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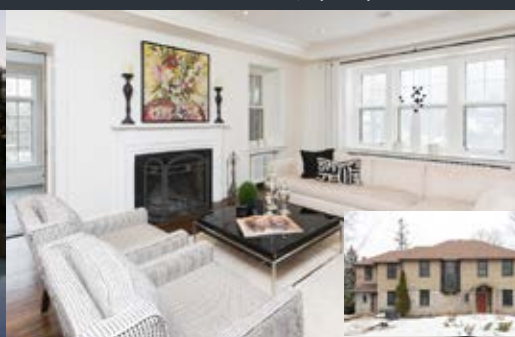
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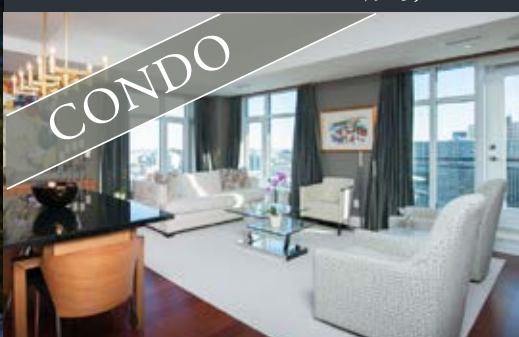
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PUBLISHER
Donna Jacobs
PUBLISHER IN MEMORIAM
Neil Reynolds
EDITOR
Jennifer Campbell
ART DIRECTOR
Paul Cavanaugh
BOOKS COLUMNIST
Janice Dickson
CULTURE COLUMNIST
Margo Roston
FOOD COLUMNIST
Margaret Dickenson
STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER
Ülle Baum
CONTRIBUTING WRITERS
Perrin Beatty
Marjan Cencen
Wolfgang Depner
Derek Fraser
Briunny Garabito Segura
Beatriz Gonzalez Manchon
Fen Hampson
Janice Harvey
David Kilgour
Patrick Langston
Marica Matkovic
Bálint Ódor
Allan Rock
Robert I. Rotberg
Enrique Ruiz Molero
Peteris Ustubs
Pieter Van den Weghe
CONTRIBUTING PHOTOGRAPHERS
Mike Beedell Myka Burke
Marc Brigden MCpl V. Carboneau
Jana Chytilova Larry Dickenson
Bernie Franzgrote Sam Garcia
Dyanne Wilson
BUSINESS MANAGEMENT
Jessie Reynolds O'Neil
WEBMASTER
Gilles Laberge, www.redrocket.ca
DISTRIBUTION
Pierre Pagé and Peixian Han
OFFICE LIAISON
Sharleen Tattersfield
ADVERTISING INQUIRIES
Contact Donna Jacobs, donnajacobs@gmail.com
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Jennifer Campbell

Migrant patterns mapped

The number is staggering: 258 million people worldwide live in a country that was not their country of birth or citizenship.

That said, except for its indigenous people, Canada is a nation of migrants, too, and we know well the tales of those who are now retired and living in Canada, but who escaped persecution and even death in their own countries to journey here, often under precarious conditions.

Today, similar stories are repeating themselves worldwide. Many of those 258 million are escaping civil war in places such as Iraq, Syria and Yemen, and others are escaping persecution in their home countries.

In our cover story, Wolfgang Depner tracks their patterns by geographic region to give us an in-depth look at the situation worldwide.

In a related piece, columnist Fen Hampson and guest writer Allan Rock write about the refugee crisis and specifically, how Uganda is dealing with the 1.3 million refugees that have arrived there.

Further in our Dispatches section, David Kilgour and Janice Harvey examine the state of Canada-India relations in the aftermath of what many considered a disastrous visit by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, his wife and three children.

Derek Fraser, former Canadian ambassador to Ukraine, Hungary and Greece, offers a historical look at Russia's attempts at democracy and discusses what possibilities remain for that lofty goal (not many, he concludes.)

Also in Dispatches, we have the background story on what is now called World

Bee Day, thanks to lobbying by Slovenia, a country that has one beekeeper for every 200 people. Slovenia convinced the United Nations General Assembly to name May 20 World Bee Day after making a compelling case for the need for bees to keep our ecosystems healthy and our bodies fed.

Columnist Robert Rotberg discusses the terrorism that's gripping Africa and offers a few suggestions for eradicating, or at least minimizing it, while trade columnist Perrin Beatty offers his thoughts on Canada's trade agenda with China.

Up front, in addition to Trade Winds by ambassadors from Spain, Hungary and Dominican Republic, we have my interview with Martin Rudner, a well-known foreign intelligence and security expert and retired professor emeritus from Carleton University. He's an amazing wealth of information on those topics and many others in international affairs.

There's a new face in our Delights section with the arrival of Books columnist Janice Dickson. She is the foreign policy and political writer for *iPolitics*. As we welcome Dickson, we want to thank George Fetherling, who decided to work on other projects after sharing his thoughts on books with our readers for more than a decade.

Further in Delights, we have another change in our writers. Pieter Van den Weghe, who has been writing our wine column for nearly 10 years, is stepping aside. We thank him for keeping our tastebuds satisfied.

Our food columnist, Margaret Dickenson, takes us on a historical culinary tour of Egypt, a country to which she and her husband, Larry, were posted during his long diplomatic career.

In residences, writer Patrick Langston and photographer Dyanne Wilson spent some time with Malaysian High Commissioner Aminah Karim Shaharudin and her husband, Shah Ghani.

Finally, Croatian Ambassador Marica Matkovic offers an exciting tour of the sights and recommends memorable experiences in her beloved Croatia.

Jennifer Campbell is editor of *Diplomat*.

Janice Dickson



Janice Dickson is *Diplomat's* new books editor. A proud Nova Scotian, she moved to Ottawa after completing a master of arts in journalism at Western University. She is a parliamentary reporter and covers foreign affairs, immigration and politics for *iPolitics*. Since joining *iPolitics*, she has filed stories from Washington, Jordan and the Greek island of Lesbos. Dickson has been a member of various panels on CTV News and Global News and is a frequent commentator on a number of radio stations. In addition to reporting, she's written a biography about a Second World War veteran titled *Herbert Peppard: The Eternal Man*.

Allan Rock



Allan Rock is president emeritus and a professor of law at the University of Ottawa. A trial lawyer by profession, he served for a decade in senior federal cabinet posts, including as justice minister, during which time he introduced significant changes to the Criminal Code. As health minister, he doubled annual health research funding. He was then named Canadian ambassador to the United Nations. In 2005, he led the Canadian effort to convince world leaders to adopt the doctrine, "Responsibility to Protect" that protects populations from genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes and crimes against humanity. He is currently a senior adviser to the World Refugee Council.

UP FRONT

Our cover story looks at the world's migration patterns, specifically where the 258 million migrants came from and where they have ended up. Wolfgang Depner analyzes their patterns using a geographic model. Our cover photo features Syrian refugees who've reached safety on the island of Lesbos in Greece. The story begins on page 40.



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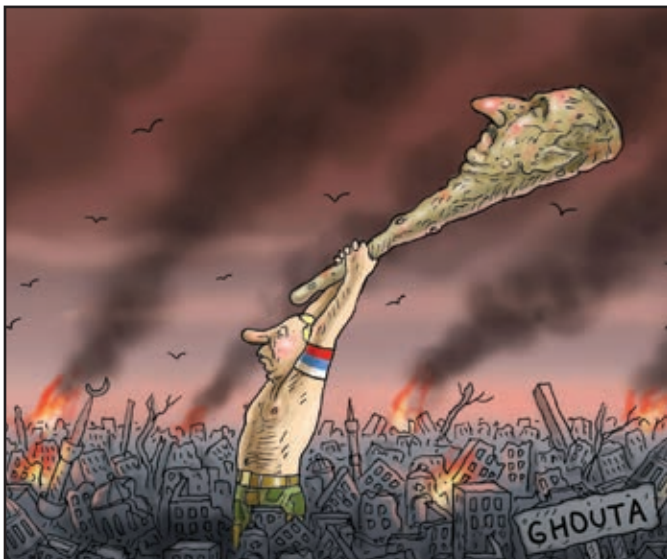
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Political commentary from around the world



"Immigration Sanctuary Cities" by Sean Delonas, *CagleCartoons.com*



"Ghouta" by Marian Kamensky, Austria



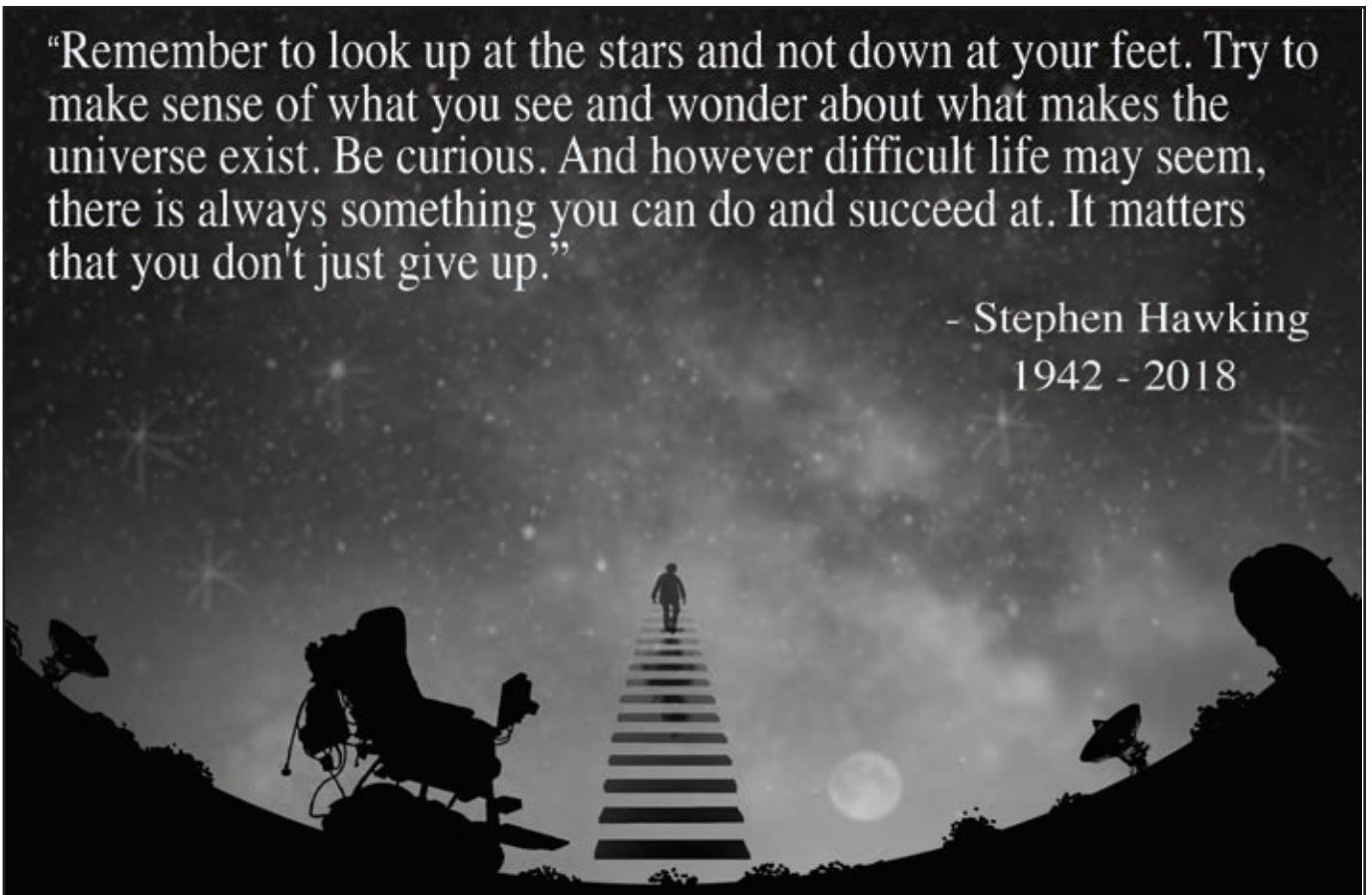
"Democrats Olympics Entitlements" by Sean Delonas, *CagleCartoons.com*



"Ignored Signs" by Jeff Koterba, *Omaha World Herald*, Nebraska, U.S.

"Remember to look up at the stars and not down at your feet. Try to make sense of what you see and wonder about what makes the universe exist. Be curious. And however difficult life may seem, there is always something you can do and succeed at. It matters that you don't just give up."

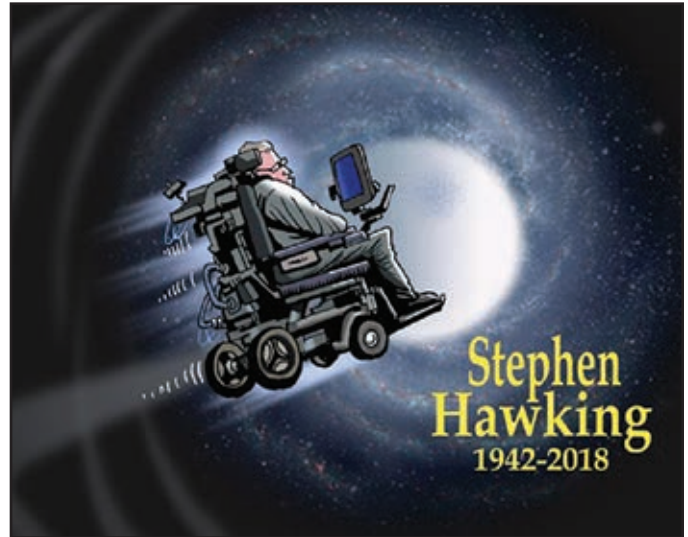
- Stephen Hawking
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"Stephen Hawking Obituary" by Sean Delonas, *CagleCartoons.com*



"Deforestation in Brazil" by Gatis Sluka, *Latvijas Avize*, Latvia



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"Syrian Solutions" by Paresh Nath, *The Khaleej Times*, UAE



"Wooing Western Balkans" by Paresh Nath, *The Khaleej Times*, UAE

Greatest refugee crisis since the Second World War



Uganda is now hosting more than 1.3 million refugees, more than one million of whom are from South Sudan.



Fen Hampson



Allan Rock

Last November, Allan Rock visited northern Uganda in the areas adjacent to the South Sudanese border, where refugees fleeing the brutal conflict in South Sudan have settled. What he learned during his discussions with refugees, UN officials and local representatives of international humanitarian and relief agencies is truly remarkable. It is, to be sure, a story

of tragedy and untold human suffering arising from South Sudan's brutal and destructive civil war. But it is also one of hope, compassion and the exercise of real political leadership.

Today, Uganda hosts the highest number of refugees in its history — more than any other country in Africa and the third-largest number globally. Among the 1.3 million refugees in Uganda, 82 per cent are women or girls and 61 per cent are children.

While the vast majority of refugees (more than a million as of Oct. 31, 2017) arrived from South Sudan, Uganda also hosts refugees from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (236,572), Burundi

(39,041) and Somalia (35,373).

What has made the influx of South Sudanese refugees especially challenging has been the suddenness of their arrival. More than 330,000 arrived from South Sudan in 2017 alone.

Although the flow of refugees from South Sudan has slowed recently (to about 450 per day, down from an average of 2,000 per day in July and August 2017), the situation remains dynamic and unpredictable. Shifts in the location or intensity of the fighting in South Sudan can cause sudden spikes in arrivals.

Uganda proudly describes its refugee policy as “an open door.” It places no limit on the number of refugees it will receive.

Refugees have full rights of mobility within Uganda. They can work without restriction. They reside in “settlements,” not “camps.” Refugees have access to education, health care and other social services on the same terms as Ugandans. Each refugee family is given a plot of land 30 metres by 30 metres to live on and, where possible, to cultivate.

Uganda’s enlightened approach to hosting refugees results in large part from its people’s own experience. There have been occasions in the past when Ugandans were forced to flee to neighbouring countries. Many described the current situation as being “our turn” to provide a haven in their neighbours’ time of need. One official from Uganda’s office of the prime minister poignantly recalled that he spent 10 years as a refugee in what is now South Sudan before returning to Uganda with his family in 1988, once order had been restored.

However, some of these very positive features of Ugandan policy remain more theoretical than real. For example, despite the freedom of mobility, the vast majority of refugees remain in settlements, with only about 100,000 having found their way to urban centres — primarily the city of Kampala. And while the gift of land is generous, that land is not always arable. Much of the territory north of the Nile is rocky and unsuitable for planting. Finally, the right to attend school means little for adolescents when there are few, if any, secondary schools available.

In fact, the benign environment created by the Ugandan refugee policy is betrayed by the significant shortfall in resources needed to make that welcome a reality.

By the end of 2016, the operations of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Uganda received only 37 per cent of the funding required for that year. It seems that 2017 saw a similar shortfall. Close to year’s end, UNHCR’s Ugandan operations were only 38 per cent funded (\$215 million US out of \$568 million US requested).

Uganda’s problem is but a microcosm of the larger problem the global community now confronts.

The world has the greatest number of refugees since the Second World War. There are now 22.5 million refugees worldwide — half of them under the age of 18. Frontline states, those on the borders of countries from which refugees are coming, are usually poor states themselves, yet they receive 84 per cent of the total number of refugees worldwide.

Unlike Uganda, many countries, in-



Groups gather their belongings from the back of a truck outside the reception centre at the Imvepi Refugee Settlement in Northern Uganda.

cluding several in the developed world, are not honouring their commitments to assist refugees under the international refugee convention of 1951. Some countries won’t take refugees, nor are they prepared to step up to the plate to help those countries that do. Calls for more money to help UNHCR and refugee-hosting countries have gone unanswered, while existing pledges of financial support often go unfulfilled.

“We finance refugee assistance as if it were a charity ball,” says Lloyd Axworthy, chairman of the World Refugee Council, which was established by the Centre for International Governance Innovation with financial support from the government of Canada to examine what kinds of structural reforms are needed to make the global refugee system function better:

Some countries also want to send refugees home before it is safe for them to do so. In others, terrorist groups are exploiting refugees for their own partisan ends. In Lebanon, for example, Hezbollah has

taken over the return of Syrians, sending them to areas where they are recruited as human shields and to establish territorial eminent domain.

Since the refugee crisis in Syria and North Africa first erupted five years ago, the European Union has struggled to manage its impact. Some countries, such as Germany, Italy, Greece and Turkey were initially welcoming and opened their borders to the refugee influx, while others, such as Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, turned them away. But the welcome mat is now being rolled up as Europe’s leaders confront a growing backlash from their own citizens, even in countries such as Germany, because of the fear that governments have lost control over their countries’ respective borders.

Refugees have become part of the anti-globalization, nationalist populist narrative that has arisen in Europe and elsewhere. Even a Western democracy such as Australia, once a champion of refugee rights and legal due process, is

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denying refugees asylum, putting them in camps on remote islands in the South Pacific where living conditions, according to many informed observers, are deplorable and sub-human.

Refugees also now spend longer in exile than ever before. In the early 1990s, it took an average of nine years to resolve the displacement of refugees. Today, that average is almost 20 years.

However daunting the refugee challenge may seem, it is one that is manageable. Even at their current record number, refugees comprise a tiny percentage of a global population that now numbers an estimated 7.5 billion people.

Structural reform of the global refugee system is essential, though not easily achieved. The most urgent features of that reform are long overdue: new funding mechanisms that are not dependent on voluntary contributions; each country paying its fair share; and a level of resources for refugees and host countries that is stable and predictable. The global refugee system also needs new oversight and accountability mechanisms that strengthen state obligations and ensure better state compliance with existing convention commitments.

Political accountability is not simply a downstream problem, however. It also runs upstream to those states that are responsible for the crises that create refugees in the first place. Such crises do not simply “happen.” Refugees too often result from violence, political persecution and other human rights abuses by dictators and despots whose own citizens flee in search of safety and survival.

The United Nations Security Council clearly has a key role to play in holding bad leaders accountable for these crises. In a digital world, new internet-based technologies can also be used in creative ways to support the delivery of services to refugees and enable them to find employment. For example, in the Middle East, the United Nations World Food Programme successfully deployed one of the largest-ever uses of the Ethereum blockchain (an open-source computing program.) Thousands of Syrian refugees and internally displaced persons were given, via their cellphones, cryptocurrency-based vouchers that could be redeemed in participating markets.

Innovations such as Ushahidi, an app that uses crowd-mapping to identify in real time areas where displacement is occurring and assistance is needed, could also be more widely deployed. Platforms such as WhatsApp have revolutionized



A full 61 per cent of the refugees living in Uganda are children.

the sharing of information and communication for people travelling in search of refuge. Other Internet-based technologies can support educational programs and create entrepreneurship opportunities for refugees where either broadband or mobile services are available.

In all of this, we must also work to change the toxic political narrative around refugees. They are too often the easy scapegoats for racist populist parties whose leaders exploit the widespread erosion of confidence in globalization, free trade and the multilateral system to argue for closing borders, building walls and diminishing the role of international institutions and regional organizations.

Refugees are a remarkable asset, not only to societies such as Canada, with aging populations, but also to many developing countries where their skills and talents are much in need. Being stateless through no fault of one's own is not a cardinal sin. Any kind of effective, global response begins with that basic understanding.

Allan Rock is the former president of the University of Ottawa and was minister of justice and health in Jean Chrétien's government. He is a senior adviser to World Refugee Council. Fen Osler Hampson is the director of the World Refugee Council. He is also chancellor's professor at Carleton University and distinguished fellow and director of global security & politics at the Centre for International Governance Innovation.

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Security and intelligence expert Martin Rudner

On the possibility of an al-Qaeda attack in Canada: 'I think we're very vulnerable'

Photos by Jana Chytilova

Martin Rudner is a distinguished research professor emeritus from Carleton University. He spent his career working in the field of intelligence and national security studies and critical infrastructure protection. He worked at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where he earned his PhD, as well as the Australian National University, before he joined the faculty at Carleton in 1982, first as a visiting associate professor and later as full professor. He has published extensively, including having contributed to, edited or authored 11 books. He sat down with *Diplomat's* editor, Jennifer Campbell.

Diplomat magazine: You're written recently on protecting Canada's critical national infrastructure from terrorism. Were any of your suggestions implemented?

Martin Rudner: I would answer yes. Not necessarily from my remarks, but my remarks reflected a growing consensus in the government of Canada, the security agencies and industry. I should mention I'm a member of the energy and utilities sector network, which is a government-sponsored network of provinces, security agencies, the federal government and representatives of Canadian critical infrastructure — private sector — from across Canada.

We meet twice a year and are in regular communication, so I was aware of, on one hand, a threat environment and on the other hand, the corporate culture of how one deals with threats in Canada. We have a national government in charge of national security, provincial governments responsible for natural resources and private sector organizations responsible for the actual infrastructure.

The infrastructure owners and operators are very aware of the threat environment. My work is circulated to the private sector as well, so they're certainly up-to-date from me and the RCMP and the Canadian intelligence community. They do get these inputs and take them seriously. Provincial governments are aware of the

threat environment and their regulatory responsibilities — to provide appropriate regulations for the critical infrastructure environment. And needless to say, the federal government — on the intelligence side and on Natural Resources Canada's side — is very aware of the threat and the policies required for resilience. There are threats that could damage critical national infrastructure [by] taking out natural gas in the middle of winter in a particular location [and] you need resilience. What do you do to make sure these resources are available to people if an attack occurred?

One of the most recent challenges, of course, is the cyber threat, which is different than the physical threats and much more complex in terms of responding. So far, in Canada, there have been cyber attacks on the banking sector. We don't know whether these were successful in infiltrating the banking sector — they were certainly successful in stealing information from that sector. This was a complicated one facing Canada and the rest of the world and even people with a smart phone.

In answer to your question, I would hope that the work I've done has made a contribution to our ability to protect critical infrastructure.

DM: Did you have any recommendations for actions that haven't been taken yet?

MR: There's one very complex issue in Canada, which is very difficult to deal with and that's the role of various aboriginal and environmental groups in protecting what they see as their particular interests about pipelines and the electricity corridor. We haven't quite yet managed to resolve these issues. There is [now] much closer consultation with aboriginal groups so their interests are assured. With environmental groups, it's much more complex.

One of the challenges is that there are certain foreign interests who exploit these groups to challenge the Canadian energy





Nexen, an oil and gas company based in Alberta, owned and operated all of the oil facilities in Yemen, but sold all of its oil facilities to the Chinese when threats from al-Qaeda became too severe.

sector to protect [their own] energy interests. One example: The Iranians celebrated a visit by a Canadian aboriginal leader — [Chief Terry] Nelson from Manitoba — for a campaign sponsored by the government of Iran to prevent the building of pipelines across aboriginal territories where those pipelines would feed natural gas to the coast and would be sold in Asia, which Iran sees as its market.

This was public in Iran, but didn't get much profile in Canada. Industry certainly knew about it. I circulated Iranian publications on this. There's likewise American interest in blocking the Keystone Pipeline, which would have challenged American producers with Canadian imports. The minister at the time mentioned this, but the environmental groups were very critical of the minister for intervening and for political reasons, the government prefers not to say anything.

Canadians have the right to protest against things they don't like, but when a foreign interest sponsors a Canadian protest, then we have worries.

There was one other notorious one with the Energy East Pipeline and the aboriginal attacks on the RCMP in New Brunswick. They were protesting the building of the pipelines across aboriginal lands in New Brunswick, but I was in the U.K. at the time and I heard a senior official of British Gas saying they were sponsoring the protests to protect aboriginal rights in New Brunswick and to also prevent the export of Canadian natural gas from N.B. to the U.K. where natural gas sells for six times the price [that it does in Canada.] Those kinds of issues are sensitive. No

one wants to transgress the rights of aboriginals.

