do make statements.

We have to do things in addition to that. In diplomacy, we make these statements — for example, calling on the Egyptian government to make sure there's sufficient security to protect Copts against violence. We need to continue to make those statements. We need to use all the tools at our disposal.



Tibetan activists demonstrate in Brussels for a free Tibet.

DM: How many other countries have such an office? Do you all meet?

AB: So, it's no great surprise that our closest allies in this regard are the U.S. and the United Kingdom. The U.S. has an Office of International Religious Freedom at the State Department. They also have a commission on international religious freedom, which is a congressionally appointed body. Those are two of my principal points of contact in the United States and unlike the Canadian model — this office exists through a decision of the machinery of government — in the U.S., those two bodies exist by virtue of a statute. There's also the office of faith-based initiatives within the State Department, which I'll be engaging as well. They work with faith communities in the U.S. with an eye to foreign policy. There's also Ira Forman, who is the president's special envoy to monitor and combat anti-Semitism. The U.S. has many different points of contact. In the UK, they don't have an officer per se, but they do have a minister of state, Baroness [Sayeeda Hussain] Warsi. She has a domestic focus and is within the foreign office so she also has responsibilities overseas. Other countries don't have offices, but they have ambassadors for human rights with freedom of religion as their core component — that would include France and the Netherlands. I've had many meetings in France and many meetings in the U.S. I expect in the new year to be meeting with counterparts in Germany and the Netherlands as a pitstop on my way back from some other places.

DM: What countries make you most hopeful? Least hopeful?



UN PHOTO

Nilson Tuwe Huni Kuĩ, an indigenous leader from the Western Amazon in Brazil, delivered an invocation at World Interfaith Harmony Week at the United Nations in February.

AB: I think Nigeria represents a country where there's a lot of progress taking place. The population is evenly divided between Christians and Muslims. The federal government doesn't have any restrictions on freedom of religion per se, but you have all these social hostilities. The governments at the federal and state level are really trying to deal with the situation, not only the sectarian violence, but also the pernicious activities of Boko Haram. It's a place where Canada has a long history of engagement. I think we can do things there. I'd say the same thing about Indonesia. There's been tremendous work done, through former CIDA-funded projects, including one with McGill University, where they're working with different Islamic universi-

ties in Indonesia. I think Turkey could also be one of those countries.

The major challenges would be countries such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, China. At the present time, Egypt is going through tremendous period of transition. I've got very good relations with Ambassador Wael Aboul-Magd in Ottawa, for whom I have tremendous respect, and certainly the Coptic Orthodox community here, in the UK and the U.S. I've reached out to them. Egypt is a country where it's very challenging now, but I think there are opportunities over time, as the transition moves forward, for us to engage and we'd very much like to do so.

DM: Can you share any stories from the field?



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AB: I've met so many wonderful people. I was just in Turkey and I got to meet with the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople. He's the first among equals from all the Orthodox patriarchs in the world. He's the 207th successor to Apostle Andrew, so the presence of Christianity in Turkey goes back to the first century.

DM: So it's a bit like meeting the Pope?

AB: Yes. And I'm an Eastern Catholic, a Ukrainian Catholic and so our mother church is actually the Church of Constantinople. It was wonderful meeting him, to be able to talk to him about freedom of religion and to see how he, not only as the ecumenical patriarch, the Greek-Orthodox archbishop, but also as a citizen of Turkey, says: 'We have every right to have freedom of religion and to be legally recognized in Turkey as a community, and to have fewer restrictions on our community.' And then, to just engage with him as a very holy man and a man of great wisdom, that was a wonderful opportunity.

One of the most meaningful interactions I've had was actually in Toronto, through the work of [Rev.] Majed El Shafie of One Free World International. He is a convert to Christianity. He was an Egyptian Muslim who converted and had to flee Egypt. He's now a tireless and fearless defender of people facing persecution in many parts of the world, particularly in the Middle East and Central Asia. He met with me in Toronto and brought with him a young man in his 20s, an Afghan Christian. He had converted from Islam and was part of a small house church in Kabul. He was arrested by the Afghan authorities on a charge of apostasy. He was given away by people who knew him and he was taken to the police station where he was brutally assaulted and tortured.

And there he was, sitting in front of me with his young wife and their first-born child and at that meeting, well, I heard his whole story and then [Rev.] El Shafie said: 'Is there anything you'd like to ask him?' I'm usually a pretty stoic, solid sort of guy. I just broke down because there I was, confronted face-to-face by someone who'd faced tremendous persecution. He'd been welcomed to Canada and is now making his life here. In the midst of all that we do as diplomats — the advocacy, the programming work, the policy — you can't forget that you're doing it for people like him who are suffering and have suffered. And that's why Canada has to do what it does. ■



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CARE Canada: A powerful catalyst for change

By Darcy Knoll

When we talk about development, we don't usually think of little grocery stores. However, in a small village in Pakistan's Punjab province, one little shop is testament to how an international organization can inspire a community.

But before we get to the store, we need to talk roads. In Pakistan, CARE Canada is currently administering a project funded by the Canadian government. It aims to reach some of the most vulnerable women in Sindh and Punjab provinces with non-traditional work as part of road maintenance teams.

"So far, more than 3,750 women have maintained over 6,000 kilometres of rural earthen roads in their districts," says Sumair Khalid, a communications officer with CARE in Pakistan. In addition, the women involved in these teams take part in business, health and gender-equality training.

"The maintenance of roads is the vehicle for these women to progress towards empowerment. Working at the forefront of their community, they gain confidence and learn to apply lessons from the life-skills training," says Mr. Khalid.

CARE was founded in 1945 to provide "CARE packages" to displaced people in Europe after the Second World War. Today, CARE International operates in more than 80 countries with poverty-fighting projects that reach more than 83 million people. CARE accomplishes this thanks to the collaboration of member offices across the world, including CARE Canada.

"Canadians are well-represented in the CARE International family," says Gillian Barth, president and CEO of CARE Canada. Based in Ottawa, CARE Canada manages seven country offices and has a wide range of projects that provide immediate emergency relief and longer-term development assistance.

A volunteer board of directors made up of 18 prominent Canadians oversees CARE Canada's annual operating budget of \$150 million.

"We are fortunate to have such a high-calibre board," says Ms Barth. "The list includes a former deputy secretary-general of the UN, a former deputy prime minister, a former assistant auditor general of Canada, a number of [former] diplomats and senior federal government officials,



Kausar Parveen was a participant in CARE Canada's community infrastructure improvement project and bought a small grocery store with her earnings.

and representatives from academia and industry. They provide crucial oversight and expert advice."

CARE Canada's projects are funded through the support of individual Canadians, foundations, corporations and the federal government. The organization also works with international agencies such as the World Food Programme and UN Refugee Agency.

"Part of CARE's strength is its unique ability to meld both an immediate, life-saving emergency response when needed, with a long-term development approach to help the world's poorest communities recover from conflict and disasters and lift themselves from poverty," Ms Barth says.

The organization prides itself on the quality of its humanitarian and emergency-relief operations. In the past few years, CARE has responded to food crises in Africa, supported refugees from the conflict in Syria and helped communities recover from devastating natural disasters such as the 2010 Haiti earthquake or, more recently, Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines. At the same time, CARE Canada's development efforts are broad and focus on such areas as food and nutrition, economic development and maternal and child health.

As an example, thanks to the federal government's investment in maternal, newborn and child health in 2010, CARE Canada is operating in Ethiopia, Malawi, Tanzania and Zimbabwe to address the root causes that are negatively affecting the health of women, children and their communities. These projects are expected to improve the lives of 2.3 million people.

CARE places a special focus in its programming on addressing the needs of women and girls, those most at risk during an emergency and disproportionately affected by poverty. This includes women such as Pakistan's Kausar Parveen, 35, a participant in CARE Canada's community infrastructure improvement project. With the money she earned as part of a CARE road maintenance crew, she bought a small grocery store. Business training she received through CARE has helped her double her sales and increase profits each month.

More important, she has become an inspiring role model for women in her community. Her example shows how organizations such as CARE can be powerful catalysts for change.

Darcy Knoll is the communications manager for CARE Canada.

Diplomacy in all its elegance benefits the National Capital Region's Children's Wish Foundation

It's one of the Ottawa Diplomatic Association's most elegant events of the year and also one of its best networking opportunities.

The annual black-tie diplomatic ball has become such a popular event that it sold out three weeks beforehand. The ball began in 2011 as the brainchild of former Zambian high commissioner Nevers Mumba, as a way to connect the diplomatic, business and political communities of Ottawa and allow diplomats to talk business and politics in a relaxed setting. Mr. Mumba also felt it was a chance for diplomats to take a break from their busy schedules and have some fun with their colleagues.

A newer mission of the ball is to find a way for the diplomatic community as a whole to make a contribution to its host country, Canada, by giving some of its proceeds to a Canadian charity. This year's recipient is the national capital region's Children's Wish Foundation and the organizing committee has worked in collaboration with the charity's board chairman, Ian Smith, who collected enticing items for a silent auction. Half of the proceeds from the silent auction will go to the charity.

"We are honoured to be part of the ball for two reasons," said Mr. Smith, who is also a protocol adviser at Ottawa City Hall. First, he said, it helps to be involved for purposes of awareness.

"We want to be able to reach out to the multicultural communities of Ottawa to let them know about our services and the diplomatic community is a good way to do that," Mr. Smith said.

Second, he said, the foundation sometimes needs to enlist the help of an embassy to make a child's wish come true, whether it's for travel visas or for something more material that the embassy may be able to facilitate.

"That helps to make the diplomats feel that they're really part of the community," he said.

Ball chairwoman and ODA vice-president Habiba Chakir said that, between Mr. Smith and the ODA, they collected \$30,000 worth of items for the silent auction. In total, the ball raised \$13,000, \$6,500 of which went to the wish foundation. ■



SAM GARCIA

Former governor general Michaëlle Jean takes to the dance floor with Zambian High Commissioner Bobby M. Samakai, President, Ottawa Diplomatic Association.



LOIS SIEGEL

From left, Vivian Monteith with his wife, Jamaican High Commissioner Sheila Sealy Monteith; Barbados High Commissioner Edward Evelyn Greaves with his wife, Francilia Greaves; Bahamas High Commissioner Calsey W. Johnson with his wife, Dulcena; Florence Liautaud with her husband, Haitian Ambassador Frantz Liautaud.



LOIS SIEGEL

The Children's Wish Foundation was the ball's chosen charity this year. From left, Joy Noonan, board member; Councillor Mathieu Fleury, board member; Julie Thibeault, board member; Ian F. Smith, chair of the board; Anthony Woods, board member; wish child Ashley Lawrence, Sue Walker, Ottawa chapter director; and Ashley's family — Megan, Doug and Lisa Lawrence.



LOIS SIEGEL

Former governor general Michaëlle Jean with her husband, Jean-Daniel Lafond, with Habiba Chakir, Vice-President, Ottawa Diplomatic Association



LOIS SIEGEL

Yemeni Ambassador Khaled Mahfoudh Bahah and his wife, Rima.



LOIS SIEGEL

Ball-goers, including former chief of defence staff Rick Hillier (at right), peruse silent auction items.



SAM GARCIA

Dancing diplomats: From left, Zimbabwean Ambassador Florence Chideya gets down with Indonesian Ambassador Dienne Moehario and Tanzanian High Commissioner Alex Massinda.

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Algeria-Canada: Towards more dynamic relations



*By Smail Benamara
Ambassador of Algeria*

Canada recognized Algeria upon independence in 1962, and diplomatic relations were established in 1964. They have been excellent ever since. Approximately 100,000 people of Algerian origin live in Canada, primarily in the Montreal area. Canada is an attractive destination for Algerian students and tourists, more than 9,000 of whom visited Canada in 2012.

In terms of top official visits, former governor-general Michaëlle Jean visited Algeria in 2006 as part of a tour of Africa during which she promoted the partnership between Canada and Algeria in assisting in African development. In 2010, Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika visited Canada to take part in the G8 Summit in Muskoka.

Both countries are about to celebrate 50 years of diplomatic relations. It is a pleasure to note that, throughout this period, regardless of what government is in place in Algeria or in Ottawa, these relations have always been characterized by mutual respect and dialogue.

At the economic level, the numbers are impressive and reflect a growing trend in exchanges. Algeria is one of Canada's top trading partners in Africa and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region.

Algeria's market of 37 million inhabitants, along with its energy wealth and growing demands for modern infrastructure have generated interest from governments and companies around the world, including Canada. Algeria's economy is expected to grow at a healthy pace.

The Algerian government has invested heavily to improve its business environment. My country has been defined



Algiers, where Foreign Minister John Baird paid a visit to last year.

by stability and a drive for economic diversification. The Algerian economy has opened significantly in recent years towards a more market-oriented model.

In 2012, Canada's bilateral trade with Algeria totalled \$6.4 billion Cdn. Canadian exports totalled \$419.67 million and imports \$5.98 billion. Canadian merchandise exports to Algeria were primarily durum wheat, cereals, legumes, machinery, and scientific and precision equipment. Algeria, through the Algerian Interprofessional Wheat Board (Office Algérien Interprofessionnel des céréales-OAIC), is among the major partners of the Canadian Wheat Board (WHB).

In 2012, top Canadian imports from Algeria were oil. In addition, Canada imports dates, wines and virgin olive oil.

The activities of Canadian companies doing business in Algeria range from basic foodstuffs to hydrocarbons; from aeronautics to construction and consulting.

As part of its development, the Algerian government approved a \$286-billion, five-year public investment plan in 2010. It aims to boost infrastructure and meet the challenge of diversifying the country's economy away from oil dependency. The 2010-2014 public program for economic and social development is based on seven major axes: human development, basic infrastructure development, public service

improvement, economic development, unemployment control, scientific research and new communication technologies.

Algeria is committed, through this five-year plan, to boosting the industrial sector as well as supporting small- and medium-sized businesses and creating more jobs through the establishment of industrial zones.

Today, more than ever, Algeria and Canada are strengthening their bilateral relations, as was confirmed by the successful visit paid to Algiers in September 2013 by Foreign Minister John Baird.

The discussions focused on several aspects of bilateral co-operation, including regional security, education and prospects for strengthening economic co-operation. The parties expressed satisfaction with the quality of bilateral relations and committed to initiate actions likely to strengthen them, including convening the first meeting of the mechanism of political consultations signed between both countries in January 2011.

After Mr. Baird's visit, Canada expanded its air agreement with Algeria. In fact, flights from Algeria to Canada will increase from weekly to daily beginning in June 2014.

The expansion of the bilateral air transport agreement will make it more convenient for people to fly between our two countries and provide benefits to Canadian businessmen travelling to Algeria.

As far as trade co-operation is concerned, the Canada-Algeria Business Alliance (CABA) has established a new board of directors and appointed Denis Paradis as chairman of this alliance.

CABA aims at promoting its members' common interest and developing business partnerships between Canada and Algeria. One of its activities in early 2014 will be an important trade mission to Algeria.

The Algerian market remains open and attractive for Canadian companies. We hope to see more business men and women from Quebec and other provinces (Ontario, Alberta and the Maritimes) joining this mission.

Smail Benamara is ambassador of Algeria and dean of the Arab ambassadors group in Canada. Email info@embassyalgeria.ca to reach him.

Estonia's small but its trade ambitions are not



By Gita Kalmet
Ambassador of Estonia

2013 was an exceptional year in Estonian-Canadian relations, as President Toomas Hendrik Ilves made the first Estonian state visit to Canada in May. One of his focuses was to reaffirm the importance of good political relations and co-operation on transatlantic issues, trade and education.

On the trade side, there is room for improvement. Canada is Estonia's 31st largest trading partner as its 23rd largest export market and 40th largest source of imports. Estonians trade more with neighbours and partners in Europe and for Canada, our market may often seem too small. But as always, perspective is key. Estonia is part of the Baltic Sea region, a market that unites more than 100 million consumers. The Baltic Sea region has many pre-eminent characteristics: open economies, positive growth, excellent international connections, a well-functioning infrastructure, vibrant business communities, highly educated citizens and a strong work ethic. In addition to the closely integrated EU member states, this region also includes parts of Russia bordering the Baltic Sea.

Estonia is one of the most direct and favourable transit corridors between developing Eastern markets, Europe and North America. Its capital, Tallinn, is one of the largest ports on the Baltic Sea, and large investments in infrastructure have brought its facilities to international standards. Co-operation between the ports of Tallinn and Halifax already exists.

Estonia's primary exports to Canada are petroleum oils and gases, phones and other telecommunications equipment, elevators, escalators, conveyors, food products, beverages and medical and



Tallinn's port has world-class facilities.

measuring equipment. Estonia buys audio and signalling equipment and agricultural and forestry machines, as well as sawn timber, leather and pelts.

Estonian industry has been strong in machinery, but our future will be determined by our software and internet-based services. There, our small size can be an advantage in finding creative, effective and innovative solutions.

Potential co-operation in information technology arose recently at high-level political meetings in Ottawa and Toronto. There are more start-ups per capita in Estonia than anywhere else in Europe and Estonia has high-performance teams with innovative ideas in Tallinn, Tartu, London, Silicon Valley and Delaware.

Estonian start-ups have introduced ideas now used worldwide. Erply, for example, makes cloud-based low-cost electronic point-of-sale software for retail stores. Transfer-wise is an online currency exchange service that lets ex-pats, foreign students and businesses transfer money wherever needed, at the lowest possible cost. Mobile One has rapidly become a global leader in mobile payments and parking technology. It was among the first to develop technology that allows users to pay for parking using a cellphone. Others include GrabCad, a collaboration platform for mechanical engineers, ZeroTurn-around, Fortumo and Kinotehnik.

Estonia's most famous tech company, however, is Skype, whose technology was developed by four Tallinn programmers. Music fans will know Kazaa, an application used to exchange MP3 files, while Playtech, listed on the London Stock Exchange, is a big name in online gambling software and bases its largest development centre in Estonia.

Canadians could benefit from many

Estonian innovations. For example, the X-Road, the backbone of Estonian e-governance, has become a notable export. With a single card, Estonians can log into and manage their taxes, health records, banking and financial affairs. They can register a new company online in less than 15 minutes and vote in municipal and national elections. Nordic neighbours and other European states are now considering the system as a blueprint for secure and reliable e-government strategies. The province of Quebec has also shown interest and a pilot project may follow.

According to a recent report by the OECD and European Commission, Estonia leads a list of 30 countries in implementing e-health services. Our secure systems ensure complete patient health records are available to doctors, regardless of their location in Estonia.

What many may not know is that TopConnect, one of Estonia's nominees for its business-of-the-year award, does not export machinery, but rather telecommunications services that are provided in 67 countries, including the U.S. The owners of the company live and work in Toronto, yet its TravelSim service hasn't yet found success in Canada.

The creative industry is another area to explore. Canada's cultural exports, including opera and jazz, *Cirque du Soleil* and Robert Lepage's *Far Side of the Moon*, have been well received in Estonia and the Emily Carr University of Art + Design and the Estonian Academy of Arts have a co-operation agreement. In addition, Estonia's Trash to Trend, the first industrial upcycler in the world, has developed a niche service by finding uses for fabric leftovers in the fashion industry.

Finally, I must mention the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement between Canada and the EU. While the Canadian media might suggest CETA is no more than a cheese, pork and beef agreement, its promise of mutual recognition of qualifications, trade in services and intellectual property rights are key for Estonians, who are more interested in offering new ideas and technologies than selling cheese.

Gita Kalmet is Estonia's ambassador to Canada. Reach her at (613) 789-4222.

Overcoming Africa's critical challenges



By Robert I. Rotberg

Sustaining sub-Saharan Africa's current welcome prosperity, especially an average annual GDP growth of five percent, will demand enhanced or better political leadership, improvements in prevailing methods of governance, a canny embrace of Chinese mercantilism and the ability to cope successfully with or effectively manage the many serious problems — demographics, energy shortfalls, paucities of educational opportunity, scarcity of water and new and old diseases — that threaten to halt or marginalize the continent's progress.

The future of the 49 very distinct countries of sub-Saharan Africa is at a critical inflection point. If China itself, on the back of North American and European consumer purchases and domestic demand, continues to grow annually at nearly eight percent a year, African countries will be able to continue very profitably to export their petroleum, natural gas and base minerals across the high seas to Beijing, Shanghai, Guangdong and Chengdu. As long as China wants more and more of Africa's natural resources, Africa's people (and especially its elites) will benefit and their living standards will eke upwards. But Africa must also learn to manage China.

China and Africa

Global commodity prices, which are fuelling Africa's GDP growth averages, are driven largely by Chinese demand. Propelled by the same impulses, offshore and onshore, Africa is being explored and, over time, exploited. Countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Mozambique, Ghana and Chad have recently joined the known energy exporters of Nigeria, Angola, Equatorial Guinea and the Sudan,



This eight-year-old Tanzanian boy received an injection with an HIV-infected needle while being treated for malaria and soon developed AIDS.

but this important momentum depends on China's relentless appetite.

So does the infrastructural boom that is now benefiting Africa. China is building roads, railways, schools, hospitals, party headquarters, stadiums, and almost anything else the African leaders with whom China co-operates want. It is also building dams for hydropower in dozens of countries despite the fervent protestations of environmentalists. As former British prime minister Tony Blair has said: "if a country in Africa wants something done, such as building a road, they go to the [Western] donor community and it ends up...[mired] in months of bureaucracy. If you tell the Chinese you want a road, the next day someone is out there with

a shovel." By 2013, Chinese operatives controlled about 40 percent of the sub-Saharan African construction market.

Not all Chinese projects turn out well; there are many shoddy examples that have had to be re-done or abandoned. The Chinese have also been slow to employ Africans, even as manual labourers, preferring Chinese workers imported from home. China has also been reluctant to transfer technology along with a completed edifice or transportation improvement. Mining management and supervision of road building are all controlled by Chinese; Africans are not allowed to handle the wheels of real power. The Chinese attitude almost everywhere seems to focus on getting a job done, even

if they need to use sharp elbows along the way.

These and similar attitudes have not endeared China to African workers. African consumers sometimes complain about cheap goods that fall apart. And African traders, like the chicken sellers in Lusaka's central market, moan that Chinese traders get up earlier and import less expensive chickens from China, thus gaining unfair advantage in the battle for consumer attention.

China naturally curries favour with those who rule, and does so bilaterally rather than through multilateral African consortia. That means that it ends up working hand in glove with petroleum-controlling autocrats, such as those in Angola or the Sudan, or with a tyrant such as President Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe, who controls diamonds, ferrochrome, platinum and more. China has also supplied weapons and ammunition that predators such as those in the Sudan have used to attack civilians in the Blue Nile, South Kordofan and Darfur districts of the Sudan. It is alleged to have assisted Mugabe in rigging the last election in Zimbabwe and shoring up the merciless regime in Equatorial Guinea.

Chinese nationals, but not necessarily the Chinese government, are also responsible for fuelling a great spike in the poaching of elephants for their tusks and rhinoceroses for their horns since 2007. Fully 70 percent of global demand for these illicit products is Chinese and Chinese entrepreneurs and syndicates are known to employ African gangs to do their bidding against the continent's dwindling herds of elephants and rhinoceroses.

The demographic challenge

Africa is exploding. Half of all those born in the world from now until 2050 will be Africans. Sub-Saharan Africa is growing in population faster than any other part of the world, despite the heavy presence of HIV/AIDS, malaria, antibiotic resistant tuberculosis, diarrhea and many other ailments, drunk drivers and high rates of infant and maternal mortality. Add to this result the intensifying civil conflicts in the Central African Republic, the Congo, Mali, Somalia, South Sudan and the Sudan.

African fertility exceeds that of every other section of the globe. African families are larger, with more dependent children. Family median age is younger. At mid-century, Africa is predicted to have by far the globe's youngest population, with more than half of all African countries



China naturally curries favour with those who rule, which means it ends up working with tyrants such as Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, who controls diamonds, ferrochrome, platinum and more.

filled by the new youth bulge.

If the increase in the population of the planet follows the extrapolations of the UN Population Division, in 2100 there will be 4.6 billion Asians and 3.7 billion Africans, an enormous increase of Africans.

Nigeria, today with 162 million — Africa's largest country and the seventh largest nation in the world — will swell in 2100 to 730 million and become the third largest polity in the world after India and China. The United States at 478 million will follow. Fifth in this new order will be Tanzania, a mere 45 million now but forecast by the UN to include 316 million people in 2100. Pakistan and Indonesia will be next and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, now holding 66 million and many killing fields, will increase in 2100 to 212 million and become the globe's eighth largest entity. Little Malawi is expected to grow from 13 million to 130 million and Kenya from 40 million to 160 million.

Lagos and Kinshasa will soon be larger (and more congested) than Cairo. Canada's entire population could soon fit into just these two cities. A congested place like Rwanda will have 987 persons per square kilometre, up from 403 today; it will soon be more crowded than Japan, on average. Overall, Africa's population will shortly become more than 50 percent urbanized and, before long, 75 percent of its people will live in cities.