DM: Is security and intelligence adequately funded in Canada?

MR: It depends how one defines adequate. The intelligence and law enforcement communities are reasonably well funded. The question in my mind, looking forward, is: Do we have sufficient investment in building future capacity? I'm concerned that we're not fully investing in that.

For example, for intelligence analysis, we need an ability to analyze emergent threats from around the world that aren't very familiar to us. We have very few specialists in Canada on Iraq or North Africa, where ISIS and al-Qaeda are extremely active in trying to build a new domain after Syria. There's very little competence in those areas in our universities and, frankly, in our government. We have to find a way to build knowledge capacity between government and universities on imminent emergent threats. As we speak, the Southeast Asians are investing massively in building capacity because they see the threat at present — even in a place like Singapore.

We don't want to just protect. We want to prevent something first, and then protect. And to prevent, you need to have far-sighted analytical capabilities.

[An example:] There was a major Canadian company based in Alberta [Nexen] that owned and operated all of the oil facilities in Yemen. I was sharing with them the rising threats in Yemen by al-Qaeda and other groups. They sold all of their oil

facilities in Yemen to the Chinese and then came disaster in Yemen, so the Chinese are stuck with them. Fortunately, Canadians shed those assets in good time. This is an indicator that the Chinese didn't look ahead at Yemen.

DM: Is security and intelligence in Canada adequately staffed?

MR: My personal assessment — not an academic assessment — is that our security and intelligence community is, on the whole, efficiently staffed and we could have confidence in their capacity to deal with the current threat environment. But things are happening in the world where we don't have a deep enough understanding. There's no Canadian centre for studies of regions of North Africa in politics and economics.

When I [was in school,] we had what was called 'area studies.' I studied at McGill, Oxford and in Jerusalem. We studied politics, economics and international affairs together with geography, culture, history and the literature of those societies. We came out knowing them. That approach of area studies was changed in favour of theory.

At Carleton, we built a little bit of area studies, but without language. We would study East Asia without knowing Chinese or Japanese. [Not speaking the language] weakens the graduate's capacity to understand the region.

DM: What countries are most vulnerable to cyber threats and where does Canada stand?

MR: Everybody is vulnerable to cyber

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threats because of the role of the internet and the internet-of-things and artificial intelligence. It's quite clear that financial sectors are the primary targets for criminal groups, but also for certain governments that are adversarial. [They say] 'If you put sanctions on us, then we'll penetrate your financial and banking systems,' as the North Koreans and the Iranians have done. That's one of the vital areas.

We also know that certain adversarial governments have put malware into the computer system of providers of critical infrastructure. This malware is latent, but if conflicts arise, the malware would be blown up. The Russians have been doing this to British critical infrastructure. You can't tell it's there, but it is. If there's ever a confrontation, they don't have to bomb your oil refinery, they can take it down by activating the malware — literally pressing a button, just as the U.S. and Israel did with the Iranian nuclear facility. They took it down.

This is happening all the time. We know that because there are reports, but very few are authenticated by officials, mainly because we don't want to tell adversaries or criminal groups what capabilities we have.

As we speak, the Canadian government has a bill to enable the Communications Securities Establishment — our signals intelligence agency — to proactively take down the computers of anyone abroad attacking Canadian infrastructure. I published an article 10 years ago [that] recommended a proactive capability and now [there is a bill] before Parliament. Other countries, such as Israel, already have this. If you attack Israel, the U.K. or some European countries, they can take down your computer.

DM: This gives them permission, but do they already have the capacity?

MR: That, they won't tell you or me. But one certainly hopes so.

DM: What countries are the most likely perpetrators of cyber-threats against Canada?

MR: That's very difficult to know. Our banking system is considered among the best in the world. We saw that after 2008 when U.S. banks became almost bankrupt, our banks were well prepared and solid. Therefore, if you were an international player, you'd make sure you have money in the Canadian bank where it's very secure. If you have criminal groups or adversarial governments who want



Ayman Mohammed Rabie al-Zawahiri is the current leader of al-Qaeda.

to damage Canada, you would infiltrate Canadian banks.

Energy would be another and the third would be research areas in science and technology, where innovative ideas are being developed and tested. We know this happens with adversarial governments, but also even with friendly countries.

We know that France has a foreign intelligence service whose primary objective is the collection of economic intelligence.

The U.S. Senate publishes an annual report on foreign efforts to steal American proprietary interests and Canada is listed among the top five. These aren't necessarily government, but they may be Canadian companies. I've made inquiries on this. If you go to a conference on computers and you collect a lot of brochures, you're considered, by Congress' definition, to be a spy.

DM: Do you have thoughts on the alleged Russian meddling in the U.S. election?

MR: Not really. To me it's probably something that the Russians did, but likewise the U.S. and other countries do it around the world. The meddling was in fact releasing what amounts to false news, which is a nice word for propaganda or, to use a term around the Second World War, disinformation. In other words, they're lying about authorities. All of these things have been practised by many governments, including the U.S., Europeans and Russians. In the old days, you had to have your disinformation published in a newspaper, so there was

a degree of editorial discretion. Today, if it's posted on the internet, you'll get readers and you've won. But the real test is to read carefully and ask yourself if it complements what we do know. That's where area studies come in.

DM: In a piece you wrote in 2013 on al-Qaeda's 20-year plan, you noted that it culminates in 2020 with a renewed Islamic caliphate. We're getting close. How much of this plan has been implemented so far?

MR: So far, each stage [described] in the article has been fulfilled on time. Right now, the current stage is that of mobilizing the modern world in preparation for 'the great confrontation.' We see that happening. That's why you see al-Qaeda and ISIS very active across a range of Muslim countries from Mindanao in the Philippines to Morocco. The great confrontation is supposed to [start] next year against the infidels — the West and the Russians and China. They see a two-year struggle, culminating in their victory. That's [al-Qaeda's] strategic plan.

DM: Given what we know of their plans and how well they execute, what's the most imminent threat?

MR: It's very difficult to know. I tend to write things and say things when I can confirm with the actual source, but I'm not in touch with [Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi] of ISIS or [Ayman Mohammed Rabie] al-Zawahiri of al-Qaeda [laughs.] What I see them trying to do is capture two places in the world that were central to their theory — Damascus, where the first caliphate was established, and Baghdad, where the second caliphate was established. They've been pushed back in Syria, but in Iraq, the regime's hold on territory in Baghdad is very tenuous and I would worry that our failure would give them either Baghdad or Damascus and then they could say they're ready for the great confrontation. History has come to the present, so to speak. That's one of the concerns we should have about a stable Iraq. We need to address some of the sectarian differences and struggles in Iraq between the Shias, Sunnis and Kurds. And in Syria, we're going to need to stabilize the Syrian government and that's not an easy one for us in the West to swallow.

DM: You've said you believe we should take radical Islamic terrorist organizations at their word when they promise to

do something such as carry out an attack. What have they promised recently, according to your readings? What do you think they will deliver and when?

MR: They've quite explicitly said they're in the process of mobilizing Muslims for the imminent great confrontation with the infidels.

DM: What shape will that take?

MR: It certainly will take the form of terrorist attacks, but also, as they seize territory, they'll build on that territorial [success] to conquer neighbouring territory. This is Islamic history. It's what they teach themselves. It began with a fairly modest presence in what is today Saudi Arabia and within a very short time, expanded from the Atlantic Ocean to India, through Spain into central France, and through Turkey to Europe, literally through the gates of Vienna by the 16th Century. They would say that if they get their territory, they could expand by persuading people to become Muslims or by defeating them as infidels. Their targets are China, Russia, Europe, the U.S. and Canada. They see us as the far enemy.

DM: Given that, how vulnerable is Canada to al-Qaeda?

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MR: I think we're very vulnerable. Just talking about energy: Among the writings of their strategy, they make the point that Canada exports energy through electricity, oil and natural gas to very important regions of the U.S. They've said 'If we could cut off that supply of energy, we could not only damage Canada, we could undermine the U.S.' This is their writing. We're not only a target, we're an instrumental target, because the United States depends on us.

DM: So you see it as a targeted focus on energy, rather than, say, an attack on a crowd on Canada Day?

MR: An attack on Canada Day may also take place, but that's in order to undermine Canadian public confidence in our government. I'm not saying it'll be one or the other. My concern is it'll be both and it will also impact, for example, Muslims who disagree theologically with [al-Qaeda's] interpretation of Islam.

DM: We seem to have been rather lucky so far, relative to other G7 countries.

MR: CSIS doesn't publicly say how many terrorist plots they've disrupted. But the RCMP does and in an annual report to Parliament, they [stated] as a one-liner that it was more than 30 last year. This doesn't mean people were arrested and charged — they would have been caught before they committed an indictable offence, which is what we want. For obvious security reasons, they won't indicate where, what and how. They don't want to tell their adversaries where people failed.

DM: Do you find Canada is a little less concerned about an attack in general?

MR: I don't think our intelligence community is complacent at all. [But] the Americans and British have developed a relationship between the intelligence community and the university. Members can be seconded to universities for a

couple of years — a sabbatical — to build up their knowledge and to teach about the community. It goes the other way, too. That hasn't happened in Canada. We're siloed. Part of it is constitutional because universities are provincial and the intelligence community is federal. You also have corporate cultures where these two groups can be secrecy-bound.

DM: Is the Canadian public too complacent?

MR: Yes. I do feel that there is a certain complacency amongst the Canadian public apropos national security matters. The prevailing feeling seems to be, 'We're so nice and decent, who would want to do us harm?'

DM: Do authorities in Canada know of and/or monitor mosques where radical imams and youth worship?

MR: Officially, the RCMP has collaboration between the Muslim community and law enforcement to protect the security of Muslims. CSIS has a remit to investigate threats to Canada. They have to go through a process to get warrants for such investigations, but they don't, for reasons of secrecy, disclose.

DM: Do they follow similar protocols in other countries?

MR: Oh yes.

DM: What are your greatest concerns when it comes to security and terrorism in North America?

MR: One of my great concerns for North America is the risk, if not the threat, of right-wing populism becoming militant, especially in the U.S.

DM: What about Europe?

MR: On the policy side, Britain's decision to leave the EU, if it culminates, could cause economic instability in the U.K. and also in Europe, which would feed

two threats that concern me. One is the emergence of a more militant Islam, especially given al-Qaeda's 20-year strategy where they themselves say they plan to act against Western interests. The other would be the rightists — the "populists" — who, with destabilization of the European economy, would argue the case for what I would consider a form of fascism.

DM: The Middle East?

MR: Very many problems there, but to me, the major ones are the risk of the collapse of nation-states, essentially because they're not nation-states — they were boundaries drawn up after the First World War. And the problem there is a transition to small ethno-sectarian regimes in either Iraq, Syria or Northern Africa. But worse yet would be successful conquests by ISIS or al-Qaeda.

DM: In South and Southeast Asia?

MR: Here, the economies are recently prosperous, but there are very serious threats from ISIS and al-Qaeda, who are very active in those countries at mobilizing young people who are fighting with ISIS in the Middle East — people in Indonesia, Malaysia or Mindanao, Philippines.

DM: China?

MR: China doesn't have these kinds of risks except in Xinjiang, where we have the Uyghur infiltration. And in South Korea and Japan, the problem is North Korea, but that's an international problem.

DM: Africa?

MR: North Africa has the challenge from al-Qaeda and ISIS. And the rest of Africa, like in Europe, is seen [by both groups] as the neighbouring region called "the harb" or the area of the sword, which [describes] infidels in a tribal environment who are ready to be converted or conquered by Islam.



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DM: Should foreign fighters be allowed to return to Canada with their citizenship unchallenged?

MR: In my opinion, no. In my opinion, they are suspect and they ought to be investigated closely to determine their culpability in fighting with terrorists or, as we see it, jihadists.

DM: When Joshua Boyle was recently arrested, what were your thoughts?

MR: I reserve judgment to let the courts decide. I was suspicious all the time of this story. But let the courts validate the suspicion or validate his innocence.

DM: What are your thoughts on the Iran nuclear deal?

MR: I'm not unhappy about a 10-year pause, but I do worry the Iranians are building nuclear capacity — a missile with range — to deliver, not in 10 years, but in one year. I don't trust them. There's a doctrine in Shia Islam where they describe the legitimacy of lying or deception. [If they're speaking to] non-Shias, it's absolutely legitimate to lie.

DM: You've written much about Southeast Asia. Thoughts on the Myanmar situation?

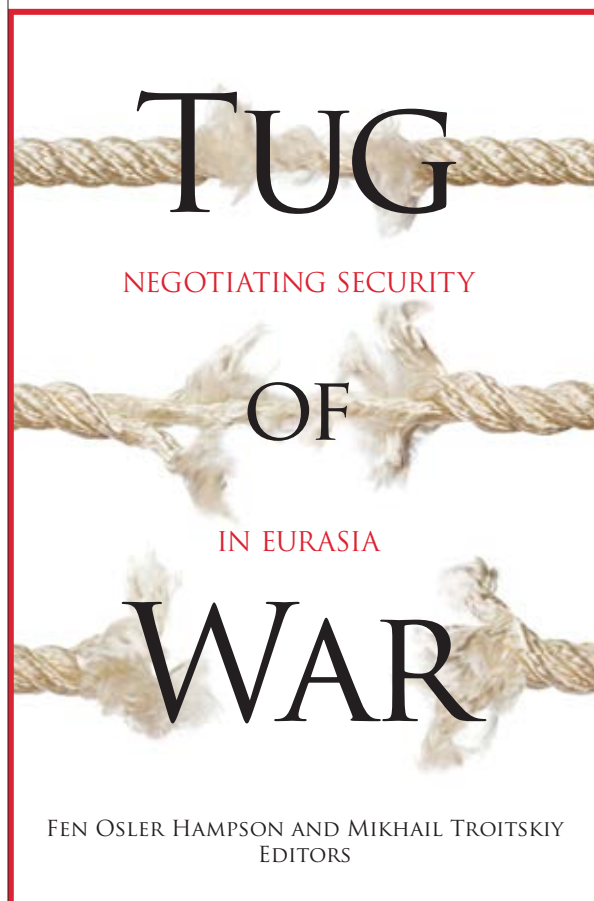
"THIS MALWARE IS LATENT, BUT IF CONFLICTS ARISE, [IT] WOULD BE BLOWN UP. THE RUSSIANS HAVE BEEN DOING THIS TO BRITISH CRITICAL INFRASTRUCTURE. YOU CAN'T TELL IT'S THERE, BUT IT IS. IF THERE'S EVER A CONFRONTATION, THEY DON'T HAVE TO BOMB YOUR OIL REFINERY, THEY CAN TAKE IT DOWN BY ACTIVATING THE MALWARE — LITERALLY PRESSING A BUTTON."

MR: In Myanmar, it's a very complex situation that goes back to 1937 when Britain created a boundary between Indian Raj and what became Burma. It wasn't

drawn along economic or ethnic lines, it was bureaucratic. This problem has been there ever since and it's not unlike the problems in Iraq, Syria and Yemen, where boundaries were drawn that didn't reflect the identities and affinities of the population. The Rohingyas and the Myanmar government are in a disastrous situation — there's no solution, I don't think, other than partition. No one in Myanmar will accept the creation of an independent [Rohingya] state.

DM: What about the Philippines under Duterte?

MR: That's a difficult one. There are two issues. One is in Mindanao, the area to the south and that goes to the conflict between jihadist and infidel authorities in Southeast Asia. It's interesting that the Muslim countries of Southeast Asia support [the Philippine government] against jihad. On the other hand, you have a problem of criminal law. You have very severe drug addiction in the Philippines around the drug trade and that issue is criminology and law enforcement rather than national security as we define it. It does affect security of the nation, but it's criminality, ultimately. ■



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Tipping the hat for Tipes

It's not every day you go to an evening ball and leave having been blown away by the words of an eight-year-old, but that's what happened to many at this year's Diplomatic Ball in December.

The ball raised money for Tipes — Thinking in Pictures Educational Services — which offers more than a dozen educational programs to children, adolescents and adults with “exceptionalities,” 90 per cent of which are autism. Programs include applied behavioural analysis, intensive behavioural intervention therapies and social integration.

The eight-year-old boy was a client of Tipes and, as he explained, he was non-verbal two years ago and Tipes changed his life to the point where he could stand and give a speech in front of hundreds of well-heeled adults.

“The Tipes people were worried he'd be nervous so we had a plan B, but he was just fine,” said Honduran Ambassador Sofia Cerrato, vice-president of the Ottawa Diplomatic Association (ODA). “He read his speech and thanked everyone.”

During the ball's planning stages, Macedonian Ambassador Toni Dimovski introduced Tipes to the executive of the ODA, which produces the annual ball.

“We really liked the work they're doing,” Cerrato said. “They have lots of kids on a waiting list and don't have the space for everyone, so we wanted to help with that. We had some proposals from other groups, but we liked this one the best.”

The diplomats asked all participating missions to donate items for a silent



At the ball, from left, Costa Rican Ambassador Roberto Dormond Cantu, Honduran Ambassador Sofia Cerrato, Jennifer Wyatt, Tipes executive director, and the ball's emcee, Brendan McKeigan.

auction and many did. “Cuba came up with a week in a hotel; we got wine from Uruguay and Argentina, Pisco Sours from Peru, wine from Bolivia,” Cerrato said, and added that in all, there were four different vacations offered, including one to Jamaica. In addition, Tipes collected its own silent auction items.

At the end of the December evening, they had raised \$11,000 for Tipes and money continued to filter in, even into the new year.

“It was really nice to see how the embassies came forward to help out,” Cerrato said, and added that the hotel had to add extra tables because there were so many

silent auction items.

“It was the best one we've had so far,” she said.

Some Tipes clients are artists, so they also had an exhibit of their work, with the artists present. The paintings were for sale and some people, such as the ambassador of Costa Rica, bought works from the artists, who took home the proceeds after giving a small percentage to Tipes.

“We were quite honoured that so many diplomats supported such a great cause,” said Deborah Wyatt, director of education at Tipes. “It was nice to get that kind of support. There were 250 people who came out. We'd like to thank all of them.” ▢



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Economic rebound

Inside the EU, too, momentum is building. The EU's economic recovery has finally reached every single EU member state, a testament to our resilience in difficult times. In 2017, the European economy performed significantly better than expected, growing at its fastest pace in a decade (2.5 per cent GDP growth), driven by resilient private consumption and falling unemployment (currently at a nine-year low of 7.3 per cent in December 2017).

Last year marked the fifth consecutive year of positive growth for the EU as a whole. And the economic growth is expected to continue both in the euro area and in the EU in 2018 (2.3 per cent) and 2019 (2 per cent,) according to the latest data available at press time. The economies of all member states are expanding and their labour markets are improving. Wide-ranging governance reforms will add to the resilience and help keep the EU on a path of sustainable and inclusive growth. Investment is on the rise, further driving economic growth.

Global trade is vital to the EU economy. Currently one in seven of all jobs in the EU depends on exports to the rest of the

world; indeed, 31 million jobs exist because of European exports. Every 1 billion euros in exports supports 14,000 additional jobs in Europe.

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chains. They depend on one another for prosperity and growth. We work together, we trade together and together we can have a say in shaping a fairer globalization with predictable and sustainable trade.

Friends around the world are sharing our vision of open societies and open economies. Countries are lining up for access to Europe's 500-million-strong market — the world's largest integrated market. Today, the European Union is the top trading partner for a total of 80 countries. We just concluded a free-trade agreement with Japan and we hope to submit free-trade agreements with Singapore and Vietnam for ratification very soon. We are close to completing our negotiations with Mexico and Mercosur in Latin America, and negotiations with New Zealand and Australia are expected to open this year. Even as EU27 (post-Brexit,) the EU will remain the world's largest trading bloc.

And of course, there's our trade deal with Canada — the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA).



EU Naval Operation Sophia patrols the Mediterranean for human smugglers to prevent the further loss of life at sea. It is part of a wider EU approach to migration, tackling the symptoms and causes such as conflict, poverty, climate change and persecution.

Provisionally applied since Sept. 21, 2017, CETA holds great promise. It is the most progressive and comprehensive trade agreement ever achieved, a new-generation, values-based agreement. It offers businesses the stability and predictability they need to grow, particularly in today's increasingly protectionist environment.

Already, companies big and small see benefits materializing. For instance, a new container service opened between Montreal and ports on the Mediterranean Sea only days after CETA came into effect last fall. Another example is the family-run Greek furniture store I visited on one of my missions to Montreal; the tariff elimination under CETA made their furniture-importing business instantly more competitive. The same is true for a design furniture store from my native Latvia that set up shop in Toronto and recently began importing into Canada. Since my arrival here last September, I have enjoyed many occasions, including, most recently, on a CETA promotion tour of Atlantic Canada, to meet with businesses eager to seize on all these new opportunities for growth under CETA.

The EU in the world

But the need for an engaged European Union does not stop with trade.

In recent years, demand for EU engagement on security and defence co-operation has increased significantly. The EU's unique mix of soft and hard power — our European way — has become more attractive, more indispensable to many worldwide. The launch of "permanent structured co-operation" (PESCO) in the field of defence last November, in effect setting the foundations of a future European defence, marked a historic development in Europe's integration process. It will make us more efficient and auto-

nous as Europeans and provide a more reliable point of reference for our global partners.

The EU has become a vital pillar that supports multilateral diplomacy, international law and the entire UN system at a time when multilateralism is being called into question. Like Canada, the European Union remains committed to multilateralism.

The European Union has been instrumental in securing the Iran nuclear deal and will continue to work for the deal to be implemented by all sides. We will also continue to push for a multilateral solution to de-escalate tensions on the Korean Peninsula. On Syria, the European Union is advocating for a political transition to end the war. This spring, the EU is hosting the second Brussels Conference on Syria — also known as the "Brussels process" for the future of Syria — to support the negotiations in Geneva.

Canada and the European Union have recently redefined their international security role. Last December, at the first joint EU-Canada ministerial meetings under our strategic partnership agreement, Canada and the European Union announced joint plans to step up security and defence co-operation within the NATO framework to counter ever-evolving hybrid and cyber security threats, including through the Helsinki-based European Centre of Excellence for Countering Hybrid Threats. Gender equality and the empowerment of women are at the core of our foreign and domestic policies. We cannot have lasting peace and build successful societies without gender equality. Advancing women's participation in peace operations remains at the top of the EU-Canada discussion agenda, with Canada and the EU set to co-chair a women's foreign ministers meeting as part of Canada's G7 presidency this year.

On climate action, too, the European Union, alongside Canada and other partners, has taken a leadership role. The Paris Agreement is irreversible, the cornerstone of effectively tackling climate change. It sends a clear message to governments, civil society and the private sector that this is the right direction for global climate action. What's more, plans are also well under way to develop an EU-Canada Oceans Partnership (after the UN Oceans Conference in June 2017 and Our Oceans Conference in Malta last October) with the aim of achieving better global governance and strengthen international oceans monitoring and research. Already, the EU-U.S.-Canada Atlantic Ocean Research Alliance (better known as the Galway Statement), launched in 2013, has provided ample opportunities for joint EU-Canada research initiatives under the EU's signature research and innovation program, Horizon 2020. The program has funded as many as 15 projects, with a budget of 120 million euros, focusing on Atlantic and Arctic oceans observation, sustainable management of ocean resources and climate change impacts, among others.

Geopolitical shifts in recent times have brought Canadian and EU positions closer than ever before on a wide range of issues, not least of which are ocean conservation and climate change. We will continue to strengthen our co-operation, particularly in view of Canada's current G7 presidency, in our shared pursuit of promoting international peace and security and achieving prosperity for our citizens in a safer, fairer and more inclusive world.

Canada — and the world — know the European Union can always be counted on as a reliable and credible global partner.

Peteris Ustubs is the ambassador of the European Union to Canada. Follow him @EUAmbCanada.



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MATCH: Funding global grassroots women's groups

By Beatriz Gonzalez Manchon

Taking in the rolling mountains, swaying corn fields and cloud-studded skies of Guatemala's Patanatic Route, it's impossible to believe such a beautiful place could have once been the stage for an ugly civil war. In fact, many tourism companies bank on it.

But a savvy group of Mayan women living near Lake Atitlan saw an opportunity to do tourism differently. Launching an eco-tourism business on their own terms, their guided tours offer a glimpse into the Guatemala they know. They don't gloss over realities, such as the high rates of femicide and violence against Indigenous women. Instead, these women showcase their leadership alongside their struggles, generating a sustainable income, all the while serving up a steady supply of homemade tamales.

For The MATCH International Women's Fund — Canada's only global women's fund — this type of innovation at the local level is the norm, not the exception. The MATCH Fund is a talent scout for small groups of women who dream big. With partners spanning the globe, the fund invests in ideas such as girl-run innovation labs in India, digital maps of street harassment in the Middle East and female radio DJs in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The fund's own journey mirrors the tenacity of the women's groups it supports. Forced to nearly close its doors a decade ago, The fund knew Canada still had a role to play for women at the grassroots level. Its near-breaking point allowed the fund to emerge at the intersection of women's rights and innovation, funding at the margins and taking risks on the women with the most to lose.

Proving time and time again that women's ideas are worth the risk, the fund invested \$1 million in 30 grassroots women's organizations since re-launching as a women's fund in 2013. In that time, women and girls have reported that their innovations have led to increased access to resources, changes in social norms and behaviours and changes to the laws and policies that hold them back.

Poised to more than triple its capacity in the coming year, the fund has set its sights on even more than providing seed funding for grassroots groups.



The MATCH International Women's Fund supports girl-run innovation labs in India, pictured here.