The central question facing Africa and its leaders is whether this population explosion will become a demographic dividend, as it did in Southeast Asia in the 1980s, or whether it will produce a demographic disaster of a cataclysmic nature. Will Africa's political leaders and governance structures respond well to these new population pressures? Will Africa be able to feed itself? Will there be enough water, a robust enough infrastructure, sufficient electrical power, and much else, to meet the needs of these new numbers of city dwellers? Already Lagos and Kinshasa are very difficult to manage and supply. And will governments be able to keep their city residents secure and safe?

Governance and leadership

The answers to all of these questions, and to taking the best advantage of Chinese resource appetites, depends on the extent to which the countries of sub-Saharan Africa can strengthen the way they perform as governments and improve the way their political masters lead.

As Tony Blair has said, "The biggest obstacle to Africa's development is governance." Only by delivering to citizens the key political goods (collectively governance) of security and safety, rule of law and transparency, political participation, economic development and human development (education and health), can

the nations of Africa catch up with Asia, attract investment, cope with severe demographic challenges, educate their multitudes and provide the peace and stability their increasingly middle-class populations desperately demand.

Today, only a handful of governments uplift their peoples by providing good governance. Instead, the majority, such as the misnamed Democratic Republic of Congo, enrich their elites, prey on their own citizens, ignore the delivery of health and educational services and allow inflation and corruption to increase exponentially.

Contemporary sub-Saharan Africa has three kinds of governments: a clearly well-performing set of a dozen or so, a middle group of about two dozen that are trying to climb up the governance rankings and a desperately ill-governed rabble of another dozen or more that do very little to meet the aspirations of their people. At the top are Mauritius, Cape Verde, Botswana, the Seychelles, South Africa, Namibia, Ghana, Lesotho, Tanzania, São Tomé and Príncipe, Zambia and Benin. These are mostly literate places that adhere to the rule of law, hold regular elections, are growing economically and offer relatively high standards of medical care. They are secure



Chinese nationals, but not necessarily the Chinese government, are also responsible for fuelling a spike in poaching elephants for their tusks and rhinoceroses for their horns.

and, except for South Africa, comparatively safe countries. A few of them, primarily the top four, are remarkably free of corruption.

The special ingredient in each of these well-governed sub-Saharan African states has been visionary, responsible leader-

ship. It has invigorated and ensured high-quality governance and created a political culture — a value system — that has enabled strong political institutions to be implanted, to grow and to flourish. That combination of committed leadership, democratic political cultures and solid institutions has provided the foundation and strengthened good governance. It has, in turn, led to exemplary economic performance, rising standards of living (in the cases of Botswana and Mauritius over four decades) and large degrees of citizen satisfaction.

Some of the middle-ranking countries in the list are catching up with the top performers precisely because they are better led than ever before. Liberia has jumped a number of places in the rankings, as have Malawi and Rwanda. And better leadership accounts for Tanzania and Zambia's arrival in the charmed top-governance performance circle.

To transform the worst of the worst — the Sudans, Chads, Central African Republics, Zimbabwe, and even Nigerias — of Africa into countries that deliver reasonable attributes of governance (and therefore improved livelihoods) to their citizens, these countries need leaders who devote themselves to national needs rather than to clan, lineage or personal enrichment. Only when such responsible and effective rulers are recruited or vaulted to power by a newly emboldened middle class will those spaces where lamentable governance and internecine conflict are the norm begin to deliver key political goods to their peoples. Making such transitions happen is a task mostly for Africans themselves, but the United Nations, the African Union, and like-minded donors can nudge and assist by strengthening leadership capacity and building or rebuilding structures of good governance.

Sometimes, too, as in Mali and Somalia, outside intervention is required to save a democracy from succumbing to terror, or to prevent unusually high levels of human suffering caused by bad leadership and the absence of good governance. But those instances will continue to be exceptional. Africa must continue to nurture its own better leaders and to pay ever closer attention to improving governance.

Robert I. Rotberg is Fulbright Research Professor at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University and a senior fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation.

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Free Trade with Europe: A deal at last

By Patrick Leblond

After more than a year of being told the end of the negotiations was nigh, Canada and the European Union finally reached a deal on the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) last October. This is Canada's most significant bilateral trade agreement since the North American Free Trade Agreement, which is now 20 years old. For the EU, CETA is also significant because it is the first deal agreed to with a G7 country as well as being the most elaborate trade and economic agreement it has achieved so far. Furthermore, CETA will influence the EU's negotiations, begun last summer, for a similar agreement with the United States (known as the TTIP or Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership).

At the beginning of the negotiations, we were told that reaching an agreement would take a couple of years. In reality, it took more than four years. Why did it take so long? One of the reasons is that the timeline was simply too unrealistic. Most seasoned trade negotiators will tell you that negotiating such an ambitious "second-generation" free-trade agreement, involving not only the reduction, if not elimination, of trade barriers at the border (e.g., tariffs and quotas) but also of barriers beyond the border (thus, the second generation label), such as regulations, for instance, is not something that can be done easily and quickly.

Furthermore, the EU requested that the Canadian provinces and territories be an integral part of the negotiations. That means they were sitting in the negotiating rooms discussing the issues that fell within their jurisdictions, which is the case for many beyond-the-border trade and investment barriers. The reason for this unusual request, given that only the federal government is constitutionally entitled to negotiate and sign international trade agreements, is that the Europeans feared that if the provinces did not actively participate in the negotiations, it would have been easy for them to say they were not obliged to respect the agreement's contents.

It is indicative of the provinces' importance to the negotiations that a deal was announced in principle between Canada and the EU only when an agreement had



Prime Minister Stephen Harper and José Manuel Barroso, president of the European Commission, announce they reached a political agreement on the key elements of CETA.

been reached on two agricultural issues that were deemed of vital interest for three of Canada's largest provinces. In fact, these issues were ultimately pitted against each other politically and were only resolved when Prime Minister Stephen Harper got involved. Alberta was pushing for the EU to increase its quota for beef and pork imported from Canada tariff-free, which is something producers in the EU were not very keen on. In exchange, the EU was asking Canada to increase its quota of dairy products (cheese, for example) imported from Europe tariff-free, which Canadian dairy producers, mainly in Quebec and (eastern) Ontario, opposed.

In the end, the prime minister sided with Alberta, but offered (still to be determined) compensations to Canadian dairy producers should they eventually suffer losses as a result of greater cheese imports from the EU. This decision makes sense for the prime minister and his Conservative party, given that their political base is predominantly located in Western Canada, especially in Alberta.

Nevertheless, the prime minister could not completely ignore dairy farmers' complaints of being sold out at the expense of beef and pork, a position the Ontario and Quebec governments strongly defended. This is because those provinces will be responsible for implementing significant portions of CETA. As a result, provinces such as Ontario and Quebec could threaten not to implement certain provi-

sions of the agreement unless the federal government compensates dairy producers for the losses that would result from CETA. Such threats could ultimately have scared away the Europeans from accepting an agreement, which they would have seen as not worth their while (if Ontario and Quebec, with the two largest public markets in Canada, decided not to enforce the non-discrimination rules applying to government procurement contracts found in CETA). So even though the provinces are legally not parties to CETA, it does not mean that they were devoid of any leverage during the negotiations.

According to documents released so far, the agreement will eliminate tariff duties on all non-agricultural goods over a seven-year period, with 98 percent of tariffs brought to 0 percent immediately when CETA comes into force. In the case of agricultural goods, approximately 95 percent of them will be traded duty-free, with some goods benefiting from a transition period of up to seven years. As mentioned above, EU tariffs on beef and pork imports from Canada will remain in place, except that quotas for imports free of duties will be significantly increased from their current levels. Conversely, Canada will maintain tariffs on the importation of dairy products from the EU, but will increase the quotas under which such goods (mainly cheese) can be imported tariff-free. Canada's current protective measures for poultry and eggs will be maintained, however.

CETA will also reduce trading costs arising from technical barriers to trade (for example, technical regulations or testing and certification requirements). It will do so by specifying the steps necessary to have regulations recognized as equivalent by the other party to the agreement, thereby avoiding the costly need for goods to be produced using different standards depending on whether they are meant to be exported or sold at home. Moreover, CETA will make it possible for testing and certification bodies to be recognized in both jurisdictions, eliminating duplication in the certification of product and process. Finally, the agreement establishes

WHAT YOU MAY NOT KNOW ABOUT CANADA-EU TRADE

- Canadian exports to the EU were higher in 2011 and 2012 than in 2008, before the economic crisis began.
- Based on past experience, the price of specialty cheese is unlikely to be lower as a result of the increase in the Canadian cheese import quotas since consumers are used to paying high prices.
- Many of the holders of cheese import quotas are cheese producers themselves, including all the main producers.
- Cheese import quotas do not have to be used by their holders, especially if it is going to hurt their own production.
- In spite of the increase in the EU import quotas, beef and pork producers will still have to satisfy European food and safety standards.

mechanisms to encourage regulators and standard-setters from Canada and Europe to co-operate on the development of future technical regulations.

Similar regulatory co-operation will take place to facilitate trade in services. For instance, CETA will streamline the processes used for the mutual recognition of professional qualifications. This means engineers or architects, for example, should be able to offer their services in both jurisdictions, regardless of where they are actually certified. To further facilitate trade in services, the agreement will enhance the mobility of skilled professionals and businesspeople between Canada and the EU by making it easier for them to visit or relocate temporarily in the other jurisdiction to provide services or oversee investments and operations.

One final key element found in CETA is the opening of government procurements markets, whereby firms from Canada and the EU will no longer be subject to discrimination on the basis of their nationality when having their offers of goods and/or services evaluated by public authorities, agencies and enterprises, whether they are municipal or supranational (for now, this non-discrimination rule applies only to the national and supranational levels). There are, however, some exceptions. For instance, procurement contracts below certain thresholds (from \$205,000 for general goods and services to \$7.8 million for construction services) are exempted from the non-discrimination obligation.

So what is the big deal with CETA? For one, Canadian firms will have easier access to the world's largest economy and the country's second most important economic partner. Moreover, they will be in a privileged position to benefit from Europe's eventual rebound from the financial crisis. Finally, as a result of CETA, Canada should see increased investment from European firms, which are already the country's second largest investors after American businesses. Not only should the above benefits help the Canadian economy grow, they should also make it less dependent on the ebbs and flows of the U.S. economy.

The EU, for its part, will face similar benefits from CETA. For instance, its firms will have cheaper access to a major world economy (similar in size to India's). The agreement will also offer EU firms the possibility to establish a privileged position to access U.S. markets until the TTIP negotiations are concluded (the EU already has a free-trade agreement with Mexico). Finally, as a result of CETA, the EU should see increased investment from Canadian firms, which are already among the largest investors in the region.

Failure to agree to CETA would have been a serious blow for Canada. Not only would Canada have lost all credibility when it comes to negotiating trade agreements, it would have been left in a position to wait for the TTIP negotiations to conclude and then accept whatever deal was on offer from the Americans and Europeans.

Now, instead of being a deal-taker, Canada is in a (albeit indirect) position to influence the future of transatlantic trade through CETA. In the context of Asia's economic rise, this is particularly important. It will not only improve the transatlantic region's economic wealth prospects,

but also provide a strong negotiating platform from which to influence future international trade rules, whether multilateral or bilateral. Let's now hope that the EU and the U.S. can reach an agreement on TTIP relatively quickly and that it is close enough to CETA to lead to the formation of an economically integrated and prosperous transatlantic economic area. The future of the world economy may not lie solely in the Asia-Pacific after all.

Patrick Leblond is an associate professor in the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Ottawa and a research associate at CIRANO in Montreal.






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A young boy in the slums of Calcutta (Kolkata).

Top 10 World Woes

A look at some of the planet's most troubling problems and how countries can solve (or try to solve) them



UN PHOTO

U.S. President Barack Obama, Queen Elizabeth II and countless other leaders have sought her insights. Prime Minister Stephen Harper has met with her and the government will grant her honorary Canadian citizenship. She has received multiple prizes, including the precious Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought, and she addressed the United Nations on her 16th birthday.

It must have been a momentous occasion for Malala Yousafzai, who just months earlier was clinging to life after Taliban militia had boarded her school bus and shot her in the head at point blank range. Her crime? Malala campaigned for girls to go to school without fear in Pakistan's Swat Valley, where fundamentalists have restricted educational access on religious grounds. Yes, it is easy to exaggerate Malala's contributions and she has already experienced a backlash, a backlash that perhaps says more about the muddled identity of Pakistan than Malala, as *The New York Times* suggests. But her story of perseverance in the face of daunting challenges also points to the power of example. It is this simple premise that animates this list. Looking at the large global issues that face the world, we look to exemplary practices or individuals. Granted, this list could have been much longer and the entry under each item much more extensive. Some — maybe many — readers will quibble with some of the comments that follow. But that is perhaps the point. This list does not aim for comprehensiveness, but rather for inspiration.

1. Basic infrastructure

Effective governance does not end with the stable provision of basic services such as housing, electricity and water, but it is a good start, an elementary lesson of politics often lost in the grandest designs of statesmanship.

To appreciate this point, we need only ponder the current state of Iraq. Parveen Rahman certainly knew how to win hearts and minds as head of the Orangi Pilot Project (OPP). One of the best-known non-governmental organizations (NGOs), it provides sanitation to poor areas at low cost, but with a high degree of community involvement in the Pakistani city of Karachi, an 18-million-person metropolis

less death, her legacy lives on through OPP.

One of two major community-based sanitation projects in the Pakistani city of Karachi, the NGO takes its name from what was once the city's largest squatter settlement or *katchi abadis*. Home to 1.5 million people, many of its residents live in self-made homes built on unserviced land initially purchased from illegal developers. Founded by Dr. Akhtar Hameed in 1980, the project has since helped two million people across Pakistan finance and install their own sanitation at a fraction of the cost that government contractors would have charged.

Praised in the academic literature, the



Orangi Pilot Project volunteers help build a lane sewer in Gulshan-e-Zia, Karachi, Pakistan.

pulsating with poverty.

Her status as a respected community leader and mother figure was likely one of the reasons Rahman died at the hands of four unidentified gunmen in March 2013. No group claimed credit for her death, which occurred during a period of growing ethnic and sectarian violence with police blaming the Taliban. Other accounts suggest she had made enemies among the city's powerful land-grabbing mafia. Whatever the reasons for Rahman's point-

project has become a model for other developing countries struggling to supply their poorest with water. OPP has since branched out into other areas, building homes, providing health services and lending money. Much of the credit for this evolution belongs to Rahman, an architect-turned-activist, who assumed leadership of the project in 1999. Rahman's death triggered grief across Karachi and Pakistan, only to be exceeded by the inspiration she left behind.

2. Deficit and debt

In the *Communist Manifesto*, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels argue that the "history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." Anthropologist David Graeber clarifies this relationship in his book, *Debt: The First 5,000 Years*, in which he writes that for "thousands of years, the struggle between rich and poor has largely taken the form of conflicts between creditors and debtors."

This insight identifies debt as one of, if not *the* defining aspect of our existence. As Graeber shows with considerable skill, the concept has shaped our language, religion and politics in peculiar, profound and disturbing ways. The term itself confuses us. Most of us believe that we have a moral obligation to pay off our debts, yet many simultaneously believe that "anyone in the habit of lending money is evil."

This moral confusion reached a temporary apex just before the current financial crisis when banks advertised cheap credit to poor people as a path towards freedom and prosperity. At that stage, we were far away from the days of American abolitionist Wendell Phillips, who argued that, "debt is the fatal disease of republics, the first thing and the mightiest to undermine governments and corrupt the people."

The view that debt might indeed be destiny raises an important question: How does one deal with it? The question — with all its moral implications — is certainly pressing in light of the Euro crisis, the state of American finances and the level of personal debt across western



Occupy Movement tents in front of St. Paul's Cathedral in London.

societies. Graeber — the chief theorist of the Occupy Movement, according to *The New York Times* — recommends, among other remedies, a biblical-style jubilee (the national cancellation of private debt), one that would affect international and consumer debt.

In searching for solutions, economists have also focused their analytical energies on an unlikely source of attention — Latvia — a Baltic country of two million people and annual GDP of a mere \$30 billion. Six years after its economy tanked, Latvia is now the European Union's fastest-growing economy and the country is set to join the Eurozone this month.

For the European Union, Latvia is proof positive that harsh austerity measures can work in cutting deficits and managing debt as part of a larger economic recovery. Specifically, Latvia drastically cut spending, among other measures. Germany — whose constitution severely limits the ability of the federal government to incur future debt — frequently points to Latvia as an example of what austerity can accomplish.

For others, including Nobel Prize laureate Paul Krugman, Latvia might be too much of an outlier, an oddity. A study conducted by a trio of International Monetary Fund (IMF) economists and published by the Brookings Institute in September 2009 gives both sides ammunition but also challenges some of their preconceptions. This said, both Graeber's thoughtful analysis and Latvia's practical experience offer much inspiration for further action by countries struggling with all aspects of debt.

3. HIV/AIDS

More than 30 years after American public health officials reported the first cases of a strange form of pneumonia, people committed to fighting the disease we now know as HIV/AIDS find themselves in a strange no-man's land.

On one hand, they can claim to have made major advances in treating and containing the disease. A diagnosis was once a death sentence and some feared HIV/AIDS would have the same effect on Africa as the Black Plague had on Europe. Now, global death figures related to HIV/AIDS have been on a downward trend and a family of new antiviral drugs has made the disease somewhat manageable.

On the other hand, HIV/AIDS still claims 1.6 million people a year and it is far from certain whether science will ever

find a cure or vaccine. Political support, in fact, may be waning. Michel Sidibe, executive director of the United Nations AIDS agency, said in 2012 that the opportunity to end AIDS will "evaporate" if governments do not show greater political will and increase investments to make gains available to millions more people.



An HIV/AIDS patient at the Bairo Pite clinic in Timor Leste

Even Bill Gates, whose foundation is spending billions on developing AIDS preventions, in calling for new tools, questions whether the AIDS epidemic is going to end anytime soon. Some of these tools might be coming from a variety of places. Several major countries, including the United States, China and Brazil have copied the comprehensive prevention approach pioneered by British Columbia in 2006. This approach consists of widespread testing and the immediate offer of drugs in case of a positive diagnosis.

Elsewhere, business has filled the gap. Consider South Africa, one of the worst-hit countries. According to the *CIA World Factbook*, the country recorded the highest number of HIV/AIDS-related deaths (310,000) and the most adults living with HIV/AIDS (5.6 million) in 2009 — or almost 18 percent of the country's adult population. Yet things could be far worse if it had not been for the contributions of the country's largest corporations. Starting a decade ago, companies such as De Beers started to test their employees for free and, if necessary, supply them with the necessary drugs. The need for action was certainly urgent when these initiatives appeared. HIV/AIDS infection rates among adults had spiralled out of control to 17 percent from 1 percent in 1991 and

the drugs that would keep them alive were simply unaffordable for most South Africans.

Worse, the government was failing them by promoting unsubstantiated theories about the spread of AIDS. Former South African president Thabo Mbeki, for example, has previously questioned

the scientific consensus that the human-immunodeficiency virus (HIV) causes AIDS by blaming it on poverty, poor diets and social ills. Reports have also linked Mbeki with the claim that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency invented the disease to wipe out homosexuals and African-Americans.

Things have since improved. As *The Economist* notes, the story of how South Africa averted the apocalypse has many heroes, from health workers to AIDS activists. But big business also played its part. Yes, its contribution was undeniably also to its own benefit, but it nonetheless shamed the South African government into action when it was perhaps needed the most.

4. Demographic change

"The demographic die is cast: there is little we can do to reverse or even slow the (aging) of Canada's population over the coming decades. But it is certainly within our power to plan better for it. And better planning begins with better information concerning the long-term fiscal implications of the coming demographic shift."

So opens a 2006 Canadian Senate report into Canada's demographic destiny. Four years later, a report by then-parliamentary

budget officer Kevin Page offered the first official warning about the economic effects of declining birth rates: “The government’s current fiscal structure is not sustainable over the long term.” This warning also applies to the rest of the western world and, increasingly, parts of the developing world where key emerging powers, including China, run the genuine risk of growing old before becoming prosperous. Political responses to this greying will vary across regions and it may be very difficult to discern any best practices with so many long-term variables such as medical advances and economic conditions shrouded in mystery.

That said, this demographic transition is already creating a distinct, seemingly paradoxical, geography. On one hand, rural areas are shrinking. On the other



DREAMSTIME

As of the end of 2012, the number of China’s elderly population reached 194,000,000, or 14.3 percent of the total population.

hand, urban areas are growing as young, creative types abandon the rural areas for opportunities in cities, with many choosing to live on their own. This “greying” of developed societies occurs at the same time as many are becoming more “colourful” through immigration, a necessity in the face of low birth rates.

Not surprisingly, immigrants generally choose to settle in urban instead of rural areas. These coinciding trends pose simultaneous problems for urban planners — how does one create an urban space that accommodates the needs of the aging with

the desires of a diverse population?

The German capital of Berlin has wrestled with this question for some time in supporting several private initiatives that attempt to turn these present tensions into future opportunities. They include various projects, such as intergenerational housing developments and intercultural gardens designed to foster greater understanding and sustainable living practices. Steps of this sort are just the first rungs of a long ladder. But they nonetheless point in the right direction.

5. Drug abuse

Undeniably, drug abuse and the trade of illegal drugs that precedes it, have been and will be facts of modern life. But another reality is also dawning. It is becoming increasingly difficult to justify the expense of fighting the manufacture, distribution and use of illegal drugs through prohibition, incarceration and military intervention.

While drug control budgets have risen exponentially since the early 1980s, according to the CATO Institute, neither the use nor the availability of drugs has decreased accordingly. In fact, the average cost of marijuana, cocaine and heroin has decreased, just as their purity levels have increased. In short, more people are using more potent drugs, yet the vast complex behind their manufacture has never been more powerful and deadly, despite all the best, but arguably futile, efforts to destroy it.

We must merely consider current circumstances in Mexico to appreciate this point. It is perhaps no surprise, then, that the “drug problem” has received more attention than usual in recent years, particularly in the Americas, one of the primary regions of production and consumption.

Two schools have emerged. The first, advanced by global groups such as the Global Commission on Drug Policy, emphasizes harm reduction in treating drug use as a public health issue. This approach also encourages experimentation in the legal regulation of certain drugs such as marijuana.

The second approach, as articulated by the United States, emphasizes measures that reduce supply and demand. While both approaches have points of agreement, they may also be sources of conflict, as was the case in 2012 when most members of the Organization of American States favoured the first approach, while the U.S. and Canada insisted on the second.



UN PHOTO

A drug user in Vientiane, Laos

Supporters of harm reduction will particularly point to the successes of supervised injection sites in reducing the effects of drug use. Since 2001, more than 80 such sites have sprung up around the world, mostly in Europe but also in Australia (Sydney) and North America (Vancouver). These sites — “shooting galleries,” as critics call them — remain politically controversial because they appear to allow, or even encourage, harmful criminal behaviour.

But they enjoy support from the medical community and top courts, including the Supreme Court of Canada. In 2011, it unanimously confirmed the constitutional legitimacy of Insite, Vancouver’s safe injection facility. According to statistics reported in the March 2012 edition of the *University of British Columbia Medical Journal*, this facility has received 300,000 unique visits by its users, with more than 500 supervised injections occurring daily in 2010. Of the 221 overdoses that year, none was a fatality thanks to the presence of trained medical staff. Insite has also received credit for a 35-percent decrease in overdose-related fatalities since its 2006 opening in Vancouver’s Downtown East Side. That neighbourhood also reported other improvements, such as reduced public disorder and other pathologies.

Facilities such as Insite will not end the epidemic of illegal drugs around the world, but they will help ease the human suffering drugs cause.

6. Alternative finance methods

Imagine the following scenario: You and a group of friends pool a predetermined sum of money in a communal pot. You hold regular meetings during which your group awards the money to a member — be it by drawing lots or some other method. The winner is then free to use the money in any way seen fit.

This process then repeats itself until everyone in your group “wins,” with no member eligible to win a pot more than once. This essentially describes a chit fund, an informal savings group popular in India. While not new, arrangements of this sort are enjoying a rise in popularity after micro-credits suffered a loss of credibility in the early 2010s when lenders started to act with the manners of loan sharks. In fact, Indian politicians have

ing out private and non-governmental micro-financiers. In short, some of the conditions that we associate with “macro” financial institutions — predatory lending practices, corruption through political patronage — may have found their way into micro-financing, thus encouraging more alternative arrangements, such as chit funds, which rely more on pooling savings than on lending. This, of course, does not mean that these schemes do not attract schemers and scammers. If the financial crisis of 2008 has taught us anything, it is this: No financial scheme is immune to human greed. But it is one thing to rip off faceless investors, unsuspecting masses of borrowers and the public purse. It is another thing to violate the trust of your friends and neighbours.

7. Protection of arable land/human population growth

Arable land is absolutely essential to agriculture and therefore, human existence. Estimates suggest the global human population will reach nine billion in 2050. Yet

the supply of arable land suitable for the cultivation of crops is shrinking.

According to the Global Land Assessment of Degradation published by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), human activity has degraded nearly two billion hectares, representing 22 percent of the world’s cropland, pastures, forests and woodlands since the 1950s.

Climate change is also threatening to compound the arable land scarcity. This issue has gained particular currency in China. Home to about 20 percent of the world’s population, only seven percent of the land in this emerging power is arable — a share that is shrinking rapidly in the face of at least two factors: rapid urbanization and changing dietary preferences.

According to the journal *Science*, cities have swallowed up on average more than 860,000 hectares of arable land each year between 1998 and 2006. *Science* also reports that Chinese food choices have changed significantly. In 1978, the Chinese consumed eight million tonnes of meat. By 2012, this figure had risen to 71 million tonnes.

While a sign of prosperity, this shift has converted one-third of China’s total grain harvest to livestock feed. Climate change,



Women count money at a micro-credit lending station in Togo.

blamed local lenders for dozens of suicides, according to the *Economist*.

Micro-credit initiatives remain ubiquitous. By one estimate, 120,000 such programs exist worldwide and it is clear that they have made a difference in the lives of millions of people. In Thailand, for example, a government-supported micro-credit lender has vastly improved access to financial resources for people who previously lacked it. More than 96 percent of Thailand’s population now has access to financial products through this lender. That said, Thailand’s Village and Urban Revolving Fund stands accused of free-



A farmer in Nyala, Sudan, harvests sorghum produced from seeds donated by the Food and Agriculture Organization.

Science reports, could exacerbate the loss of arable land. Rapid plant maturation and water shortages are threatening wheat yields in the country's northern region, while rice-growing areas in China's south and east face a dual threat of rising sea levels and heat stress.

So what is to be done in the face of population pressures? To put it plainly, the problem demands multiple, simultaneous solutions. First, non-arable land must be converted into arable land, a difficult, often expensive task. Second, farmers must bridge the gap between actual and potential yields on land. The use of organic inputs such as manure, the introduction of improved crop varieties and the planting of nitrogen-fixing leguminous trees have all been shown to improve soil fertility and reduce harmful fertilizer use. Third, suitable land must be brought into production.

Currently, 12 percent (more than 1.5 billion hectares) of the world's land surface is used in crop production. This area represents more than one-third (36 percent) of the land estimated to be suitable for crop production to some degree. Fourth, and arguably most important, existing arable land must be protected, a task that requires, first and foremost, effective, co-operative governance with an emphasis on solutions that discourage local farmers from exploiting their land for short-term gains that denude it in the long term.

Brazil and India have taken steps towards that goal. The literature also links the scarcity of arable land with its unequal distribution among populations. Resolving that issue, however, will likely prove to be far trickier.

8. Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction

Can it be done? That is the question that many asked when the UN Security Council passed Resolution 2118 that binds Syria to destroy its chemical weapons and the facilities to produce them.

The agreement was reached after the U.S. and France threatened military action against Syria after the regime of Bashar al-Assad had used chemical weapons against rebels holding the Damascus suburb of Ghouta. This resolution is unprecedented because its execution falls in the middle of a civil war. In fact, it robs one of its participants — al-Assad — of one of its largest trump cards.

Yes, the Framework for Elimination of Syrian Chemical Weapons as negotiated



This United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) inspection team's 1991 mission was the elimination of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction.

by the U.S. and Russia has not stopped the regime from slaughtering its armed enemies and innocent civilians by conventional means. And yes, the regime may yet find ways to evade it or interpret the terms in its favour. But the significance of this agreement cannot be overstated.

First, it lessens the availability of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East — the very definition of a volatile region — and serves as a reminder that much more must be done to stop the proliferation of such weapons throughout the region. Second, it may set a precedent for the resolution of future conflicts with similar contours. Granted, this agreement is far from perfect.

For example, former U.S. ambassador to Turkey and Iraq, James Jeffrey, called it the "least bad solution" and people in charge of its execution have called it "Herculean." Yes, the process that led to it revealed significant flaws in the infrastructure of global governance, not to mention significant tensions between the U.S. and Russia. But this agreement — which, in all likelihood, prevented the deployment of weapons of mass destruction — is a far more preferable approach than past attempts to address this issue.

We must merely ponder the rationale for the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. Weapons of mass destruction are not going to disappear overnight. At the same time, it would be a mistake to succumb to fatalism. The historical record reveals that crises of this sort can also lead to meaningful reforms. Consider the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. It helped improve communications between the U.S. and the former Soviet Union through the introduction of a hotline and helped set the stage for several important arms-reduction measures,

including the 1963 limited test ban treaty and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). This agreement involving Syria confirms that pattern.

9. Renewable energy

The technological race to develop the most effective and efficient forms of renewable energy has been under way for some time now. Early front-runners include China, which has invested heavily in solar energy and battery technology, and Germany, whose *Energiewende* (energy transition) arguably qualifies as the most ambitious societal project since unification. Other notable entries include Japan and, belatedly, the U.S. Whoever wins this race will likely enjoy an economic, not to mention political, advantage for some time, perhaps comparable to the position of the United Kingdom during the first half of the 19th Century.



Citizens want access to clean energy as long as the windmills, such as these ones in Texas, aren't in their backyards.

Ironically, it is the historical cradle of the Industrial Revolution that may once more point the way towards the future in reconciling the technological aspects of the transition towards renewable energies with its societal problems. As Germany's experience has so aptly demonstrated, citizens want access to clean energy in principle, but not necessarily in practice if windmills, energy storage facilities or power lines spoil their backyards or vistas.

The economics of producing renewable energy in certain regions, then transmitting it to regions where it is needed, has also distorted the marketplace. And since energy companies have more powerful lobbies than consumers, it is the latter who must bear the costs of these inefficiencies. Consider the following numbers from Germany: According to the German association of energy and water industries, Germany's renewable energy policies cost the country's electricity consumers 8.2 billion euros in 2010. In 2012, that figure had risen to 14 billion. Not surprisingly, Germany is trying to shift the burden back to industry to ease the burden on consumers. In early 2013, about half of the average electricity bill went to taxes and subsidies for renewables rather than the actual price of electricity. An absence of genuine public input and bureaucratic infighting round out this picture.

Enter renewable energy co-operatives. Thirty such groups have sprung up across the United Kingdom since 2008, with the trend pointing upwards. While these groups differ, they generally bring together citizens concerned about climate change and willing to work towards renewable energy projects that respect local conditions and choices. These projects generate relatively little energy compared to large-scale commercial enterprises, but they can be far more flexible. Their emphasis on local buy-in anchors the ethics of renewable energy and ensures that its rewards, financial and otherwise, stay within the community.

10. Gender equality

Many factors account for the competitiveness of countries. One of them is the gap, or the lack thereof, between genders. While the relationship between gender equality and competitiveness is correlational rather than causal, according to the authors of the *Global Gender Gap Report 2013* released by the World Economic Forum, it is consistent with the theory that empowering women and reducing gen-



Hillary Rodham Clinton (left), with Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff and Trinidad and Tobago Prime Minister Kamla Persad-Bissessar at a UN event on gender equality.

der inequality enhance productivity and economic growth. This lesson, however, remains lost on most of the world. That is the central message of the report. It has been tracking gender disparities since 2006 across four categories: economic participation and opportunity; educational attainment; health and survival and political empowerment. To be blunt, no country in the world has achieved gender equality.

That said, some countries deserve special mention. Not surprisingly, four Nordic countries — Iceland, Finland, Norway and Sweden — lead the 2013 ranking in having closed between 81 percent and 87 percent of their gender gaps. The last-ranked country, Yemen, has closed a little more than half of its gender gap.

Why have these countries succeeded? They report among the highest labour force participation rates, the smallest salary gaps between women and men and the most opportunities for women to assume positions of power. While their respective patterns vary, the economies of these four Nordic countries have made it possible for parents to combine work and family, resulting in high female employment, more shared participation in child care, more equitable distribution of labour at home, better work-life balance for women and men and, in some cases, a boost in declining fertility rates.

Of particular interest is the fifth-placed country on this list: the Philippines, one of only two developing countries and the only Asian country to crack the Top 10. The country earned this ranking on the basis of statistics that show Filipino women play important roles in the political and

corporate elite. The World Bank reported similar findings in 2010. Cultural traditions have undeniably contributed to the presence of powerful women in Filipino politics and business, but so have public investments in education and several legislative initiatives, including, but not exclusively, the landmark *Republic Act 9710* or the “Magna Carta of Women” passed in 2009. The Philippines has also led the way on legislation designed to curb human trafficking (which disproportionately affects women) and gender-specific violence. Critics will correctly note that much work remains to be done. But the Philippines shows that developing countries can enhance their human capital with limited means. As such, it stands as a challenge to emerging economies such as China, which remains trapped in old patterns despite its undeniable economic success. Tellingly, China has dropped in this ranking, going from 61st in 2010 to 69th in 2013.

No single measure can capture the complete situation of half of the world's population.

No single action can ameliorate existing inequalities. Some of the measures that exist in the exemplary countries cited above emerged through top-down government actions, others through grassroots actions. But they all point to one conclusion: Societies that fail to empower women do so at their own peril.

Wolfgang Depner is a doctoral candidate at the University of British Columbia – Okanagan and the co-editor of *Readings in Political Ideologies since the Rise of Modern Science*, published by Oxford University Press.

Russian Arctic expansion

What does it mean for Canada?

By Andrew Zhalko-Tytarenko



DMITRY V. CHILIVJEV/JOURNAL.COM

Peter the Great (second in fleet) and other vessels move through the North Sea Way from Russia.

On Sept. 30, 2013, a Russian navy group returned to Severomorsk after a month-long voyage to the New Siberian Islands. The group included the heavy nuclear missile cruiser *Peter the Great*, landing and support vessels and four nuclear ice-breakers. The highlight of the exercise was a landing practice on the islands. This seems to be a faraway place, but it is not.

Alert, in Canada's Queen Elizabeth Islands, is about 1,600 kilometres closer to the New Siberian Islands than to Ottawa. It is the height of the Syrian crisis, when almost everything still afloat in the Russian surface navy is rushing to the Middle East. The question is: Why is a powerful group of naval vessels being used to flex Russian military muscle beyond the Arctic Circle and to establish a permanent out-

post at the New Siberian Islands?

As is typical with Russian politics, if you explore the matter long enough, sooner or later you will find oil interests at its heart. The Russian economy is driven by oil export. Total Russian exports for 2012 were \$525 billion US, among which oil exceeded \$180 billion, with another \$130 billion in oil products — mostly furnace oil or even crude that has simply been re-labelled as oil product to circumvent the 66-percent export duty.

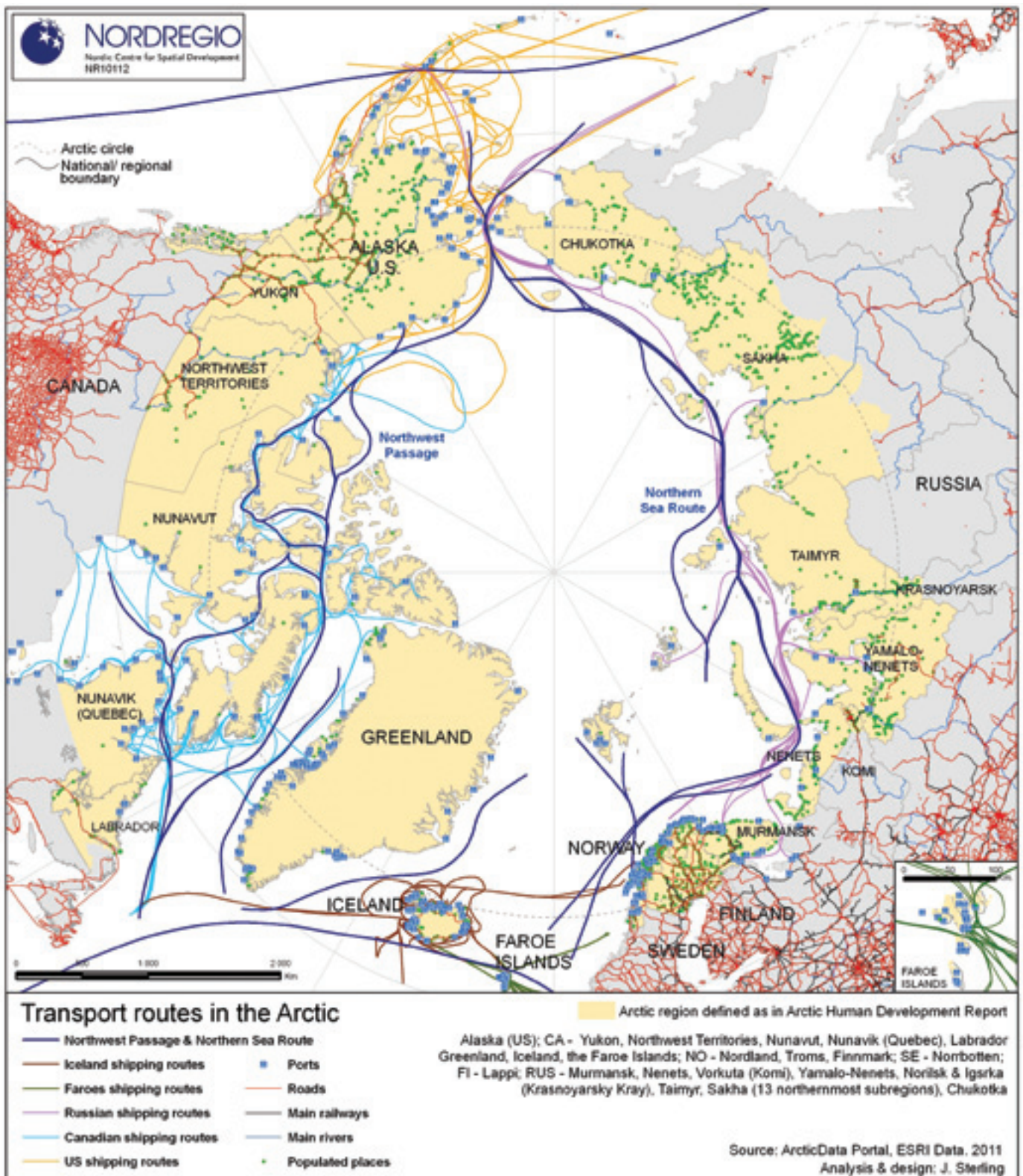
Together, this totals \$310 billion, almost 60 percent of Russian exports. Add to this the \$63 billion in revenue from the export of natural gas and the total comes to 71 percent.

Tax revenue from oil exports is a critical component of the state budget as well. The lion's share of Russian oil and gas

production comes from the Russian Far North, which is, without any hyperbole, the most critical region for the well-being of the country. This makes the North the land of Russia's national interests, but it is not always national interests that drive Russian political decisions. The companies that develop the northern oil and gas resources are Gazprom, Rosneft and Novatec, along with some smaller players.

Gazprom is controlled by the government, and 10.74 percent of the government's stock is held by the government-owned Rosneftegaz holding company, which also controls 75 percent of Rosneft. Moscow's second most influential man, Igor Sechyn, is the president of Rosneft and Rosneftegaz.

On Sept. 27, 2013, Sechyn shared his dream with investment forum participants



in Sochi, Russia: "I dream of drilling an exploration well in the Cara Sea and to discover a unique deposit that will hold 3.5 billion tonnes of liquid hydrocarbons and 11.4 trillion cubic metres of natural gas." (our translation) Igor Sechyn is not a dreamer, so this dream is certainly backed

by geological research and defines the future plans of Rosneft. Since the takeover of TNK-BP in 2012, Rosneft is producing approximately 4.32 million barrels of oil, gas and condensate per day.

There was a time when Sechyn was almost unknown; at best he was referred

to by insiders as "Putin's shadow." Now he is not only the most powerful man in the Russian energy sector, but also a political heavyweight and de-facto leader of the group of former KGB officers who currently run Russia. This group includes Nikolai Patrushev, secretary of the Na-

tional Security Council, among many others.

Back in Soviet times, Patrushev was head of the counterintelligence directorate of the St. Petersburg KGB, while the young Igor Sechin and Vladimir Putin worked in positions that were usually reserved for plainclothes KGB officers. Patrushev was behind the Arctic and Antarctic ventures of the Russian researcher and politician Arthur Chilingarov, including the infamous planting of the Russian flag at the bottom of the Arctic Ocean. Patrushev and Chilingarov together took part in the 2007 helicopter landing at the South Pole; Chilingarov is an ideologist in terms of the development of the Russian North.

Gazprom is probably the most well-known Russian company. It is usually labelled as Putin's energy weapon, and "Putin and Gazprom" are commonly seen by Europeans as two faces of the same bogeyman as two faces of the same bogeyman of gas from the east. It is almost true, but there is one more face to this creature: Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev. Medvedev was a member of the board of Gazprom for eight years and its chairman for seven years and he still retains a special relationship with Gazprom.

As the company's gas supply from old deposits gradually runs out, it has to move production further north. The latest addition is the Bovanenkovo gas field, which is about 400 kilometres above the Polar Circle, close to the west coast of the Yamal Peninsula. Bovanenkovo, with its reserves totalling 26.5 trillion cubic metres of gas and about 1.64 billion tons of oil and gas condensate, is the future supply base for the two Russian pipeline megaprojects, North Stream and South Stream, which are being built to bypass Ukraine (at least this is the official story).

According to the Pennsylvania-based consulting firm East European Gas Analysis, the real cost of South Stream, including the cost of the required new pipelines on Russian soil and the cost of the South Stream per se is more than \$67 billion. A big part of this money has already been spent. The main beneficiaries of the supply and construction contracts for this mammoth project are Severstal, Strojtransgaz, Strojgaz-Consulting, and Strojgaz-Montazh. (By pure coincidence, all these companies are controlled by people who have alleged ties to Vladimir Putin).

Finally, Russia's second biggest natural gas producer, Novatek, is developing Yamal-LNG projects on the east coast of the Yamal Peninsula. The privately held and well-run \$6.9-billion company plans con-

struction of the liquefied natural gas plant in the Yamal permafrost zone, for export of LNG to China. The biggest shareholder of Novatek is the founder of Gunvor, commodity trader, Gennady Timchenko, who is also close to Vladimir Putin.

All these business ties point to one thing: In the Arctic, Russia's national interests, and the business interests of the most influential Russian business and po-



Arthur Chilingarov famously planted the Russian flag at the bottom of the Arctic Ocean.

litical elites, coincide. Russia is far down the road with development of the polar deposits of oil and gas and has passed the no-return point, even if it had such a contingency plan. The business interests of the powerful men in Russia and the need to get the return on the gigantic investment, require the Russian Federation to continue its northern expansion.

Opening the Doors for Co-operation

Back in 2006, Putin came up with the concept of "energy superpower" for Russia. It was kind of a healing balm for the ego of the Russians, many of whom still miss the status of political superpower, and a "feel good" euphemism for the resource-based economy that Russia had already become.

It was not just a PR facelift. The series of gas and oil wars with the Ukraine and Belarus followed: BP was muscled out from the Kovykta gas field; Shell lost control over the Sakhalin-2 project. The result of the energy "superpower" policy was not amusing for Russia: Gazprom's share in the European markets dropped, and development of the new oil and gas deposits slowed down because of the lack

of foreign investment.

Now the superpower concept seems to have been silently shelved. Russia is opening its Arctic for co-operation. Italian Eni, French GDF and German Wintershall are partners in the South Stream. France's TOTAL holds 25 percent of the Shtockman Development AG, which considers development of the Shtockman gas field in the Barents Sea. Novatek teamed up with TOTAL and China's CNPC for Yamal LNG, and Rosneft teamed with Norway's Statoil, Eni and Exxon-Mobil for three different Arctic shelf oilfields. Eni also participates in the Sever Energia gas producer, jointly with Rosneft, Novatek, and Gazprom's subsidiary, Gazprom Neft. British Petroleum now controls 19.75 percent of Rosneft.

The Russian Federation is not the only country that looks at the Arctic as the region of the future. On Sept. 5, at the height of the Syrian crisis, U.S. President Barack Obama and the leaders of the Northern European countries met in Stockholm and agreed to combine their efforts in Arctic development.

Delivering the Goods

Most Russian oil and oil products are now exported via tankers from the Baltic, Black Sea and Pacific ports. The Black Sea route accounts for 35-40 percent of total Russian oil and oil products exports by sea. The Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits are already at the limit of their capacity: the wait time for tankers before entering the straits is 70 hours or more. The situation is so bad that Russia even attempted to build Bosphorus bypass oil pipelines Burgas-Alexandropoulos and Samsun-Ceyhan. After passing Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits, oil tankers bound for Far Eastern markets cross the Eastern Mediterranean, go through the Suez Channel and Red Sea, cross the Indian Ocean, pass the Strait of Malacca and only then reach their final destination. The 16,000-kilometre route from Novorossiysk to Vladivostok passes through politically unstable areas, takes more than two weeks, may be blocked if any of the brewing conflicts from Iran to Egypt and Syria, escalate, and Russia has no control over most of it. The route through the Panama Canal is even longer.

Meanwhile, there is a third option for Russia: the Northern Sea Way, 9,000 kilometres from Murmansk and along the Siberian coast, passing next to all the future oil- and gas-producing fields and under the protection of the Russian Northern



ROSATOMFLOT

To reach the goal of turning the Northern Sea Way into a major transportation route, Russia needs 512 new sea vessels by 2030. This program is beyond Russian shipyards capability, especially if one considers the needs of the Russian navy.

Fleet. There is a catch, though. The longest open navigation period of the Northern Sea Way since it was reopened in 2010 lasted for just six months and the traffic was 110,000 tonnes. For the rest of the time, it was closed by ice. Nevertheless, Russia plans to expand its use. The total traffic by the Northern Sea Way reached 1.26 million tonnes for the first 10 months of 2013. The 2013 navigation also included a pilot shipment from China to Europe. To reach the goal of turning the Northern Sea Way into a major transportation route, Russia needs 512 new sea vessels by 2030. This program is beyond Russian shipyards' capability, especially if one considers the needs of the Russian navy. Russian orders for ice-class vessels and ice-breakers from abroad are imminent, as Russia is determined to complete the entire program. So far, the winners of the big Russian shipbuilding contracts are only Korea and Japan.

The Military

There is one more dimension of the Russian Arctic expansion. Following the dissolution of the USSR, Russia lost its ability to use Ukrainian shipyards where the bulk of the Soviet blue water surface navy shipbuilding was concentrated. Russia's navy was neglected and only nuclear missile submarines re-

ceived minimal necessary maintenance.

Now, Russia is putting out a big effort to make up for lost time, but it is far behind. The resources of the Russian shipyards are insufficient to address the needs of the navy, the tanker fleet and growing international trade. This means that Russia needs to be able to manoeuvre its limited surface navy assets between Northern and Pacific theatres, and to protect the undefended coasts of Siberia, the Northern Sea Way, military bases and outposts, oil- and gas-producing regions and platforms from attack by sea from unauthorized landing,



DYOR, STRERU

Moscow's second most influential man, Igor Sechin, is the president of Rosneft and Rosneftegaz.

military or otherwise.

The goal of the September naval exercise was exactly that: to practise the use of the Russian northern fleet to protect remote islands and outposts along the Northern Sea Way, and possibly to transfer heavy surface assets between the two theatres. Russia also needs to have special Arctic-ready land forces, which it can use at remote outposts in the Arctic. Indeed the new Russian navy doctrine identifies defending the Polar regions as the main task of the Russian navy. This was always a priority, considering that Northern Sea fleet submarines, which are based in the Western Arctic, are the critical component of the Russian nuclear deterrent forces. The news in the navy doctrine is that the Russian navy now assumes responsibility for Russia's entire northern coast.

The Russian navy and army closely co-ordinate Arctic plans. The 200th Independent Motorized Rifle Brigade, based near Murmansk, was reassigned to the Northern Fleet in 2012, and is undergoing a serious overhaul. It was once among the least combat-ready units of the Russian forces; now the training is intense.

There are plans to make 70 percent of its personnel professional. All positions in the brigade are filled, it is getting new tanks and will get special DT-30 Arctic personnel carriers, which are already on order from the Vityaz company. The brigade is being retrained for landing operations in Arctic conditions and will take care of the remote outposts on Novaya Zemlya islands and those further east.