"The future of The MATCH Fund's work is about creating a fundamental shift in power," says CEO Jess Tomlin. "Women's movements around the globe are rising up in response to violence, discrimination and extremism. Money is power, so our imperative is to get more money into the hands of women at the local level. That's how we're going to see more women at the decision-making table during peace talks or pitching their creative solutions on a global stage."

Part of that power shift is seeing more Canadian funding directed outside of Canada's borders. At the government level, Canada's new feminist international assistance policy sets out a progress framework to support women's movement building. The challenge will be to transform the vision into concrete programs that meaningfully invest in the women's movements driving change on the ground.

At the individual level, however, only eight per cent of Canadians' donations

support international causes. The MATCH Fund makes it easy for Canadians to support women's groups innovating for change. The fund has its finger on the pulse of urgent and emerging issues for women around the world, ready to channel funding to where it is most needed and to where women and girls are willing to test new approaches to deep-seated problems.

"There's a reason people say that necessity is the mother of invention," Tomlin says. "Every day, women and girls face incredible odds. They innovate as they live — on the edge. As Canadians, we must meet them there, too, by funding the unanticipated and supporting change from the ground up."

To learn more about The MATCH International Women's Fund, please visit www.matchinternational.org.

Beatriz Gonzalez Manchon is vice-president of global programs for The MATCH International Women's Fund.

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Dominican Republic: Ripe for trade and investment



By Briunny Garabito Segura

As ambassador, my priority is to continue to increase the visibility of our country as a tourist destination and strong business partner. In this regard, we recently organized a tourism, economic and cultural event in Ottawa, with strong support from the Canadian and Dominican business communities.

My country has a balanced and diversified economy grounded in four main pillars: tourism, manufacturing, remittances and mining. It is actually one of the best performing economies in the Western hemisphere, with strong economic growth that has continued for more than 25 years, and which has resulted in a significant reduction of poverty. In the first quarter of 2017, the economy expanded by 5.2 per cent, following a yearly average growth of 7.1 per cent between 2014 and 2016.

Dominican Republic is well integrated into the global economy, in particular with the United States, the European Union, Canada and Latin America. We have a network of agreements in key regions of the world, which, combined with our strategic location and sophisticated telecommunication infrastructure, make the country a perfect destination for business and investments.

The country is a signatory of DR-CAFTA, the free-trade agreement between the United States, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Dominican Republic. We also signed an economic partnership agreement with the European Union in 2008. The latter is a more comprehensive agreement than a free-trade agreement, and has created better market access for Dominican products and services.

The mining sector has become one of



The Multimodal Caucedo Port, located in Punta Caucedo, is a hub of economic activity in Dominican Republic.

the more dynamic sectors of the economy, in particular the export market, with the development of the extraction phase of the Pueblo Viejo gold and silver mine in 2012. Gold exports from operations in Pueblo Viejo, which is owned jointly by Barrick Gold and Goldcorp, were \$676.7 million US in 2016 and a similar amount in 2017. According to Forbes, it was the fifth-largest gold mine in the world, based on total production in 2015. The mining activity in the country was reinforced in 2016 by the restart of ferronickel exploitation (which had been halted since 2013) and was one of the main drivers of economic growth that year.

Gold exploration operations are currently in progress in a number of different areas. For instance, several Canadian exploration companies are actively involved in the country. GoldQuest Mining Corp. is in the final stage of its exploration in its Romero and Tiroo initiatives; Everton Resources is exploring projects in Cuance, Los Hojanchos, Jobo Claro, La Cueva and Pueblo Viejo, among others; and Unigold Inc. is assessing the potential of the Neita concession. Mining resources and reserves in the country have been estimated to be \$60 billion US for metallic minerals and \$40 billion for non-metallic minerals.

Tourism is another of the pillars of the economy and its direct contribution to GDP was \$3.9 billion US or 5.4 per cent of total GDP in 2016. We had a record number of tourists in 2017, with more than 6.1 million, 56 per cent of whom were from North America.

In 2016, in terms of trade with Canada,

our exports were \$1.2 billion, of which gold was the most important contributor. Other key exports included medical supplies, electrical and electronic components, cocoa and textiles. Exports from Canada to Dominican Republic totalled \$151 million worth of such products as wheat, smoked herring, paper, mechanical parts and fertilizers.

Canada is the second largest foreign investor in the country, with total cumulative investment of \$5.94 billion US. Canadian investments are mostly concentrated in financial services, mining, manufacturing, tourism and agriculture. A large share of the Canadian investment was made by Toronto-based Barrick Gold and Vancouver-based Goldcorp, in the Pueblo Viejo mining project. This investment is the single largest private foreign investment in the Dominican Republic's history.

Finally, it is important to highlight that Dominican President Danilo Medina has made education a priority. He's made important progress in the implementation of ambitious plans under the National Education Pact (NEP). These include the allocation of four per cent of GDP to the pre-university education sector annually (up from an average allocation of two per cent of GDP between 2008 and 2012.) He sees a better-educated population as a way to build a greater future for the country.

Briunny Garabito Segura is the ambassador of Dominican Republic. Reach him by email at info@drembassy.org or by phone at (613) 569-9893.

Hungary: A transportation hub in Europe



By Bálint Ódor

Located in Central Europe, Hungary is one of the fastest-growing economies in the European Union. In 2017, the country's GDP grew by four per cent.

Due to its strategic location between Western and Eastern Europe, Hungary acts as a gateway for trade and investment for countries inside and outside of the EU. It has one of the highest GDP to export ratios in the world, at approximately 92.5 per cent. This indicates a robust dependence on world trade. Hungary's industrial output and a large part of its agri-food production target mainly export markets, Canada included.

Bilateral trade between Hungary and Canada amounted to \$817 million in 2017 and Hungarian exports to Canada grew by 24 per cent. On both sides, machinery-related products take the lead (Hungary exported \$210 million worth to Canada and Canadian exports to Hungary totalled \$28 million.)

The volume of Hungarian exports is also significant in transportation-related products, mainly cars and car parts (\$151 million). The second biggest group of products is the pharmaceutical-related chemical products that contribute more than \$82 million to Hungary's exports. Prepared food and animal-related products also play a significant role in the exports of Hungarian SMEs. Hungary is traditionally a quality supplier of poultry, especially duck and goose. In addition, Canada exports agri-food products such as pulses and wood pulp to the Hungarian paper industry.

Canadian companies, such as car parts giants Linamar and Magna and plane and train manufacturer Bombardier, are all investors in Hungary.

The tourism sector is one of our prior-



Traditional Szegedi salami is a popular culinary export for Hungary.

ity areas, too. Our goal is to convince our many Canadian visitors to stay a couple of days longer in our beautiful country and thus have a chance to explore not only Budapest, but the countryside, too. Hungarian gastronomy and wine culture have a long history, especially the Tokaj region's dessert wines, which offer a unique experience for wine lovers.

Hungary's primary objective is to encourage the SMEs, in Hungary and Canada, to step up Hungarian-Canadian trade because, at the moment, multinational or large-scale companies generate most of the trade. Given that, we encourage Canadians to take advantage of CETA, the Canada-EU free-trade agreement, much of which came into effect in September 2017. This agreement opens the Canadian public procurement market to EU companies, but Hungary's procurement process is also open to Canadians. The procurement aspect of the agreement also helps exporters of value-added products and services, such as medical technologies. Hungary is also interested in encouraging trade in quality food products, keeping in mind that Hungary champions biological and GMO-free production. With this as a priority, we look forward to participating in SIAL Montreal 2018, an international food and beverage trade show, as an exhibitor.

Besides production activities, we aim to create as many development activities in Hungary as possible. In this respect, all

Canadian companies are most welcome to approach us, but investments in life sciences, ICT, automotive, logistics and food processing sectors are especially welcome. Our one-stop services are available for all Canadian companies that are interested in opening businesses in Hungary.

I believe Hungary is a land of opportunity for doing business in the EU. Our unique location in the heart of the continent offers great value for companies dealing with logistical services and distribution in Europe. Four major European transportation corridors cross the country — more than any other EU country — making Hungary a focal point of European transportation.

We also have policies aimed at exploiting opportunities that stem from our geographical location. Hungary has tailored its labour legislation in order to allow ample room for creating innovative workplaces based on R&D.

In this context, it is important to note that Hungary offers the most competitive tax scheme in the EU. Company tax is a flat nine per cent and personal income tax is a flat 15 per cent. In 2018, the government reduced the social contribution to be paid by the employer to 19.5 per cent. These elements combine with highly developed modern infrastructure, a competitive, quality labour force and political stability to create an attractive investment environment.

Budapest is one of the largest and most developed cities in Central and Eastern Europe and offers high-end environment and real estate solutions for businesses. The city is served by a direct flight from Toronto that operates seven days a week in peak season.

It is time to move from the phrase "made in Hungary" towards the phrase "invented in Hungary." Trade commissioners stationed in Ottawa and Toronto are ready to help any Canadian businesses. Our offices offer free consultancy services for Canadian investors and importers and we help companies with technology co-operation and transfers.

Bálint Ódor is the ambassador of Hungary. You can reach him by phone at (613) 230-9614 or email him at mission.ott@mfa.gov.hu.

Spain: An open economy and trading partner



By Enrique Ruiz Molero

In recent years, Spain's economy has improved its competitiveness by increasing productivity and creating a better business environment. Projected GDP growth for 2017 is 3.1 per cent. Currently, Spain's is the fifth-largest economy in Europe and 13th globally, with a nominal GDP of \$1.2 trillion US. To put things in perspective, Canada ranks 10th globally with a nominal GDP of \$1.5 trillion.

Spain is an open economy with trade in goods accounting for approximately 60 per cent of GDP. Bilateral trade between Spain and Canada has been on the rise for more than a decade, but there's still significant room for expansion. Two-way trade in 2016 was approximately \$4.2 billion Cdn, making Spain Canada's sixth-largest client in Europe and 16th in the world, as well as its fifth-largest supplier from Europe and 19th in the world. Canadian imports of Spanish products were valued at \$2.2 billion Cdn and Canadian exports to Spain were approximately \$2 billion.

Spain's top exports to Canada include pharmaceuticals, petroleum preparations, wines, biotech products, motor-vehicle parts, airplane and helicopter parts, footwear and paper as well as Mediterranean fruits and vegetables. Major Canadian exports to Spain include airplanes, iron ore, turbines, crude petroleum, copper, soybeans, dried leguminous vegetables, chemicals, crustaceans and nickel.

The Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) between Canada and the European Union has created more opportunities for trade by removing customs duties. It also strengthens economic relations and facilitates the participation of companies in public procurement projects in Canada and in Spain. These areas will grow as more companies take advantage.



Canada's future search and rescue Airbus aircraft, seen here, was designed and built in Spain.

CETA and an attractive competitive environment also provide interesting business opportunities in Spain for Canadian investors in value-added and strategic areas such as ICT, renewable energy, biotechnology, environment, aerospace and the automotive industry. By setting up business in Spain, Canadian companies gain access not only to an attractively large national market with more than 46 million consumers, but also to the European and Latin American markets, which benefit from the country's privileged geographic position, prestige and the strong presence of Spanish companies in these regions. Scores of Canadian companies from diverse sectors are already established in Spain, including Bombardier, in the aerospace and railway sectors; Magna, in automotive; CAE in flight simulation and air crew training; Almonty, in mining; SNC-Lavalin, in engineering; Ivanhoe Cambridge, in real estate; and many others. New Canadian companies could still benefit from gaining access to the European market by settling in Spain or partnering with Spanish companies.

Spain's technology sectors have made dramatic advances in recent decades. Spanish companies have developed expertise at home and taken it overseas with great success in such areas as personalized medicine and e-health, desalination, renewable energy and infrastructure and are also providing advanced solutions in aerospace, water treatment, biotechnology, industrial machinery, transportation infrastructure and civil engineering.

The Spanish government is determined to deepen development the country's strength in technology and innovation.

For instance, Airbus was selected to provide Canada with 16 new search and rescue airplanes, designed and engineered in Spain by the Spanish aeronautics company that is part of Airbus. A joint venture with the Canadian company PAL Aerospace will provide in-service support.

Moreover, Spain has one of the world's best railroad infrastructures, according to *The Global Competitiveness Report* (World Economic Forum), and world-class subway systems in all major cities. Spain has built a remarkable network of high-speed rail, which stretches around the country, linking major economic centres. It is the third largest worldwide (and first in Europe) with more than 2,500 kilometres of high-speed lines in service, with trains travelling at an average commercial speed of 222 kilometres per hour and outperforming Japan (218 kilometres per hour) and France (216 kilometres per hour). This know-how is being exported worldwide, most notably with the new high-speed corridor between Makkah and Madinah that crosses the coastal and desert regions of Saudi Arabia and is 444 kilometres long.

Across Canada, some major infrastructure projects are also being developed by companies from Spain, in partnership with Canadian groups: Cintra-Ferrovial, the 407 Express Toll Route in Toronto; OHL, the CHUM hospital in Montreal; Acciona, the B.C. Hydro Site-C dam in British Columbia; and ACS-Dragados, the Champlain Bridge in Montreal and Ottawa's Light Rail Train.

Enrique Ruiz Molero is the ambasssador of Spain. Phone him at (613) 747-2252 or email him at emb.ottawa@maecs.es.



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Refugees, such as this new mother at a camp in Dadaab, Kenya, account for some of the world's 258 million international migrants.

Mapping migrant patterns

There are 258 million people on the planet who are living in a nation that was not their country of birth or citizenship. **Wolfgang Depner** traces their patterns.

It's a dramatic number — 258 million. It comes from the United Nations' *International Migration Report 2017* and represents the estimated number of "international migrants," which the organization defines as individuals who live in a state other than their state of birth or citizenship.

They account for what the report calls a "relatively small share of the total population, comprising about 3.4 per cent of the world's population in 2017, compared to 2.9 per cent in 1990." But the technocratic spirit of this description threatens to deny the substance of what it describes. It essentially condenses 258 million people into a necessary, but faceless category that fails to capture the personal and political complexities of their individual journeys and their collective impact on our world.

While no account can give these individuals adequate voice, their stories speak to the diverse circumstances and conditions that have compelled them to risk everything, including sometimes life itself,

in search of something better elsewhere, regardless of how elusive or illusory this possibility might be. They collectively continue to transform our world as part of larger processes that also include globalization and digitalization.

As the *World Migration Report 2018* states, migration is a "complex phenomenon that touches on a multiplicity of economic, social and security aspects affecting our daily lives in an increasingly interconnected world."

Migration, the report notes, has improved lives in host and receiving societies, affording "opportunities for millions of people worldwide to forge safe and meaningful lives abroad," a point that could not resonate more given that global displacement is at a "record high." Immigrants, meanwhile, enrich host countries through their labour, skills, talents, and entrepreneurship. Along the way, they deepen cultural diversity and global ties. Yet migration and migrants often encounter suspicion and social exclusion.

The story of humanity is the story of migration since the first humans left Africa, and the story of migration is a sequence of encounters between host and newcomer, between new and familiar, between hospitality and hostility, between integration and exclusion.

Migration can take many forms. It can be legal or illegal. It can be forced or voluntary. It can be the outcome of war or political repression. It can respond to economic conditions. It can generate feelings of sympathy and acts of generosity. It can generate rejection and hatred.

Perhaps nowhere has this dialectic, with its unpredictable dynamic, appeared more clearly in recent years than in Germany during the height of the refugee crisis of 2015.

That year, net migration to Germany topped 1.14 million — a 49-per-cent increase over the previous year, and the highest since the founding of the Federal German Republic in 1949.

Most of these arrivals came from

the Middle East and were accordingly unfamiliar with the German language, not to mention the norms and traditions of a Western society.

Their seemingly sudden arrival inspired a spontaneous *Willkommenskultur* (welcoming culture) that earned Germany accolades from around the world and eased — at least for a while — the ghosts of Germany's past into the background.

But this *helles Deutschland* (light Germany) of self-sacrificing volunteers soon co-existed with a *dunkles Deutschland* (dark Germany) of anti-Islamic protesters whose radical fringes torched asylum homes. Well-documented events in 2016, such as the mass sexual assaults in Cologne on New Year's Eve (officials investigated more than 500 sexual offences committed mainly by men from the Maghreb countries) and the death of 12 people attending a Christmas market in Berlin at the hands of an Islamist migrant who had slipped past authorities on numerous occasions despite his long rap-sheet, have since revised public opinion and political mood, which had already begun to shift following the November 2015 terror attacks in Paris that killed 130 people and wounded hundreds.

The days when German politicians would snap smiling selfies with Syrian refugees have long faded following the emergence of the Alternative for Germany (AfD), under the leadership of Alexander Gauland, as a credible political force. In fact, Germany, like much of Western Europe, is suffering a crisis of identity, amid reports of changing demographics.

It would therefore be a mistake to dismiss the conflicts that large and sudden migrations have triggered in many countries around the world.

They are the animating forces of Brexit, U.S. President Donald Trump's election and a range of populist parties across Europe. But migration also has defenders, and this article will examine these various forces as part of a larger survey of migration across the globe. Specifically, it will look at migration patterns and issues on a continental basis.

This article tries to capture the challenges and opportunities of migration as comprehensively as possible by drawing on a wide range of resources, key among them the *International Migration Report 2017* as well as the recently released *World Migration Report 2018*.

The *International Migration Report* finds

that between 1990 and 2007, the number of international migrants rose by more than 105 million — or 69 per cent — with most of this increase taking place between 2005 and 2017.

Second, growing populations in the world's developing regions — we'll call it the South — have led to more migrants arriving in the world's developed regions — we'll call them the North — where migration has become an increasingly important component of population growth. But the pace of migration within the South now outstrips migration between the North and South. As the report says, 60 per cent of the increase in migrants reflects migration between countries in the South.

Third, migration is a generally positive phenomenon that promotes economic growth and international trade and the transfer of skills. In this context, the report notes that Northern America (a region that includes Canada, the U.S., Greenland and Saint-Pierre and Miquelon), Europe and Oceania (which includes Australia) would see their working populations shrink without migration.

This said, it is clear that the current climate favours critics of migration. Whether their arguments carry the day, however, remains uncertain. What follows is a regional breakdown of the global situation.

Africa

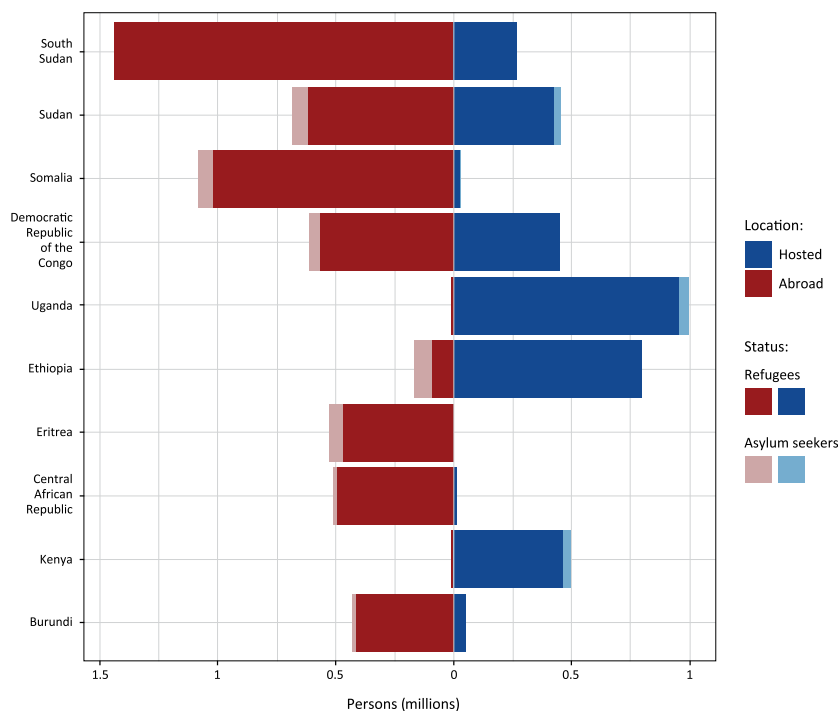
In 1990, a BBC drama eerily predicted the contemporary politics of African migration. *The March* tells the story of thousands, then millions of African migrants who trek across sub-Saharan Africa towards Europe to escape poverty compounded by climate change and corruption. Under the charismatic leadership of a Muslim cleric, the refugees eventually sail across the Strait of Gibraltar in boats, where they confront soldiers defending the ramparts of Fortress Europe.

Only a negotiated compromise that allows some migrants to enter, and the promise of a Marshall Plan for Africa prevents a military response. What makes the piece so profound is its nuanced treatment of the historical and contemporary factors that have pushed and pulled African migrants to Europe.

"We are poor because you are rich," says the cleric in condemning European colonialism.

"The situation isn't as simple," responds a high-ranking official from the European Union. "We spend a lot of money on aid to Africa, but most of it never reaches the people who need it. We are not the only problem."

Figure 4. Top 10 African countries by total refugees and asylum seekers, 2016



Source: UNHCR, n.d.a.

Note: "Hosted" refers to those refugees and asylum seekers from other countries who are residing in the receiving country (right-hand side of the figure); "abroad" refers to refugees and asylum seekers originating from that country who are outside of their origin country. Chapter 2 (appendix A) includes definitions of key terms such as "refugee". The top 10 countries are based on 2016 data and are calculated by combining refugees and asylum seekers in and from countries.

Almost three decades later, images of African migrants storming the gates of Spanish enclaves in Morocco, or sailing across the Mediterranean in sagging ships, make it impossible to separate fact from fiction and current developments might offer more than a preview of far larger movements.

According to a 2011 Gallup poll, 33 per cent of sub-Saharan Africans said they wanted to migrate.

While the desire to depart does not automatically mean they will do so, it does not take much imagination to grasp the implications of this figure, if we consider Africa's demographic profile.

The continent currently ranks as the fastest growing region in the world and scholars estimate its population will exceed 2.25 billion by 2050. So unless African states manage to mitigate local conditions, such as poverty, climate change and corruption, millions more will be on the move, following those who have already left.

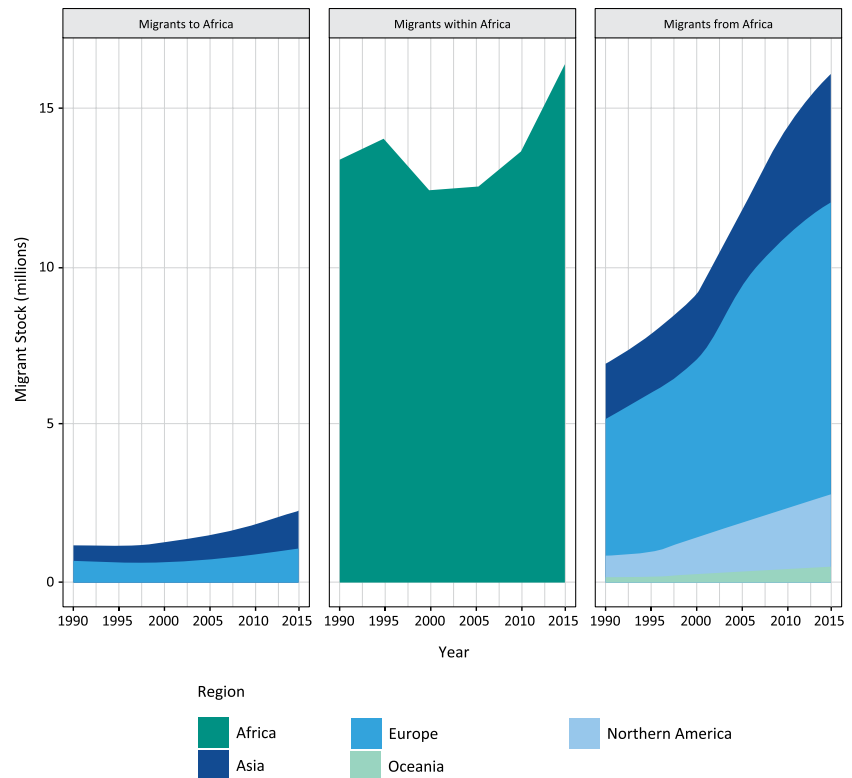
"When people lose hope, they risk crossing the Sahara and the Mediterranean because it is worse to stay at home, where they run enormous risks," warned Antonio Tajani, president of the European Parliament in July 2017. "If we don't confront this soon, we will find ourselves with millions of people on our doorstep within five years."

This said, the flow of African migrants into Europe has actually slowed down in recent years. According to the International Organization for Migration, 171,635 people arrived in Europe by boat in 2017, down by almost half compared to 363,504 in 2016. Looking at individual countries, Italy recorded the lowest number of arrivals from Africa in the last four years with slightly fewer than 120,000 people in 2017. Figures from Greece, Spain and other EU member states paint a similar picture.

Various measures account for this development. Those include programs designed to curb human smuggling, repatriation, economic development and, controversially, a deal between Italy and Libya, one of the major transit countries for migrants from major source states like Sudan, Somalia, Mali and Nigeria. Under the agreement, Italy, backed by the European Union, assists Libyan authorities to intercept and detain migrants. The deal has drawn considerable criticism from human rights advocates, including none other than the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Zeid Ra'ad al-Husseini.

Hussein, like others, has lamented the deplorable state of the facilities that house

Figure 1. Migrants to Africa, within Africa and from Africa between 1990 and 2015



Source: UN DESA, 2015a.

Note: "Migrants to Africa" refers to migrants residing in the region (i.e. Africa) who were born in one of the other regions (e.g. Europe or Asia). "Migrants within Africa" refers to migrants born in the region (i.e. Africa) and residing outside their country of birth, but still within the African region. "Migrants from Africa" refers to people born in Africa who were residing outside the region (e.g. in Europe or Northern America).



This child is at the Imvepi Refugee Settlement in the Arua district in northern Uganda.



According to a 2011 Gallup poll, 33 per cent of sub-Saharan Africans said they wanted to migrate. The refugees at this camp in Uganda have only moved from war-torn South Sudan, but many Africans are leaving the continent entirely.

detainees, an almost predictable outcome if we consider that Libya has found itself in the midst of a civil war since the violent overthrow of long-time ruler Moammar Gadhafi in 2011.

If Libya can barely govern its own people, how can it look after others?

According to various estimates, somewhere between 400,000 and one million migrants remained stranded in Libya as of December 2017. The absence of governing authority has accordingly allowed criminals to exploit these individuals. A viral video shows stranded migrants being sold as slaves. Libya, in the words of the International Organization of Migration, has become a “torture archipelago.”

This discovery generated some action by European and African officials, but little sympathy among Europeans, who have become increasingly indifferent towards nearly daily reports of drowning migrants. In fact, non-governmental groups such as *Jugend Rettet* (Youth Saves) have faced charges from anti-immigration voices of aiding and abetting human smuggling operations by rescuing migrants.

These NGOs, in turn, have refused to

follow Italy’s code of conduct, which they consider uncaring and cynical. In fact, they have accused the Italian government of criminalizing life-saving measures.

While laudable on humanitarian as well as economic grounds — migrants send back remittances to their home countries and fill labour needs — proposals to legalize migration from Africa face tough political opposition from European populists, who would like to see less, not more, migration of any kind.

Others, meanwhile, are wondering whether it is ethical for Europe to recruit the best and brightest from Africa, where they would make a bigger difference if they remained.

These concerns leave decision-makers with few appealing choices.

They could quasi-militarize more than 3,000 kilometres of Mediterranean shoreline, following the Australian approach. This solution, while drastic, could deter illegal migrants, but would also produce ugly images that would rapidly undermine the self-image of Europe as a community of humanistic values. History also suggests that barriers — regardless of their size and strength — will ultimately suc-

cumb.

Or Europeans could increase their contributions towards Africa to deal with the root causes of migration with the understood risk of seeing their funds disappear into the dark accounts of corrupt African strongmen. This solution, while fraught if not executed properly, would be more sustainable, but also requires a longer commitment that would extend far beyond the immediate political horizons of European leaders.

Success also depends on the willing co-operation of African elites, who have become increasingly less inclined to accept European tutelage as China continues to pump significant resources into Africa without making pesky moral demands.

In short, migration will shape relations between Africa and the rest of the world — specifically Europe — for the foreseeable future. Both sides will likely have to confront some harsh truths about each other, not unlike the characters in *The March*.

Americas

As the *International Migration Report 2017* says, the geography of migration is highly

uneven. In 2017, 51 per cent of all international migrants in the world were living in only 10 countries, with the U.S. taking the highest number.

The U.S. hosted 49.8 million migrants in 2017 or 19 per cent of the world's total. For the record, Saudi Arabia and Germany hosted the second and third largest number of migrants with 12.2 million each, followed by the Russian Federation (11.7 million), the United Kingdom (nearly 8.8 million) and the United Arab Emirates (8.3 million.) The United States' share of global migrants reflects its perceived status and self-image as the land of opportunity.

Unless they can claim 100 per cent Native American ancestry, the roots of all contemporary residents of the United States lie elsewhere, and the United States continues to draw migrants to its shores.

This human geography reflects the pull of the United States, where five out of the 10 largest bilateral migration corridors in the world terminated between 1990 and 2000.

The largest of those was the route between Mexico and the United States, which more than 500,000 people travelled annually between 1990 and 2000. The respective migration routes between the United States and India, China, Vietnam and the Philippines also cracked the Top 10 between 1990 and 2000.

While much has changed since then, three of the 10 largest bilateral migration streams still terminate in the United States. Between 2010 and 2017, about 80,000 people migrated annually from India, Mexico and China respectively to the United States, according to the 2017 *International Migration Report*. While the report does not identify their status, Mexicans have historically constituted the largest group of illegal immigrants to the United States.

The Pew Research Center estimated the number of illegal immigrants in the United States at 11 million in 2015, of which Mexicans accounted for 51 per cent. (This said, their numbers have shown a downward trend).

Yet it would be a mistake to single out one group. After Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, the largest group of illegal immigrants (268,000) comes from China, followed by India (267,000).

All of these arrivals — legal or otherwise — have contributed to what demographers call the “browning” of the U.S.

A Pew paper published in 2008 predicts that the population of the United States will rise to 438 million in 2050, from 296 million in 2005, and 82 per cent of this

increase will be due to immigrants arriving between 2005 and 2050 as well as their U.S.-born descendants. Immigration, in other words, will account for 117 million new people by 2050. Of these, 67 million will be immigrants themselves and 50 million will be their U.S.-born children and grandchildren.

In fact, nearly one in five Americans will be an immigrant in 2050. As for the non-Hispanic white population, it will increase more slowly than other racial and ethnic groups. Under this scenario, the white population will become a minority by 2050, according to the predictions of the Pew Research Centre.

This demographic trend towards a

have committed crimes. The Migration Policy Institute has estimated that 820,000 of those people were in the country illegally, including 300,000 with felony convictions. This figure means about three per cent of the total undocumented population in the United States has committed felonies. But the share of felons in the overall population is twice as high, at six per cent, according to the Population Association of the United States.

Facts such as these have, of course, not stopped Trump from railing against immigrants. But if we accept the theory that Trump's election represents a reaction to the “browning” of the United States, it clearly confuses noise with signal.



In 2017, 51 per cent of all international migrants in the world were living in only 10 countries, with the U.S. taking the highest number. Shown here is a “naturalization ceremony” on Citizenship Day in Salem, Mass.

“plurality” nation in which no single group will constitute a majority has caused considerable unease among sections of American society who fear migrants will hurt their economic prospects, introduce crime or undermine American culture — fears largely unjustified.

Consider crime. Yes, illegal immigrants to the United States have and continue to commit crimes of various kinds, including rape and murder, but at rates lower than the general population. The Department of Homeland Security estimates 1.9 million non-citizens living in the United States — whether legally or illegally —

Canada, like the United States, has undergone a comparable transformation. According to the 2016 census, 21.9 per cent of the Canadian people (about 7.54 million) described themselves as landed immigrants or permanent residents, the second-highest share of all time after the census of 1921, when 22.3 per cent of the population qualified as foreign-born.

The source of migrants has fundamentally changed. In Canada's first census in 1871, almost 84 per cent of its foreign-born population came from the British Isles. A hundred years later, people born on the British Isles still accounted for the largest



After Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, the largest group of illegal immigrants (268,000) to the United States comes from China, followed by India (267,000). These arrivals — legal or otherwise — have contributed to what demographers call the “browning” of the United States, writer Wolfgang Depner states. They also contribute to vibrant ethnic communities such as this one — Chinatown in Manhattan.

share with 29 per cent, but dropped as the share of arrivals from other parts of the world increased. In 2016, people from the British Isles accounted for seven per cent. What happened? Changes in policy coupled with increased mobility have fundamentally changed the sociological profile of migration patterns in Canada.

In 2016, almost half (48 per cent) of the total foreign-born population was born in Asia (including the Middle East), while a lower proportion (27.7 per cent) was born in Europe. Looking at the number of newcomers between 2011 and 2016, 61.8 per cent were born in Asia.

Current trends point to the Philippines, China and India as the main sources of future immigrants, with Iran and Pakistan rounding out the top five immigrant source countries between 2010 and 2015.

Regions of the world that barely registered on census forms in the late 1960s and early 1970s (such as North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa and Central and South America) are also growing, and growing fast, while the share of immigrants from the United States and various parts of Europe have first risen, then fallen between 1871 and the present.

Canadian society, unlike sizable sections of U.S. society, appears comfortable with this development. But some attitudes might be hardening, according to a

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recent poll that shows an increase in the number of Canadians (27 per cent), who have questioned rising admission levels as Canada prepares to accept 340,000 new arrivals by 2020. Another poll by

Angus Reid also found that 57 per cent of Canadians agreed with the statement: “Canada should accept fewer immigrants and refugees.”

Looking beyond Canada and the United States, Latin America and the Caribbean remain source rather than destination regions. According to the *International Migration Report*, the corridor from Latin America and the Caribbean to North America was the third largest in 2017, with more than 26 million international migrants. However, this stream has been trickling off. Reasons include increased border enforcement, shrinking income gaps between Northern and Latin America, and demographic changes. Societies in Latin America are aging, thereby producing fewer younger people willing to travel across great distances. This said, the numbers are still substantial.

As the *World Migration Report 2018* says, North America remains a migration destination. During the last 25 years, the number of migrants in North America has almost doubled thanks to population growth in Latin America, the Caribbean and Asia, as well as economic growth and political stability in North America.

Asia

Arguably no other continent has experienced the problems and causes of migration more fiercely than Asia. According to the *International Migration Report*, Asia recorded the highest number of international migrants between 1990 and 2017 — 31 million. Of these, 28 million (or 89 per cent) were born elsewhere in Asia. This high degree of movement within the Asian continent differs from Europe and Northern America. Of the 29 million migrants that Europe gained during this period, 46 per cent were born in Europe, 24 per cent in Asia, nearly 17 per cent in Africa and 12 per cent in Latin America and the Caribbean. Of the 30 million migrants that Northern America gained, 55 per cent came from Latin America and the Caribbean, while 37 per cent came from Asia, and slightly more than seven per cent from Africa.

In short, Asia experiences external and internal forms of migration and the Asia-to-Asia route was the world's largest migration corridor in 2017.

Looking at specific bilateral routes, six out of the 10 largest bilateral migration routes between countries move through Asia.

Familiar push and pull factors have contributed to this phenomenon.

First, high-income regions in Asia draw migrants from low-income regions.

That explains the stream of migrants from Southern Asia (India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Bhutan among other places) to the oil-rich Gulf countries, where immense wealth and ambition coincide with a need for labour of every kind.

Between 2000 and 2010, three of the world's largest bilateral streams of migrants ran from a country in Southern Asia to an oil-producing country in Western Asia: Bangladesh to United Arab Emirates (UAE), India to Saudi Arabia, and India to UAE. A similar pattern appears in the period between 2010 and 2017 (India to Oman, India to Saudi Arabia and India to Kuwait).

Migration streams of this sort have led to a regional transfer of wealth by way of remittances.

Total global remittances from migrants to their home countries in 2017 topped \$450 billion — up by 4.8 per cent. India leads the list of recipient countries with \$65 million and a closer look reveals that four of the five top source countries for remittances to India lie in the Gulf Region. In fact, remittances from Indians working



At this naturalization ceremony in the Grand Canyon, 23 people from 12 different countries, including Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Japan, Mexico, Morocco, Australia, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, Venezuela, Vietnam and Zambia, became U.S. citizens.

in Saudi Arabia were almost on par with remittances from Indians working in the United States. Indian remittances from the United Arab Emirates led the way.

Migrants from Southern Asia working in Western Asia therefore represent an important economic lifeline back home.

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PRODUCING COUNTRY
IN WESTERN ASIA.**

Consider Bangladesh, one of the poorest countries in the world, with a 2016 per-person GDP of \$3,900. In 2015, Bangladesh

received remittances of \$15.8 billion.

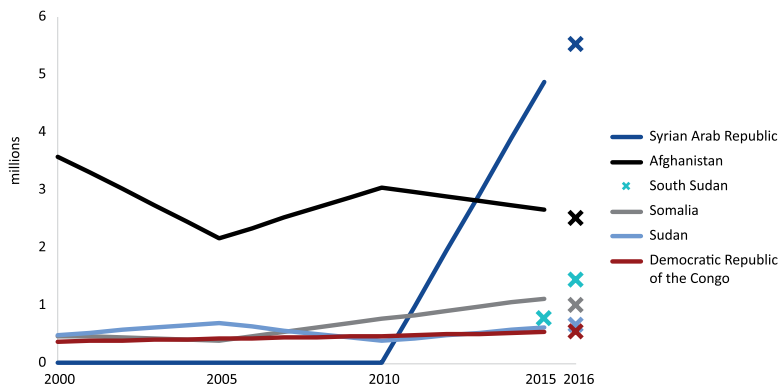
But migrants from Southern Asia, specifically women, have also been victims of serious human rights abuses at the hands of their employers, often with little or no recourse.

Perhaps the most infamous example from the Gulf region is the deadly exploitation of migrant workers building the stadiums for the 2022 World Cup in Qatar. In 2012, the Qatari government revealed 520 workers from Bangladesh, India and Nepal had died during construction work, including work on stadiums. Despite promises of serious reforms, unbearable heat coupled with regulatory indifference have continued to cause deaths on construction sites across the Gulf region. The World Cup construction site itself saw 10 related deaths between July 2015 and September 2017.

If parts of the Middle East attract migrants, others create them. More than 5.4 million Syrians have left their country since the start of its civil war in 2011, joining the millions of Iraqis, Afghans and others in the region, who had already left their respective homes to escape the ethnic and sectarian conflicts that have roiled it for decades, dating back to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan through to the U.S. invasion of Iraq.

While the migratory effects of the Syrian civil war on Europe have received

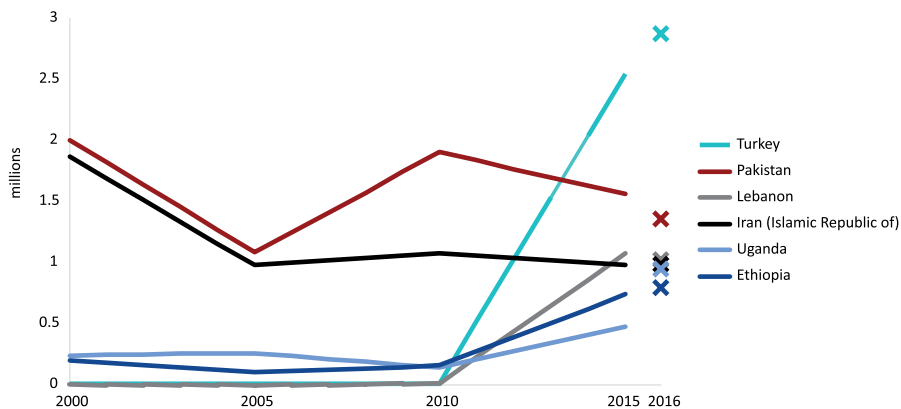
Figure 6. Number of refugees by major countries of origin as of 2016 (millions)



Source: UNHCR, n.d. (accessed on 18 July 2017).

Note: Lines indicate five-year trends and crosses indicate a single year's data. South Sudan became a country in 2011.

Figure 7. Number of refugees by major host countries as of 2016 (millions)



Source: UNHCR, n.d. (accessed on 18 July 2017).

Note: Lines indicate five-year trends and crosses indicate a single year's data.

considerable coverage, its regional effects have received less. About 3.3 million Syrians currently await their fate in Turkey, another million in Lebanon and another 650,000 in Jordan.

The vast majority of Syrian refugees in these neighbouring countries do not live in camps, but they nonetheless face various difficulties, including poverty, limited job opportunities, inadequate housing and discrimination by their host societies.

Perhaps worse, they face uncertainty. They live in places not far from their original homes, but the option of returning to a country shattered by war with few immediate prospects for recovery and stability will likely strike many as unappealing.

At the same time, they confront rapidly closing borders and growing hostility

towards migrants, especially if they hail from the Muslim-Arab world.

In some ways, this experience previews what might happen to almost 700,000 Rohingyas, who fled Myanmar for Bangladesh in the fall of the 2017 during a "textbook example" of ethnic cleansing as Zeid Ra'ad al-Hussein, the United Nations' High Commissioner for Human Rights, described it.

As *The Economist* wrote in late 2017, their flight "was one of the most rapid international movements of people in modern history, eclipsing in intensity, for example, Syrians' flight from civil war over the past six years."

While a deal for their return is in place, confusing signals from Myanmar and warnings from UN officials have raised

the possibility that their presence in Bangladesh might last longer than many would like.

Australia

"Our Adam and Eve had not been chosen by God, but by judges."

That is how Thomas Keneally, author of *A Commonwealth of Thieves*, described the genesis of modern-day Australia as a British penal colony. Its story begins on Jan. 18, 1788, when a fleet of 11 ships carrying 734 convicted criminals and their 210 guards sailed into Botany Bay. But these "Founding Rogues," as *The New York Times* called them, quickly deemed this site unsuitable for settlement and instead chose to settle at Sydney Cove on Jan. 26, 1788.

Generations of Australians have since celebrated that date as Australia Day, but not everybody has always joined in. Official celebrations have increasingly recognized Indigenous Australians, but many of the continent's original inhabitants remain ambivalent, if not hostile, towards the date, because for them, it marks the official start of European colonialism.

The celebration has been a continuous source of controversy, one likely fed by former Australian PM prime minister Tony Abbott, who remarked in a January 2018 radio interview days before Australia Day that British settlement was a "very good thing" although "not immediately good for everyone." Abbott also used the occasion to tell the government of his successor, Malcolm Turnbull, to spend fewer resources on fighting climate change while also scaling back immigration to ease the pressure on housing prices.

Abbott's comments are consistent within a stream of Australian society that has been trying to curtail immigration. "The prime reason for the decline in living standards for many Australian workers is our staggering population growth," said Dick Smith, an entrepreneur and philanthropist who wants to drastically reduce immigration to Australia under his Fair Go Campaign. Immigration has certainly fuelled Australia's population growth. A total of 28 per cent of the population has roots outside of Australia and net overseas migration, which measures immigrants minus departing Australians, has nearly doubled since 2000.

Concerns about the economic effects of migration in Australia are also not unfounded. A government commission concluded in 2006 that immigration could lead to higher unemployment or slower wage growth, or both, for specific groups,

especially those working in sectors with higher concentrations of immigrant workers. “Increased risk of displacement is more likely at the lower end of the skill spectrum and in the youth labour market,” states a 2016 government report titled *Migrant Intake into Australia*.

But overall migration has had neutral, if not positive, effects, that same report notes. While acknowledging “scant evidence,” it found that at an “aggregate level, recent immigrants had a negligible impact on wages, employment and participation of the existing labour force.” The report notes that local workers fear immigrants can reduce the wages of locals or displace them, a concept partially based on the fallacy that the number of jobs in any economy remains fixed. While migrants may displace locals into jobs with lower wages, that is not inevitable.

“Offsetting this effect is the increase in demand for local goods and services from new immigrants,” the report states. “Immigrants may also complement rather than displace local workers, improving productivity, particularly when filling skill shortages that are restricting the expansion of firms.” Young, well-educated migrants have especially benefited the Australian economy, whose workforce would shrink without them.

Looking beyond Australia’s current unemployment rate of 5.5 per cent as of January 2018, census data found recent migrants (especially if they lack English skills) struggle to find work. But on the whole, unemployment rates among foreign-born workers are only slightly higher than unemployment rates for those who were born in Australia and the share of foreign-born workers with jobs matches the share of native-born workers with jobs, according to OECD data, as interpreted by Australia’s Lowy Institute.

Australian society, for its part, has largely welcomed immigrants, who, according to the government commission, appear to be “well accepted” despite some fluctuations, thanks to Australia’s commitment to multiculturalism.

But the report also reveals contradictions. Recent surveys of temporary and permanent residents found that two thirds of those surveyed would like to limit Australia’s population to below 30 million — a figure Australia would reach by 2030 if current immigration rates remained steady. But only one third of the same survey respondents said immigration levels are too high.

Generally positive attitudes of Australians towards new arrivals have also be-

come increasingly theoretical. Australians have found it difficult to purchase their own homes in desirable locations such as Sydney and Melbourne, with many would-be buyers grumbling about the influx of foreign investors, many of them of Chinese descent.

Research from Credit Suisse released in October 2017 found that foreign buyers accounted for 26 per cent of all new homes

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JOBS, ACCORDING TO
OECD DATA.

purchased between September 2016 and June 2017 in New South Wales, the Australian state that includes Sydney. Of those buyers, citizens of China and Taiwan accounted for 87 per cent. Overall, foreign buyers poured about \$10 billion into three Australian states, a very small portion of the total real estate industry in Australia, which is valued at \$6.7 trillion,

While these investors can only buy new homes, they have contributed to rising housing costs, compounding the effects of migration on housing.

Despite its continental size, Australians (both old and new) cluster along a few

coastal cities and immigration has stoked housing prices. Sydney is one of the most unaffordable cities in the world, relative to income. At the same time, Australia’s real estate industry depends on foreign investors, and despite efforts by the government to discourage foreign investments, Australia remains one of the most desirable investment locations.

All of these aspects run the risk of being lost among a public increasingly fearful of foreign investors and amidst a debate about whether stated concerns about foreign investment from China amount to racism, a distant echo of the debate that unfolded during the late 19th Century, when the Australian government responded to an influx of Asian migrants with its 1901 “White Australia Policy.”

This debate further complicates the image of Australia in the immigration debate. On one hand, Australia consistently ranks among the most tolerant societies, notwithstanding xenophobic firebrands such as One Nation leader Pauline Hanson, who first warned of an Asian invasion in 1996, then turned her ire against Muslim migrants without genuinely abandoning her former positions about Asian migrants. She remains a minority voice.

On the other hand, human rights groups continue to criticize Australia’s long-running policy of mandatorily detaining anyone who enters illegally. This policy included, at one stage, two notorious offshore detention centres where asylum-seekers await their fates under often brutal, dehumanizing conditions.

One of those — the Nauru Regional Processing Centre, located on the South Island Nauru — has operated, with interruptions, since 2001. The second offshore facility — the Manus Regional Processing Facility located on the Papua New Guinean Island of Los Negros Island — closed in October 2017 after being in operation on and off since 2001.

Perhaps the most restrictive of its kind, the Australian detention system virtually shut down illegal migration streams during the first decade of the 21st Century, and continues to draw praise from European populists as a solution to the stream of illegal migrants arriving from Africa and elsewhere by boat. It denies refugees arriving by boat any chance of entrance to Australia.

“If you come to Australia by boat without a visa, you won’t be settled there. No way — you will not make Australia home,” billboards in neighbouring countries bluntly warn.

Supporters of this measure, which



The influx of refugees and migrants into Europe from beyond its borders has encouraged Brexit, strained the resources of receiving societies, such as Greece, shown here, and fundamentally realigned European politics.

enjoys broad political support, claim that it discourages human smuggling, thereby saving lives, while critics such as well-known refugee advocate Julian Burnside and others claim that the measure is not just inhumane, but also illegal and ultimately ineffective, since most refugees arrive in Australia by plane, not boat. Questioning the professed Christianity of Australian political leaders such as Turnbull and Abbott, Burnside says their worries about drowning refugees are nothing more than a “fig leaf to make moral mistreatment look compassionate.”

Europe

Riffing off legendary country star Johnny Cash, Sweden’s former foreign minister, Carl Bildt, said in 2015 that a “ring of fire” surrounds Europe.

It includes revisionist Russia, which is ramping up various conflicts with its regional neighbours, such as Ukraine and Georgia, as well as failed and failing states in Africa. And then there’s a swath of the Middle East, stretching from Syria to Yemen, which is itself a crescent of catastrophic conflicts not seen since the

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European cataclysm of the Thirty Years War during the 17th Century.

What unites this rim of hostility? Shared pathologies include uncertain borders, stagnating economies, raging corruption and murderous regimes facing various challenges to their despotic rule by both moderate and radical forces.

Save for Russia, whose population has been declining for various reasons, this region has also experienced rapid population growth without delivering the necessary economic and political growth that would adequately satisfy its young, ambitious populations. In short, more people are chasing fewer opportunities in places that create few, if any.

Some have challenged the local status quo — see the Arab Spring — while others have voted with their feet by heading towards Europe, be it by sea across the Mediterranean or by land along the Balkan Route, now closed after the European Union signed a deal with Turkey that essentially entrusts the care of several million migrants to a man — Recep Tayyip Erdogan — whose governance style is as mercurial as it is authoritarian.

This influx of individuals into Europe

from beyond its borders has encouraged Brexit, strained the resources of receiving societies (especially Italy and Greece, but also elsewhere) and fundamentally realigned European politics.

European parties no longer align themselves along the familiar left-right axis. They instead increasingly define and differentiate themselves by where they stand on immigration issues. Do they favour closed or open borders? Do they favour more or less money for measures designed to integrate migrants? Where do they stand on Islam, the majoritarian religion of migrants from outside of Europe, against concerns that central Islamic tenets clash with the social contours of contemporary Europe, an increasingly secular continent?

Questions of this sort have stressed European societies between Narvik and Napoli to the breaking point.

Current divisions with the European Union reflect this dynamic. Leaders of EU states in Central and Eastern Europe — Poland and Hungary among others — have openly refused to accept illegal migrants despite a valid agreement among EU members that the highest European court has since confirmed.

Notwithstanding appeals to their sense of solidarity and burden-sharing from voices of Western Europe, the governing elites of these post-communist states consider illegal migrants as threats to physical security and cultural survival even as they might benefit from migration in the face of shrinking populations as in the case of Bulgaria.

A chorus of Western commentators cutting across the ideological spectrum has effectively amplified these concerns.

Far-right commentator Douglas Murray, author of *The Strange Death of Europe*, warns of Europe falling victim to Islamofascism, a fear that receives a literary treatment in *Submission* by controversial French author Michel Houellebecq, who describes a not-so-distant dystopian Europe divided along racial and religious lines.

Far-left philosopher Slavoj Žižek accuses liberals of romanticizing refugees while downplaying the less appealing aspects of mass migration, such as rising crime rates and welfare fraud.

Feminist icon Alice Schwarzer fears migrants from Islamic countries will stoke misogyny, a point made by far-right populists who denounce refugees as Rapefugees.

European Jewish leaders, meanwhile, fear a new wave of anti-Semitism by way of migrants socialized in officially anti-



Greece has been a receiving country for many African and Syrian migrants, such as this young boy.