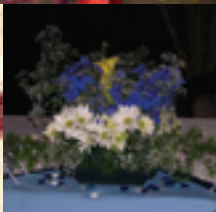
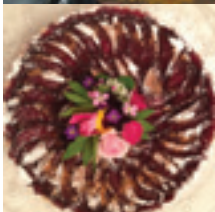
Future plans include two new Arctic brigades by 2017. The specialized four-year officer training program for the Arctic motorized rifle brigades started at the Blagoveschensk Officers School in September 2013, so the 2017 date for the deployment of two new brigades is realistic.

The Russian Pacific Fleet may need reinforcement. It operates one Slava class missile cruiser, three Delta-III nuclear submarines (31 to 33 years old), six Oscar-II nuclear submarines (specially designed to combat carrier groups), seven Akula nuclear submarines, three destroyers and smaller vessels. All nuclear submarines are based on Kamchatka Vilyuchinsk/Krashennnikov Bay base.

The Delta-III submarines need urgent replacement; they are too old. The plan is to have at least three new Borei class missile submarines carrying new Bulava SS-N-30 SLBM to replace the Delta-IIIs before 2020. After the replacement is complete, the number of warheads in the Pacific

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theatre will double, from the current 144 to 288.

The plans for empowering the Pacific fleet go further. In 2011, Russia signed a contract with France to manufacture two amphibious assault ships, Mistral, for the Russian navy, and to license production of two more. The 32,000-tonne DWT (deadweight tonnage) vessels can carry up to 30 Ka-52 attack helicopters and a 450-n landing party and have a 17,200-kilometre range. Two of the Russian Mistral are scheduled for Kamchatka deployment as well.

Finally, the sistership of the *Peter the Great*, the heavy-missile cruiser *Admiral Nakhimov* (Kirov class), was pulled out of the navy reserve and is undergoing a thorough overhaul. It has been a long process, but it is now well under way with

THE IMPLICATIONS FOR CANADA

1. We must realize that Russian expansion in the Arctic will not stop and will not be rolled back unless there are drastic changes in Russia. The energy sector and the military programs of Arctic expansion are funded and are under way. This Russian expansion in the Arctic has opened various opportunities for co-operation for the two great Arctic nations.
2. Shifting oil and gas production further north and launching the operations of the Northern Sea Way will bring growing amounts of Russian oil and LNG to Pacific markets. The operation of the Northern Sea Way may also create some competition for the port of Vancouver.
3. The northern expansion of Russian oil and gas companies can open opportunities for Canadian shipbuilding.
4. The growing presence of the Russian navy in the Northern Pacific may require flexible contingency planning from the Canadian armed forces.
5. Russian economic activity in the Chukchi Sea will have an impact on the environment and on wildlife, even if it is limited to Northern Sea Way operations only. Canada will have to address these challenges.

a completion date scheduled for 2018. *Admiral Nakhimov* is to join the Pacific Fleet; it has to be based at Vilujsk as well, simply because it operates missiles similar to the ones used by *Oscar-II* and Vilujsk has all the necessary equipment to handle them.

This means that by the end of the decade, Russia will have a powerful navy group, based in the Northern Pacific that will have very strong landing operations capability and three Arctic brigades. The navy group will protect the Siberian coasts from the New Siberia Islands to the Bering Strait, Chukotka and Kamchatka. Meanwhile, the distance from Viluchinsk to the



L. MURPHY

The Mir submersible is hoisted into the water using a cable connected to the ship's winch system. This front view shows the versatile manipulator arms and the huge viewing port.

New Siberian Islands (the most eastern point of the September voyage of the Russian navy) is about 4,200 kilometres.

The same distance by sea separates Viluchinsk and Tuktoyaktuk in the Yukon. The amphibious Mistral assault vessel can cover this distance in five days. It will become clear where a ship is really heading only after it passes the Bering Strait. It will take the Mistral about two days either way from this point. There are no indications of aggressive Russian plans in the Northern Pacific and in the Beaufort Sea, but if such plans existed, Canada would have very little capability to counter them.

Currently an independent consultant, Dr. Zhalko-Tytarenko is the former head of the National Space Agency and member of National Disarmament Committee of Ukraine. He holds a PhD in physics.

Pipelines of Empire

By Robert D. Kaplan and Eugene Chausovsky

At this juncture in history, the fate of Europe is wound up not in ideas, but in geopolitics. For millennia, eruptions from Asia have determined the fate of Europe, including invasions and migrations by Russians, Turkic tribes and Byzantine Greeks. Central and Eastern Europe, with their geographical proximity to the Asian steppe and the Anatolian land bridge, have borne the brunt of these cataclysms.

Today is no different, only it is far more subtle. Armies are not marching; rather, hydrocarbons are flowing. For that is the modern face of Russian influence in Europe. To understand the current pressures upon Europe from the east, it is necessary to draw a map of energy pipelines.

One-quarter of all energy for Europe comes from Russia, but that statistic is an average for the whole continent; thus, as one moves successively from Western Europe to Central Europe to Eastern Europe, that percentage rises dramatically. Natural gas is more important than oil in this story, but let us consider oil first.

Russia is among the top oil producers worldwide and has some of the largest reserves, with vast deposits in western and eastern Siberia. Crucially, Russia is now investing in the technology necessary to preserve its position as a major energy hub for years and decades to come, though it is an open question whether current production levels can be maintained in the long term.

Russia's primary gateway to Europe for oil (and natural gas) is Belarus in the north and Ukraine in the south. The Druzhba pipeline network takes Russian oil through Belarus to Poland and Germany in the north and in the south through Ukraine to Central Europe and the Balkans, as well as to Italy. Russia certainly has influence in Europe on account of its oil, and has occasionally used its oil as a means of political pressure on Belarus and Ukraine. But moving westward into Europe, negotiations over Russian oil are generally about supply and pricing, not political factors.

It is really with natural gas that en-



Oil and natural gas pipelines, built with the help of Western energy companies in the 2000s, bring energy from the Azerbaijani capital of Baku through Georgia to Turkey and onwards to Europe.

ergy becomes a useful political tool for Russia. Russia is, after the United States, simply the largest producer of natural gas worldwide, with trillions of cubic metres of reserves. Europe gets 25 percent of its natural gas from Russia, though again, that figure rises dramatically in Central and Eastern Europe; generally, the closer a country is to Russia, the more dependent it is on Russian natural gas.

Central Europe (with the exception

of Romania, which has its own reserves) draws roughly 70 percent of the natural gas it consumes from Russia. Belarus, Bulgaria and the Baltic states depend on Russia for 90-100 percent of their natural gas needs. Russia has used this dependence to influence these states' decision-making, offering beneficial terms to states that co-operate with Moscow, while charging higher prices and occasionally cutting off supplies altogether to those that



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Photo by Bill Blackstone

don't. This translates into real geopolitical power, even if the Warsaw Pact no longer exists.

The Yamal pipeline system brings Russian natural gas to Poland and Germany via Belarus. The Blue Stream pipeline network brings Russian natural gas to Turkey. Nord Stream, which was completed in 2011, brings Russian natural gas directly to Germany via the Baltic Sea, cutting out the need for a Belarus-Poland land route. Thus, Belarus and Poland now have less leverage over Russia, even as they are mainly dependent on Russia for their own natural gas supplies by way of separate pipelines.

The next major geopolitical piece in this massive network is the proposed South Stream pipeline. South Stream would transport Russian natural gas across the Black Sea to Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary and Austria, with another line running to Italy via the Balkans and the Adriatic. South Stream could make Central Europe and the Balkans more dependent on Russia, even as Russia does not require Ukraine for the project. This, combined with Nord Stream, helps Russia tighten its grip on Ukraine.

But there is also Caspian Sea oil and natural gas to consider, particularly from Azerbaijan, which inhibits Russia's monopoly. Oil and natural gas pipelines built with the help of Western energy companies in the 2000s bring energy from the Azerbaijani capital of Baku through Georgia to Turkey and onwards to Europe. Furthermore, the Nabucco pipeline network has the potential to bring Caspian Sea natural gas across the Caucasus and Turkey all the way to Austria, with spur lines coming from Iraq and Iran. Obviously, this is a complex and politically fraught project that has not materialized.

Winning out over Nabucco has been the Trans-Adriatic Pipeline (TAP), a far less ambitious network that will bring Azerbaijani natural gas across Turkey to Greece and Italy. Because TAP avoids Central Europe and the Balkans, its selection over Nabucco constitutes a clear victory for Russia, which wants Central and Eastern Europe dependent on it and not on Azerbaijan for energy. In fact, Russian political pressure was a factor in TAP's victory over Nabucco.

The real long-term threat to Russian influence in Europe comes less from Azerbaijan than from the building of liquefied natural gas (LNG) terminals. These are facilities located on coastlines that convert LNG back to natural gas after it has

been liquefied to enable transport across seas and oceans. With an LNG terminal, a country is less dependent on pipelines emanating from Russia.

Poland and Lithuania are building such terminals on the Baltic Sea and Croatia wants to build one on the Adriatic. The Visegrad countries of Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia have been building pipeline interconnectors, in part to integrate with — and take advantage of — these Baltic terminals. This LNG comes from many sources, including North Africa, the Middle East and North America. That is why Russia is deeply concerned about vast shale gas discoveries in the United States and elsewhere in Europe — it's natural gas that could eventually be exported, with the help of LNG terminals, to Central and Eastern Europe.

Russia is also worried about the European Union's attempt to break its energy monopoly through legal means. According to new legislation known as the Third Energy Package, which is still in the process of being implemented, one energy company cannot be responsible for production, distribution and sales, because the European Union defines that as a monopoly. And such monopolistic practices actually describe Russian energy companies like Gazprom. If the European Union gets its way, Russian corporate control will be unbundled.

Therefore, we forecast that Russia's use of energy to extract political concessions will weaken over time, but will nevertheless remain formidable in parts of Central and Eastern Europe. While energy has served as an effective tool for Russia to wield political influence in Europe, Moscow is first and foremost concerned about maintaining the revenue from energy exports that has become so crucial for Russia's own budget and economic stability. In this sense, maintaining European market share (and further developing market share in Asia) takes precedence over political manipulation for Moscow.

Consequently, Russia will have to become even more subtle and sophisticated in the way that it deals with its former Soviet republics and Warsaw Pact satellites.

Pipelines of Empire is republished with permission from Stratfor. Robert D. Kaplan is chief geopolitical analyst for Stratfor, a private global intelligence firm, and a non-resident senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security in Washington. Eugene Chausovsky is a Eurasia analyst at Stratfor.

8 cyber-security predictions for 2014

By Ben Rossi

Following an eventful year in the cyber security space, things are only set to get worse.

This year, cyber security took centre stage with nation-state attacks, numerous high-profile data breaches and prominent cybercriminal arrests. As a new year nears, cyber-security researchers from Websense Security Labs outline their 2014 industry predictions.

1. Advanced malware volume will decrease

According to the real-time telemetry feeds in Websense ThreatSeeker Intelligence Cloud, the quantity of new malware is beginning to decline. Unfortunately, this is bad news for organizations.

Cybercriminals will rely less on high-volume advanced malware because over time it runs a higher risk of detection. They will instead use lower volume, more targeted attacks to secure a foothold, steal user credentials and move unilaterally throughout infiltrated networks. Although the volume of attacks will decrease, the risk is even greater.

2. A major data-destruction attack will happen

Historically, most attackers have used a network breach to steal information for profit. In 2014, organizations need to be concerned about nation-states and cybercriminals using a breach to destroy data. Ransomware will play a part in this trend and move down market to small- and medium-sized organizations.

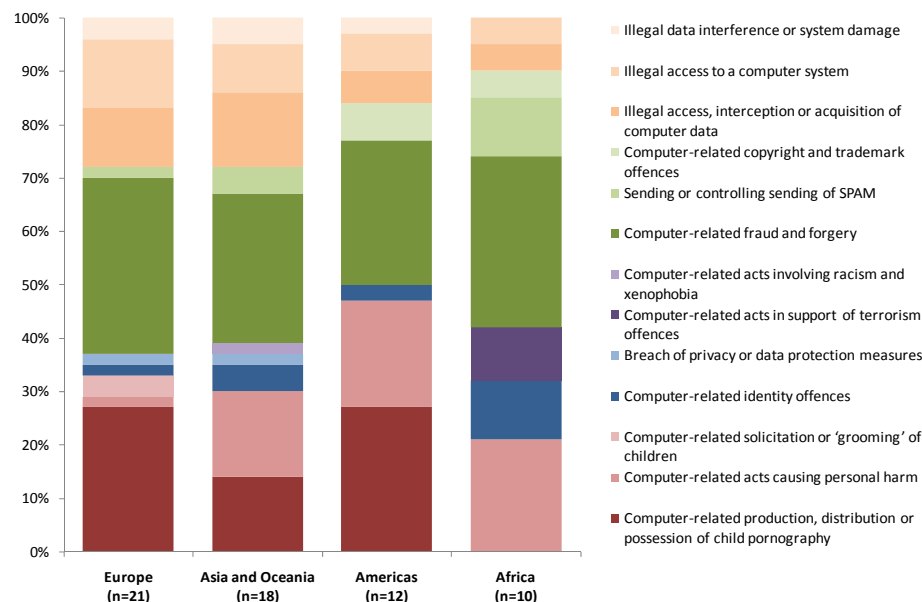
3. Attackers will be more interested in cloud data than your network

Cybercriminals will focus their attacks more on data stored in the cloud versus data stored on the network. This tactical shift follows the movement of critical business data to cloud-based solutions. Hackers will find that penetrating the data-rich cloud can be easier and more profitable than getting through the “castle walls” of an on-premises enterprise network.

4. Redkit, Neutrino and other exploit kits will struggle for power in the wake of the Blackhole author arrest

The Blackhole exploit kit was arguably the most successful in history. Everything changed in October 2013 when “Paunch,”

Figure 2.1: Most common cybercrime acts encountered by national police



the alleged hacker author behind the famous kit, was arrested in Russia. We will see a fight for market leadership between a number of new entrants and existing exploit kits in 2014. We anticipate Redkit and the Neutrino exploit kit will secure a strong foothold in the coming year.

5. Java will remain highly exploitable and highly exploited — with expanded repercussions

Most end points will continue to run older versions of Java and therefore remain extremely exposed to exploitation. In 2014, cybercriminals will devote more time to finding new uses for tried-and-true attacks and crafting other aspects of advanced, multi-stage attacks. Attackers will reserve zero-day Java exploits for targeting high-value networks with good Java patching practices.

6. Attackers will increasingly lure executives and compromise organizations via professional social networks

As social networking continues to appeal to the business community in 2014, attackers will increasingly use professional websites, such as LinkedIn, to research and lure executives. This highly targeted method will be used to gather intelligence

and compromise networks.

7. Cybercriminals will target the weakest links in the “data-exchange chain”

Attackers will go after the weakest links in the information chain and target consultants outside the network who have the most information. This includes consultants, contractors, vendors and others who typically share sensitive information with large corporate and government entities. And, it turns out, few of these partners have sufficient defences.

8. Mistakes will be made in “offensive” security due to misattribution of an attack’s source

For several years, we’ve been hearing more about “offensive” security, where global governments and enterprises have been threatening retaliatory strikes against anyone caught attacking them or their interests. As in traditional warfare, tactical mistakes will increasingly happen in these cyber trenches. Failure to accurately identify a cyber-perpetrator could result in an innocent organization being caught in the crossfire.

Ben Rossi is the editor of InformationAge. This article was reprinted from www.informationage.com.

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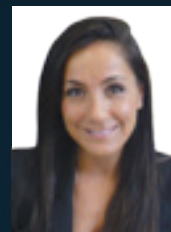
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Political Risk can exist for businesses that invest, operate, trade or lend in emerging markets. Aon's Political Risk Map provides an indication of overall levels and types of political risk, assisting clients with responsibility for political risk assessment and management. The 2013 Map shows:

- 163 countries and territories rated
- 12 downgrades (less than last year - 21): Cameroon, Chad, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Mali, Namibia, Moldova, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Panama, Paraguay, and Algeria
- 13 upgrades (where the risk is rated as better than last year - 3): Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Barbados, Belarus, Guatemala, Macedonia, Montenegro, Oman, Pakistan, Swaziland, Thailand and the United Arab Emirates

New risk level icons: This year also includes three new icons that depict specific risks in addition to the standard ones:

Standard risk icons

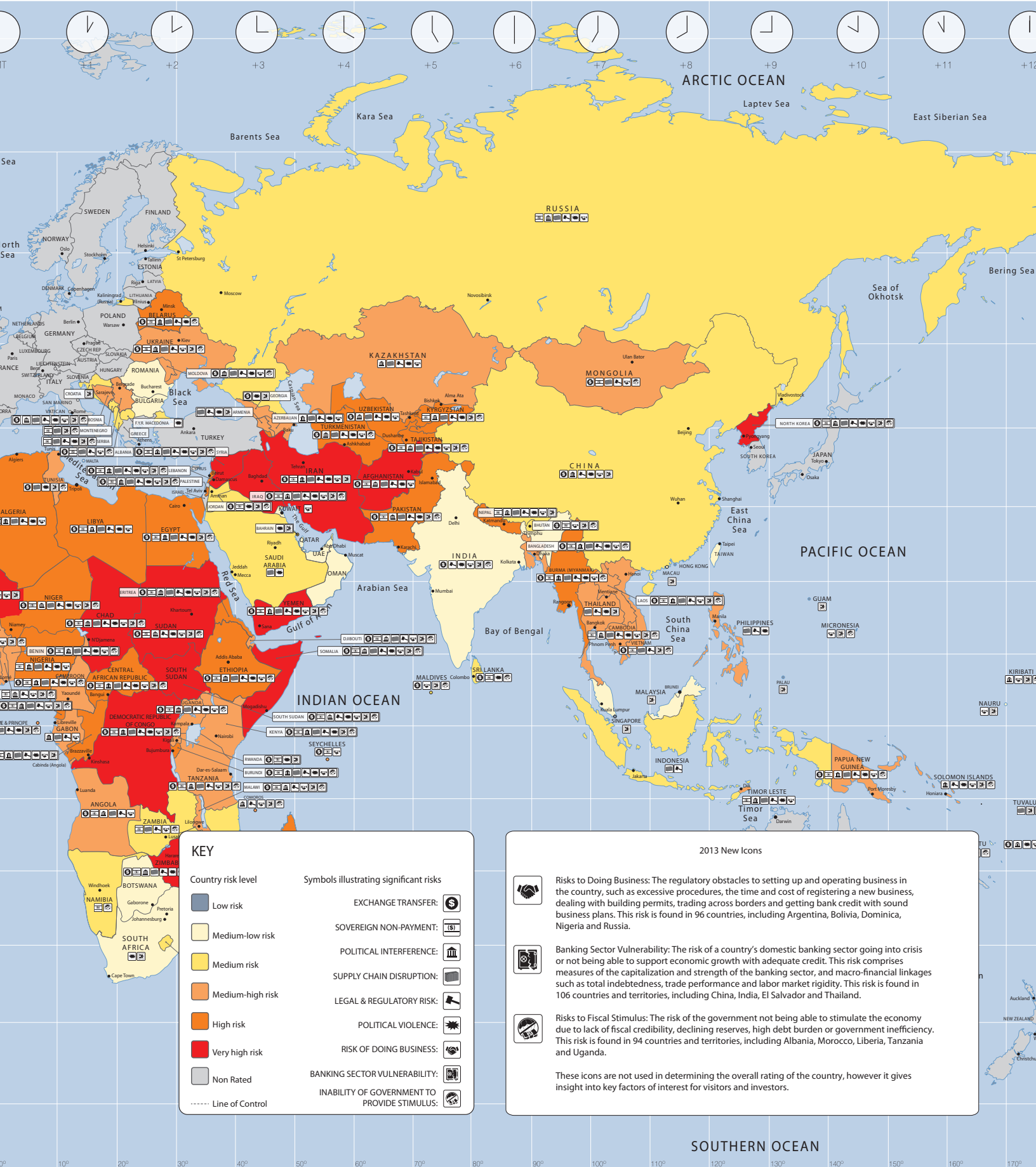
- Exchange Transfer
- Sovereign Non-Payment
- Political Interference
- Supply Chain Disruption
- Legal & Regulatory
- Political Violence

New icons

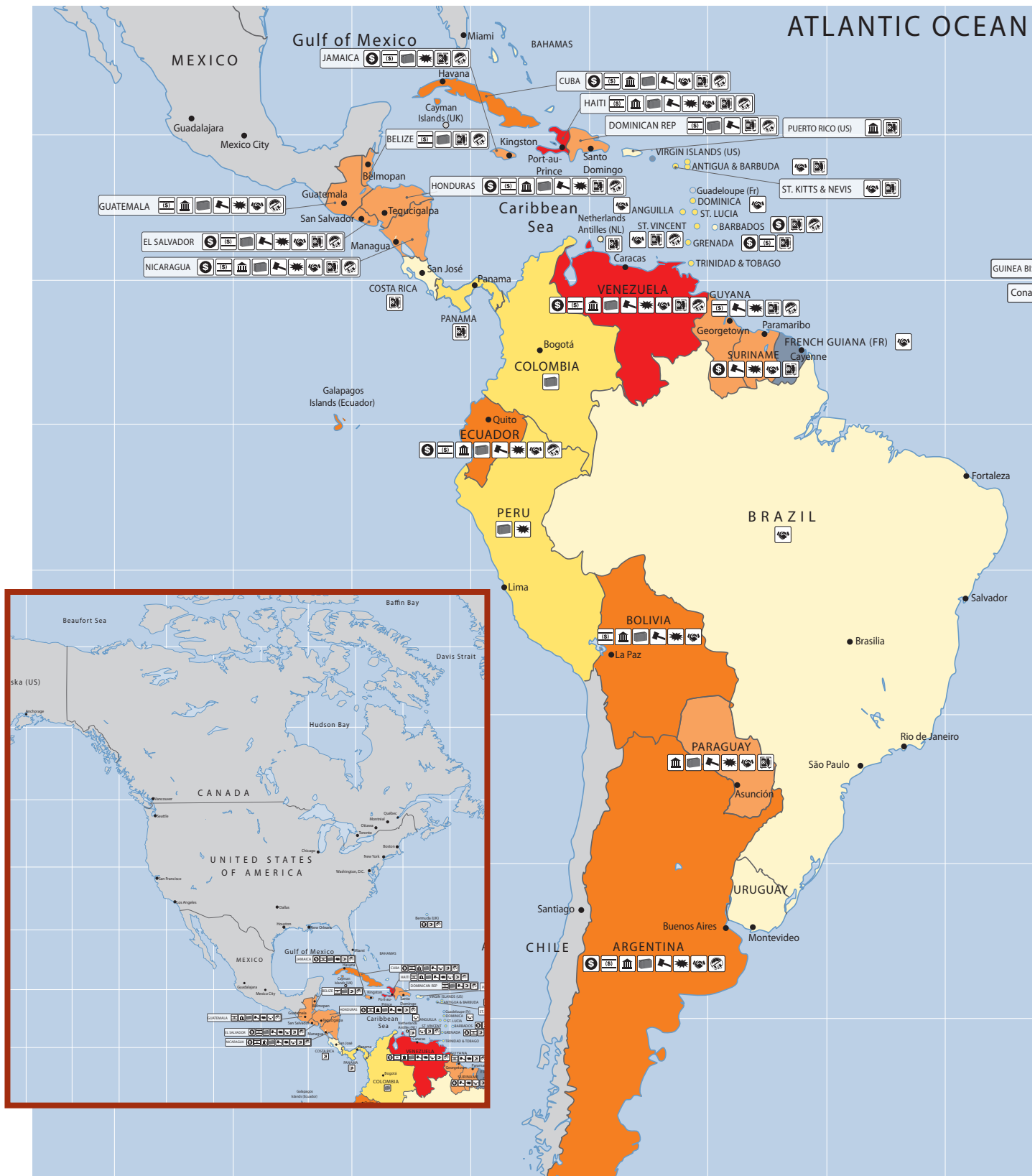
- Ease of doing business
- Stability of banking sector
- Ability to provide economic stimulus

(The new icons do not contribute to the overall country rating.)

For additional information regarding the map or for copies, please contact James Gregory at Aon Crisis Management Canada, james.gregory@aon.ca. James Gregory is responsible for the delivery of Aon Crisis Management's suite of insurance products which include Kidnap, Ransom and Extortion, Terrorism and Political Risk as well as their Crisis Consulting services such as Counter-Terrorism security reviews, Political Risk Assessments, Safe Travel training and Crisis Management plan preparation and review.