Israel states that deny the Israeli state the right of existence.

What unites many of these voices is the belief that the worst is yet to come.

Gunnar Heinsohn, a German demographer whose academic credentials include teaching at the NATO Defence College, has argued that Europe faces the theoretical prospect of having to absorb 800 million refugees from Africa by 2050.

Ethnic-based prejudices can tie closely into political opportunity. Case in point is Hans-Christian Strache, leader of the Freedom Party of Austria and junior partner of the new Austrian chancellor, Sebastian Kurz, who belongs to the Austrian People's Party. Not long ago, his party stood accused of promoting anti-Semitism, a charge that earned the party and Austria political shaming in the early 2000s.

Since then, though, it has directed its rhetoric against Muslim migrants and now serves as junior partner in a combined centre-right, far-right governing coalition already the norm in Eastern Europe.

Strache is therefore only the latest incarnation of a political archetype increasingly common in Europe: The thundering populist whose nationalistic rhetoric professes to speak for what Germans call *kleine Leute*, or ordinary people, increasingly uncertain about their future in a world reshaped by globalization, digitization and yes, migration — legal or otherwise.

This appeal does not automatically imply a recommendation for open borders. But it is an appeal for a basket of common European policies that gives millions of migrants inside and outside of Europe some prospects for a better future, whether they have already arrived or not.

The European continent, otherwise, risks descending into an inferno of its own creation.

Wolfgang Depner is a writer who lives in Victori. He writes about politics, and teaches at Royal Roads University. He also taught political theory and international relations at the University of British Columbia, Okanagan Campus.

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Canada and India: Where to now?

By David Kilgour and Janice Harvey



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi did strike some memorandums of understanding, but on the whole, Trudeau's trip was gaffe-laden and not seen to have been productive for Canada-India relations.

Prim Minister Justin Trudeau's much-discussed state visit to India in February was seen as an opportunity for a major reset on bilateral relations with the world's largest democracy. However, things did not go as planned.

Canada isn't alone in its desire to improve relations with the massive country. India, with a GDP of more than \$2 trillion US, is a coveted trading partner. The Inter-

national Monetary Fund projects its GDP will grow by 7.4 per cent this year, making it a high-priority trading partner for many governments.

These negotiations are not new — talks on the Canada-India Foreign Investment Protection and Promotion Agreement (FIPA) date back to 2004 and the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) discussions began in 2010.

In September of that year, a Canada-India joint study, titled *Exploring the Feasibility of a Comprehensive Economic Partnership*, forecast GDP gains of between \$6 billion and \$15 billion US for Canada. The CEPA agreement was expected to be completed by 2013, but instead, on the heels of what was supposed to be a relationship-mending visit, both agreements linger unsigned.

Two-way trade is not currently insignificant, but it could be much greater. Trade in goods totalled \$8.3 billion in 2017, with trade in services at \$2.1 billion and a still-optimistic Kasi Rao, president of the Canada-India Business Council (C-IBC), says “the modesty of the numbers reflects the past, not the promise of the future.”

Canada isn’t the only player undergoing a long negotiation process with India. Australia, New Zealand and the EU have all initiated trade talks, but none has yet concluded a treaty.

David Mulroney, a retired Canadian diplomat, recently wrote a piece in *The Globe and Mail* talking about Canada’s and India’s differences.

“India,” he wrote, “takes a prickly approach to global issues that is often at odds with traditional Canadian policies ... While they might ultimately agree to grant Canada a concession, [it would be] a product of hard and often heated negotiations. They [would] never concede a point because they like us or because we are home to a large Indo-Canadian community.”

The February talks focused on trade, defence, civil nuclear co-operation, space, climate change and education. As well, the national security agencies of both countries decided to establish a “framework for co-operation on countering terrorism and violent extremism.”

The countries signed three memorandums of understanding, namely for co-operation in the fields of science, technology and innovation, in higher education and on intellectual property rights.

They also exchanged terms of reference to step up co-operation on energy issues and signed a joint declaration of intent in the field of information and communications technology and electronics as well as an agreement on co-operation in sports.

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi later acknowledged that “India has attached a high importance to pursuing its strategic partnership with Canada. Our ties are based on democracy, pluralism, the supremacy of law and mutual interaction.”

However, actions can sometimes speak louder than words. Last November, the Canadian pulse industry was blindsided when the Indian government put a 50-per-cent import tariff on dried peas. In December, India then imposed a 30-per-cent tariff on lentil and chickpea imports — the latter later being raised to 40 per cent. These actions have seriously hurt Canadian pulse producers by virtually eliminating India as an export market.

No mention was made about the reduc-



Trudeau and his family — with him, from left, wife Sophie Gregoire-Trudeau, daughter Ella-Grace and son Hadrien — were widely criticized for wearing what the Indian press called “wedding dress” during their visits to tourist sites.

tion or lifting of pulse import tariffs after Trudeau’s visit. However, the two leaders did agree to sort out new and predictable rules governing exports of Canadian pulse crops by releasing a joint statement for our two countries to reach a new arrangement on pest-free pulse shipments before the end of 2018.

The tariffs might have been in reaction to Trudeau’s good relationship with Canadian Sikhs and the fact that all four of his Indo-Canadian cabinet ministers are of the Sikh faith. The sore point is that some Canadian Sikhs support the idea of Khalistan as a separate Sikh state.

Tensions between Canada and India aren’t new. Canadians were horrified in 1985 when violence between the Indian army and Sikh separatists spilled over into Canada through the bombing of an Air India plane, killing all 329 people aboard. The largest terrorist attack in Canadian history, it was thought to be retaliation against India’s government for its army’s seizure of Sikh militants in the Golden Temple in Amritsar.

Canadians value multiculturalism and

diversity, and recognize human rights, social justice and reconciliation. It is thus difficult for us to understand India-related conflicts that arise in Canada, especially those concerning the tragedy of Air India Flight 182.

Friction between successive governments of India and some Canadian Sikh organizations has persisted for some time. Past and present Canadian cabinet ministers have perhaps unfairly been tagged as sympathetic to the Khalistan independence movement, which is seeking a separate Sikh state.

Recent problems include the passage last April of a motion by Brampton-Springdale MPP Harinder Malhi in Ontario’s legislative assembly that recognized the 1984 events in India that killed more than 2,500 people as genocide; and the problem-laden trip by Canada’s defence minister, Harjit Sajjan, to his native Punjab on a mission intended to strengthen Canada’s bilateral relations.

Trudeau then offended the Modi government by appearing last May at a Toronto Sikh event that displayed separatist



India is known for its high-tech prowess, not to mention its help-desk call centres that service companies and their customers around the world. Shown here are the offices of iLabs, a multi-disciplinary tech company that started investing in India in 2000.

flags and posters depicting a Sikh leader killed in the 1984 military operation.

In addition, the election of Jagmeet Singh last October as leader of the federal New Democratic Party exacerbated tensions, particularly as Singh, a Sikh, was denied a visa by the Indian government in 2013 when he was an Ontario MPP.

The view in New Delhi seemed to be that there had been a resurgence in pro-Khalistan independence activism in Canada since Trudeau took office in late 2015. For years, Indian officials have tried to pursue initiatives designed to win Canadian Sikhs away from support for Khalistan independence.

On his inaugural trip to India in February, Trudeau, Sajjan and others met with Punjab Chief Minister Amarinder Singh, a Sikh, trying to repair their strained relationship. Like Modi, Singh decries the actions of Sikh separatists. Prudently, Trudeau stressed throughout his visit that Canada supports a unified India.

But the trip was already mired in tension when the Canadian government hosted a reception to which it invited Jaspal Atwal, a former member of a banned

Sikh terrorist group convicted in 1987 of the attempted murder of an Indian cabinet minister who was visiting Vancouver Island. In response, Mulroney writes that the debacle might “prompt a review, if not a complete rethinking of a Canadian foreign policy that [is] seriously off the rails. We have some hard lessons to learn.... [It] should encourage smart people in Ottawa to zero in on what isn’t working.”

Noting that the world is changing in ways that do not align with traditional Canadian views, interests and values, Mulroney continued: “If we’re smart, the rise of countries [such as] China and India can ... contribute to our prosperity, and with hard work, we should be able to find common cause on important issues such as global warming.... But the rise of these assertive and ambitious Asian powers will almost certainly challenge global and regional governance and human rights and neither [country] will be particularly squeamish about interfering in Canadian affairs.”

A remaining and unresolved key issue is the revised Trans-Pacific Partnership, which was intended to create a uni-

fied counterbalance to China’s regional strength and to magnify the trading capacity of democratic nations having the rule of law, social market economies, fair trade and freedom of the seas values, some of which Trudeau voiced in Beijing last December.

India, Japan and the countries that are party to the new Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP), including other regional democracies, are still the best major trade options for Canada and the U.S. in Asia and the Pacific Rim, even though the CPTPP has been shunned by the Trump administration. A future administration in Washington will probably reverse Trump’s decision to opt out, but, in the meantime, Canadians must vigorously advance their interests in the Asia-Pacific.

David Kilgour was secretary of state for Asia-Pacific in Jean Chretien’s government and an Alberta MP for almost 27 years. Janice Harvey is a retired secondary school teacher specializing in English as an additional language and in multicultural education.

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Putin's predictable election

By Derek Fraser



Russian President Vladimir Putin had use of ample official resources for campaigning in the latest presidential election. His people counted the ballots and the candidates who were allowed to run were figureheads.

At press time in early March, it appeared that victory by Russian President Vladimir Putin in this spring's election was a certainty. The candidates allowed to run against him were figureheads. Putin had ample use of official resources for campaigning. His officials counted the ballots.

What remained to be seen was the size of the turnout and the public reaction to the official results. The massive demonstrations against Putin in Moscow and St. Petersburg in the spring of 2012 and

against what were seen as falsified results in his election that year led him to adopt the present aggressive Russian foreign policy in a hitherto successful effort to assuage discontent by appealing to Russian nationalism.

Russian foreign policy

Russia's aggressive foreign policy is dictated also by external factors. Those include the conviction that the West is trespassing on Russia's traditional zone of influence and is seeking to overthrow

the established order in Russia itself, and the perception of a loss of Russia's great power status with the collapse of the Soviet Union. These have led to the determination to obtain a veto on security questions of importance to Russia, including the operations of NATO and the EU, as well as to have a free hand in Russia's near abroad, including in Ukraine.

Russia now bestrides many parts of the world in a way that we have not seen since Soviet times. Its rearmament has given it military superiority in parts of

Eastern Europe. Its geopolitical détente with China enables both countries better to resist pressure from the United States. Russia's annexation of the Crimea and its invasion of the Donbas in eastern Ukraine have led to a crisis in relations with the Euro-Atlantic community. Russia's intervention in the Syrian civil war in alliance with Iran and Hezbollah on the side of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad has, for the first time since the fall of the Soviet Union, made it a major player in the Middle East.

In addition, Russia's views on the Korean Peninsula cannot be ignored and its views on nuclear disarmament are more important because it has apparently strengthened its intermediate nuclear forces.

Rejecting the liberal democratic order

Underlying the Russian policy is a rejection of the liberal democratic order that has gained increasing acceptance since the end of the Cold War. This system placed emphasis on interdependence rather than competition, and on the economy rather than security. It was based on the Charter of the United Nations and other international treaties, including the Helsinki Accords. It recognized, among other principles, the prohibition of war, unless authorized by the Security Council, respect for international law, acceptance of the sovereign equality of states, the inviolability of their borders and non-interference in their internal affairs, as well as the affirmation of democratic rights and freedoms.

While these principles were not always observed in practice, as seen by the U.S. and British invasion of Iraq of 2003, they were almost universally acknowledged as the standard for international conduct. The 2014 annexation of Crimea was the first forcible seizure of European territory since the Second World War.

Instead of the liberal democratic order, Russia apparently wishes to substitute a concert of major powers, each supreme in its own area.

Unless there is an electoral upset, Russia is not likely to depart from the current thrust of its foreign policy, one that apparently still enjoys much popular support.

The Russian authoritarian tradition

Even should Putin emerge weakened or as a lame duck from the elections, as some have conjectured, it is doubtful that we shall see any move towards democracy. Because of the strength of Russia's authoritarian tradition, any road to stable democratic institutions and practices is



Peter the Great's absolutist monarchy of Russia lasted until the Revolution in 1917.

likely to be slow and arduous.

Those of us who live in well-established democracies tend to forget how difficult it is, and how long it takes, to become a stable democracy. It took the French more than 80 years after their revolution to reach this state of affairs. Of the European countries that emerged from the First World War with democratic systems, a large number in Central and Southern Europe, including Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain and Portugal, succumbed, in the course of the next 20 years, to dictatorship.

Russia has little democratic experience to fall back on. Instead, what is remarkable about Russian history is the strength of the tradition that the Russians inherited from 250 years of Mongol rule — that of a strong state ruled by an all-powerful sovereign as a means of mustering the resources of the country for war.

By the time of Peter the Great at the beginning of the 18th Century, Russia had none of the limits on the powers of the monarch that existed even in absolutist monarchies at that time in Western

Europe. The Church was nothing more than a government department, the nobles were reduced to functionaries, national and regional assemblies had atrophied, cities were not autonomous. Peter increased the repression and strengthened the secret police.

The basic elements of Peter's absolutist monarchy lasted until the Revolution in 1917. The two major reforms of 1861 — the emancipation of the serfs and the supervised local assemblies — did not diminish the czar's powers. Neither did the parliamentary assembly — the Duma — conceded by the czar after the defeat by Japan in 1905.

The repressive czarist regime following the defeat of Napoleon spawned the Russian revolutionary movement. The radical intelligentsia who emerged were also not democrats. Indeed, they were not influenced to any significant extent by Western ideas.

Instead, they were, like czarist officials, hostile to pluralism, liberalism or the common law. They had no concept of human



Even before Boris Yeltsin came to power, the KGB had sought to sabotage Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts at liberalization.



Mikhail Gorbachev, then secretary general of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, meets with then-U.S. president Ronald Reagan and his vice-president, George H.W. Bush.

rights or constitutional government. They shared the traditional Russian idea that the rights of the individual had to be subordinated, to one degree or another, to those of society.

Furthermore, under the influence of the narrowness and brutality of czarist rule, the Russian revolutionaries became extremely dogmatic and intolerant, with totalitarian tendencies.

In 1912, Lenin stated that his Bolshevik Party represented the fourth generation of Russian revolutionaries. The party was, however, also the inheritor of the absolutist traditions of the czarist regime. While Lenin was relatively restrained in the use of his dictatorial powers after the Bolshevik seizure of power in 1917, he laid the basis for the tyranny of Stalin.

Russia's two tries at democracy

Both of Russia's attempts at democracy were defeated, in part, by the force of the absolutist tradition.

Russia's first experience with democracy was with the provisional government that exercised authority after the abdication of Czar Nicolas II in March 1917 until the Bolshevik putsch in November. The provisional government was not up to the task. In a country wracked by war and food shortages, it misjudged public opinion. It was also too weak to prevent Lenin from constructing a parallel administration and then staging his coup.

Russia's next attempt at democracy was the tumultuous period of the Yeltsin presidency over an independent Russia from January 1992 until the end of 1999. There is reason to think that, even before Yeltsin came to power, the KGB had sought, by moving the Communist Party's vast financial reserves abroad, to sabotage Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts at liberalization. The failed communist coup of August 1991 was directed against Gorbachev.

The Yeltsin years did not lead to a broad consensus for democracy. Yeltsin had played a decisive role in the dissolution of the Soviet Union, which, for Communists and nationalists, was a catastrophe. Yeltsin's siege of the White House, the Communist-dominated parliament, in October 1993, did not defeat the nationalist and imperialist ideas that had inspired the rebels. Their revanchist ideas continued to smoulder until Putin, 20 years later, fanned them into flames.

Yeltsin's efforts to create a market economy through privatization and price liberalization led to inflation, mass impoverishment, corruption, lawlessness and the emergence of the oligarchs. The

currency crisis of 1998, in which the Russian government was forced to declare itself bankrupt, destroyed the belief of the liberal reformers that Russia could be transformed into a functioning market democracy through economic reform.

For Putin, the failed Communist coup of August 1991 was a defeat and a humiliation, and the break-up of the Soviet Union a “catastrophe.” During the Yeltsin years, Putin belonged to an extensive group of elites that worked, with the apparent support of the KGB, to re-establish an authoritarian regime in Russia, possibly along the lines of Augusto Pinochet’s Chile. In the view of this group, such a regime would permit the resurrection of a great state that would be respected abroad.

Two days before coming to power as acting president, on Dec. 3, 1999, Putin issued a manifesto that echoed centuries of Russian thinking. According to Putin, while Britain and the United States had liberal values, Russia’s core values were patriotism, collectivism, the primacy of the state and the tradition of being a great power. Putin implied that personal rights and freedoms were of secondary importance. According to Putin: “For Russians, a strong state is not an anomaly to fight against. Quite the contrary, it is the source and guarantor of order, the initiator and the main driving force of any change. Society desires the restoration of the guiding and regulating role of the state. In Russia, a collective form of life has always dominated over individualism.”

Putin’s apparent blueprint for building an authoritarian state, a plan that he certainly proceeded to implement, was leaked to the press days before his inauguration as elected president in May 2000. This blueprint provided for a gradual erosion of basic democratic freedoms — those of press, assembly and speech. The blueprint also called for a concentration of powers in the presidency so as to control the govern-



The tumultuous period of the Boris Yeltsin presidency took place between 1992 and 1999. This anti-Yeltsin protest in 1998 called for his resignation.

ment administration, parliament, courts, media, elections, regional governments, non-governmental organizations and even the other former Soviet republics.

The foreseeable prospect for democracy in Russia does not look promising. The consensus of Russia watchers appears to be that Putin’s successor, whenever he eventually leaves office, may be chosen from within the existing power structure rather than emerging from free elections. The elites have too much to lose to allow power to slip from their grasp. They also share the traditional Russian belief in the need for a powerful leader presiding over

a strong state.

After Putin, therefore, we may remain confronted in Russia by a powerful state, dominated by strong men. Furthermore, these strong men may, like Putin, seek, when necessary, to pursue an aggressive foreign policy as a means of justifying their hold on power.

Derek Fraser is an associate fellow at the Centre for Global Studies and adjunct professor of political science at the University of Victoria. In a long career in Global Affairs Canada, he was ambassador to Hungary, Greece and Ukraine.



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World Bee Day's inauguration

By Marjan Cencen



Slovenia is home to hundreds of beekeepers — there's one beekeeper for every 200 Slovenian citizens. The Slovenian government has successfully lobbied the United Nations to declare a World Bee Day, which will happen on May 20.

After more than three years of lobbying by 155 United Nations member states, including Canada, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution declaring May 20 World Bee Day. Every year, this occasion will draw the global public's attention to the importance of preserving bees and other pollinators.

People will be reminded of the crucial role bees play for humanity. And this formal day of recognition will invite us to take concrete action to preserve and protect them. The resolution was initiated

by Slovenia and supported by all European Union countries. It is a joint step towards the elimination of hunger, poverty and towards environmental conservation.

Bees and other pollinators — such as flutter-wing flies, butterflies, wasps, bats, hummingbirds and lizards — are priceless when it comes to ensuring the global security of the food supply chain. Because they pollinate agricultural plants, they are critical to the jobs and incomes of farmers, particularly small family farms in developing countries. Aside from their critical role in food security and sustainable de-

velopment, bees also have an important role in nature conservation. After all, four out of five plants require pollination, so bees and other pollinators are essential to keep the ecosystem functioning. It's easy to see Slovenia's motivation to bring forward this resolution.

Rich beekeeping heritage

Historical records show that the land mass now known as Slovenia has been practising beekeeping for centuries. The first records of Slovenian beekeeping can be found in *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola*

by Janez Vajkard Valvasor, dating from 1689. In his work, Valvasor discusses the prevalence of beekeeping and the use of honey wine, also known as mead, in Slovenia. In the Middle Ages and during the time of the Empress Maria Theresa in the 18th Century, the beekeepers paid their taxes in honey as well as wax, which they used to produce candles.

Maria Theresa was fond of beekeeping and she issued a decree on the establishment of a beekeeping school in Vienna. Meanwhile, Slovenian Anton Janša was recognized as the first teacher of beekeeping and a pioneer of modern beekeeping. He wrote two important works, including *Discussion on Beekeeping* (1771) and *A Full Guide to Beekeeping* (1775), which represented the apex of professional expertise at the time.

We celebrate his May 20, 1734, birthday each year, which was the inspiration for the Slovenian Beekeepers' Association's proposal that World Bee Day be held on that day.

Association president Boštjan Noč, who promoted the World Bee Day initiative, made a compelling argument: "I believe we all agree that every human being on this planet deserves food every day. We have to produce more food every day, and every day more food is dependent on pollinators — with honey bees in the lead. To talk about reducing global hunger without ensuring conditions for the survival of bees and other pollinators is simply throwing sand in people's eyes. It is time for everyone to listen to the bees, in particular the leaders and those [who set policy.]"

How bees contribute

Studies by the UN and the International Union for Conservation of Nature show that bee populations and the populations of other pollinators have significantly decreased, making them more and more endangered. Numerous consequences are the result of human activity, including intensive agriculture, widespread use of pesticides and pollution caused by pesticides. Bees are exposed to new diseases and pests. The living environment of bees is shrinking due to the ever-increasing global human population and expansion into bee habitat. Bees' survival and development are also threatened by climate change.

The extinction of bees will not only deprive the world of this insect, but it may have drastic consequences for entire ecosystems and the human race.

The data of the Food and Agricul-



The bee, in particular the Carniolan honey bee seen here, is part of Slovenia's national identity.

ture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations show that bees and other pollinators are priceless when it comes to ensuring the global safety of the food supply chain. A third of all food produced in the world — think of it as every third mouthful you take — depends on pollination.

Carla Mucavi, director of FAO's New York office, put it succinctly. Without bees, she said, "we could lose a variety of food such as potatoes, pepper, coffee, pump-

kins, carrots, apples, almonds, tomatoes, just to name a few." Without these "tiny helpers," she said, "FAO cannot achieve a world without hunger." An international study by the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services in 2016 estimated that between \$235 billion and \$577 billion US worth of annual global food production relies on direct contributions by pollinators.

In addition, agricultural plants that require pollination are an important source of jobs and income for farmers. Last, but not least, bees have an important role in the preservation of the ecological balance and biodiversity in nature — they are good bio-indicators of environmental conditions when environmental changes require us to take action.

Prompt protection of bees and other pollinators will significantly contribute to solving problems with the global food supply and eliminating hunger, in keeping with global efforts to attain the UN's sustainable development goals. It will also contribute to efforts to halt further loss of biodiversity and degradation of ecosystems, as well as to the objectives of sustainable development defined in the 2030 agenda for sustainable development.



A unique characteristic of Slovenian beehives is their painted front panels. This folk art dates back to the mid-18th Century.

DID YOU KNOW:

- Bees pollinate as many as 170,000 plant species.
- A bee colony is as big as a small town, ranging between 30,000 and 60,000 bees per colony.
- Only the queen bee lays eggs, up to 2,000 per day.
- There are 20,000 bee species, but only the honeybee is widely used for commercial honey production.
- The honeybee can fly up to seven kilometres if it finds nothing to pollinate in its usual range of about 2.5 kilometres; a colony with 25,000 foragers, each making 10 trips a day, is able to pollinate 250 million flowers.
- The honeybee can visit from 50 to as many as 1,000 flowers in a single trip, which takes between 30 minutes and four hours.
- To make one kilogram of honey, bees have to visit four million flowers and fly four times the distance around the world.
- Bees are nature's most economical builders — honeycombs are among the most efficient structures in nature; their walls meet at a precise 120-degree angle, making perfect hexagons.



- The Carniolan honeybee, *Apis mellifera carnica*, is an indigenous Slovenian bee and the second most common subspecies in the world.



A third of all the food in the world depends on pollination by creatures such as bees.

Bees are environmentally vital

Bees are not only essential for successful agricultural production and food security; they also directly contribute highly nutritious products such as honey, royal jelly and pollen. Food products that depend on pollinators contribute to a healthy diet, providing a rich source of essential nutrients to animals, plants and healthy soil.

Bees and other pollinators support the functioning of ecosystems and conservation of biodiversity in nature, thereby contributing to the provision of food, fuel and oxygen in the environment, and to clean water and air. By playing an important role in maintaining biodiversity, they also contribute to stabilizing the climate and increasing the ability of ecosystems to adapt to changes, controlling pests and diseases in agricultural crops and protecting the genetic resources used in developing new varieties and medicines.

Bees and other pollinators play a vital role in preserving ecosystems, their services and even humanity itself. They are a source of multiple benefits to people, contributing directly to the production of medicines, fibres, construction materials (timbers) and musical instruments, and to arts and crafts and recreational activities. They also provide inspiration for art, music, literature, religion, traditions, technology and education.

Bees and other pollinators are increasingly endangered by environmental threats, especially in areas of intensive farming. Their habitat has been shrinking, and the conditions for their survival and development have been steadily worsening. There are fewer and fewer nectar-bearing plants due to the growing practice of mono-cropping and heavily fertilized grasslands, which mean less food for bees and reduced biodiversity. Consequently, bee colonies are growing more slowly and are less resilient. Furthermore, bee populations have been decreasing because of climate change and the overuse of pesticides. There are also new bee diseases and pests, which are more common because of the reduced resistance of bee colonies and the global spread of pests.

Hence, bees and other pollinators must be given better protection in order to ensure continued food security and ecosystem sustainability.