North and South America



Country risk level

Low risk
 Medium-low risk
 Medium-high risk
 Medium risk
 High risk
 Very high risk
 Non Rated
 Line of Control

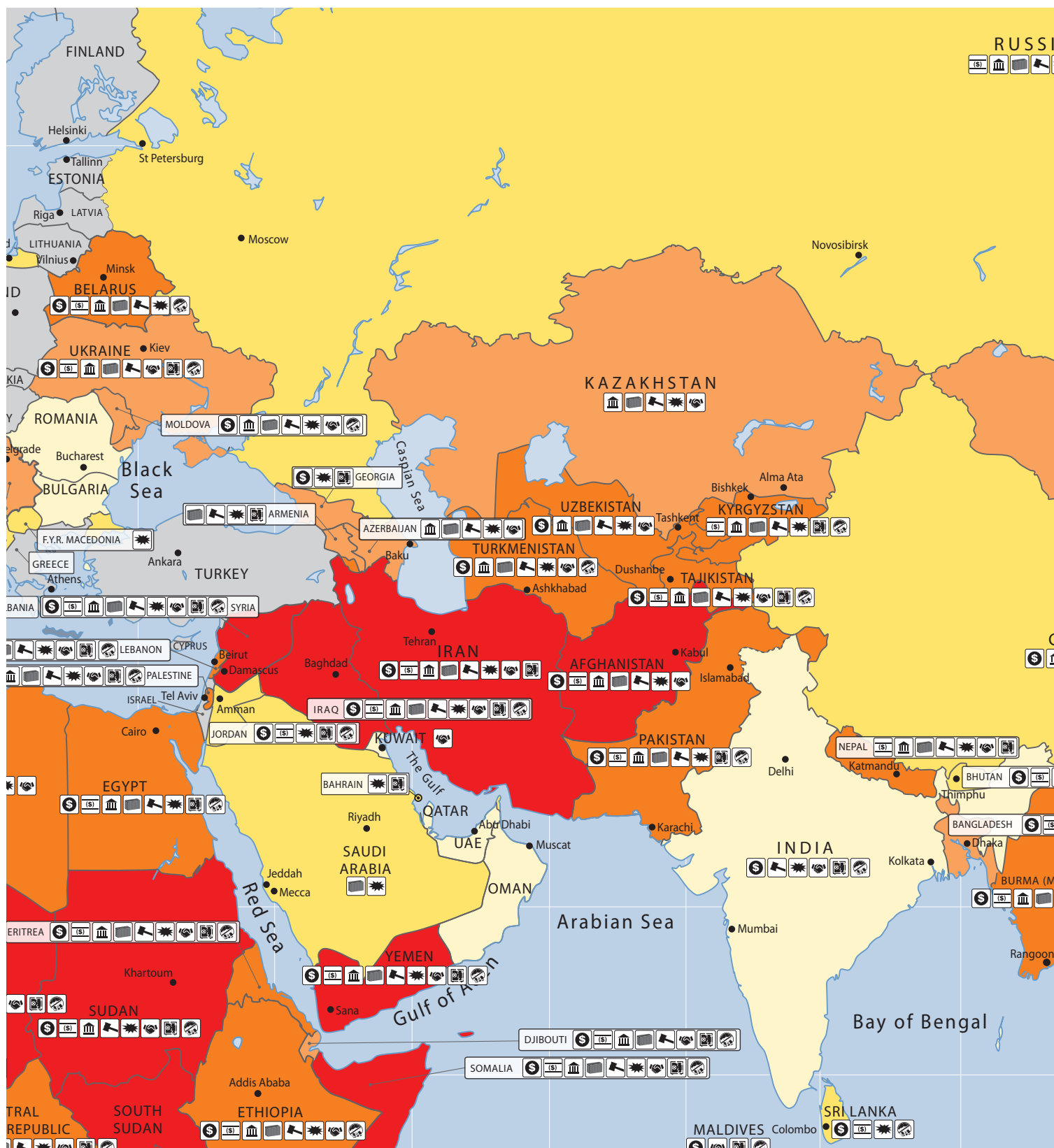
Europe



Symbols illustrating significant risks

EXCHANGE TRANSFER:	POLITICAL INTERFERENCE:	LEGAL & REGULATORY RISK:	BANKING SECTOR VULNERABILITY:	INABILITY OF GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE STIMULUS:
SOVEREIGN NON-PAYMENT:	SUPPLY CHAIN DISRUPTION:	POLITICAL VIOLENCE:	RISK OF DOING BUSINESS:	

Asia



Country risk level

Low risk
 Medium-low risk
 Medium-high risk
 Medium risk
 High risk
 Very high risk
 Non Rated
 Line of Control

Asia



Symbols illustrating significant risks

EXCHANGE TRANSFER:

POLITICAL INTERFERENCE:

LEGAL & REGULATORY RISK:

BANKING SECTOR VULNERABILITY:

INABILITY OF GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE STIMULUS:

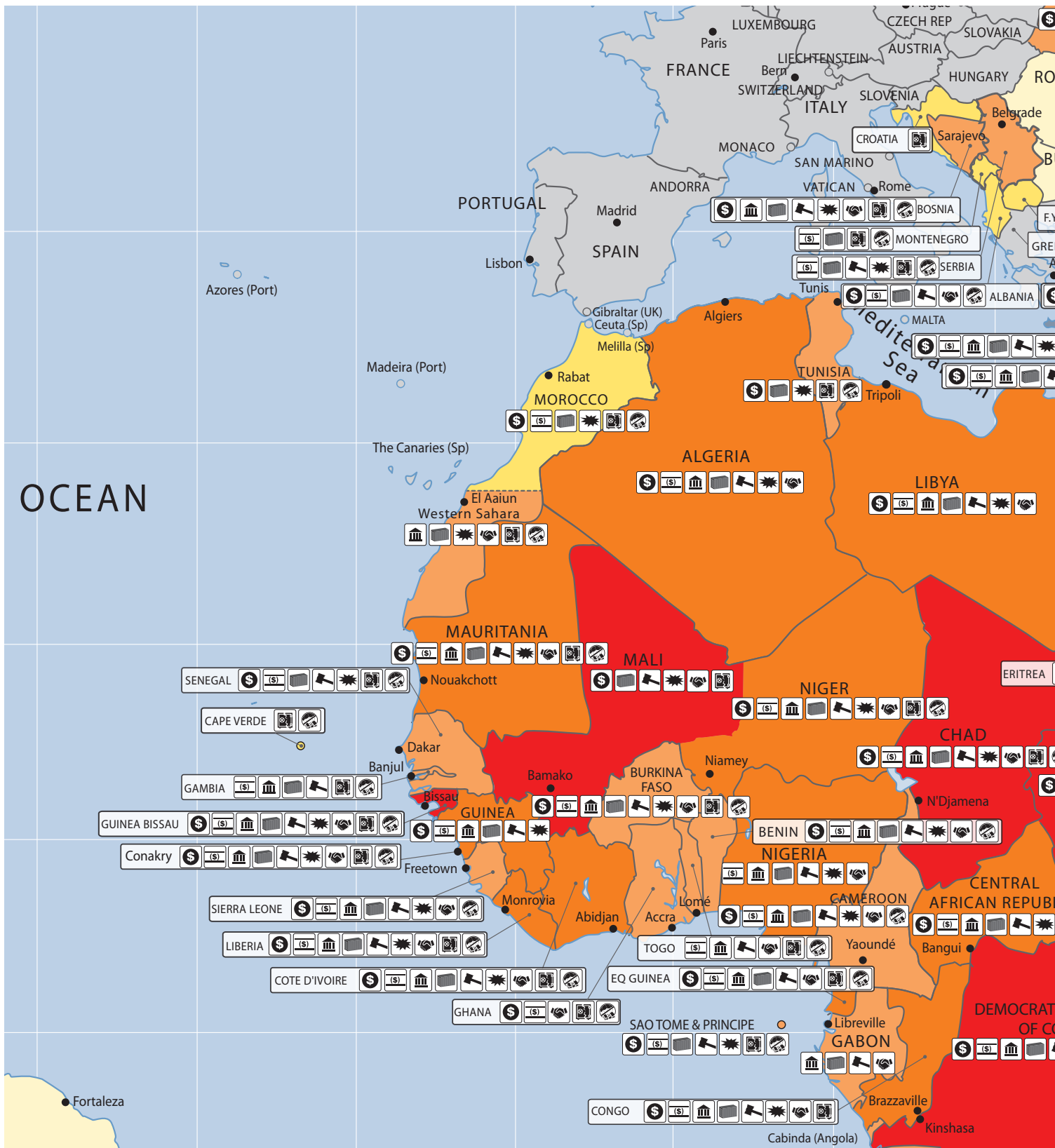
SOVEREIGN NON-PAYMENT:

SUPPLY CHAIN DISRUPTION:

POLITICAL VIOLENCE:

RISK OF DOING BUSINESS:

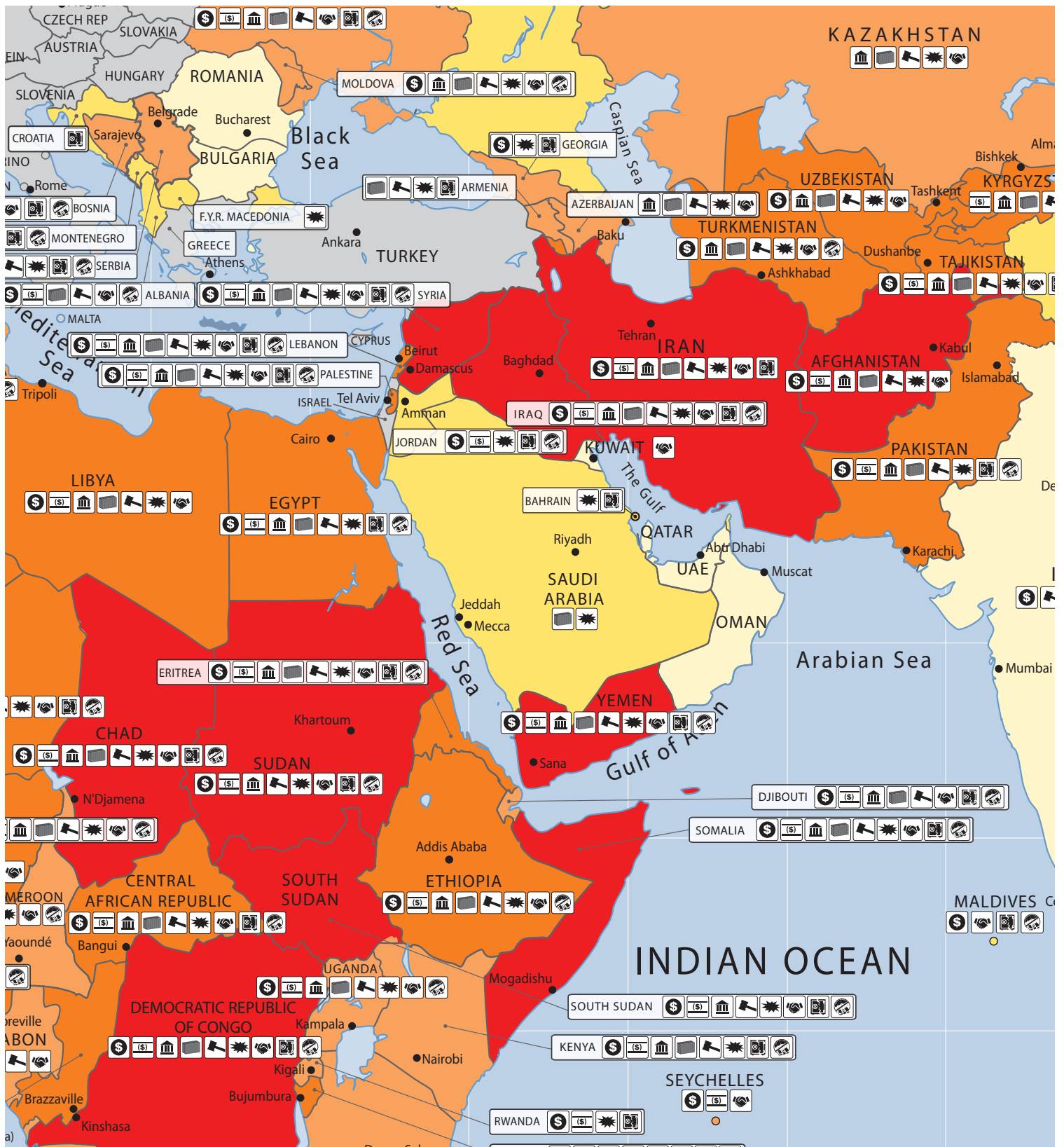
Northern Africa



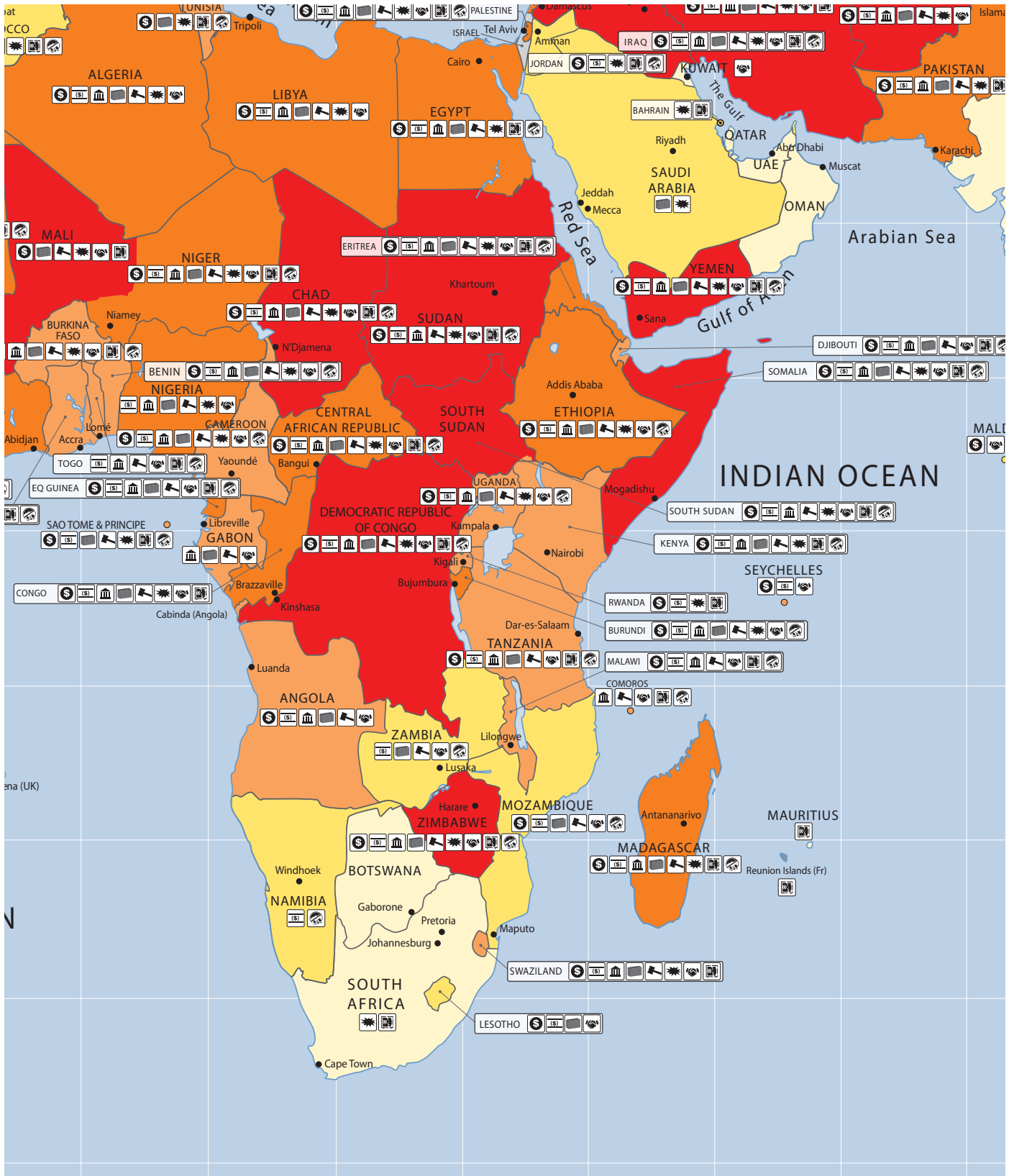
Country risk level

 Low risk
 Medium-low risk
 Medium-high risk
 Medium risk
 High risk
 Very high risk
 Non Rated
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Northern Africa



Southern Africa



Southeast Asia and Oceania



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Seven steps to fixing the UN

By David Kilgour

United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, in his 2007 acceptance speech to the General Assembly, noted: “The true measure of the success for the United Nations is not how much we promise, but how much we deliver for those who need us most.”

Anyone’s hopes for the UN on key reform issues vary according to the roles they think the organization should play in the new century. In my view, the delivery of better lives for the poor, oppressed and voiceless in all corners of the world, including more effective peacekeeping and humanitarian initiatives, should be the system-wide priority.

By 1965, with numerous states from Africa and Asia joining as members, development issues had become increasingly important, resulting in the creation that year of the UN Development Programme (UNDP). The 1980s, however, were characterized by financial crisis and the retreat of the United States, which triggered a reform of the budgetary process and downsizing. With the end of the Cold War in 1989, a renaissance of the UN was expected; the first half of the 1990s saw major expansion and reforms.

In the late 1990s, secretary-general Kofi Annan energized the fight against the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Other initiatives included the revamping of peacekeeping operations. The World Summit in 2005 recognized an international Responsibility to Protect (R2P) populations from genocide within their own borders.

Security Council

For many years, the most frequently discussed change to the UN structure has been with the permanent five nations (P5) with vetoes on the Security Council (SC). The SC reflects geopolitical realities of 1945, when the UN was founded. Most of the 192 member countries today no doubt do not feel adequately represented on the security council, especially since it’s the key body responsible for world peace under the UN charter.

Europe, which holds barely five percent of the world’s population, still controls two of five permanent veto seats in any given year, not including Russia. China and Russia today abuse their vetoes, or



UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon stands in front of UN headquarters in New York.

threaten to use them, more than other P5 members, although many accuse the U.S. of doing so as well. The status quo is unfair to countries whose financial contributions to the UN outweigh those of four of the five permanent members.

Japan and Germany for decades have been the second- and third-largest contributors to UN budgets, at roughly 19 percent and 12 percent respectively. The current council membership also denies opportunities to states that have contributed in kind (participation in peacekeeping operations, for example) or by size, or both, to peace and security in world affairs. India and Brazil are notable here.

For a decade, the Group of Four (Brazil, Germany, India, and Japan) have led efforts on security council reform, hoping to benefit from any expansion in the number of permanent members. Others oppose the Group of Four rising from their current second-tier status in the world body. Some of the objectors, including Canada and Spain, are motivated by principle

— opposing permanent membership for anyone.

Any amendment requires a two-thirds majority of the overall UN membership (128 of the 192 states in the General Assembly). The only “prescription” that has any chance of passing is one that will persuade two-thirds of the UN member states to support it and not attract the opposition of any of the existing “perm five.” This is probably impossible in the foreseeable future.

Secretariat

There are many demands to make the UN administration more transparent, accountable and efficient. Mark Malloch Brown, former secretary general of the UNDP, advocates “reconnecting merit to make the UN again an international meritocracy.” He believes the UN must stop promoting on the basis of political correctness, and must start to make more use of Asia, Africa and other regions holding many highly motivated professionals. Ambassa-

dor Munir Akram of Pakistan, recent head of the G-77, claims: "The major countries, the major powers hold very high positions in the secretariat and support their national interests and refuse to allow the secretary general to cut departments."

Human rights

The UN Commission on Human Rights was criticized continuously for the positions it gave to member governments that systematically violated the rights of their own citizens, including China, Libya, Cuba, Sudan, Algeria, Azerbaijan and Vietnam. As a result, Kofi Annan, in the *In Larger Freedom* report, suggested setting up a new Human Rights Council. In 2006, the General Assembly voted overwhelmingly to establish the new Human Rights Council. Unfortunately, it seems to be making many of the same mistakes as the commission. The jury is still out. The council recently held elections for new member states and voted in several that violate their own citizens' human rights. Among them are the Communist regimes of China, Cuba and Vietnam; the Islamic states of Saudi Arabia and Algeria; and finally, Russia. Unless the new human rights body changes its membership selection and a number of other practices, it will inevitably follow its predecessor into the trash heap of history.

Creation of an environment organization

In 2007, a "Paris Call for Action" read by then-French president Jacques Chirac and supported by 46 countries, called for the UN Environment Programme to be replaced by a stronger Environment Organization (UNEO) modelled on the World Health Organization. The sponsors in-

cluded the EU countries, but not the U.S., China, Russia and India, the top four emitters of greenhouse gases. I believe UNEO is still on the drawing board.

General Assembly

The General Assembly (GA) includes representatives from all member states. It is the chief deliberative, policymaking and representative body; it oversees the general budget, appoints non-permanent members to the Security Council and makes recommendations in the form of non-binding resolutions.

Delegates and other observers say debates in the GA are often tedious and sometimes result in the adoption of repetitive resolutions. Its universal membership, and one nation/one vote policy, allows it, in theory, to be possible for the 128 smallest countries to achieve a two-thirds majority while representing only eight percent of the world's population.

In 2005, Kofi Annan recognized the need for reform and laid out steps towards a more effective general assembly in his report, *In Larger Freedom*. An ad-hoc working group was established in 2008 with a mandate to "identify further ways to enhance the role, authority, effectiveness and efficiency of the assembly...." This remains a work in progress.

System-wide coherence

The UN launched "Delivering as One" in 2007 to improve the delivery of all UN funds in eight pilot countries in development, humanitarian assistance and the environment. Agencies such as UNDP, the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Food Program (WFP) are to coordinate work in the field, reduce admin-

istrative costs and improve efficiency. The UN is replacing its information-management system with one that will streamline the management of operations, resources and staff; reduce business processes by more than 70 percent and save hundreds of millions of dollars. The new program is intended to ensure the UN meets International Public Sector Accounting Standards.

Management

The UN Secretariat has about 30,000 staff, with about a third at headquarters in New York, Geneva, Vienna and Nairobi. They run the bureaucracy of the UN, responding to decisions by the GA and the Security Council. At the 2005 World Summit, leaders committed themselves to strengthening the UN through a series of management reforms. The categories include changing the secretariat's management structure, reviewing UN mandates older than five years, restructuring the office for internal oversight (OIOS), and establishing an ethics office.

Conclusion

Many of the above-indicated initiatives, in combination or by themselves, seem likely to make the United Nations Organization a better instrument to fulfil the world's hopes and dreams. Among the numerous books of recent years on the UN, *The Best Intentions: Kofi Annan and the UN in the Era of American Power*, 2006, by James Traub, is the one I'd recommend first to understand what is most needed today to bring the UN up to its full potential.

David Kilgour is a former MP and was secretary of state for the Asia-Pacific, Latin America and Africa.



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Canada, the G8, and a New D10

By David Gordon and Ash Jain



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Through NATO, Cold War allies worked to unify military capabilities and co-ordinate strategies to contain Soviet expansion.

Following tense discussions on Syria at this past June's G8 summit, Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper remarked: "I don't think we should fool ourselves. This is the G7 plus one."

Mr. Harper's comments, directed at Russia's persistent support of Syria's President Bashar al-Assad, underscore the very real difficulties that Canada and its allies face in working through inclusive institutions like the G8 and the United Nations. With Russia and China so often on a different page, consensus on major global challenges, from Syria to Iran to North Korea, is likely to remain illusive.

Yet multilateral co-operation is essential to dealing with the daunting array of threats facing the West. What is needed is a new mechanism for co-operation — one built around shared values and common interests.

A "democracies 10," or D10, that brings together those states at the forefront of efforts to advance a liberal world order could provide a powerful mechanism for effective action on today's most critical security challenges.

Existing forums fall short

During the Cold War, Canada, the United States and other major allies organized to collectively address the most important challenges facing the liberal world order. Through NATO, they worked to unify military capabilities and co-ordinate strategies to contain Soviet expansion. Later, the Group of Seven (G7), formed to promote economic co-operation among "advanced industrial democracies," served also as a forum for joint consultation on political issues ranging from the communist threat in Italy to arms control with the Soviet Union. Both provided valuable platforms for like-minded co-ordination that ultimately helped the West prevail in its struggle against communism.

Today, the threats to a liberal world order are much more diffuse. They include outlier regimes such as Iran and North Korea seeking to acquire nuclear weapons; Islamic extremists targeting Western interests while forcing radical ideologies on their own people; dictators trampling on human rights and committing violent atrocities; and great power autocracies seeking to extend spheres of influence. Ef-

fective multilateral co-operation remains essential to address these challenges. Yet the like-minded lack a collective institutional entity through which to collaborate.

Where do allies turn, for example, to initiate a discussion on promoting human rights in Myanmar [Burma], address Russia's crackdown on foreign NGOs or maintain an arms embargo on China? If Canada and other partners seek to jointly analyse options to support the Syrian opposition or prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon, through what mechanism should they engage?

NATO may seem at first like an obvious choice. But NATO remains primarily focused on Euro-Atlantic defence co-operation and excludes Asian partners. Current threats and challenges require a wider set of partners and actions, from sanctions to foreign assistance to public diplomacy. Important objectives, such as the promotion of human rights and transnational justice, remain outside NATO's purview.

What about the G8? As the recent summit in Northern Ireland made clear, the presence of Russia has neutered the group's ability to address the tough se-

curity issues. And while the G20 group of the world's leading economies holds promise on economic and financial issues, it lacks the consensus to take on an expanded agenda. With few other options, allies have looked to ad hoc coalitions, such as the Friends of Syria. While they offer flexibility, such groups are all about tactical co-operation on discrete issues rather than strategic co-ordination across global policy challenges.

Charting a new D10

To effectively tackle today's global challenges, a new strategic framework is required — one that brings together like-minded allies in a standing entity focused on advancing international norms.

What would such a framework look like? A diplomatic initiative launched by Canada and the United States in recent years provides a useful conceptual model. In 2008, policy-planning directors from several democracies gathered in Toronto to launch a new dialogue on global challenges. Those invited to participate were committed to addressing certain threats and maintaining democratic values, with the requisite economic, military and diplomatic resources to act on a global scale. The resulting group included major transatlantic and transpacific allies — Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Australia and South Korea.

Subsequent meetings in Washington and Seoul were productive, but higher-level engagement is now required. It is time to convene the foreign ministers from these nine states to endorse and reinforce this construct. With the addition of the European Union, the D10 would account for more than 60 percent of global GDP and more than 75 percent of the world's military expenditures.

The D10 would provide a mechanism for like-minded states to develop concrete strategies to address current security challenges and advance global norms — preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, deterring state violence against civilians, promoting democracy and human rights and countering terrorism while protecting civil liberties. Such a forum would also encourage a better alignment of strategic capabilities and enhance intelligence sharing among close allies — a noteworthy priority in light of the recent NSA spying allegations.

The West versus the rest?

But would creating the D10 come at the

cost of encouraging a West-versus-the-rest dynamic that could further polarize the international community? Could such a forum undermine the already complicated efforts to work with Russia and China at the UN? Might it not antagonize rising democracies, such as India, Brazil and South Africa?

The D10 is premised on the assumption that prospects for meaningful action at the UN and other inclusive institutions on major security issues — at least in the near term — are dim. Russia and China are fundamentally opposed to the expansion of many of the liberal norms and principles long championed by the West. And while they share some common val-



FABIO RODRIGUES POZZEBOM / ABR

The need to deal with Syrian President Bashar al-Assad's treatment of his own people has flagged problems with the G8 and prompted calls for a D10.

ues and objectives, India and other rising democracies have been ambivalent about supporting Western-led actions to advance these objectives, particularly when it requires using coercive diplomacy.

Cognizant of these differences, it is unlikely that China, Russia or other powers would curtail co-operation with the West on issues they deem important to their interests, e.g. terrorism, global trade, simply because some states have added a new venue for consultation. From NATO to the Shanghai Co-operation Organization to the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) summits, an array of overlapping fora for multilateral engagement among major powers are already in place. Adding another to this list is unlikely to raise serious diplomatic concerns.

Still, as emerging powers gain influence and expand their global capabilities,

it is important that the West seek ways to maintain and expand co-operation on issues of common concern. A smart and carefully balanced approach in organizing the D10 would ensure that such co-operation is not undermined.

First, the D10's public presence should be muted. It would not entail high-publicity leaders' summits. Rather, the focus would be behind-the-scenes strategic co-ordination, guided by foreign ministers. Second, the West should emphasize the importance of the UN and the G20, and continue to work through them. The D10 would supplement, not replace, the G8 or any other existing multilateral framework. Finally, the West should deepen bilateral dialogues with rising powers to encourage their co-operation on issues of common concern.

Canada's multilateral legacy

Canada has a long tradition in support of multilateralism. Its external affairs minister, Lester B. Pearson, played an instrumental role in the founding of NATO. Former prime minister Paul Martin served as an early advocate for what would become the G20 leaders summit. Given its multilateralist tradition, its close ties with the United States and its geostrategic position as a transatlantic and transpacific power, Canada is uniquely situated to help bring the D10 to fruition. The 2008 Toronto gathering highlights Canada's important role in promoting co-operation among the like-minded.

D10 participants will not agree on every issue. Differences over strategy and tactics are certain to emerge. But as a new multilateral platform, the D10 would encourage policy consensus and strengthen co-operation among states that share common values and interests and continue to retain a preponderance of global power. In time, such an entity could serve as the core of an expanding circle of global partners committed to advancing a liberal world order.

David Gordon, a former director of the U.S. Secretary of State's policy planning staff, is head of research at the Eurasia Group, an international political risk research and consulting firm. Ash Jain, a former member of the policy planning staff, is a non-resident fellow at the Washington, D.C.-based German Marshall Fund and author of *Like-minded and Capable Democracies: A New Framework for Advancing a Liberal World Order* (Council on Foreign Relations, January 2013).

Nitty-gritty cities

By George Fetherling



GEORGE FETHERLING

Odd how certain dead film stars are often the subject of popular cults. Among those with the most enduring posthumous lives is the Hollywood femme fatale Hedy Lamarr, whom many enthusiasts practically fetishize. Little surprise then that last year, on the centenary of her birth, at least two new biographies of her appeared. For the record, they are *Hedy Lamarr: The Most Beautiful Woman in Film* by Ruth Barton (University of Kentucky Press, US\$29.95) and *Beautiful: The Life of Hedy Lamarr* by Stephen Michael Shearer (Raincoast Books, \$24.50).

Both of these very different works naturally retell the story of how the woman born Hedwig Eva Maria Kiesler first became famous in Prague rather than in Budapest or her native Vienna, for Prague had an energetic and innovative film industry between the world wars. In 1933, Kiesler-the-future-Lamarr appeared in Gustav Machaty's film *Extasy* (in the English version, *Ecstasy*) in which she introduced full frontal nudity to the world of cinema. (Her husband tried, but failed, to buy up all the prints.)

The only interesting point to take away from the above is that the event unfolded in Prague, a city with a rich culture, needless to say, but a culture moreover that has long been tortured into various shapes by the vagaries of politics. Prague is the city of Václav Havel, the playwright who became the first president of the current Czech Republic, and the city of Miloš Forman, the filmmaker, and of Milan Kundera, the novelist. But perhaps more significantly it was also the birthplace of Franz Kafka, not to mention Karel Čapek, one of Kafka's weird contemporaries, who



STUDIO

Hedwig Eva Maria Kiesler, also known as Hedy Lamarr, first became famous in Prague rather than in Budapest or her native Vienna.

coined the word *robot*. These facts and others like them are important to Derek Sayer, the author of *Prague: Capital of the Twentieth Century* (Princeton University Press, US\$36).

Prof. Sayer is an emeritus professor of history at the University of Alberta who now teaches in Britain. His subtitle, "Capital of the Twentieth Century," is a salute to the German philosopher and writer Walter Benjamin, one of the most often cited figures in North American and European universities. Benjamin died in 1940, committing suicide rather than be sent to a Nazi concentration camp (whereas many other members of what's called the Frankfurt School were able to flee to New York). One of the essays published only after his death was "Paris: The Capital of the Nine-

teenth Century." Prof. Sayer's book often compares Prague's claim to centrality with that of Paris. Certainly the two cities were engaged in cross-pollination. The author draws special attention to the role each played in the rise of political satire, dystopian fantasy and surrealism. Exact parallels are a bit wobbly, however, because residents of Prague often had much more political chaos to contend with.

Prague flourished in the Gothic period and during the Renaissance. It became the capital of the Holy Roman Empire and then one of the hubs of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. When the latter collapsed, it was bound together with Slovakia and assorted other pieces of political real estate to become the independent Czechoslovak Republic, Europe's most easterly democ-

racy. That status ended in 1939 when the British and French threw its citizens to the Nazi wolves. “Prague,” Prof. Sayer notes, “was occupied during World War Two longer than any other European capital.” Most of the Czech territory was restored after the war, only to be grabbed by the Soviet Union.

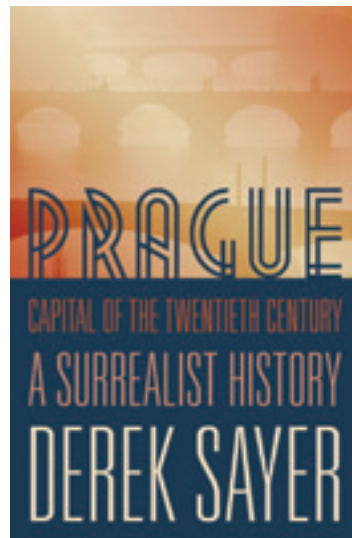
“For the next four decades Prague found itself in ‘Eastern Europe,’ even though the city is to the west of Vienna [...] With the fall of communism in the Velvet Revolution of November 1989 Prague took itself ‘back to Europe,’ but within two years tensions between Czechs and Slovaks came out into the open again and the country split into separate Czech and Slovak Republics at the stroke of midnight” — a turn of events Czechs jokingly called “the Velvet Divorce.” The split took effect on Dec. 31, 1992, one year to the day after the official end of the USSR.

Prof. Sayer may not reside in Prague, but he writes as an insider. He knows why the city has so often worked the way it does. Its recent and distant pasts, he writes, were not part of “‘modern society’ as generations of western social theorists have habituated us to think of it, but a Kafkan world in which the exhibition may turn into a show trial, the interior mutate into a prison cell, the arcade become a shooting gallery, and the idling flâneur reveal himself to be a secret policeman at the drop of a hat.”

Prague is not, strictly speaking, travel writing but it is, among other things, an excellent example of what travel writing is becoming, if indeed it hasn’t already done so. There will always be a place for mere guidebooks and the kind of immature male adventure travel with a sort of *Maxim* magazine personality: ones as different as, to name two randomly, *The Wall Street Journal Guide to Power Travel* by Scott McCartney (HarperCollins Canada, \$21.95 paper) and Chuck Thompson’s — never read an author named Chuck — *To Hellholes and Back: Bribes, Lies, and the Art of Extreme Tourism* (Raincoast, \$18 paper). The change comes partly from the fact that by now, in an age when even Antarctica has become a popular tourist destination, almost everybody has been everywhere. People are no longer so easily satisfied by the mere travel impressions of some outsider much like themselves. Instead they gravitate towards writers who actually have lived not simply in, but inside, a location for an extended period, as one lives inside one’s clothes.

A prominent example would be *Istan-*

bul: Memories and the City, Orhan Pamuk’s study of his native place, published in 2005, the year he was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. *Calcutta: Two Years in the City* (Random House of Canada, \$30) by Amit Chaudhuri, the Anglo-Indian novelist and critic, is a fresh instance. Mr. Chaudhuri was born in Calcutta (significantly, he doesn’t accept the present spelling, Kolkata) in 1962 and lived there as a boy, until his upper-middle-class parents moved to Bombay (Mumbai). Many Indians were doing the same in those days to advance their fortunes in business. Later, Mr. Chaudhuri settled in Britain, but returned in his late 30s to remember how his old home used to be and to see what it had become.



Once, long ago, the capital of all India, Calcutta is now only the capital of West Bengal. It is a city each of whose countless paras or neighbourhoods is almost a proudly distinct tribe unto itself. Given all that, plus the network of castes and classes, its colonial heritage and the new cosmopolitanism, *Calcutta: Two Years in the City* is a complex patchwork of topics, scenes and even genres. It’s a crazy-quilt of a book that shows the author’s ear for reproducing speech and his knack for sketching not only personalities, but smells and, especially, tastes (for Mr. Chaudhuri is a foodie). He uses these gifts to illustrate how the city of Mother Teresa has been remade by the forces of globalization.

Except for being another example of insiders’ travel, Gary Kamiya’s new book, *Cool Gray City of Love: 49 Views of San Francisco* (Raincoast, \$28.50) could hardly be

more different from Mr. Chaudhuri’s, for it’s couched in the diction of snazzy journalism. But then before he helped to found *Salon.com*, he, in fact, worked as a regular journalist, just as at another period of his life he drove a taxi.

These last two experiences go together as he divides San Francisco into 49 walking tours, talking all the time about the city’s past and its personality — not unlike a loquacious high-octane cab driver who, in an abundance of local pride, mixes facts with exaggerations. When gabbing about, for example, the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of 1906, he writes: “More photographs were taken of the San Francisco disaster than any event in history up to that time.” (What about the American Civil War?) He sometimes puts down the present, with its “ugly Hilton Hotel” near a pedestrian overpass that he singles out, in what sounds like Mark Twain diction, as “a monstrosity and a profanation.” For it’s the past that interests him the most, especially the city’s own creation myth: the story of the California gold rush.

In the course of the year 1848, San Francisco’s population jumped from 800 to 2,000. By the end of the following year, it was probably at 25,000. “No city in the world has ever come into existence the way San Francisco did,” he writes excitedly. “It was created ex nihilo, the urban equivalent of the big bang.” For the next few years it was “a place unlike any other on earth, a combination campground, casino, construction zone, battlefield, strip club, depot, garbage dump, stock exchange and amusement park.”

Whereas Mr. Kamiya comes up with 49 vignettes of San Francisco, Nezer AlSayyad requires only 12 in *Cairo: Histories of a City* (Harvard University Press, US\$19.95 paper) to penetrate the Egyptian capital in a way useful to serious western readers. Then there is *Xanadu* (Random House of Canada, \$18.95 paper), the latest work by William Dalrymple, the dean of English-language travel writer/historians on the subject of India, or, in this case, Central Asia. For her part, Alison Singh Gee, taking the outsider’s point of view, writes effectively and entertainingly (but not superficially) about marrying into an Indian family in *Where the Peacocks Sing: A Place, a Prince and the Search for Home* (Raincoast, \$28.99 paper). One outstanding example of plumbing a city’s soul (actually, two cities’ souls) is Robert Crawford’s *On Glasgow and Edinburgh* (Harvard University Press, US\$35), one of the most widely and most favourably

reviewed of the current crop of travel literature. Another of the same quality is Russell Shorto's *Amsterdam: A History of the World's Most Liberal City* (Random House of Canada, \$32). The liberal refers to classic capitalism as well as progressive ideology.

Whereas Walter Benjamin's *Paris* was the capital of the 19th Century and Prof. Sayer's *Prague* was the capital of the 20th, Daniel Hernandez's *Down & Delirious in Mexico City* (Simon & Schuster Canada, \$18.99 paper) is subtitled "The Aztec Metropolis in the Twenty-First Century." Like Mr. Chaudhuri, Mr. Hernandez returned to his cultural home to spend a few years soaking up his ancestry. The difference between the two men is that Mr. Hernandez then decided to move back for keeps. With 20 million people, the biggest city in the Western Hemisphere, Mexico City is too old and too modern for its own good and certainly too poor and, in spots, even too rich. The phenomenon of rural people going to the nearest megalopolis seeking work and a better life, swelling the population beyond the breaking point, is one now being studied round the world. One outstanding recent example is *Bangkok Bound* by Ellen Boccuzzi (University of Washington Press, US\$25 paper).

Then there are books that try to throw light on places about which we know very little, because they are either forbidden or too dangerous for travellers afflicted with common sense. When you come right down to it, for example, we in the West get precious little information about North Korea (whose citizens receive even less about us — though private ownership of radios is becoming more common there). This last bit of fact, ridiculous-sounding in the age of the universal wi-fi, is found in *The Real North Korea: Life and Politics in the Failed Stalinist Europe* by Andrei Lankov (Oxford University Press, \$29.95). The author is a rare bird, a Russian from Leningrad who studied in North Korea and teaches history at a university in South Korea. His book is full of fascinating depictions of Pyongyang in terms of the political climate and daily life. It aims to show how the present dynasty has survived since the 1940s despite the loss of the Soviet Union and slow rejection by China. It has done so, the author says, by playing up its fabled instability and odd behaviour and elevating the veiled threat to the level of rhetorical art form. If North Korea is a closed state, then Somalia is one too dangerous for individual foreigners to tinker with. Such is the message of *The*

World's Most Dangerous Place: Inside the Outlaw State of Somalia (Publishers Group Canada, \$25.99) by James Ferguson, who has travelled there extensively (rare man!) and also has gained the confidence of many emigré Somalis in Britain and the U.S.

This leads to the serious (and sometimes dark) side of travel. *In Motion: The Experience of Travel* (Random House of



The Selden watercolour map dates from the late Ming period and shows China, Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Southeast Asia and part of India.

Canada, \$32) by Tony Hiss, formerly of *The New Yorker*, is a hard-to-classify meditation on how travel, especially on foot, can expand a person's consciousness. He draws on numerous cultures for examples, but he himself is the one who puts the somewhat nebulous idea to the test. Equally serious, but differently so, *Modernist Travel Writing: Intellectuals Abroad* by David Farley (University of Missouri Press, US\$39.95) tries to fill a gap in the number of books about travel writing itself by looking at how travel in the first decades of the 20th Century influenced the manner in which various famous authors pursued their art — in the short, the hard-to-pin-down way that the experience of travel plays with and piques creative expression generally. In a sense, Prof. Farley's book corresponds with — or

plays tag with — the essays in Jonathan Skinner's anthology *Writing the Dark Side of Travel* (UBC Press, \$25 paper). A quite specific example of such darkening is *Roppongi Crossing: The Demise of a Tokyo Nightclub District and the Reshaping of a Global City* by Roman Adrian Cybrist (University of Georgia Press, US\$69.95), the story of how Japan's economic collapse of the 1990s transformed an entertainment district once so popular with Japanese and foreigners alike into a highly dangerous locale characterized by property developers on the one hand and drug lords and other criminals on the other.

All of the above leads me somehow to books about cartography. For century after century, maps have been essential to geopolitics, business and war (to the extent that those can be broken down into separate fields). In the White House, what's still called the Map Room, now of only ceremonial use, was once a vitally important place. I remember reading that Ulysses S. Grant, like so many early military professionals, was obsessed with collecting as many maps as possible. Even in the 1850s, after the Mexican-American War when he was out of the army and back working at his father's harness shop in Galena, Illinois, he still gathered all the maps he could find, because, you know, a civil war might break out one day. Now the parties on all sides get the same maps instantly, even the same satellite imaging.

Timothy Brook, the renowned China scholar at the University of British Columbia and a writer of captivating prose, tells the story of a particular Ming Dynasty map in *Mr. Selden's Map of China: Decoding the Secrets of a Vanished Cartographer* (Anansi, \$29.95). The gentleman of the title was John Selden, an early 17th-Century English antiquary who was the first British orientalist scholar. The map he once owned is important because it showed Chinese trade routes in the South China Sea and beyond. The map thus opens our imaginations to a different imperial China than the closeted inward-looking one about which we're taught. But the hero of Prof. Brook's book is the unknown map-maker who drew the thing. Cartographers often deserve to be heroes. This thought runs through a curious book worth noting: *Map Worlds: A History of Women in Cartography* — by, surprisingly, a male scholar, Will C. Van Den Hoonaard (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, \$59.95 cloth).

George Fetherling is a novelist, poet and cultural commentator.

Cartier and Macdonald: unlikely allies

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

Canada's history is filled with events rooted in relationships between two people. Without the alliance between Shawnee chief Tecumseh and British military commander Sir Isaac Brock, the War of 1812 might have been quite different — and Canada might be part of the United States. Before and during the Second World War, the trust that prime minister Mackenzie King placed in Ernest Lapointe, as Quebec lieutenant, resulted in decisions that kept that province onside, which was far from a given.

Sometimes, strong relationships transcend borders. Such was the case with the Free Trade Agreement of 1988 between Canada and the United States, which could not have happened without the friendship between Brian Mulroney and Ronald Reagan.

Then there was the unlikely friendship between Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George-Etienne Cartier, without which Canada might not exist. As we reflect on the 200th anniversary of Cartier's birth and the 199th anniversary of Macdonald's this month, it is worth considering the flaws and achievements of these remarkable men, who are the subjects of two new Heritage Minutes produced by our organization, Historica Canada. Both were possessed with almost breathtaking self-confidence, and each preferred talking to listening. Cartier once spoke for more than 13 hours during a parliamentary debate. Macdonald was infamous for his rough tongue and partisan nature and for his fondness for drink. Once, after he was publicly sick to his stomach during a cam-



Sir John A. Macdonald

paigned debate, he declared, "I get sick...not because of drink [but because] I am forced to listen to the ranting of my honourable opponent."

The two men approached polite society in different ways. Macdonald, the Scottish immigrant, was a bratty youth who, for a time, seemed destined to become best acquainted with the law from the wrong side. He was uncomfortable expressing affection publicly, but was devoted to his disabled daughter. He had a complex relationship with his wife and kept a mistress. Cartier was very conscious of money and social position. He married accordingly, to Hortense Fabre, a reserved woman. They eventually broke up (though not publicly), and he took up with the real love of his life, Luce Cuvillier, a cousin of Hortense who sometimes smoked cigars and wore long pants.

Cartier, in earlier years, was no fan of the British. During the Rebellion des Patriotes of 1837-38, he fought against them and was subsequently exiled to the United States. But his views changed, and after he was pardoned in 1848, he was elected to parliament.

Eventually, both men found themselves at odds with some of their original supporters. Cartier was denounced by Quebec nationalists with whom he had once been allied, and had to work alongside men such as George Brown, whose anti-francophone views were public and well-established. That made life difficult for Cartier. Macdonald, in turn, had a long history of disagreement with Brown, and those two men also had to learn to overlook their differences.

They persevered. Macdonald pushed his vision of a united country. Cartier was key in achieving that, not only in Quebec, but also in bringing in Manitoba and British Columbia — the latter with the promise of a national railway.

In their years together, they forged an extraordinary friendship. When Cartier died in 1873, Macdonald wept. He commissioned a statue of Cartier on Parliament Hill, which still stands. Cartier, Macdonald said, "Was as bold as a lion. He was just the man I wanted. But for him, Confederation could not have been carried."

And because of them, we are Canadians today.

Anthony Wilson-Smith is president of Historica Canada.

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Mongolia's meaty cuisine – from marmot to mutton



MARGARET DICKENSON

Mongolia is a landlocked country in northern Asia, sandwiched between Russia to the north and China to the south. With a population of fewer than three million people, it is known for its severe continental climate and historic nomadic way of life.

On a global level, Mongolian cuisine is rather obscure. For centuries, cattle, horses, sheep, goats, yaks and camels have been herded by the nomads and have featured strongly in the traditional Mongolian diet.

Mongolian cuisine is characterized by simplicity, consisting primarily of meat and dairy products with only limited use of a small variety of other ingredients due to the harsh weather. Dash Lkhundev, wife of Mongolian Ambassador Zalaa Uul Tundevdorj, explains that “meat is not eaten in the summer, but rather in the winter; dairy products are consumed in the summer.” Large amounts of animal fat in the Mongolian diet add extra flavour to dishes, and are essential in furnishing sufficient body fuel to withstand the fiercely harsh, cold winter and demands of manual outdoor labour. Temperatures as low as -40°C (-40°F) are not uncommon.

Mutton is particularly popular, especially in the countryside where it is often cooked simply, on its own. Fêted as the national dish of Mongolia, mutton is usually boiled, stewed, grilled, stuffed with other ingredients, floured and fried in oil or combined with noodles. Mongolians enjoy horsemeat, which is believed to offer protection against the cold of winter, as well as roasted marmot (groundhog), which the locals call marmot *boodog*. Marmot-hunting and games designed to capture the animals, boast a long history as a traditional nomadic pastime. The goal is to catch or kill the animal without piercing the skin, allowing it to be cooked

from the inside by stuffing hot stones into the cavity of the animal. Steam generated internally results in the puffing of the roasting animal's body and limbs. A blow torch effectively singes off the fur. Roasted marmot is very tender and, in the opinion of foreigners, tastes much like wild duck. This technique is also a favourite way of cooking deboned goat, a traditional national dish prepared for festive occasions.

Stone or rock cooking has continued through the centuries. Another national dish, known as *hordog*, involves placing hot stones in a hermetically sealed metal can or bowl along with pieces of meat (and at times vegetables). Understandably, *hordog* remains popular today with campers and those enjoying the great outdoors. With both stone-cooking techniques, the amount of heat generated must be carefully balanced to prevent an explosion. Once the cooking is completed, the stones are removed and distributed to diners. Rolled between palms or held between fingers, the stone emits animal grease (from the cooked meat) as well as heat. This procedure is believed to dis-

pel fatigue and increase stamina. Dash Lkhundev explains: “It transmits a spiritual healing power for balance and strength.”

It seems Mongolians have forever been drying the meat (known as *brots*) of cattle, goats and camels for use in the winter.

Besides meat and animal fat, dairy products play an important role in Mongolia's food culture. Mongolians employ amazingly creative ways to make the best use of milk from all five of their domesticated animals (cattle, sheep, goats, horses and camels).