Slovenian initiative: Declare World Bee Day

Slovenia is one of the leading countries in the world in terms of the number of beekeepers per capita — there's one beekeeper for every 200 citizens. For tens of thousands of Slovenian citizens, beekeeping is a way of life with a long tradition. The bee, in particular the indigenous Carniolan honey bee, is part of Slovenia's

national identity. Indeed, Slovenia is the only country in the European Union to have introduced legislative protection for these bees through its Livestock Breeding Act. In addition, the ministry of agriculture is working on a national program to protect the bees. In 2011, Slovenia also became one of the first EU countries to prohibit the use of neonicotinoid pesticides, which contain clotiniadine, imidacloprid and thiamethoxam and are harmful to bees.

The proclamation of World Bee Day is only the beginning of a challenging battle to preserve pollinators. To achieve that, we first need to address the governments of all nations, economists and non-governmental organizations. Messages on the urgency to preserve bees must reach every single person. We also need to perform concrete activities to enhance care for bees and the development of beekeeping.

Finally, on the initiative of other countries, Slovenia intends to establish an international beekeeping school where beekeepers from all over the world will be educated, enabling us to spread knowledge of bees and beekeeping to developed and developing countries.

Marjan Cencen is the ambassador of Slovenia to Canada.



A beekeeper examines the honeycombs of a traditional Slovenian painted beehive.

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Getting China on board for trade

By Perrin Beatty



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau visited China in December, but appeared to make no progress on the goal of launching trade negotiations with the world's second-largest economy.



In the global race to increase trade with China, Canada is still far behind many other industrialized nations. It has been a long, winding and often rocky path to get to a much more substantial exchange of goods, services and intellectual property.

Simply put, enhanced trade between

the two countries remains a major work in progress, decades after talks began to open new commercial channels.

The initial signs of inroads — limited as they were in the earlier stages of commercial engagement with China — first appeared with Canada's wheat exports in the 1960s and were later expanded after Canada recognized mainland China's government in 1970. Since then, and despite many positive advances, commerce between the two countries has ebbed and flowed to the point where Canada is now losing out to other developed countries. Australia, which bears many similarities to Canada, has benefited, not just from its close proximity to China, but also from its efforts to break down other barriers to

trade in Asia.

By 2015, Australia had completed free-trade agreements with its three biggest export markets — China, Japan and South Korea. At the same time, Canada has struggled to ink many major trade pacts within the Asian region.

This remains a huge disappointment and reflects a critical failure in policy. Given our history of engagement, Canada should be uniquely positioned to forge new partnerships with China. Instead, we find ourselves playing catch-up with other major economies, or — even worse — not being in the game at all.

We need to show that we are serious. We need to play to our strengths in critical areas of energy and other resources,

investment, value-added services and agri-food. These sectors are crucial to China's future economic development and they present a wide range of opportunities, if we are wise enough to capitalize on them.

The most recent trade tally shows a five-fold increase in Canada's bilateral trade with China over the past 15 years. That figure is substantial, but certainly not as substantial as it could be. By 2030, a free-trade pact between the two countries could add as much as \$7.8 billion to our gross domestic product and create as many as 25,000 jobs over the same period.

Still, there is an imbalance. Chinese exports to Canada in 2015 grew by nearly 12 per cent to \$65.6 billion, while products originating from this country and destined for China amounted to slightly more than four per cent of our total shipments for a value of \$20.2 billion.

China is Canada's second-largest trading partner, but China is far from being among Canada's largest customers.

A recent study by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce titled *Canada's Business Checklist for Trade Negotiations with China* illustrates how Canada earned a privileged relationship with China in past decades by engaging the developing giant, while many others chose to isolate and exclude the country of 1.4 billion people. In recent years, however, the rest of the world has made a priority of building a closer relationship with China, while Canada projected ambivalence, allowing our earlier advantages to be lost.

The uncertainty overshadowing Canada's other key trade relationships means we can no longer afford ambivalence when it comes to our economic relationship with China. The cloudy future of NAFTA and the still-to-be determined impact of Brexit on the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) with the EU forces Canada to rethink our global trade policy.

While the revamped Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) will provide Canadian businesses with market access to more than 500 million people in the Asia-Pacific region, Canadian companies cannot turn away from the region's biggest economic player — China. Now, more than ever, it is critical that Canada redouble its efforts to expand two-way commerce with the world's No. 2 economy.

That will not be an easy task, as history has shown.

According to the Institute for Research on Public Policy, despite a steady stream

of ministers and provincial premiers visiting China each year, Canada is not taken seriously. The criticism is that Canada's relationship is narrowly focused on commercial interests, the IRPP said in a November 2015 study, which argues that a bilateral relationship cannot be effective without regular high-level political engagement.

As well, we need to focus clearly on the positive economic impact of nation-to-nation co-operation, not simply on the possible differences in their cultures and political systems. There is plenty of room for us to engage China on a wide variety of issues, ranging from the environment to human rights, but we need to understand that a country of almost 1.4 billion people



Trudeau and Chinese President Xi Jinping: Canada can't afford ambivalence on trade with China, writes columnist Perrin Beatty.

is unlikely to change its domestic policies to gain access to our market of 36 million. Ultimately, we will have to make our decision on whether a trade agreement between our two countries is in Canada's interests or not.

To quote the IRPP study: Canada should be looking closer at the Australian model "to see what a deeper approach might look like." That country "has developed an influential role in the region far out of proportion to its economic size — its economy is one-third smaller than Canada's."

"Almost 30 years ago," the report continues, "the Australian government initiated a major economic and political study of northeast Asia's prospects. The resulting report to the prime minister in 1989 painted a clear picture of the region's potential and recommended far-reaching policy changes that were followed through at the highest political levels and by successive governments regardless of

party."

However, even for Australia, this relationship-building has not happened without woes. It seems inevitable that, when dealing with such a behemoth economy where government still controls a substantial portion of business investments, there would be growing pains. Last year, Australians banned foreign political donations and strengthened anti-espionage laws, decisions aimed at curbing Chinese influence in their country. Without necessarily requiring the same level of legislation, Canada has to be ready to face the same challenges if it plans to go down the same route.

That said, the importance of China's economy and its impact on global trade — and on Canada, in particular — is without question.

In fact, China's growth trends have been a concern for several years — not because of declining levels in gross domestic product, but due to worries over a possible overheating of the economy.

Beijing officials have yet to clarify whether they will lower GDP growth targets in the coming year, and by how much. What we do know, at this stage, is that the country's long-held goal is to double its 2010 level of GDP by 2020.

However, Art Woo, a senior economist at BMO Capital Markets, recently noted that China's projections point to an annual growth rate of about 6.3 per cent over the next three years — between 2018 and 2020. Even so, there are concerns that the country's hot credit growth will still manage to outpace economic growth in the coming years.

Nevertheless, there is reason for hope that progress toward improved economic ties and sustainable growth will eventually pay off with significantly increased trade between Canada and China.

Steps are now being taken to redress our relationship with China. In the past two years, there have been considerable advances in the Canada-China relationship. In particular, we have seen reciprocal visits and negotiations at the highest levels of both governments that hold out the promise of a more productive relationship.

In particular, both governments have expressed the desire to double bilateral trade between Canada and China over the next 10 years. Such a result would be well worth the decades of negotiations focused on solidifying co-operation between both countries.

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

Beating back terror in Africa

Robert I. Rotberg



As of March 2018, nearly 200 of the original 276 kidnapped Chibok girls were still held by Boko Haram. The group also captured another 110 girls from Nigeria's northeast, but returned 106 of them.



Robert I. Rotberg

Africans are containing terror and terrorists, but declaring victory against the forces of revolution and insurrection in 2018 is premature. It is still a massive work in progress. In addition to the swirl of repetitive civil conflict in such disparate African countries as Burundi, the Central African Republic,

the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Sudan and Sudan, dangerous depredations of Islamist terror continue to convulse Somalia, Kenya, Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger.

In those long-running theatres of Islamist-inspired war, about 86,000 civilian lives have been lost since 2008, roughly 23,000 in Somalia and Kenya; 60,000 in Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger; and 3,000 in Mali and Burkina Faso. Despite energetic local and international anti-terror operations, including active American, British and French intervening forces, victory in Africa's own war on terror is still distant.

Each of the three terror movements — al-Shabaab in Somalia, Boko Haram in Nigeria and al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb

(AQIM) — is largely home grown, ostensibly, but no longer fervently fundamentalist and motivated in significant part by profits from various illicit smuggling operations. In many respects, these three smallish, but still greatly dangerous movements of terror resemble marauding bands of criminals more than they do religiously or ideologically inspired crusaders.

Originally, each of these movements of terror may have been captivated by Salafist and other conservative Islamic doctrines and clerics. But they quickly became mercenary endeavours that employ suicide bombers, trucks filled with explosives, raids on refugees and refugee camps and sorties against convoys and army patrols to protect their trading ambitions

and extend their power. They intimidate civilians, bribe border guards and officials, purchase weapons from international purveyors of guns and ammunition (al-Shabaab has acquired small drones) and manage, for the most part, to thrive despite the anti-terror efforts of American, British and French special forces; the Nigerian army; and AMISOM (the Kenyan-led African Union Mission in Somalia).

In 2018, al-Shabaab is poised to continue bombing Mogadishu, Somalia's beleaguered capital; Boko Haram is capable of resisting Nigerian security roundups; and AQIM (allied to the Islamic State) is capable of raiding even Bamako and Ouagadougou, the capitals of Mali and Burkina Faso, from distant bases on the edge of the Sahara. No easy end to these violent wars is at hand.

Attacking al-Shabaab

The insurrectionists in central Somalia, and periodically in neighbouring Kenya, are known as al-Shabaab — “the youngsters.” Al-Shabaab emerged out of the defeated shell of Somalia's Organisation of Islamic Courts (OIC), an umbrella grouping of a patchwork of local sharia courts that had sprung up sporadically in about 2004 in the absence of any national law-enforcing mechanisms. (Siad Barre, Somalia's last dictator, lost his popular mandate in 1991, regional clan-based warlords creating what passed for governance in his stead.) When invading Ethiopian troops — funded, in part, by the United States — destroyed the vigilante troops of the OIC in 2006, the radicalized militant youth wing of the sharia movement gradually regrouped in southern Somalia. As al-Shabaab, it subsequently became a formidable and well-armed instrument of terror. It now has links to, and possibly some financing from, the Islamic State (ISIS), but its ambitions and leadership are local.

From 2008 to 2011, the youngsters of al-Shabaab terrorized much of central and southern Somalia from their major base in Kismayu, at the mouth of the Juba River. From this hub, they preyed on and exerted a type of quasi-sovereignty over the towns and countryside north to Mogadishu, the nominal country's nominal capital. Al-Shabaab purchased its arms and fed its troops from the profits of a lucrative trade in charcoal exported to Yemen and Saudi Arabia. It also sold hides and skins from sheep, goats and camels to the same recipients; raided neighbouring Kenya; and kidnapped and held for ransom relatively wealthy Somalis and Kenyans. But



Parents of some of the victims of the 2014 Chibok kidnapping mourn their girls' disappearances.

it exerted little influence over the contemporaneous Somali pirates, most of whom stemmed from the northern reaches of Somalia proper, and from Puntland, a semi-autonomous region that al-Shabaab never governed. The pirates were ambushing ocean-going shipping in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden. (After Siad Barre's fall, greater Somalia broke up into Somaliland, a largely democratic, northern former British colony; Puntland, which was once Italian-run; and Somalia, which was also under Italian colonial rule until the Second World War.)

In recent years, especially after losing Kismayu (and charcoal) to invading Kenyans in 2011 and being displaced as the dominant military power within Somalia, al-Shabaab has turned to drug running for its major revenues. That means repacking shipments of heroin and raw opium of various kinds from Afghanistan and India for onward transfer to Europe via Kenya, Djibouti, the Sudan and Egypt. It also means trafficking in methamphetamines, or their precursor chemicals, for shipment to Nigeria and onward to Mexico and the United States. The profits from these and associated commodities are substantial and a driver of the relentless warfare that consumes Somalia. Indeed, if al-Shabaab's opponents could cut off the narcotics it traffics and the arms it buys from shady merchants in Djibouti, Dubai, Yemen and, ultimately, China, Russia and North Korea, the war could be won.

Instead, the fight against al-Shabaab continues. The brunt of the military ef-

fort on the ground consists of an African Union-mandated operational force — AMISOM — led by a Kenyan general and consisting of troops mostly from Burundi, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Sierra Leone and Uganda. That force assists the still-embryonic and weakly directed Somali National Army, the security force of the government of Somalia, a largely unelected and somewhat ineffectual body run by President Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed, an American passport holder with university degrees from two Buffalo, N.Y., universities.

Al-Shabaab mounts suicide and other bombing attacks on Mogadishu and the government in that city. It also sends suicide bombers against other targets south and west of Mogadishu from its movable bases in central Somalia. Western analysts believe that al-Shabaab's remaining fighters probably number between 3,000 and 5,000 men. Their advantage is guerrilla stealth. Al-Shabaab also uses its small drones for reconnaissance.

In addition to AMISOM's 12,000 troops and the federal army's 22,000 are a very small contingent (400) of U.S. Special Forces, an even smaller battle group of Britons and a fleet of American drones. Since 2015, the drones have eliminated several al-Shabaab leaders and generally targeted critical groups of the armed “youngsters.” But despite Western firepower and surveillance from the skies, and despite the united stand of Kenya, Ethiopia and their neighbours against al-Shabaab, the war of terror continues. The

Kenyan general who commands AMISOM told me recently that the war would not easily be won, largely because of poor integration of his multi-national fighting forces, their equipment deficiencies, morale problems and because of al-Shabaab's shifting tactics.

Battling Boko Haram

Boko Haram began as a backward-looking opponent of Western, or modern, education, and as a nihilistic critic of virtually all other conventional secular practices in the Muslim states of northern Nigeria. In its heyday — roughly 2012 and 2013 — Boko Haram controlled much of Borno State, Nigeria's northeastern-most redoubt, encircled Maiduguri, that state's capital, and raided as far as the cities of Kano and Abuja. It reinforced its ranks by kidnapping children as "wives," sex slaves and combatants. Its youthful brigades specialized in suicide bombing attacks on schools, mosques and markets. Although it began as a backward-looking ideological movement to cleanse Muslim Nigeria of "Western" learning, and thus to purify Muslims, by 2013 and now in 2018, Boko Haram is almost entirely a murderous movement of marauders.

The mystery is why the very large and powerful Nigerian military has not long ago — as President Muhammadu Buhari promised — "wiped out" Boko Haram. Boko Haram, on the run from the Nigerian army, has now expanded its zone of discontent to include those parts of Cameroon, Chad and Niger that neighbour Borno. The Nigerian army has also been aided by formidable fighting forces from Chad and patrols from Cameroon and Niger. American surveillance and intelligence have also helped the Nigerians, as have British reconnaissance missions. But, as the Americans and Britons have often indicated, the Nigerian military effort has periodically been weakened by endemic corruption — padding military ranks, pilfering supplies and stealing funds meant for the war effort. For those reasons, and also because Boko Haram has managed to retreat, guerrilla-fashion, into hard-to-penetrate forests, the remnants of the insurgent force remain at large, capable — as is al-Shabaab — of raiding encampments and sending lone girl suicide bombers to blow themselves up in front of mosques. As of late February 2018, nearly 200 of the original 276 kidnapped Chibok girls were still held by Boko Haram when the group captured another 110 from a school in the northeast of Nigeria. In late March, however, the group released 106 of the young women.

Combating al-Qaeda in the Maghreb

French legionnaires and paratroopers had to intervene in 2012 when Tuareg and Algerian Islamists, using pilfered Libyan surplus weapons, captured Timbuktu, Gao, Kidal and other northern Malian cities and towns, declaring a republic in the sub-Saharan Sahel. When French forces pushed back these self-declared revolutionaries, the remaining factions (not those



The mystery is why Nigeria's powerful military hasn't wiped out Boko Haram as President Muhammadu Buhari, shown here, has promised.

led by Tuareg tribesmen) affiliated themselves with AQIM and subsequently with ISIS. Today it derives at least some of its financial backing and "legitimacy" from central al-Qaeda and sometimes joins ISIS for tactical reasons, but its inspiration is trans-Saharan and its methods mostly home-grown.

In recent years, AQIM has become a persistent low-level threat to northern Mali, northern Burkina Faso and northwestern Niger, especially west of Agadez. American and French patrols have been attacked and much of that sub-Saharan region subjected to episodes of violent terror.

To curtail AQIM, the United States is constructing a large drone aerodrome near Agadez and sending small numbers of special forces to help the Nigeriens strengthen their ability to pursue AQIM operatives. Meanwhile, the French help the Malian army curtail depredations north of Timbuktu and keep close eyes on AQIM facilities in the Algerian Sahara. Ultimately, a conclusive victory in this war of terror, as well as in the others, depends on preventing AQIM from continuing to profit from transporting cocaine (from

Peru and Colombia, via Ghana, Nigeria and Guinea-Bissau) and other smuggled contraband such as cigarettes, across the Sahara to Algiers and Tunis, and thence to Europe. AQIM also has made millions of dollars from kidnapping prominent foreigners (including Canadians) and demanding large ransoms. Only by drying up AQIM's real reason for existence — revenue from drug smuggling, weapons trafficking and ransom for kidnapped Westerners and Africans — can this insidious branch of Salafist-inspired mayhem be eliminated.

Winning the war

Because African governments, even Nigeria's, are unable to win the war on terror on their own, and because the efforts of France and the U.S. are purely military exercises that depend on drone firepower, too little attention is being paid to curtailing these movements' access to global financial markets, to the sources of their illicit supplies, or to preventing narcotics from being trafficked successfully to Europe. Instead, the war on terror has become one of sneak attack or suicide bombing, retaliation, regrouping and manoeuvres by enemy and ally.

This description, however, does too little justice to the scale of some attacks still being perpetrated in late 2017 and early 2018 by al-Shabaab, Boko Haram and AQIM. Two separate bombings blew up 376 and 196 Somali in Mogadishu; Boko Haram exploded suicide vests outside a mosque and a market, killing 80; AQIM managed to shoot up a hotel in Ouagadougou.

In order finally to defeat the terrorists, renewed vigilance, better searches of potential young bombers in Nigeria and Somalia and redoubled patrols in the vast desert wastes of Mali and its neighbours are essential. So is enhanced drone surveillance by the U.S. and, later this year, upgrading the lethal firepower of the drones based near Agadez. Following the money and making insurgency unprofitable and difficult is crucial. Even so, terror will continue to be a way of life for a small subset of miscreants. There is nothing noble or religious in their pursuit of drug profits, or of their criminal enterprises generally.

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

The ravaged refugees who flee



Janice
Dickson

In August 2014, ISIS militants ordered Yazidi villagers from Kocho — a rural farming community in northern Iraq — to march in the sweltering heat to its only school. Women waited on the upper level of the school while men were assembled outside. Those who refused to convert to Islam were shot. From inside the school, the women heard loud gun shots that continued for an hour.

ISIS killed men with armpit hair, but spared some of the boys — those without armpit hair — because they figured they could brainwash them, turn them against their own people and train them to become young soldiers for the ISIS cause.

Women were then herded onto buses and separated into groups — older women were slaughtered, their daughters ripped from their arms and forced to become ISIS sex slaves.

Six of Yazidi activist and author Nadia Murad's nine brothers and her mother were executed and buried in mass graves. Murad was taken to the slave market in Mosul.

ISIS had begun its attempt to wipe out Yazidis in Iraq.

In *The Last Girl: My Story of Captivity, and My Fight Against the Islamic State* (Penguin Random House, \$36), Murad shares her excruciatingly painful experience of being raped and tortured by ISIS militants. Murad's first captor, Hajji Salman, who told her "Yazidis are infidels," forced her into a marriage that meant he officially owned her. These "marriages," Murad wrote, were the beginning of a slow murder of Yazidi girls.

ISIS has carried out or inspired more than 140 terrorist attacks in countries other than Iraq and Syria, according to a CNN analysis from February 2017. The attacks across the world have killed more than 2,000 people. Because of this, media attention is focused on attacks and victims in their own country, or neighbouring coun-



Author Nadia Murad is a Yazidi activist who tells her painful story of being raped and tortured by ISIS militants. Her mother and six brothers were killed by the same group and left in mass graves.

tries. To say there is less attention paid to the atrocities committed by ISIS in Iraq and Syria is an understatement.

In June 2016, two years after Murad had felt the impact of rape used as a weapon of war and after her village and other Yazidi villages in Iraq were captured by ISIS, the United Nations released a report identifying ISIS atrocities as genocide.

While ISIS closed in on the Yazidis, no one paid attention until it was too late. Iraqi Kurdish *peshmerga* fighters promised Yazidis they would protect them, but just before ISIS circled Murad's village, the fighters fled. The Yazidis' Arab and Kurdish neighbours, who largely looked down on the ethnic minority, also failed to help or protect them.

Murad clung to her faith throughout

the roughly three months she spent in captivity. In *The Last Girl* Murad offers an education on the Yazidi faith and why it's so loathed by ISIS.

Misconceptions about Yazidis

Yazidis pray to Tawusi Melek, an archangel who took the form of a peacock at creation, and painted an otherwise plain Earth with colours from his feathers. It's a religion that combines Zoroastrianism, Islam, Judaism and Christianity.

Murad writes that Yazidis have been the target of genocide 73 times and explains that there are a lot of misconceptions about the religion and idiosyncrasies that people have a hard time understanding. Those include not showering on Wednesdays, or wearing the colour blue

and avoiding eating lettuce. Their rituals and the fact that their religious stories are passed down orally — Yazidis don't have a book as other religions do — fuelled ISIS's hate. ISIS calls Yazidis "devil worshippers."

After being raped and tortured for months, Murad escaped from the home of an ISIS militant who had surprisingly left her home alone. With help from a complete stranger, a young man named Nasser, whom Murad befriended after knocking wildly on a random door looking for help, she escaped Iraq and its militant-laden city of Mosul and found safety in Kurdistan. Nasser returned to Iraq after delivering her safely to the border. But her personal story of torture would soon be used against her by Iraqi Kurdish *peshmerga* fighters she met at a checkpoint. They forced Murad into telling her story on video, promising it would only be shared internally. They then released it to the media. The group that allowed the video to be broadcast was hoping to use it as a political tool to embarrass another group of Kurdish fighters who are their political rivals.

Murad began telling her story widely a year and three months after ISIS murdered and enslaved the residents of Kocho.



She spoke at a United Nations forum on minority issues in Geneva, and less than a year later, she was named a goodwill ambassador of the UN office on drugs and crime, working for the dignity of survivors of human trafficking. Murad told the UN that she and other Yazidis want ISIS prosecuted for genocide.

"I told them that I wanted to look the men who raped me in the eye and see



Yazidis in Iraq receive aid and toys for their children from Defend International.

them brought to justice. More than anything else, I said, I want to be the last girl in the world with a story like mine."

Having experienced the wickedly cruel acts of ISIS first-hand, Murad is best positioned to explain to the world how barbaric ISIS is to Yazidis.

Syria's refugees and their fate

The most disturbing story German journalist Maria von Wesler tells in her book, *No Refuge for Women: The Tragic Fate of Syrian Refugees* (Greystone Books, \$24.95) came from a Yazidi refugee von Wesler met in Turkey.

Seve, a 42-year-old mother of eight, told von Wesler about how one year earlier, 20 people, including herself while pregnant, fled Iraq on foot heading for the Turkish border. She and her family eventually reached Diyarbakir, a city of 1.6 million, in eastern Turkey.

"The gruesome images of the beheaded neighbour, the murdered children, were fresh in her memory," von Wesler writes of Seve's personal experiences at the hands of ISIS fighters. She told von Wesler: "'They cooked them'.... 'And then they forced us to eat the soup'."

Von Wesler writes that her translator could hardly speak those words, though she doesn't elaborate on the cannibalism. The writer also explains how reluctant Yazidi women are to seek refuge in Turkey because they are terrified of Muslims — particularly in this region — where Mus-

lims carried out a genocide against Yazidis a century ago. It was hard for Yazidis to reconcile the Turks' hospitality now with their actions 100 years ago.

Von Wesler says she started writing her book after questioning why, in all of the TV images of men in dinghies crossing Turkey to the Greek islands, and of those trudging through the Balkan route, there were few women alongside. She visited refugee camps in Turkey, Jordan and Greece and informal settlements in Lebanon and documents those women's stories in her book.

For Syrian women who have fled Bashar al-Assad's cruel regime, the terror of ISIS and the inevitable crossfire from rebel forces, finding refuge in a neighbouring country is often the only option. But what observers fail to realize when they watch refugees flood borders in Europe and hear of thousands of refugees living in camps, is that women and children make up the majority of those in tents, caravans or small apartments. Their husbands, brothers and fathers are fighting, have been killed, or have made the trek to Europe in advance of their families.

Having visited refugee camps in Jordan and Greece, von Wesler's experience sounds familiar — I, too, asked "What happened to your husband?" And received the same response.

The book opens with Miryam, a Syrian refugee von Wesler met in Hamburg.

"She holds her bleeding child in her

arms. Akilah, 17, has been badly hurt," the chapter titled "Syria" begins. Miryam's story starts in the fall of 2014 when al-Assad's forces dropped barrel bombs on her neighbourhood, Kafr Sousa, a suburb of Damascus where there is strong resistance to government. It was when Miryam rushed her 17-year-old daughter to the hospital in a wheelbarrow that she



realized al-Assad was bombing his own people. For her part, von Wesler remarks that most of the Syrian refugees she meets in Germany tell her they fled al-Assad, not ISIS.

After Akilah, their eldest daughter, was injured, Miryam and her husband decided it was time she and their five girls left home. Miryam's husband was promptly arrested and put into a military camp, which is a sad, but familiar tale for many Syrian women.

In Hamburg, Miryam tells von Wesler about her relationship with her husband. Von Wesler takes some liberties by including her own opinion about Miryam's relationship. For instance, after Miryam tells von Wesler she was in charge of cooking and cleaning, but that if she didn't do those chores, her husband wouldn't complain, von Wesler wrote, "Who knows, I wonder, if that really was the case?" Perhaps some readers would be interested in von Wesler's perspective, but including a line about how Miryam — or Syrian women — may not want to speak openly about their love life with a stranger would have been more powerful.

Over the course of her travels, meeting and interviewing Syrian refugees, von Wesler visited Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon and Lesbos, an island in Greece. In ad-

dition to sharing Syrian refugees' stories with the reader, von Wesler also includes statistical data for each country and what its contribution toward the refugee crisis has been.

The book concludes with the second part of Miryam's story, which begins on an Italian rescue boat with 150 other refugees and ends in a container settlement where she's now living in Hamburg.

Overall, von Wesler does a superb job sharing the stories of many Syrian refugee women across the Middle East and Europe who are raising their large families without the support of their husbands. As the Syrian civil war enters its seventh year, we're reminded of the lives that have been lost and the women who are left behind.

SIX BOOKS TO READ THIS SPRING

Women and the War on Boko Haram: Wives, Weapons, Witnesses (African Arguments)

By Hilary Matfess

Publisher: Zed Books

Price: \$20.70

In 2014, the ISIS militant group Boko Haram captured 276 school girls, shocking the world and sparking one of the largest social media campaigns, with people all over the world tweeting the hashtag #BringBackOurGirls.

In *Women and the War on Boko Haram*, Matfess describes how Boko Haram's violence against women and girls goes further than the abduction of the girls from the school in Chibok. She writes that Boko Haram has, similarly to ISIS in Iraq and Syria, enforced religiously sanctioned marriage in order to exploit and sexually assault women. Matfess describes what she learns through her fieldwork in the region in her account of Boko Haram's impact on Nigerian women. She also focuses on the Nigerian and Western governments, which failed to prevent Boko Haram's violence against women. Matfess also dismantles many stereotypes, writing that these women are not all victims. Indeed, many Nigerian women chose to join the group.

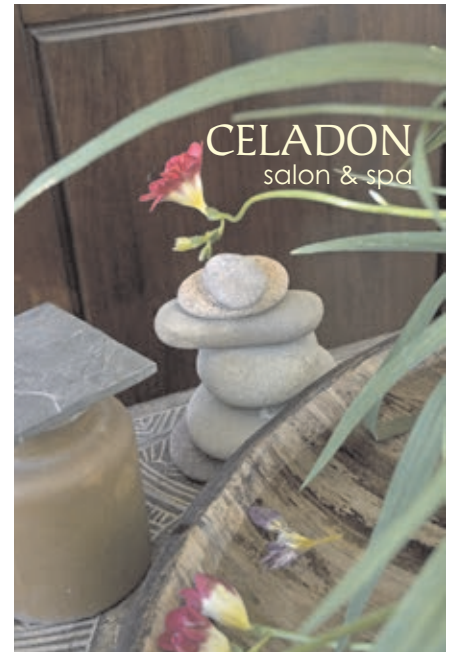
The Paradox of Traditional Chiefs in Democratic Africa

By Kate Baldwin

Publisher: Cambridge University Press

Price: \$30.47

Kate Baldwin examines how unelected traditional African chiefs can impact democracy in *The Paradox of Traditional Chiefs in Democratic Africa*. Baldwin writes about



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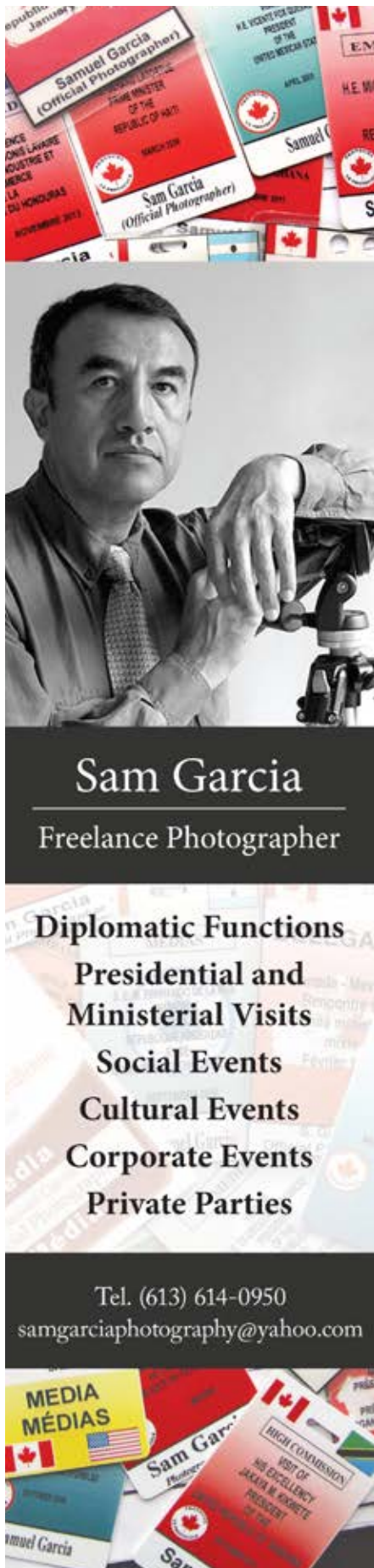
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the interesting dichotomy between traditional chiefs and elected politicians, and argues that politicians can primarily only respond to their rural constituents through institutions maintained by local leaders who don't have to worry about their electability.

Baldwin also writes about how chiefs hold significant influence over politicians during elections because of their status within their own communities and, most notably, their unique ability to bring development projects to their regions.

Crude Nation: How Oil Riches Ruined Venezuela

By Raul Gallegos

Publisher: Potomac Books

Price: \$24.56

While the world's attention is largely turned toward the refugee crises in the Middle East and Myanmar — there is a massive humanitarian crisis just south of North America.

The lowest estimate of Venezuelans to have fled the country for Colombia sits at 500,000. As recently as February 2018, Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland said Venezuela is sliding “deeper into dictatorship” and Venezuelans are continuing to suffer under President Nicolás Maduro.

Raul Gallegos writes in *Crude Nation: How Oil Riches Ruined Venezuela* that the Venezuelan government's use of oil money to subsidize life for its citizens, while regulating every aspect of their day-to-day life, has created a world in which citizens can fill their vehicles for less than one American dollar, but no longer have access to staples such as milk and sugar.

Gallegos, a senior analyst for a consulting firm called Control Risks, has written extensively about the topic. Gallegos is well-positioned to give readers insight into the government mismanagement that has led Venezuela into chaos, which is now seeing residents take desperate actions, such as putting their children up for adoption. He was previously an oil correspondent with Dow Jones and the *Wall Street Journal*.

The Lost City of the Monkey God

By Douglas Preston

Publisher: Grand Central Publishing

Price: \$22.97

American journalist and author Douglas Preston joined a team of scientists in 2012 in search of the rumoured lost city in Honduras called the White City or the Lost City of the Monkey God.

Rumours have circulated for centuries that a lost city, full of wealth, was buried beneath dense rainforest canopies in the Honduran interior. In 1940, a journalist reported that he found hundreds of artifacts in the Lost City, but he killed himself before revealing its location. Years later, Preston and a team of scientists, using highly advanced technology, mapped the terrain beneath the rainforest, which revealed an image of a lost civilization. But upon returning from their journey, Preston and others in his group learned they had contracted an awful, sometimes lethal disease.

The story of Preston's journey is full of suspense and offers an education about an amazing discovery.

We Do Not Have Borders: Greater Somalia and the Predicaments of Belonging in Kenya

By Keren Weitzberg

Publisher: Ohio University Press

Price: \$32.95

Many Somalis who have lived in Kenya for decades are abused by locals. They are seen as dangerous outsiders, despite having lived there for many years, some before the country was even established. Keren Weitzberg explores the historical factors that led to the ongoing discrimination against Somalis in Kenya. Weitzberg's book is particularly relevant given the terror attacks carried out by the Somali-based militant group al-Shabaab in Kenya in recent years.

Rwandan Women Rising

By Swanee Hunt

Publisher: Duke University Press

Price: \$39.49

Swanee Hunt, a former U.S. ambassador to Austria, documented the stories of roughly 70 women in Rwanda who overcame brutality and suffered massive losses during and after the Rwandan genocide.

Hunt, who's also the founding director of the women and public policy program at Harvard's Kennedy School, has worked with women around the world. She writes that Rwandan women organized around everyday issues such as housing and health care to improve Rwanda in the aftermath of the horrific genocide.

Today, 64 per cent of elected parliamentarians in Rwanda are women. Hunt argues that women played an unparalleled role in Rwanda's recovery.

Janice Dickson is an Ottawa-based political reporter who covers foreign affairs and immigration for *iPolitics*.



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Egypt's ancient foods endure

Photos by Larry Dickenson



Margaret Dickenson

Since the beginning of civilization, a major influence on Egypt's food history has been the River Nile. Archeologists have revealed through rock drawings that when the Sahara Desert was a green and fertile savannah, nomads hunted wildlife and herdsman raised cattle in the western desert as early as 8000 BC. For 4,000 years, the way of life of these early populations did not change.

However, with the climate becoming progressively more arid in the growing regions of the desert, the nomadic inhabitants migrated towards the Nile Valley where annual flooding of the River Nile, with the rich thick silt and mud, fertilized the land. With water from the Nile to irrigate crops, ancient Egyptians were able to grow plenty of food.

The most important crop, wheat, was ground into flour for making bread. Everyone — rich or poor — ate bread and that tradition continues today. Barley, the second most important crop, enabled the production of beer, which was widely consumed by Egyptians at that time because access to fresh water proved difficult. For some, easy access to fresh water remains a problem today.

Excavations indicate that the fertile flood plains were the natural sites for settlements. Rapidly, a well-advanced culture featuring mud brick houses, craftsmen's shops and rudimentary temples took hold. Indeed, the water and soils of the Nile Valley were the key to the evolution of a complex civilization. By 3000 BC, the Nile sustained a dense, stable agricultural society that produced surpluses and progressively allowed for socio-economic advancement. Over time, this culture saw many important historical achievements, including the development of an amazing system of canals that enabled water from the Nile to extend well beyond its banks and fertilize and irrigate farmland. Other



Margaret Dickenson's Egyptian-inspired Kunafa with Cream Filling.

achievements included the world's first form of writing — hieroglyphics — and the world's first nation state.

Foods of ancient Egypt

Much has been learned from hieroglyphic records inscribed on papyrus about daily life and the remarkable agricultural practices of ancient Egyptians. Besides wheat and barley, they grew a variety of produce that included onions, garlic, lettuce, mallow (a leafy green), green onions, radishes, cucumbers, cabbage, turnips, artichokes, chickpeas, lentils, broad beans, olives and rice. They also cultivated melons, plums, grapes, figs and dates, principally for desserts; however, grapes, plums and pomegranates also figured into wine production. Farmers raised cattle, sheep, goats, chickens, ducks, geese and pigeons. They caught fish and preserved it by salting with salt extracted from seawater

before sun drying it. Salted dried fish, called *fisieekh*, remains a popular meal in Egypt, particularly at Easter, says Hala Youssef, wife of Egyptian Ambassador Motaz Mounir Zahran. Egyptians kept bees for honey and pressed sesame seeds for cooking oil.

The area around the Nile offered an abundance of wildlife. Wealthy Egyptians took pleasure in hunting — particularly deer — and dining on game. As well, they ate fish from the Nile, beef, goat and a variety of poultry and birds, including crane and heron. Less affluent Egyptians cooked poultry and fish, but rarely red meat. Red meat, poultry and fish tended to be boiled or roasted. Seasonings such as salt, pepper, cumin, aniseed, fenugreek, licorice, dill and coriander boosted the flavour of foods.

In ancient Egypt, special importance was given to the kitchen. Located furthest

from a home's entrance, it had a roof made of branches and hay — which offered shade from the sun and ventilation — a corner, clay-covered baking oven with shelves designed to place earthenware containers at various levels, and a large mortar and pestle. Fearing drought and famine, early Egyptians prudently stored a significant amount of grain, preserved meats and fish as well as beer and wine, the latter in specially glazed pots.

Well-preserved wall paintings and carvings discovered in temples and tombs and dating back thousands of years, portray ancient Egyptians enjoying extravagant feasts with a wide variety of foods representing everything that was available, plus stews served with abundant quantities of broth. Many of these foods and dishes remain staples in Egyptians' diets today. It appears that, historically, the wealthy enjoyed breakfast, a bigger lunch and an evening dinner, while most of the population was likely limited to a breakfast of only bread and then an early afternoon main meal accompanied by bread and beans.

Preserving ancient food culture

Pharaonic Egypt was rich in agricultural produce, but limited by an inadequate base of resources, especially timber, and was forced to trade with Mediterranean and Middle Eastern neighbours. As a result, ancient Egypt's unique cuisine was first influenced thousands of years ago by Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs and Ottomans (from modern-day Turkey). More recently, foods of other Middle Eastern Arabs — namely the Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians — plus some European foods, have found their way into the Egyptian diet. None the less, Egyptian cuisine continues to preserve its uniqueness, favouring earthy pulses, vegetables, affordable meats, poultry, fish, hearty stews and the use of spices, as well as simmering and grilling techniques, to infuse dishes with flavours. After thousands of years, bread and rice have endured as staple foods while cooked creamy fava beans, known as *ful medames* or simply *ful*, and a spinach-like soup made with mucilaginous green mallow leaves known as *molokiva*, remain as popular today as they did in banquet scenes on Pharaonic tombs.

Ai'iish or *aiish*, the Arabic word for bread, means life. The most common type is pita made with whole wheat or sometimes white flour, yeast, water and salt. Whole-wheat pita is called *ai'iish baladi* — *baladi* meaning “of the country” — while white flour pita is referred



A traditional Egyptian lunch the Dickensons enjoyed in Cairo.

to as *ai'iish shami* because *shami* means white. Government subsidies continue to make this bread available to all. *Ai'iish* (*baladi* and *shami*) ranks as a national dish. Throughout Egypt, long, skinny French-style loaves are also widely consumed as bread accompanies most meals. Other national dishes include *tahina*, a sesame seed paste; *kebab*, grilled lamb pieces; *koshari*, a hearty macaroni dish; *falafel*, small highly spiced, deep-fried croquettes of ground fava beans and herbs rolled in sesame seeds; and *ful*.

As a traditional food, Egyptians eat *ful* at home and at street stalls, but some of the best *ful* comes from vast pots crammed into the depths of colourful carts on wheels. For low-income people, *ful* continues to be an inexpensive protein-rich and carbohydrate-rich meal. In Cairo alone, several thousand such carts appear in the same location every day and hungry customers wait their turn. *Ful* is served with vegetables or salad on the side. Some prefer it stuffed in pita while others treat it as a dip to be scooped up with pita. Youssef enthusiastically points out that even

Cairo's “smart set” views *ful* as trendy, buying it at luxury outlets and topping it with pickles, onions and lemon.

Favourite dishes

Among the many traditional dishes and specialties, *koshari* remains at the top of the list. Regarded as a poor man's feast, appeasing hunger for hours, this rich hearty combination of macaroni, white rice and brown lentils topped with onions and a spicy tomato sauce has long been part of Egypt's identity.

Since ancient times, Egyptians have enjoyed fish, known as *samak*, from the Nile, and today their fish comes more from the shallow coastal waters of the Mediterranean, Red Sea and Lake Nasser. Seafood options include shrimp, scallops, squid, crab and eel. A favourite choice to this day is *sayyaddia*, whole fried fish such as sole, flounder, trout or bass, served with lemon and what Youssef refers to as “fish rice,” made by first caramelizing onions, adding water, cumin and a touch of tomato sauce and finally rice. At Easter, Egyptians consume the smoky flesh of fresh herring cooked over a fire un-

til the skin crackles. Due to modern day food safety concerns, specialists prepare the unusual ancient Egyptian specialty known as *fasieekh*. Dried salted fermented fish is now preserved in thick glass jars and is available in supermarkets, to be enjoyed with bread and onions as well as arugula to balance the salt.

Egyptians have always thought of meat as a luxury, so they serve small amounts, combining it with rice and vegetables or including it in soups and stews. Historically, they prefer chicken, lamb, mutton and, for some, veal. They rarely eat beef, but full-flavoured *kamounia* — cubes of stewing beef cooked with cumin and Egyptian tomato sauce, then topped with green onions — can be classified as another favourite. A time-honoured traditional delicacy continues to be *hamaam*, a dish made from the pigeons that are raised throughout the country in tall clay towers. Egyptians primarily stuff pigeon with seasoned rice — although in villages, cracked wheat remains the preferred stuffing — fry them in butter or grill them. Youssef notes that “Arabs come to Egypt to eat pigeon as no other Arab country prepares this culinary treat.”

Traditional desserts, other than the wide range of fresh fruit from dates, figs and plums to melons, pomegranate and citrus fruits, tend to be sweet, sticky and delicious. *Om Ali* or “Mother of Ali,” a warm bread and pastry pudding covered with milk, sugar, nuts and raisins, is Egypt’s best dessert, followed by the nut-layered and honey-soaked phyllo pastry known as *baklava*, and a cheese, custard or nut-filled, butter-drenched shredded pastry called *kunafa*. Other specialties include *basbousa*, a syrupy, cream-filled semolina cake and *atayef*, deep-fried, nut-stuffed pancakes drenched in sugar syrup.

Many meals and menus start with *mezza*. Youssef notes that *mezza* in a traditional Egyptian meal consists principally of green salad, pickles and cucumbers with yogurt served at the beginning of the meal. However, over time, Egyptians have also enthusiastically adopted into their food culture the Lebanese-style *mezza*, which offers a wide variety of Egyptian delicacies as well, including a sesame seed dip known as *tahina*; *hummus*; a smoky aubergine purée known as *babaganoush*; meatballs or skewers of minced meat called *kofta*; and *falafel*, plus yogurt sauce, olives, nuts, cheese — referred to as *gibna* — and lettuce, tomato and cucumber salad. Youssef points out that traditional Egyptian cuisine regards vegetables such as zucchini, aubergine, tomatoes, peppers,

vine leaves and baked stuffed cabbage leaves as part of the main course.

In reality, the majority of the population — peasants and many middle-class families — lean towards a vegetarian diet consisting of affordable vegetables, lentils and beans and rarely any significant quantity of meat except on special occasions. But all social classes enjoy inexpensive quick bites from street vendors or cafés. Besides *ful*, clients line up for *falafel*, frequently served drizzled with *tahina* sauce in a sandwich along with *torshi*, brightly coloured pickled turnip, carrots and lime. Spiced marinated lamb, chicken or goat slowly cooked on a vertical rotating spit, shaved off and cut into julienne strips is called *shawarma*, and thin pancakes with savoury or sweet fillings known as *fatari* also quickly appease hungry appetites.

Now, I invite you to try my version of a favourite Egyptian dessert, *kunafa*. Bon appétit or *Bilhana wal Shifa*.



Kunafa with Cream Filling

Makes 8 to 10 servings

Sugar Syrup

1 cup (250 mL) granulated sugar
½ cup (125 mL) water
1 tsp (5 mL) lemon juice
½ tsp (3 mL) rosewater*

Filling

1 cup (250 mL) whole milk, divided
½ cup (125 mL) 35 per cent cream
1 tbsp (15 mL) granulated sugar
2 tbsp (30 mL) cornstarch

Kataifi Crust

8 oz (225 g) kataifi*
½ cup (125 mL) butter

1. Generously butter an eight-inch (20-centimetre) cake pan.

2. To make the sugar syrup, in a small saucepan, thoroughly combine sugar, water and lemon juice, place over medium heat and bring to a boil without stirring. Immediately reduce heat and simmer without stirring until it reaches a light syrup consistency. Add rosewater and cool.

3. To make the cream filling, in a medium-sized non-stick saucepan, combine ½ cup (125 mL) of milk, cream and sugar; place over medium heat. Whisk cornstarch thoroughly into remaining ½ cup (125 mL) of milk; pass it through a fine sieve and whisk into the saucepan. Continue whisking until mixture comes to a full boil and for a few more seconds until filling thickens slightly to form a very light and fluid custard-like cream. Remove from heat.

4. To prepare *kataifi* crust, melt butter and allow it to sit for a few minutes. Meanwhile, in a large bowl, pull the *kataifi* dough apart into separate individual threads; cut threads into 1½ inch (3.5 cm) pieces. Drizzle *kataifi* with melted butter (avoiding bottom white liquid); rub butter thoroughly into all strands with your fingers and palms.

5. Place 2/3 of the *kataifi* into the prepared pan, pressing and packing it around the bottom and up the sides.

6. Add the cream filling; top gently with remaining *kataifi* and press down lightly.

7. Bake on the lower-middle rack of a preheated oven (375F or 190C) for 10 minutes; reduce heat to 350F (180C) and bake for another 20 minutes until deep golden brown.

8. Transfer to a cooling rack, allow to rest for 10 minutes. With the assistance of a dinner plate, very carefully flip it over and drizzle surface with sugar syrup to taste (2 tbsp or more). After another 10 minutes, cautiously flip it onto a serving platter; drizzle surface with sugar syrup (1½ tbsp or more).

9. Cut into wedges and serve. Note: I prefer to cool and refrigerate my *kunafa* for up to a day and reheat cut wedges in a 300F (150C) oven for 7 to 9 minutes. (The cream filling becomes soft and the crust irresistibly crunchy.) Serve promptly, passing extra sugar syrup at the table.

* Available at Middle Eastern and Greek grocery stores.

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

Marrying wine with food from non-wine cultures



Pieter
Van den Weghe

As their palates develop and knowledge grows, wine drinkers aren't always content to drink the same wine with whatever they eat. A few start to dabble in the sometimes-elusive joy of food and wine pairing. Others jump right in. They search for a perfect combination; one in which the combined sensory pleasure of the two is greater than the enjoyment of them separately. For some, it can become a bit of an obsession.

Yet pairing can be a tricky enterprise, and wine drinkers fret about getting it right. If you don't happen to have easy access to a sommelier, there's an old trick that usually pays off: Drink the wine from the region of your dish. It can be as general as coastal wines with seafood, or as specific as red Burgundy with boeuf bourguignon. Despite the significant waves of influence and change that have always rolled through cuisines, there is much food and wine pairing success that can

still be had in this way. Sure, one can pair wines with the standard principles in mind: The weights of the food and wine, matching acidity and sweetness, accounting for oak influence, and so on, but, unfortunately, what can seem like a simple calculation can quickly become complex and tangled. So, regional wines can often quickly save the day.

For the most part, it is European cuisine and wine culture that form the foundation of this food-and-wine-pairing concept. However, Canadians now have many more cuisines that influence our cooking and they often have no historic relationship with wine. That said, there are some familiar styles of wines that are particularly suited to making such a leap.

As a civilization, China has been home to well-loved gastronomy for more than 2,000 years. Given the millennia and the diversity of regions and cultures, modern Chinese cuisine is complex and geographically varied.

For a specific Chinese dish involving pork, shrimp and vegetables such as lo mein, Sauvignon Blanc can be delicious.



In particular, a New Zealand Sauvignon Blanc is a fine fit, with a fruit profile that leans towards the tropical side. One such wine is the 2015 Mohua Sauvignon Blanc. Mohua Winery is family-owned and operated, and the fruit for its bright and fresh wine is sourced from three excellent sites in the Wairau Valley of the South Island's Marlborough region. Flavours of mango, pineapple and lime, with a little fresh herb, give way to a crisp, fresh finish. This is excellent value for \$19 and is available through Vintages.

Indian cuisine is also composed of a huge number of regional influences and traditions and countless dishes have been exported and become favourites around the world. A powerful and often fiery dish, such as vindaloo, can often present a formidable challenge to a wine, but the 2015 Gray Monk Gewürztraminer is the perfect solution. Huge, lush and palate-coating (and certainly not dry), this spiced and sweet citrus-laden wine will be a match for such a spicy, intense and flavourful dish. Not only will the weight of the wine match the weight of the dish, but the wine's sweetness will soothe your palate. This dense wine is available through Vintages for \$22.

While it has a long history, dating back to early Mesoamerica (1200-400 BC), much of what we consider Mexican cuisine is relatively modern. In particular, street food made with corn or wheat — items such as tacos, gorditas and burritos — has found great popularity outside of Mexico. Antojitos, which means "little cravings," is a broad category of street food often prepared by vendors at small markets. The combination of flavourful meat, spice and fresh greenery pairs beautifully with elegant, fresh and flavourful reds such as Gamay. An excellent example of Gamay is Stratus' 2014 version. Intense aromatics of pepper and red fruit lead to a fresh, mouth-watering wine with flavours of spice, smoke and more red fruit. This vigorous, crushable wine is available for \$29 directly from Stratus.

Pieter Van den Weghe is the sommelier at Beckta Dining & Wine.



Gray Monk Estate Winery makes a Gewürztraminer that is huge, lush, palate-coating and perfect with Indian cuisine.