Horse and yak milk are important beverages. Generally speaking, Mongolians prefer sour milk to fresh and believe it cleanses their stomachs. They heat milk to separate out the high-fat cream (*orom*, clotted cream) and the remaining skim milk is then processed into cheese (*byaslag*), dried curds (*aaruul*) and yogurt. Mutton-based dishes are frequently served with curds, which have been sun-baked in the summer and vary from soft to hard, mild to strong. Curds play an important role in the Mongolian diet during the long winter.



LARRY DICKENSON

Margaret Dickenson's Mongolian beef strips

Dried cheese (*eetsgii*), plus a variety of other dairy products such as sour yogurt (*taraq*), butter and creative beverages, figure in Mongolia's food culture. Two milk-based alcoholic drinks include a mildly alcoholic, fermented mare's milk (*airag*), regarded as the most prominent national beverage, and a home-brewed, rather powerful vodka (*nermalike*), which is extracted from yogurt.

Among non-alcoholic drinks, *suutei tsai* ranks No. 1. Mongolians consume this salted tea preparation of hot water, butter, rice, generous amounts of salt, yak's milk and tea before and after meals to aid with digestion. By adding meat, boiled dumplings (*bansh*) or more rice, *suutei tsai* becomes a robust soup.

Although Mongolians have traditionally relied on a high-protein and fat-rich meat and dairy products diet, they also consume cereals and rice, as well as wild onions, garlic, mushrooms, fruits and plants native to the country.

Barley, a popular cereal, is malted; its flour makes a famous fried dessert resembling a doughnut (*boortsag*) which can be eaten on its own or with butter, jam or cheese. Retaining its quality for several weeks, the product substitutes for bread when the need arises. Barley appears in a type of porridge, or mixed in milk, it becomes a tea.

Meat-filled dumplings, the most popular snacks, require premium wheat flour to make a simple dough consisting of flour, a pinch of salt and lukewarm water. Only the dough of *mantuun buuz* uses yeast so the dumpling rises during steaming. The different types of dumplings all have a meat filling, but the names vary according to the dumpling's shape and cooking technique: *khuushuur* (canoe-shaped, deep fried in bouillon fat remaining from cooking meat), *buuz* (canoe-, flower- or star-shaped, steamed), *mantuun buuz* (similar to *buuz*, but with yeast in the dough and has a round shape), *bansh* (boiled in hot water). *Bansh* is not only served as a side dish, but also in a bouillon or hot milk tea.

Some regional dishes combine rice and noodles to make various stews (*tsuivan* and *budaatai huurga*) or noodle soups (*gureltai shol* and *pjartan*). Both soups include meat, but for the former, the dough of the noodles is cut into strips and for the latter, it is cut into rectangles or torn into pieces. *Bantan* is a simple creamy-textured Mongolian soup made of dough crumbs and meat. In addition to being a nutritious dish for children and seniors, it reportedly serves as an effective remedy for hangovers.

In terms of cooking methods, ages ago, Mongolian warriors fried their meats on their shields placed over a fire. However, since that period, cooking techniques have remained basic — boiling, steaming, cooking under pressure or grilling (often on skewers). And let's be clear, the Mongolian barbecue, which restaurants offer with stir-fried beef and vegetables cooked on large heated steel or stone plates in front of diners, bears more resemblance to the cooking method inspired by Japanese teriyaki than anything Mongolian. The true Mongolian grill appears to have originated during the Genghis Khan era in the 13th Century. Warriors would sit around a grill and cook their own individual ginger-soy dipped pieces of thinly sliced beef. Sometimes the grilled meat was eaten with scallions, mushrooms and plain bread.

On the other hand, the Mongolian hot pot or firepot is a type of Chinese fondue. Diners cook slices of meat (lamb, beef, poultry), fish and vegetables in a communal pot of boiling broth, after which the broth is consumed.

No doubt, Mongolian cuisine has been influenced by the country's proximity to China, Russia and Central Asia as well as its nomadic culture. Since the late 1990s, the variety and quality of imported food has increased substantially as "western-style" Chinese supermarkets (selling frozen foreign chicken, fresh fruit and vegetables, canned goods, biscuits and confectionary of all types) began to vie with already established "Soviet-style" market stalls.

Besides cafés and canteens serving Mongolian food, which is less complex than that of most Asian countries, there are restaurants, tea shops and bakeries specializing in foreign cuisine (Russian, Chinese, Italian, Indian, Japanese, Korean, American). For Mongolians dining in such restaurants, roasted chicken and fish are popular choices, while fast-food customers enjoy pizza and hot dogs. *Gers* along roadsides function as simple restaurants offering food prepared in aluminum or cast-iron pots on small stoves fuelled by wood or the dried dung of cattle and horses.

What follows is my simple and tasty version of a traditional Mongolian beef recipe. Bon Appétit!

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

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Mongolian Beef Strips

Makes 4 servings

1 lb (450 g) striploin*, trimmed**
1/4 cup (60 mL) cornstarch
To taste, crushed black peppercorns
3 tbsp (45 mL) vegetable oil

Sauce

1 tbsp (15 mL) minced fresh garlic
2 tsp (10 mL) peeled and grated fresh gingerroot
2 tsp (10 mL) vegetable oil
1/4 cup (60 mL) soy sauce
1/2 cup (125 mL) water
3/4 cup (180 mL) brown sugar

1. Cut beef striploin crosswise into 1/3-inch (0.8 cm) thick slices. Place cornstarch in a plastic bag; add beef and toss to coat strips evenly. Transfer beef strips to a parchment-lined tray and allow to rest for at least 15 minutes to enable the cornstarch to adhere to the meat.

2. Meanwhile, to make the sauce, in a medium-size skillet, sauté garlic and ginger in 2 tsp (10 mL) of vegetable oil at medium-low heat for about 1 minute. Remove skillet from heat to avoid splattering and add soy sauce, water and brown sugar. Return skillet to heat and stir constantly until sugar dissolves and sauce becomes thicker (about 2 to 3 minutes). Remove skillet of sauce from heat.

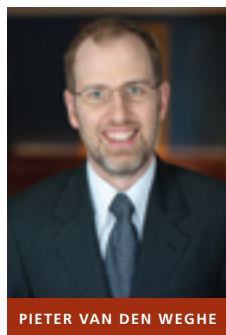
3. Sprinkle beef strips lightly with crushed black peppercorns before adding to 3 tbsp (43 mL) hot oil in a large skillet over medium-high heat. Sear beef for about 1 minute per side so that meat is rare to medium-rare in doneness. (Avoid overcooking, which will toughen the meat.) Transfer beef to a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

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

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

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

Wines to warm you



PIETER VAN DEN WEGHE

This time of year, it's all about thick sweaters and good boots. The cold makes us search out warm company and hearty food. And we look for something rich and a bit more powerful in our wine glass. Instead of seeming out of step alongside warm temperatures and delicate dishes, a full-bodied wine is the perfect companion to a cold winter's day.

While white wines are sometimes overlooked in a conversation about "big wine," an excellent candidate for bringing richness to bear is a big, round and creamy Chardonnay. Some of the biggest expressions of this grape come from California where the practices of oak and (acid-softening) malolactic fermentation are common and provide that unmistakable soft-textured buttery richness.

An excellent example of this style is Beringer's 2011 Private Reserve Chardonnay (available from Vintages for \$44.95). Beringer, established by brothers Jacob and Frederick Beringer in 1875, is one of the oldest wineries in the Napa Valley. Since starting to ferment their Chardonnay in French oak barrels in 1977, they have become a respected and award-winning producer of this classic Californian style of wine. With aromatics and flavours of stone fruits with generous notes of spice and vanilla, this is an unabashed and luxurious expression of Chardonnay.

For those looking for an unoaked style of a big white wine that's still ridiculously rich, the 2012 Gewurztraminer from Organized Crime is the perfect alternative. Though humorously named, this small winery on Niagara's renowned Beamsville Bench is serious about making delicious and expressive wines. In warm years, such as 2012 in Niagara, Gewurztraminer already packs a wallop and drying a third of this wine's grapes prior to fermentation has only increased its power. This extraordinary white wine explodes with

a massive and complex flavour profile of tropical and stone fruits, sweet citrus and ginger. Despite its 14.8 percent alcoholic weight, it has astounding balance and finishes beautifully. It is available from Organized Crime (www.organizedcrimewine.com) for \$22.

As for reds, we have the aptly named "The Ball Buster" from Bruno Tait. Located in Australia's Barossa Valley, this family-owned winery is dedicated to traditional winemaking methods such as open fermentation, extended maceration and basket pressing to produce wines that show the concentrated aromas of Barossa fruit. The 2011 is a massive, dark fruit-flavoured wine made up of mostly Shiraz with some Cabernet Sauvignon and Merlot. It is expressive, with a big soft mouth feel and a very long finish of spice and toasty oak. For \$24.95 from Vintages (269472), this wine over-delivers.

A classic Old World choice for a hearty wine is the 2008 "Cinque Stelle" Amarone della Valpolicella Classico produced by Michele Castellani. Operated by Michele's son, Sergio, and his wife, Maria, this winery's goal is to produce wines with a strong personality that represent both re-

gional tradition and hard work. This wine is made by drying Corvina, Corvinone, Rondinella and Molinara grapes for 90 to 120 days and then slowly fermenting them for six weeks. The resulting Amarone is incredibly complex, with layered aromas and flavours of ripe black fruit, chocolate, smoke and kirsch. A powerful expression of Italian wine, this red wine is available from Vintages (75127) for \$53.95.

And finally, a little fortified wine goes a long way in keeping the cold at bay. An excellent and delicious example is Burmester's 10-year-old Tawny Port, which can be bought at Vintages (223958) for \$24.95. As with many Port producers, this winery has a long and storied history, having been founded in 1750. Since then, its artisans have truly mastered producing lovely and layered Tawny Ports with abundant flavours of caramel, nut and citrus that have an impressive sense of balance.

Winter may be bitterly cold, but it's also a great time to let a rich and powerful wine strut its stuff.

Pieter Van den Weghe is general manager and wine director at Beckta dining & wine.

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Peru's residence: authenticity on Island Park

By Margo Roston



ALL PHOTOS BY ASHLEY FRASER

The Peruvian Ambassador's stately residence on Island Park Drive.

It is impossible to meander along Island Park Drive without noticing the impressive brick and half-timbered residence of Peruvian Ambassador Jose Antonio Bellina. Situated on a large corner lot, the home was built in 1928 for Stafford Kirkpatrick and designed by leading Ottawa architect Werner Edgar

Noffke, the man whose landmark buildings include the Korean ambassador's residence in Rockcliffe and the Medical Arts building on Metcalfe Street. He designed the home in the popular Tudor-Gothic style of the day with multi-faceted windows, a crenellated parapet, twisted chimney pots and a heavy wooden door

recessed in a stone archway.

The house has had an interesting past. In 1940, a group of more than 20 young schoolchildren left England with their teacher, looking for a haven away from Nazi bombing and set off for Ottawa with the promise of a roof over their heads. Sadly, when they got here, that promise



José Antonio Bellina and his wife, Rosa Garcia Rosell

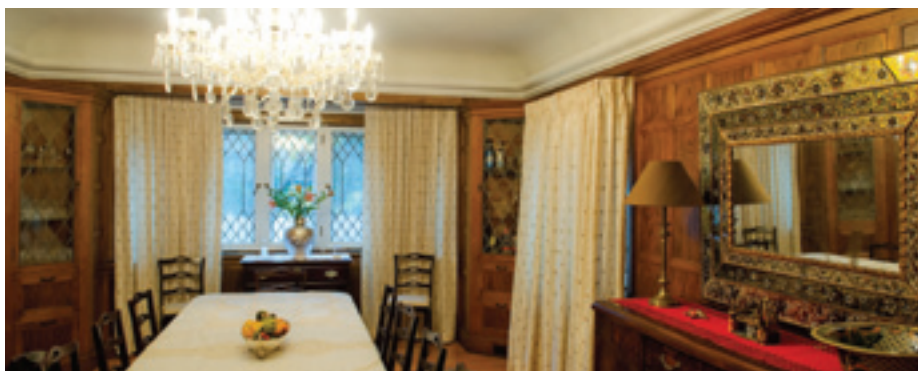


Peruvian art and furnishings are evident throughout the home.



Mr. Bellina's study, where he's been known to have a cigar or two.

ASHLEY FRASER



The dining room is panelled and dominated by a Peruvian mirror.



A sitting room shows off the leaded windows.



The globe that doubles as a bar.

A large advertisement for Elite Draperies & Home Decorating. The background image shows a living room with a light-colored sofa, a patterned armchair, and a side table with a lamp. The room has blue patterned wallpaper and gold curtains. The text is overlaid on the right side of the image.

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had evaporated and the children and their teacher were homeless. A group of influential Ottawans found temporary accommodation until the empty Kirkpatrick house was secured for them. Their presence during the war years was recorded by Malak Karsh in a well-known picture of the children leaning over the banister of the sweeping staircase.

"This story brings energy to the house," says the ambassador's wife, Rosa.

The residence was purchased by the government of Peru not long after the war and the Karsh photograph has a place of honour at the bottom of the stairs in the front hall. Over the years, several former students have come back to visit. With eight bedrooms, five for family and three for staff these days, there was always lots of room for everyone.

Once through the impressive front door, visitors find a house built along a long, wide hallway. To the right, a living room is dominated by a stately stone fireplace. It leads into a small piano room, once used as a glass-enclosed sunroom.

To the left of the front entrance sits a small, pretty sitting room and an oak-panelled den surrounded by bookcases. The ambassador has decorated it with the many medals he has received over the years during postings in Switzerland, New York and Washington and many naval mementoes, all related to his naval family. He, too, has a naval distinction of sorts, in that he served as Peru's vice-minister of defence.

A bar disguised as a globe of the world opens to show off glasses and a variety of bottles containing pisco, the grape brandy produced in Peru and Chile. This is where the ambassador retreats to read, one of his pastimes, along with painting and attending classical and, particularly, rock concerts.

The dining room is also panelled and is dominated by a Peruvian mirror. This room has a photograph of the English children eating their lunch in that room. The photo demonstrates the authenticity of the house — it looks the same as it did more than 70 years ago. Most of the interior rooms have oak doors with leaded glass, mirroring the windows.

Much of the art is from the ambassador's own collection. Some of the pieces are modern, but there are lovely examples of native art as well. A charming hand-made wooden crèche is typical of early native arts of Ayacucho in the Peruvian highlands, Ambassador Bellina explains. A Madonna and Child are clothed in typi-



Madonna and Child are dressed in traditional Peruvian clothing.

cal colourful Peruvian dress.

In a frame, behind glass, hangs a tiny, 800-year-old poncho in wonderful condition. It was recently handed over to the ambassador by a Peruvian in Canada who

felt guilty about taking it out of his home country, a move that is actually against the law. Around the home, fine Peruvian silver vases hold freshly cut flowers.

The ambassador and his wife have a Peruvian chef and pride themselves on serving the specialties of their country, most spiced with aji amarillo peppers, native to Peru. Ceviche, raw fish marinated in citrus juice, is a popular item at the residence along with *causa*, a traditional dish of mashed yellow potatoes, key lime, chili and almost any variety of fish. The name comes from the War of the Pacific, (1879-1883) in which a united Peru and Bolivia fought against Chile. Causa is said to represent the efforts of the women to gather food for the "cause."

Ambassador Bellina and his wife are happy in Ottawa.

"I love it here," Mrs. Garcia Rosell says, and adds that roaming around Westboro is one of her pleasures. She feels at home in Canada, she says, because she attended a Canadian school in Lima for 12 years.

The Bellinas may have a comfortable home in Canada, but they have created the warmth of Peru in a cold climate.

Margo Roston is *Diplomat's* culture editor.

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New arrivals

S.E.M. Pamphile C. Goutondji
Ambassador of Benin



Ambassador Goutondji is a career diplomat who joined the foreign ministry in 1983.

After completing a bachelor's degree in 1976 and a master's in international relations in Kiev in 1983, he joined the ministry and held increasingly responsible positions, including department head and assistant to the foreign minister. In 1992, he was named second secretary and took his first posting at the embassy of Benin in Abuja, Nigeria, in 1998. From 2002 to 2004, he served as chief of protocol for Benin and was later sent to South Africa as chargé d'affaires. In 2009, he became secretary general of the foreign ministry.

In 2010, he took a job teaching at the University of Abomey-Calavi in Benin. He is a "chevalier de l'ordre du mérite social du Bénin" and is married. He speaks French, Russian, Spanish and German.

Nikolay Milkov
Ambassador of Bulgaria



Mr. Milkov studied international relations in Sofia and completed his PhD in historical sciences in 1991. The following year, he began his career at the ministry of defence as

a desk officer. From 1993 to 1997, he held various positions including international co-operation adviser and assistant head of the military intelligence directorate. From 1997 to 2001, he was director of the co-ordination and planning directorate at the foreign ministry, after which he became ambassador to Romania.

He returned to Sofia for one year as deputy minister of foreign affairs and then became consul general in New York. From 2010 to 2013, he served as the first permanent secretary of defence and later, chief of the cabinet of the prime minister and minister of foreign affairs in the caretaker government.

Dr. Milkov is fluent in English, French and Russian and has a working knowledge of Spanish. He is married and has two children.

Spéciose Nzeyimana
Ambassador of Burundi



Ms. Nzeyimana joined the foreign ministry in 2002, after having taught school for two years. She began her career as a counsellor, first in international co-operation and then working with the first vice-president of Burundi. In 2009, she was sent to Russia as first secretary. She returned to the foreign ministry in 2012, before being appointed ambassador to Canada. She also completed two short tours as chargé d'affaires in Paris.

When the Burundi Senate approved her appointment, they described her as a "strong candidate" with "extensive experience."

The ambassador studied languages and African literature at the University of Burundi and speaks French, Kirundi and English.

Marie-Anne Coninx
Ambassador of the European Union



Ms Coninx began her posting in Canada after serving as ambassador to Mexico.

The ambassador started her European Commission career in the legal service in 1984. From 1985 to 1996, she was a cabinet staff member of commissioners responsible for external relations and trade; internal market and relations with the European Parliament (EP) and development policy and relations with the EP.

Ambassador Coninx has served as minister-counsellor in New York (1996 to 2000) and in Geneva (2000 to 2004). Prior to her posting in Mexico, she oversaw the relationship between the European Union and Latin America from 2004 to 2009.

Ambassador Coninx studied law at Ghent University in Belgium and did post-graduate studies in international law and European law. Ambassador Coninx is Belgian and is fluent in Dutch, French, English and German.

Fathi Mohamed Baja
Ambassador of Libya



Mr. Baja was a leader in the Libyan people's revolution in February 2011. He helped draft the revolution victory statement and was a founding member of the Benghazi Council and Libya's national transitional council, where he served as head of political affairs in charge of international relations. He represented Libya at the UN General Assembly when his group secured recognition as the sole representative of the Libyan people.

Mr. Baja has a master's in political science from Boston University and a PhD in political science from Mohamed Fifth University in Morocco. After completing his education, he became a lecturer at several universities, including Tahdi University, Africa University and Benghazi University, a position he left last year to become Libya's ambassador to Canada.

Mr. Baja is married with three children.

Marcin Bosacki
Ambassador of Poland



Sept. 24, 2013 was a landmark day for Mr. Bosacki. In addition to being named Polish ambassador to Canada, he was awarded the Bene Merito distinction for enhancing

Poland's international standing.

Between 2010 and 2013, Mr. Bosacki served as the foreign ministry's spokesman, presenting Poland's positions during such key events as the EU Council presidency in 2011, negotiations on the new EU budget and the Arab Spring. In addition, he issued warnings to Polish tourists travelling abroad. Under his direction, the ministry also launched a new, integrated foreign affairs website with more than 150 web portals for Polish diplomatic missions around the world. Mr. Bosacki also added social media to the ministry's communications toolkit, which earned the ministry third place in the prestigious Twiplomacy ranking of the world's best-connected institutions in July 2013.

Pisan Manawapat
Ambassador of Thailand



Mr. Manawapat has a master's of science in economics with a major in international relations from the University of London and he also attended Thailand's National Defence College in 2003.

He began his foreign service career in the ASEAN Department and his first posting was to Washington (1986-1990). He returned to headquarters briefly before being posted to Malaysia as minister-counsellor. He became director of personnel and deputy director-general of East Asian Affairs before becoming minister and deputy chief of mission in Japan (1999-2002).

In February 2002, he was named director-general of international economic affairs (2002-2004). He served as ambassador to Belgium, Luxembourg and the EU (2007-2011) and to India (2011 to 2013).

He is married to Wanchana Manawapat and has one daughter.

To Anh Dung
Ambassador of Vietnam



Mr. To graduated in international relations and international law from Kiev University in 1988.

He became a desk officer in the department of Southeast

Asia, South Asia and the South Pacific in 1991 and, in 1993, he became an attaché at the embassy in the Philippines.

From 1997 to 2000, Mr. To was secretary to the deputy prime minister at the ministry of foreign affairs and in 2000, became assistant to the director general at the ministry of foreign affairs. In 2001, he became a deputy director-general, a post he held until 2005 when he became minister-counsellor and deputy chief of mission at the embassy in Sweden.

In 2008, he became deputy director-general of the office of the deputy chief of the foreign ministry and in 2009, was promoted to director general before being sent to Canada.

Mr. To speaks Vietnamese, Russian and English and is married with two children.

Non-heads of mission

Algeria
Ali Saidi
Counsellor

Angola
Adriano Fernandes
Fortunato
Second secretary

Australia
Stephanie Aeuckens
Attaché

Barbados
Suzette Antoinette
Simpson
Attaché

Belgium
Marc Frans Mouton
Counsellor

Brazil
Carlos Henrique Silva
Seixas
Naval attaché

Brunei Darussalam
Fadzlyani Annuar
Second secretary

China
Xiaoxia Wang
First secretary

Yang, Yundong
Counsellor

Yu, Benlin
Minister-Counsellor

Zeng, Hui Attaché
Zhang, Chao
Third Secretary

Colombia
Santiago Wills Valderrama
Counsellor

Côte d'Ivoire
Adama Oulai
First secretary

Cuba
Deborah Leticia Ojeda
Valedon
Minister-counsellor

Czech Republic
Josef Lacko
Attaché

European Union
Karsten Mecklenburg
Counsellor

France
Jean-Christophe D. Auffray
Counsellor

Laurent Jean Marie
Bitouzet
Attaché

Germany
Sabine Finkenzeller
Attaché

Guinea
Louncey Conde

Counsellor and chargé
d'affaires

Adama Kouyate
First secretary

Italy
Angelo Matassa
Attaché

Gabriella Saponaro
Attaché

Giorgio Taborri
Counsellor

Japan
Hiroe Takiguchi
Second secretary

Kazakhstan
Gulnaz Altynbayeva
Third secretary

Kenya
Sambu, Lily Chelangat
Minister & chargé
d'affaires

Libya
Fawzi .M.S. Abusaa
First secretary

Mohamed Algamodi
Counsellor

Giuma Alrjubani
Second secretary

Mexico
Mario Enrique Figueroa
Matuz
Second secretary

Fernando Gonzalez Saiffe
Gonzalez
First secretary

Raul Martinez Gonzalez
Deputy military and air
attaché

Mario Rodriguez Montero
Minister

Niger
Nana Hadiza Abani
Attaché

Qatar
Mirdef Ali M. A.
Al-Qashouti
Second secretary

Romania
Silvana Bolocan
Second secretary

Gabriel Petric
Counsellor

Russia
Evgeny Belykh
Attaché

Sergey Besedin
Attaché

Alexey Budenny
Attaché

Igor Molyanov
Defence attaché

Saudi Arabia
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Homoud Nawar M.
Alnemer
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Khalid Khider A.
Alnowaimy
First secretary

Abdullah Lafi S. Alotaibi
Attaché

Bader Abdullah R.
Alruwayshid
Attaché

Nabeel A.S. Najjar
Counsellor

Spain
Francisco Xavier Gisbert
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Turkey
Hayrettin Dursun
Attaché

Serkan Ozdemir
Second secretary

United Arab Emirates
Ibtisam Saleh A. A. Alali
Third secretary

Jamal Khalfan J. K. Alzaabi
Attaché

United States Of America
Michael James Berry
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Judith Lynne Bryan
Minister-counsellor

David Anthony Henry
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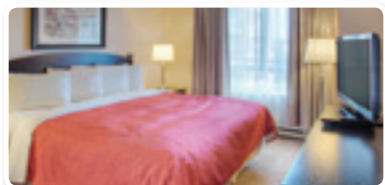
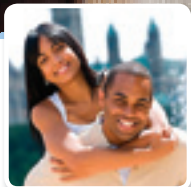
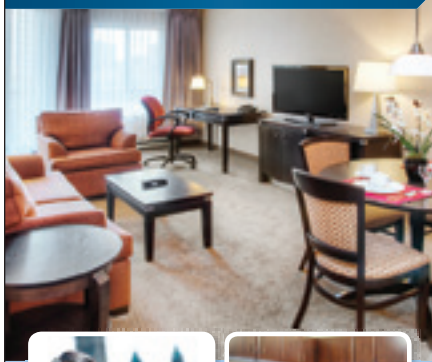


1. Guatemalan Ambassador Georges de la Roche, second from left, attended his last Guatemala Stove Project fundraising event. Funds will build improved cooking stoves for rural Mayan families. From left, Marie Cocking, Rita Redner and Tom Clarke, founder of the Guatemala Stove Project. (Photo: Pierre Fortier.) 2. To mark the 102nd national day of Taiwan, Representative Chih-Kung Liu and his wife, Huey-Pyng Liu, hosted a reception Oct. 8 at the Chateau Laurier. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. To mark the anniversary of Chilean independence, Ambassador Roberto Ibarra hosted a national day reception at Ottawa City Hall. He's shown with soprano Julie Nesrallah. 4. To mark Nigeria's 53rd independence day, High Commissioner Ojo Uma Maduekwe hosted a reception. He's shown with Finnish Ambassador Charles Murto. 5. Ambassadors and high commissioners representing the Southern African Development Community had a reception on Oct. 4 at the Hellenic Centre to celebrate SADAC Day. Here, Zambian High Commissioner Bobby Samakai is greeted by Angolan Ambassador Agostinho Tavares da Silva. (Photos: Sam Garcia). 6. Guatemala Foreign Minister Luis Fernando Carrera visited Ottawa Oct. 24. He met with Foreign Minister John Baird and International Development Minister Christian Paradis, pictured here. (Photo: DFATD)



1. Austrian Ambassador Arno Riedel and his wife Loretta Loria-Riedel hosted a national day reception at their residence. From left, Swiss Ambassador Ulrich Lehner, Mrs. Loria-Riedel, Federica Lehner and Mr. Riedel. 2. Italian Prime Minister Enrico Letta visited Ottawa. 3. The Embassy of Peru held a reception at the ambassador's residence to mark Peruvian Armed Forces Day. Here, Col. Julio Román Samander toasts. (Photos: Sam Garcia) 4. Samina Mehtab, first secretary at the Pakistan High Commission, attended a 25th anniversary celebration of *Esprit de Corps* at City Hall. (Photo: Lois Siegel) 5. Saudi Chargé d'Affaires Yousuf Rashad A. Abuais hosted a national day reception at the Hilton Lac Leamy in Gatineau. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 6. Mexican Ambassador Francisco Suárez hosted independence day reception at the Museum of Civilization. (Photo: Sam Garcia)

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1. Greek Ambassador Eleftherios Anghelopoulos and the University of Ottawa Heart Institute Foundation hosted a Healthy Heart Greek Food and Wine Tasting with celebrity chef Christine Cushing. From left, foundation board member Steve Ramphos, Ms Cushing and Mr. Anghelopoulos (Photo: Sam Garcia) 2. Deputy Mayor Steve Desroches hosted Chinese Ambassador Zhang Junsai and Mayor Jim Watson at a tour of Water Dragon Park in Barrhaven. From left, Jin Xue, co-chair of the Water Dragon Park community cultural committee and president of the Chinese Community Association of Canada; Watson; Zhang; Desroches and Jason Kelly, co-chair of the committee. (Photo: City Hall) 3. To mark the 21st anniversary of the constitution of the Slovak Republic, Ambassador Milan Kollar, far right, and his wife, Sona Kollarova, far left, hosted a reception at the embassy. Between them are Jana Plesnik, member of the Canadian Slovak League, and Hyacinth Belloni, member of the Canadian Slovak League. (Photo: Ulle Baum)

Saving the salmon

By Donna Jacobs

There was nothing fishy about the Atlantic Salmon Federation's 17th Annual Ottawa Fall Run Conservation Dinner and auction at the Museum of Civilization — except maybe the platters of Nova Scotia smoked salmon.

Since 1948, the federation, along with 100 affiliated river-conservation groups and more than 30,000 volunteers, have been opening their wallets and raising money and their voices to protect Atlantic salmon and their habitat. Projects include researching the damage done by overcrowded ocean-penned salmon farms — including escapees interbreeding with and spreading sea lice infestations and diseases to wild salmon.

The federation supports a successful alternative — land-based aquaculture. In fact, the Nova Scotia salmon served at the event was raised in such a facility, which produces a taste-tested superior product without risk to wild salmon and other fish.

Other projects include tracking Canadian salmon on their migration to Greenland before returning to spawn in Canadian rivers, especially important with Greenland's resumption last year of commercial fishing, which involves fishing adult salmon before they return to Canadian waters to spawn.

The dinner and auction, attended by 220 people, was emceed by CBC's Evan Solomon, (himself a salmon fisher with a special interest in river ecology). The evening began with a report on salmon-preservation projects and finished with a concert from acclaimed Canadian tenor, John McDermott, fiddler Anne Lindsay and guitarist Jason Fowler.

Working with dinner committee chair Dawson Hovey, *Diplomat* magazine invited some ambassadors to the event. Among the guests were Icelandic Ambassador Thordur Aegir Oskarsson, Irish Ambassador Ray Bassett, former Guatemalan Ambassador Georges de la Roche and Yemeni Ambassador Khaled Mahfoudh Bahah. The event raised \$90,000.

Donna Jacobs is *Diplomat's* publisher



Velma McColl, ASF Committee; Yemeni Ambassador Khaled Mahfoudh Bahah; Fiona Gilfillan, ASF Committee; Michael Meighen, Chairman, Atlantic Salmon Federation (ASF).



Front row from left, Donna Jacobs, publisher of *Diplomat*; Tony Clement, president of the Treasury Board; Deborah Perzow; former Guatemalan Ambassador Georges de la Roche. Back row from left, Bill Nowell, from the Atlantic Salmon Federation committee and Dawson Hovey, event chairman.



From left, Dan Greenberg, Peter Bennett, Icelandic Ambassador Thordur Aegir Oskarsson, Jamie Johnson and Andrew Johnson.



The Atlantic Salmon Federation Fall Run Dinner volunteers. (Front row) Peter Souchen, Andrea MacLean, Anick Sabourin, Kasie Graham, (middle) Jessica Kovar (back row) Liane Nowell, Rob Dekker, Barbara Casson, Jamie Pistilli, Natalya Obushenko, Tom Ursia, Becca Hall and Andrew Doran



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www.ecana.mrecic.gob.ar

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www.armembassycanada.ca

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TEL 233-9994 FAX 233-8500
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www.diplomatie.be/ottawa

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TEL 237-1090 FAX 237-6144
mailbox@brasembottawa.org

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Ms Nadiyah Ahmad Rafie
Acting High Commissioner
High Commission for Brunei Darussalam
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www.embajadacolombia.ca

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www.croatiaemb.net

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Embassy of the Republic of
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http://www.libyanembassy.ca

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High Commission for Malaysia
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TEL. 241-5182 FAX 241-5214
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His Ex. Zalaa Uul Tundevdorj
Embassy of Mongolia
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His Ex. Hau Do Suan
Embassy of the Republic of the
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336 Island Park Drive
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TEL. 232-9990
FAX. 232-6999
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His Ex. Bhoj Raj Ghimire
Chargé d'Affaires
Embassy of Nepal
408 Queen Street
Ottawa, ON K1R 5A7
TEL 680-5513 FAX 422-5149
secretary_nepalembassy@rogers.com

NETHERLANDS

His Ex. Cornelis Kolo
Embassy of the Kingdom of the
Netherlands
350 Albert Street, Suite 2020
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 1A4
TEL. 237-5030 FAX 237-6471
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His Ex. Simon Tucker
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His Ex. Ojo Uma Maduekwe
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His Ex. Akbar Zeb
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His Ex. Said M. Hamad
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FAX: 736-0535
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His Ex. Jorge Hernan Miranda
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ZAMBIA

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151 Slater St., Suite 205
Ottawa, Ontario
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Celebration time

A listing of the national and independence days marked by countries

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



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Greece: culture, history and unrivalled beauty



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Zakynthos, in the Ionian Islands, is known for its beaches where even loggerhead sea turtles can rest.



*By Eleftherios Anghelopoulos
Ambassador of Greece*

A trip to Greece has always been a most fulfilling experience for every traveller as they discover an unparalleled natural beauty, cultural treasures and the legendary Greek hospitality, known as “philoxenia”-φιλοξενία.

The economic crisis caused a slight drop in tourism in 2012. However, a strong revival occurred over the summer of 2013, a record-breaking year, resulting from increased competitiveness against other

popular holiday destinations. There was an almost 11-percent increase in the number of international visitors, which contributed to the rebound of the Greek economy.

In 2013, there were approximately 17.5 million tourists in a country with a population of 11 million. In particular, we saw a 45-percent increase between May and August of tourists from Canada, highlighting the popularity of Greece as a tourism destination for Canadians, who can enjoy direct flights to Greece from Toronto and Montreal.

Greece would like to expand its tourist season throughout the year, something that is starting to happen. Last October, the number of international visitors increased by 22 percent and almost all resorts remained open.

Greece fascinates its visitors year round because of its many activities and its mild climate. You can spend a day at the beach, explore the streets of Athens, taste Greek delicacies, enjoy the vibrant nightlife, dis-

cover the country’s historical sites, hike through the countryside and sail the Aegean or Ionian Sea.

Athens: the oldest capital of Europe

Athens, named after the goddess of wisdom, Athena, is the capital and largest city in Greece and one of the world’s oldest cities, having been continuously inhabited for at least 7,000 years. Referred to as the cradle of Western civilization and the birthplace of democracy, today it successfully combines its rich ancient heritage with a vibrant, cosmopolitan lifestyle.

The greatest and finest temple of ancient Athens, the Parthenon, dedicated to its patron, the goddess Athena, dominates the centre of the city from the Acropolis. The Acropolis reflects the power and wealth of Athens during the Golden Age of Pericles. Wake up early in the morning to avoid the hot mid-afternoon hours, and climb up to the sacred rock of the Acropolis, where you can enjoy not only the Par-

thenon, but also Propylaea, Erechtheion and the temple of Athena Nike.

The Acropolis Museum, a short walk from the entrance of the Acropolis, is internationally recognized. Recently, *The Times of London* rated the museum third amongst the 50 best museums in the world. During your visit to the museum, you can view marvellous sculptures, such as the Caryatids or Kores from the Erechtheion, which are exhibited in a way that offers close viewing from all sides.

On the foothills of the Acropolis, the neighbourhoods of Plaka and Monastiraki, with their indisputable charm, are two of the most popular with visitors to Athens. Walk along the winding pathways featuring neoclassical architecture and you can find small taverns serving traditional food and endless souvenir shops selling Greek leather sandals, cosmetics made with Greek herbs and olive oil, as well as charming handicrafts. Elegant jewelry inspired by Greek antiquity can be found in shops in Athens.

Also located nearby is Psyrri, a neighbourhood that has evolved into one of the most hip in the city's nightlife, with many bars, tavernas, ouzeris (taverns that serve ouzo, Greece's anise-flavoured liqueur, and finger foods) and clubs as well as open-air cinemas, a Greek summer tradition.

Another aspect of Athens that I have always greatly enjoyed is the proximity of many beaches from the downtown area. You can swim for many months of the year, as the weather is sunny and quite warm, even during winter. These nearby, organized beaches (such as Voula and Vouliagmeni) are also accessible by public transportation in less than an hour and offer water sports. My favourite beach near Athens, Schinias, is located near the site of the famous Battle of Marathon. It is perfect for those seeking a more natural and wild getaway from the city.

A drive along the coastal highway will take you to the southernmost tip of Attica, where you'll find the Temple of Poseidon, God of the Sea, at Sounion. The views are wonderful as it is situated on a plateau on the top of a vertical cliff and it is an ideal place to watch the sun set.

Culture: Historical Sites

There are currently 17 UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Greece, all of which will illustrate to visitors the enormous contribution of Greece to modern Western civilization and the millennia of Greek history. Other than the Acropolis, these



The archeological site of Delphi, the site of the Delphic Oracle, is the most important oracle in the classical Greek world.

sites also include Olympia, Epidauros, Mycenae, Delphi and Vergina. Olympia is the birthplace of the Olympic Games, held there every four years beginning in 776 BC. Walking through the impressive ruins, one might even try running in the ancient stadium much like the Greek athletes of 3,000 years ago, competing for the winner's prized olive wreath.

For tourists interested in theatre and ancient Greek playwrights, the merger of modernity with antiquity can be seen at the theatre of Epidauros, a gem of genial Greek architecture from the 4th Century BC. Its exceptional acoustics can be enjoyed by up to 15,000 spectators, no matter where in the theatre they are seated.



The Parthenon, the most magnificent creation of Athenian democracy, is the finest monument on the Acropolis.

A summer night's performance of a play by one of the three great tragedians, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, as well as comedies by Aristophanes, is truly a unique experience.

Mycenae and the Mycenaean civilization is one of the greatest periods of Greek prehistory. Enter the kingdom of Agamemnon through the monumental Lion Gate. Remember that Nafplio, one of the most beautiful Greek towns and the first capital of the modern Greek state, is only 24 kilometres from Mycenae and will captivate you with its charm.

Vergina, a site of exceptional universal value, was the first capital of the ancient Kingdom of Macedonia, called Aigai. At the site of the Royal Tombs, brought to light by Manolis Andronikos in 1977, one can see the impressive, intact underground tomb of Philip II, the father of Alexander the Great. Its discovery was considered one of the most important archeological events of the 20th Century. Vergina is located 80 kilometres from Thessaloniki, the second largest city in Greece, known for its rich cultural heritage, museums, Byzantine monuments and cosmopolitan character.

The Greek Islands

Greece has the most extensive coastline among all Mediterranean countries, totalling approximately 16,000 kilometres. These endless coastlines and islands have beaches that are world famous for their crystal clean waters as well as for their diversity.

A total of 393 Greek beaches and nine



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Santorini is one of the most popular wedding and honeymoon destinations in Greece.

marinas were awarded the Blue Flag in 2013, a distinction indicating the superior water quality of the beach as well as its sustainable and eco-friendly practices. A tourist has the opportunity to enjoy beaches stretching over many kilometres, sheltered bays and coves, golden sand dunes, pebble beaches, coastal caves with steep rocks and dark sand typical of volcanic soil.

The Cyclades are the most famous island group in the Aegean Sea and comprise some of the most beautiful islands in the world. The name "Cyclades" refers to the islands forming a circle around the sacred island of Delos, in which, according to Greek mythology, Apollo, son of Zeus and Leto, was born.

Gorgeous sandy beaches, Cycladic architecture in white and blue, warm, hospitable people and barren landscapes, transform a trip to the Cyclades into an experience of a lifetime.

Near Delos, and undoubtedly the best known Greek island and one of the most famous destinations worldwide, is Mykonos, a cosmopolitan island. Santorini is one of the most popular wedding and honeymoon destinations known for its romantic sunset over the caldera (crater), left behind after the volcanic eruption.

The island complex of the Dodecanese consists of 12 large islands and numerous smaller ones with crystal clear waters, sand or pebble beaches, important archaeological finds, imposing Byzantine and medieval monuments and unique traditional

settlements waiting to be discovered.

Rhodes is a medieval treasure beautifully preserved throughout the centuries. Wander around its magnificent Old City, surrounded by medieval walls with seven gates, and admire the Palace of the Grand Master, the most awe-inspiring building on the island. Take a romantic stroll around the famous Street of the Knights and peer into the historic past of the city with a visit to the archaeological museum.

The Ionian Islands are known for their lush vegetation and some of the most beautiful beaches in the world. A tourist to these islands will be impressed by the spectacular colours of the water and the beauty of the landscape. Photographs like the one of Navagio beach (Shipwreck beach) in Zakynthos, Porto Katsiki in Lefkada and Myrtos in Kefallonia appear almost unrealistic because of their sheer beauty. A visit to Corfu should include exploration of the picturesque Old Town, yet another one of Greece's UNESCO World Heritage sites.

Crete, the largest island in Greece, is dotted with numerous coves, bays and peninsulas that established it as one of Europe's most popular holiday destinations. Crete is the home of the Minoan civilization, with important archaeological finds at Knossos, Phaistos and Gortys, which is evidenced by the tens of thousands of visitors to these sites each year.

The Cretan diet is globally known for its many health benefits as it consists mostly of olive oil, fruits, vegetables and legumes.

Try the Cretan agricultural products such as extra virgin olive oils, which are distinguished for their excellent quality.

One of my favourite summer experiences is eating at a restaurant near the sea and enjoying a glass of ouzo with my favourite appetizer, fried calamari. No Greek table is complete without a Greek salad with tomatoes, cucumbers, onions, sharp feta cheese, fragrant oregano and world-renowned Kalamata olives. Order the catch of the day for the main course. My choice would be charcoal-grilled seabream, drizzled with olive oil and lemon. My favourite white wine is Assyrtico from Santorini.

In Greece, you will discover that the mainland also has many important destinations and hidden gems for every traveller. One of my favourite family trips was to the impressive World Heritage site of Meteora.

Meteora is the biggest group of Orthodox monasteries after those in Mount Athos, built on the summits of very tall rock pillars, averaging 300 metres in height. In the past, the only means of reaching the top was by climbing a long ladder or with a basket that the monks who lived there could draw up when they felt threatened.

Ioannina, another of my favourite destinations is the capital of Epirus. It is a lively university city mirrored in the clear blue waters of its lake. Its many museums and old fortified town carry memories of centuries past under breathtaking mountain scenery.

Looking ahead

Greek tourism is promising for 2014. There has already been an increase in bookings from major markets. Further growth of tourism, which accounts for more than 15 percent of Greece's GDP, will boost the country's economy and generate more jobs.

I have presented only some of my favourite destinations, however there remain many more to be explored. You can discover them at visitgreece.gr. You can visit one or more of the many archaeological sites, monuments and museums throughout the country, from Thrace to Crete, and all the islands in the Ionian and Aegean Sea. Let us know if we can assist you in planning your visit to Greece. We look forward to welcoming you.

Eleftherios Anghelopoulos is Greece's ambassador to Canada. Reach him at gremb.otv@mfa.gr.

Discover Portugal



JOSÉ MANUEL

The district of Bairro Alto is in the heart of Lisbon, Portugal's capital city.



By José Fernando Moreira de Cunha

Portugal is far more than just another destination. This country of contrasts boasts unspoiled natural vistas, rich traditions, intoxicating culture, adrenaline-pumping adventures and some of the most serene retreats in all of Europe. It is a destination of timeless appeal — as inviting, complex and enjoyable as a glass of port wine. And it is an affordable, approachable and safe place for Canadians to experience European culture and history. Portugal is a wonderful blend of the traditional and the new, the classi-

cal and the modern. It has a culture and history uniquely its own, with a distinctive personality. The stories this nation can tell a traveller are the stuff of legend. Come discover this land of explorers and become one yourself. Herewith, the seven regions of Portugal:

Lisbon

Lisbon, Portugal's capital, is home to two million people. It is a city filled with award-winning restaurants, modern luxury hotels and a nightlife that is second to



Coimbra, which houses one of the oldest and most prestigious universities in Europe, is marked by the distinctive Baroque style of the 1600s.

none. Its numerous cathedrals, churches, museums and art galleries not only pay homage to the city's long history, but they attract the most modern artists and art performers and theatre, singers and music. It all combines to make Lisbon one of Europe's most cosmopolitan cities. From Lisbon, a visitor can easily reach the resort towns along the Atlantic coast. Some of the more classic towns include Estoril and Cascais, while the historic towns, such as Sintra, Óbidos, Mafra, Tomar, Santarém and Alcobaça, offer an authentic view of older Portuguese culture. In the town of Fátima, thousands of pilgrims visit the Shrine of the Virgin Mary every year.

Porto & the North

Portugal's second largest city, Porto is known worldwide for its prime export, port wine. In 2006, the region marked the 250th anniversary of port wine production along the Douro River Valley, which is easily explored by car or river cruises and was rated seventh in the world for sustainable destinations by *National Geographic Traveler* in 2009. Porto is also the location of Portugal's official founding, which dates back to the 12th Century. The city of Guimarães, northeast of Porto, is the nation's first capital and the birthplace of its first king,

Dom Afonso Henriques.

Centre of Portugal

This centrally located region offers a varied terrain, natural wonders and a long, storied past. In the coastal city of Aveiro, visitors will find colourful beach houses, whereas Figueria da Foz has a world-class casino and great surfing to attract tourists.

In Conimbriga, Roman ruins are abundant, while Belmonte and other interior towns feature ancient ruins strewn among castles and fortresses. Meanwhile Coimbra, which houses one of the oldest and most prestigious universities in Europe, is marked by the distinctive Baroque style of the 1600s.

In the majestic mountains of the Beiras-Centro region, visitors can experience traditional Portuguese cuisine or indulge in outdoor activities, including snow sports. In the north, Estrela Mountain's natural park offers hiking opportunities among its numerous quaint walled towns. In the south, open plains are dotted with a rugged landscape of granite. The region is also known for some of the best cheeses in Europe.

Alentejo

This region offers a coastline of rocky cliffs and little-known beaches, a Roman temple, a Gothic cathedral, ancient ruins, Dolmens and other megalithic monuments. With colourful attractions and incredible sights to behold, the Alentejo region is as well known for its wild side as it is for its deep history. At one time, the region was ruled by Moors, Romans, Carthaginians and others, and the remnants of these cultures pop up in the region's fortified cities and countryside. The city of Évora offers palatial hotels and authentic cuisine, while the numerous cork forests, olive groves and sunflower fields make for a beautiful drive.

Algarve

The Algarve, whose name is derived from



The Algarve is a delight to visit year-round, thanks to its sandy beaches.

the Arabic “Al Gharb,” meaning “The West,” is situated in the extreme south of Portugal. The region is a delight to visit all year round, with its golden sandy beaches on the coast offering a haven for sun-seekers while the sleepy hillside villages further inland offer peace and tranquility for those who just want to get away from the stresses and strains of everyday life.

Among the Algarve’s main holiday destinations are resorts such as Albufeira, Armação de Pêra, Praia da Rocha and Vilamoura, offering an excellent selection of accommodation, beaches and nighttime entertainment ranging from cabaret shows at casinos to lively discos and quiet, welcoming bars. It is no surprise many visitors return to the Algarve year after year.

You could spend weeks, months and even years exploring all the beaches of



TURISMO MADEIRA

Madeira, is a semi-tropical island in the Atlantic that is blessed with a perfect climate.

the Algarve. From east to west, there’s a stretch of coastline — more than 200 kilometres of it — to suit everybody, from sheltered dunes to rocky coves, from tiny bays to vast stretches of open sands, from shallow lagoons to the crashing surf of the wild Atlantic.

Blessed with more than 300 days of sunshine a year, the Algarve also enjoys the perfect climate to complement its spectacular shoreline. Spring arrives early, long hot summers are tempered by cooling sea breezes, autumn lingers late into



PAULO MAGALHÃES

Santa Maria Island the southernmost island in the Azores, is known for its beaches and warm weather.

the year, and even in winter, sunny days are the norm rather than the exception. The region also boasts some of the best golf courses in Europe, designed by some of the most famous names in the sport, including Jack Nicklaus, and is home to numerous prestigious competitions and tournaments.

Madeira

Discovered in 1420, Madeira is a semi-tropical island in the Atlantic Ocean that lies 1,500 kilometres southwest of Lisbon. The island is blessed with a perfect climate: always warm in winter and never too hot in summer. Funchal, the capital of Madeira, has a romantic air thanks, in part, to constant sunshine, a bay surrounding the city, botanical gardens, elegant resorts and fascinating landscapes. World-class hotels rise on black cliffs, and casinos, nightclubs and restaurants make any night a night to remember. Madeira’s steep topography gives the island six distinct climate zones. The landscape also contributes to some of the best hiking in Europe, with trails that follow water channels (called “levadas”) past waterfalls and spectacular views. Madeira’s nearby small island, Porto Santo, has a coast covered with dunes and vineyards, and shows off

an incredible six-mile-long sandy beach.

The Azores

The Azores archipelago is made up of nine islands 1,450 kilometres out to sea, making them nearly as close to Newfoundland as to mainland Portugal. Formed by the meeting of three tectonic plates, the Azores Islands appear to rise from the water almost magically. The volcanic topography makes for some spectacular flora and fauna, with crater lakes shimmering in blue and green, while the remoteness of the islands has contributed to their culture. Distinct in cuisine, dialect and traditions from the rest of Portugal, the Azores have continued to carve out a unique corner of Portuguese history. The towns are full of historic churches, yachting clubs, fishing harbours and museums. In addition, the United Nations has recognized two sites in the Azores as World Heritage sites that must be preserved due to their historic value — the town of Angra do Heroísmo on the island of Terceira and the vineyards on Pico Island, the smallest of the Azorean islands.

José Fernando Moreira de Cunha is Portugal’s ambassador to Canada. Reach him at (613) 729-2922 ext. 229.



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