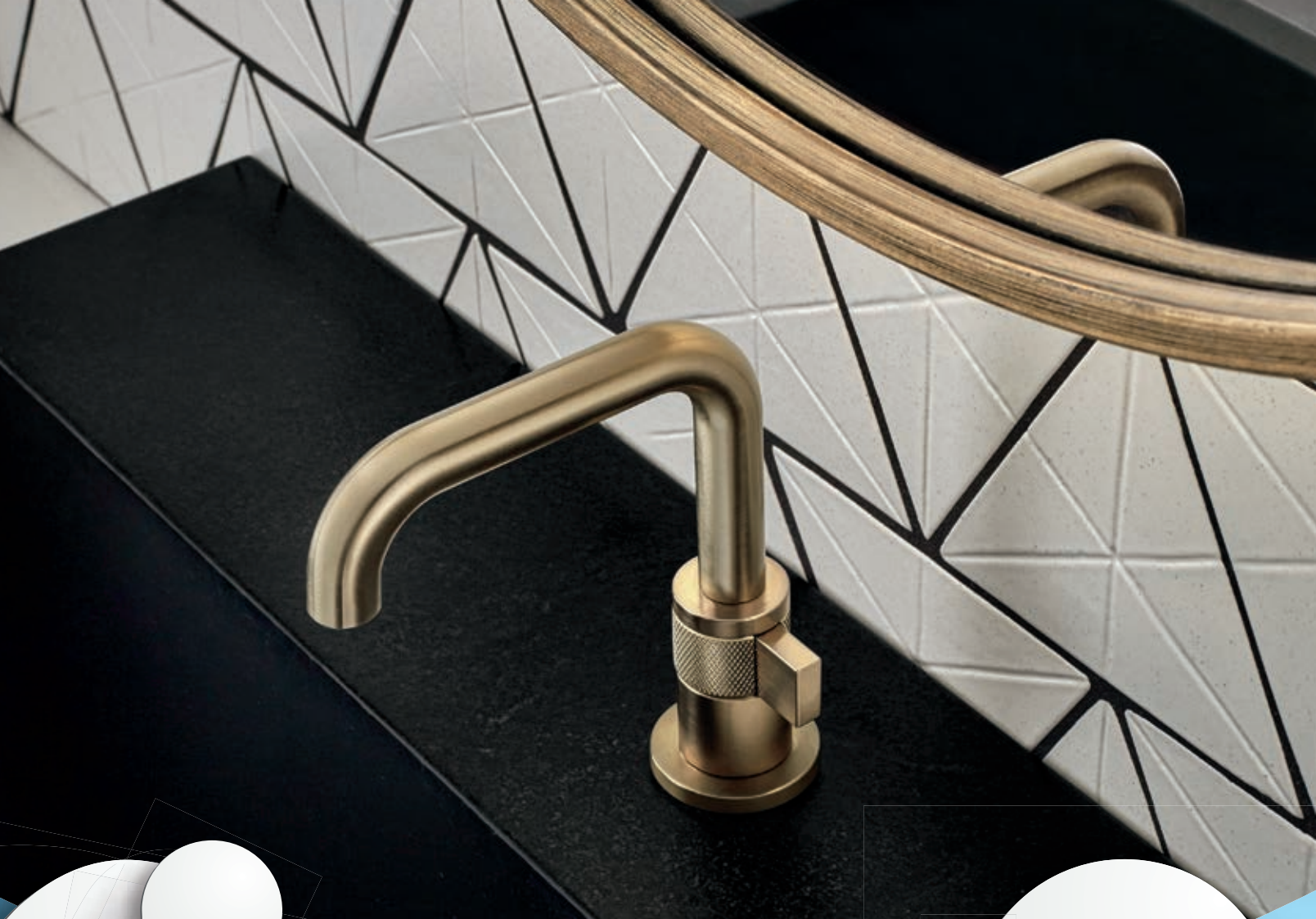


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Malaysia: Making a house a temporary home

By Patrick Langston

Photos by Dyanne Wilson



The residence's comfortably appointed main reception rooms have three sitting areas (one just visible to left), a double-sided fireplace, a soaring stone chimney and a great view of the backyard.

A guest book, along with official photos and other trappings of a diplomatic residence, are all there.

But there are also ducks — in profusion. One, a carved, joyously coloured fellow, nestles on a stair. Another is a handsome metallic specimen from Egypt; with several colleagues, he commands the dining room's wooden mantel. There are more, including a crystal duck from Croatia, in a glass cabinet.

"I'm a collector," says Aminahtun Karim Shaharudin, Malaysia's high commissioner and the owner of all these non-

quacking folks. "I collect bells and ducks wherever we go."

The collections — some of the small, painted handbells are exquisite — lend a personal accent to the already warm ambience of the official residence in Rockcliffe that the high commissioner shares with her husband, Shah Ghani, and three of their four grown children.

"We pride ourselves on making a house a home," says Ghani, a communications strategist by profession. "We try to do that everywhere we go."

The house itself is a beauty. Built in

1930 and clocking in at almost 8,611 square feet, the residence has been owned by the Malaysian government since the late 1970s, a few years after the 1957 establishment of its high commission in Ottawa. A tall cedar hedge conceals the home from passers-by and from Ashbury College across the street.

Inside, the main reception area comprises separate sitting spaces, each generously sized, but surprisingly intimate. A two-sided fireplace, with a log burning on the damp February day we visit, divides the area in half, the stonework soaring to



Shah Ghani and High Commissioner Aminah Tun Karim Shaharudin have enjoyed their three years in Ottawa.



This loon is part of the high commissioner's collection of waterbirds, which include a crystal duck from Croatia and several wooden ducks from around the world.



These shrimp fritters are served with a sweet and spicy chili sauce.

the peaked ceiling high above.

The glowing hardwood floors are made of merbau from an Asian-Pacific rainforest, while pot lights add to the contemporary design of the reception area. Tall windows and patio doors leading to the backyard flood the space with daylight.

The high commissioner and her spouse have peppered the reception area with some of their own prized possessions, including what they call the Cleopatra. A settee made of carved wood and tan fabric, it looks exactly like the kind of thing upon which the Queen of the Nile — impervious to the withering of age and staleness of custom — might recline.

"It's a piece I like," says the high commissioner. "The wood must be 130 years old. We've had it for 20 years."

Paintings by Ghani, who is overly modest when he says, "I just do it part-time," also hang here and there. One is a Canadian landscape of snow and fir trees, a vista he describes as "vast and empty and cool. I will always remember Canada like that."

The personal touch also enriches a spot just above the reception space. There, in concealed pots, the high commissioner has cultivated a riot of greenery and coleus.

Her love of gardening, she says, "comes from my late mom. When I walk into a room and see plants, it's calming. I can't imagine life without plants. I think it's fascinating that Canada has four seasons and still has such beautiful plants."

Hard to say what Rio thinks of all this business about plants and other beloved objects. He's the family's large white and orange cat who wanders in at one point, checks us out and vanishes just as silently.

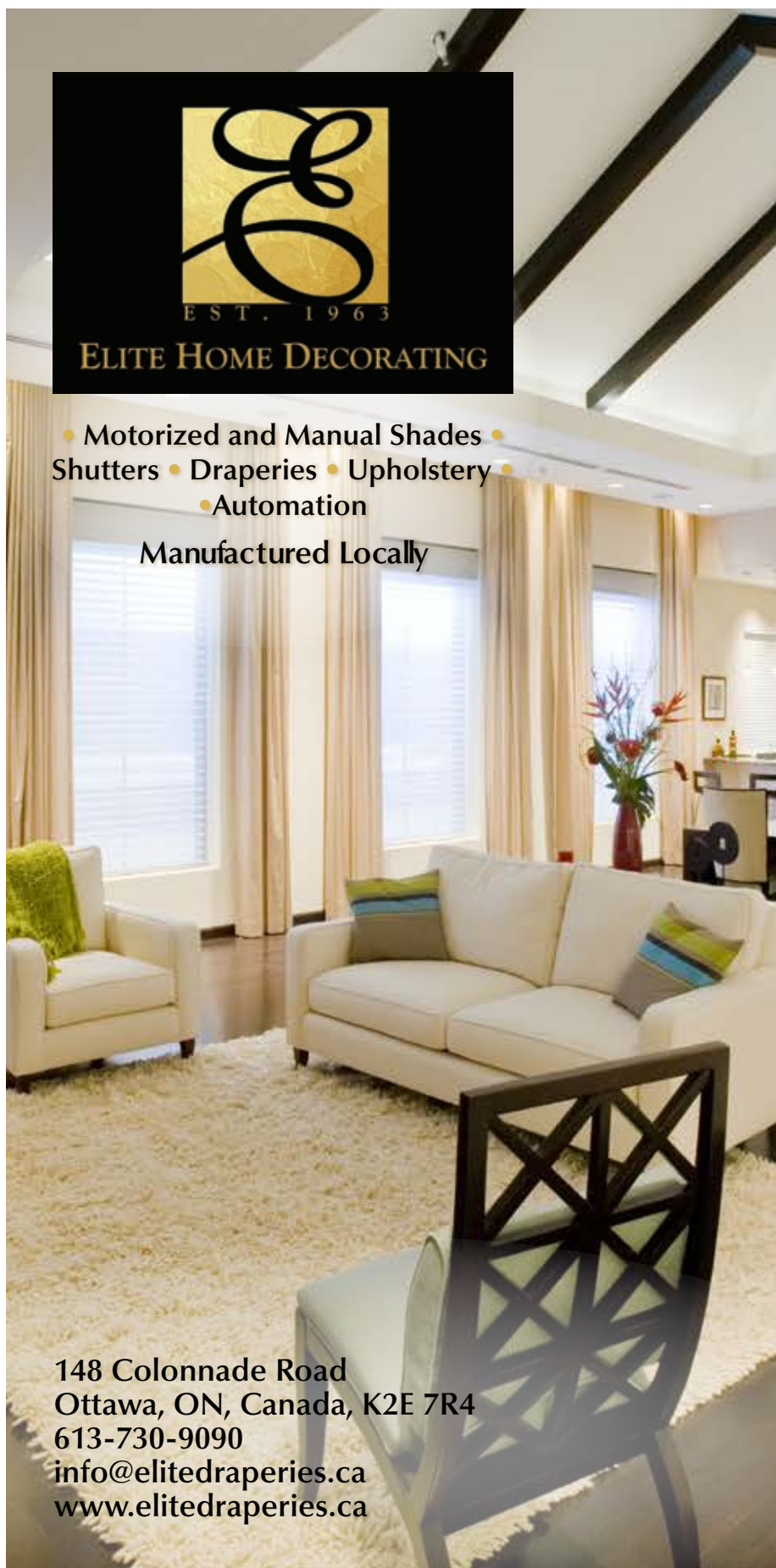
"We adopted him when we were [posted to] Ukraine," Ghani says. "He's the boss."

Elsewhere on the main floor, where a set of stairs lead to the family's private second-storey quarters, is a dining room watched over by its own flotilla of ducks. Although the long table seats 20, the space, with its subtly striped wallpaper and windows with their muntin-bar-framed panes is, like the adjoining reception area, welcoming.

When the high commissioner entertains, the menu might include such Malaysian dishes as satay chicken with peanut sauce and condiments, along with noodles in curry and coconut-filled dumplings in coconut milk and palm sugar.

The high commissioner is quick to point out that her chef, Safura Tawil, won the 2016 Embassy Chef Challenge.

Guests invited to dinner here not only



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The dining room seats 20 and, while the chandelier strikes a formal, elegant note, the softly striped wallpaper adds warmth.

enjoy Malaysia's national dishes, but also learn about the country, thanks to a bowl of what appear to be toasted acorns, but turn out to be seeds from rubber trees. Mixed with them are the small red seeds of saga trees native to the country.

"When the kids were small, we used to go out and collect them. I like to display them," she says, once again infusing her home and conversation with the kind of personal detail that eases connection between strangers while educating someone about her country.

Karim Shaharudin is retiring in October after almost three years in her current posting. She and her husband will return to Malaysia with fond memories of Canada, and especially Ottawa, where they were also posted from 1988 to 1991.

On their first posting, Ottawa was less culturally diverse. "It's so much easier to get halal food here now," Ghani says.

The memories they take home will include weekend trips to favourite spots such as Manotick and farmers' markets.

Says the high commissioner, "I tell young diplomats: 'When you're in a country, [visiting such places is] the best way to get to know it.'"

Patrick Langston is an Ottawa writer.



The high commissioner, a self-confessed collector, has picked up these decorative eggs on her travels and during postings, including one in Ukraine and another in Nepal.



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New arrivals

Natasha Smith
High Commissioner for Australia



High Commissioner Smith is a senior career diplomat with the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and was most recently first assistant secretary in the multi-lateral development and finance division. She's served overseas as first secretary in Indonesia and counsellor at the Australian mission to the UN in New York.

Smith's career in the foreign ministry, and previously the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID), spans 25 years and has included a broad range of policy, program and corporate roles in Australia and overseas. For example, she led the Afghanistan and Pakistan workforce strategy and security and humanitarian response branches. She was also a member of the task force charged with overseeing the move to integrate AusAID and DFAT into a single department. She was also one of DFAT's inaugural Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) Champions. She holds a bachelor of economics from James Cook University.

Alvin A. Smith
High Commissioner for the Bahamas



In 1992, when he retired from a 24-year career in education, High Commissioner Smith decided to pursue a political career.

The same year, he was appointed to the

Bahamas' Senate and became the upper chamber's vice-president. Three years later, he was promoted to parliamentary secretary at the ministry of education and in 1997, he was elected to the House of Assembly — Parliament's lower house, at which time he became executive chairman of Bahamas Agricultural and Industrial Corporation for four years. In 2002, he was re-elected and appointed leader of the official opposition. After another re-election in 2007, he became speaker of the House of Assembly.

In 2014, he became a real estate agent and later obtained a licence to sell life insurance. He joined his country's foreign ministry in October of this year.

Srdjan Lalic
Ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina



Ambassador Lalic is an engineer of organizational sciences by training and completed a PhD in the subject in 2016.

He began his career, however, before completing his master's and PhD, as head of marketing for Demax Company in 2006. He later moved to Serbia's department for European integration and international co-operation and later headed the unit. In 2011, he became secretary for a negotiating chapter within the same organization and was active in Serbia's efforts toward European integration. In addition, he worked as a bilateral co-operation co-ordinator for statistics with Sweden and France and also co-ordinated international projects related to statistics.

Over his career, the ambassador has received several certificates of achievement and has published numerous scientific papers.

Aster Mamo Ana
Ambassador of Ethiopia



Ambassador Mamo began her career in education, but spent much of her time in leadership. In 2002, she became Speaker of the Council of the State of Oromia, and she was

appointed federal minister of youth and sports in 2006.

In 2011, she became the government's chief whip in Ethiopia's House of Peoples Representatives. After serving three years in that position, she was named deputy prime minister for the governance and reform cluster and minister of public service and human development, positions she held until 2016.

Prior to coming to Canada, she served as a vice-president at Meles Zenawi Leadership Academy. She has a master's degree in organizational leadership from Azusa Pacific University in California. She is married to Merga Feyissa and has six children.

Fadi Ziadeh
Ambassador of Lebanon



Ambassador Ziadeh is not new to Canada. Prior to this posting, he served as Lebanon's consul-general in Montreal.

He joined the foreign ministry in 1999 as an attaché and one year later, he was posted to the UAE as deputy head of mission until 2005 when he was posted to Moscow in the same role, this time with the title of first secretary.

Between 2008 and 2009, he worked in the political section at headquarters in Beirut, after which he was posted, for four months, as chargé d'affaires at the embassy in Prague. Between 2009 and 2012, he was a counsellor at the Lebanese mission to the United Nations in New York, after which he became consul-general in Montreal.

The ambassador speaks French, English and Arabic and, while posted to Montreal, completed a master's in business administration. He is married to Tanya Bou Jaoudeh and has two daughters.

Fahad Saeed Al Raqbani
Ambassador of United Arab Emirates



Ambassador Al Raqbani comes to diplomacy from the world of business. Prior to his appointment, he spent a year as a senior adviser at Mubadala Investment

Company and before that, eight years working at the Abu Dhabi Council for Economic Development, with six years as director general.

Between 2004 and 2008, he worked for Mubadala Development Company in project finance and project management. He also worked as a project associate at UAE Offset Group.

He has served on the boards of several corporations as well as some non-profits and charities. He has a master's degree in finance and risk management from Lille Graduate School of Management in France and a bachelor's degree in international economics from American University in Paris. He is married and speaks Arabic, English and French.

Non-heads of mission

Australia

Steve Zoumeris
Second secretary and consul
Kurt Brown
Defence adviser

Bangladesh

Farhana Ahmed Chowdhury
Counsellor

Chile

Jorge Andrés Castillo Fuentes
Defence attaché

China

Yanzhuo Xu
Second secretary
Chenbo Jiang
First secretary
Lihua Hu
Counsellor
Jiwen Sun
Minister-counsellor

Croatia

Jelena Peric
Counsellor

Dominican Republic

Iris Joseline Pujol Rodriguez
Counsellor

El Salvador

Enriqueta Claramunt De
Rodriguez
Counsellor

Ethiopia

Merga Feyissa Tufa
Minister

Georgia

Zezva Liparteliani
Defence attaché

Hungary

Zsuzsanna Nagy
Attaché

India

Sunil Kumar Sharma
Second secretary

Indonesia

Aurora Dwita Pangestu
Third secretary

Iraq

Samer Tareq Naser Al-Saedi
Attaché

Japan

Yukako Ochi
First secretary

Korea, Republic

Hwasue Sung
First secretary

Mali

Fatoumata Sylla Maiga
Second counsellor

New Zealand

Vanessa Jane Berry
Counsellor

Peru

Ivan Eduardo Manchego Cuayla
Attaché

Philippines

Noel Sancon
Attaché

Saudi Arabia

Abdulrahman Abdulaziz A.
Alsulaiman
Attaché
Saad Muaibed S. Alharbi
Attaché

Senegal

Ndeye Coumba Ndiaye
First secretary

South Africa

Ntokozo Siyabonga P. Ndlela
First secretary

Turkey

Erdal Demirci
Attaché
Deniz Irgul
Attaché
Levent Gurcan
First Secretary
Hasan Kocasoy
Counsellor
Ilker Tokay
Counsellor

United Arab Emirates

Essa Rashid Obaid R. Al-Ali
Defence, military, naval and air
attaché

United Kingdom

James Nicholas Niven Orr
Defence adviser

Venezuela

Luis Augusto Acuna Cedeno
Minister-counsellor and chargé
d'affaires

Vietnam

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Zimbabwe

Herbert Garikai Nyathi
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Taiwan: An important partner in global health security calls for support for its participation in the World Health Organization and the 2018 World Health Assembly



The enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social condition. —Constitution of the World Health Organization

As we embark on this great collective journey [toward the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development], we pledge that no one will be left behind. —UN General Assembly Resolution A/RES/70/1

Taiwan was not invited to attend the 70th World Health Assembly as an observer in 2017. For many years, however, it has participated in the WHA and WHO technical meetings, mechanisms, and activities; steadily contributed to enhancing regional and global disease prevention networks; and dedicated its utmost to assisting other countries in overcoming healthcare challenges in order to jointly realize the WHO's vision that health is a fundamental human right. Therefore, there is widespread support that Taiwan should be invited to attend the WHA.

Located at a key position in East Asia, Taiwan shares environmental similarities for communicable disease outbreaks with neighboring countries and is frequently visited by international travelers. This makes Taiwan vulnerable to cross-border transmission and cross-transmission of communicable disease pathogens, which could lead to their genetic recombination or mutation, and give rise to new infectious agents. However, because Taiwan is unable to attend the WHA and is excluded from full participation in related WHO technical meetings, mechanisms, and activities, it is only after much delay—compared to WHO members—that Taiwan can acquire disease and medical information, which is mostly incomplete. This creates serious gaps in the global health security system and threatens people's right to health.

Furthermore, countries across the globe use food products which are made of various materials coming from all parts of the world. According to a WHO report in 2015, over two million deaths occur each year due to contaminated food or drinking water. Given that Taiwan is the world's 18th-largest exporter and importer, its exclusion from the international health system poses a threat to global food safety.

The WHO needs Taiwan's participation to establish a sound global health system. Its core objective of uplifting the standard of human health can be achieved through universal health coverage. Taiwan was the first country in Asia to implement a national health insurance program, which boasts a coverage rate of 99.9 percent. Medical expenditures in Taiwan account for mere 6.3 percent of GDP. In this regard, Taiwan is willing and in a position to share its experience with the WHO and other nations.

In recent years, Taiwan has successfully transformed its role on the international stage from aid recipient to assistance provider. It has established a comprehensive disease prevention system and organized numerous training workshops aimed at building capacity to prevent Ebola, MERS, dengue fever, and Zika in the Asia-Pacific and Southeast Asia, thereby facilitating collective efforts to strengthen global health security. Meanwhile, Taiwan needs the WHO to protect the health of its own people as well as those in the region and the entire world. Through its participation in the WHA and the WHO, it could share its experience with other countries, make timely reporting and acquire information on diseases, and play a constructive role in global health protection. This would create a win-win scenario for Taiwan, the WHO, and the world community.

This year marks the 15th anniversary of the SARS outbreak. Fifteen years after losing many lives to SARS, Taiwan is back on its feet and has developed an ever stronger disease prevention system. Virus infection knows no borders. Only when every member of the international community is included in this collective fight against diseases can the negative effects of the next potential pandemic outbreak be minimized. With an interest in making professional health contributions and protecting the right to health, Taiwan seeks participation in the 71st WHA this year in a professional and pragmatic way, in order to become a part of global efforts to realize the WHO's vision for a seamless global disease prevention network, as well as UN Sustainable Development Goal 3 by 2030, i.e., to ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all at all ages.



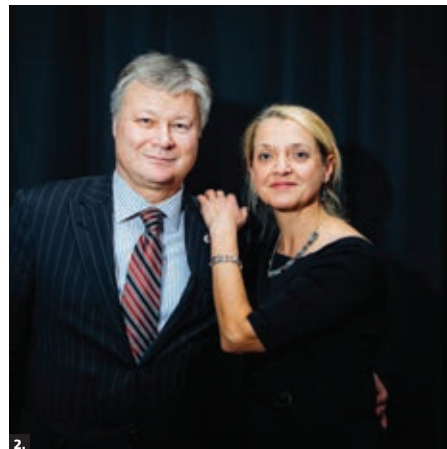
Taiwan Root Medical Peace Corps provides medical services to Taiwan's diplomatic allies. Photo credit: Taiwan Root Medical Peace Corps.



Taichung Tzu Chi Hospital provided medical service in Mexico in 2017. Photo credit : Buddhist Tzu Chi Medical Foundation.



1. Japanese Ambassador Kimihiro Ishikane and his wife, Kaoru, hosted a reception at their residence to welcome this year's returning former JET Program participants and to celebrate 30 years of the JET Program. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. Pakistani Commerce Minister Pervaiz Malik, Canadian Trade Minister François-Philippe Champagne and Immigration Minister Ahmed Hussen met for trade talks in February. (Photo: Pakistani High Commission) 3. To celebrate Vietnam's traditional New Year, called "Tet," the Vietnamese embassy hosted an event at the Shenkman Arts Centre. Nguyen Anh Thu Tran, her husband, Ambassador Duc Hoa Nguyen, and Le Khanh, head of the artists from Youth Theatre of Vietnam, took part. Vietnamese community members from Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto attended. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. Swedish Ambassador Per Sjögren hosted a Swedish Christmas buffet and traditional Swedish Lucia ceremony at his residence. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. Austrian Ambassador Stefan Pehringer (left) took part in Gov. Gen. Julie Payette's (right) winter celebration at Rideau Hall, where he introduced Canadians to the sport of Eisstochschessen. (Photo: Myka Burke) 6. Kazakh Ambassador Konstantin Zhigalov and his wife, Indira Zhigalova, hosted a reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier to mark their country's independence. The ambassador is shown here with MP Kim Rudd, assistant parliamentary secretary to the minister of natural resources and Zhigalov. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1. CIGI's Global Policy Forum featured a talk by professor Bessma Momani at the Rideau Club. From left: Indonesian Ambassador Teuku Faizasyah, Momani and Lawrence Lederman, co-ordinator, CIGI Global Policy Forum. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. The Ars Nova New Year's Eve Gala took place at the Church of St Bartholomew. Latvian Ambassador Karlis Eihenbaums and his wife, Inara Eihenbauma, took part. (Photo: Marc Brigden) 3. The first Canada's Ambassador of the Year and Public Diplomacy Awards 2018 took place at the Faculty of Law at the University of Ottawa. Zimbabwian Ambassador Florence Chideya, dean of the diplomatic corps, welcomed the guests. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. To mark the Bulgarian presidency of the Council of the European Union, Svetlana Stoycheva- Etropolski, chargé d'affaires of Bulgaria, hosted a reception and exhibit at Ottawa City Hall. She's shown with EU Ambassador Peteris Ustubs. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. A half-day workshop on the European Union and Russia, featuring European, Russian and Canadian experts, took place at Carleton University. From left: Tatiana Romanova of St. Petersburg State University and Tom Casier of the University of Kent and the Brussels School of International Studies. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. The delegation of the European Union and the diplomatic missions of the EU members presented the 10th Anniversary Christmas concert at Notre-Dame Cathedral Basilica. It featured the Hypatia's Voice Women's Choir conducted by Laura Hawley. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1. The Hong Kong-Canada Business Association's Ottawa Chinese New Year Gala took place at Chu Shing Restaurant. Shiyu Reynolds and Cindy Yang from the Xin Hua Dance Troupe performed. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. This sculpture at Confederation Park was made from 46 blocks of ice and was presented by the delegation of the European Union to mark 40 years of Winterlude. Canadian-Estonian Arno Türk stands next to it with his children, Lucy and Arthur. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. A total of 15 embassies participated in the Winter Celebration at Rideau Hall hosted by Gov. Gen. Julie Payette. Michelle Jiménez-Bucur, a student at St. Francis of Assisi School in Orléans, volunteered at the European Union's stand. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. Japanese Ambassador Kimihiro Ishikane hosted a reception at his residence on the occasion of the conference of heads of Japanese missions in Canada and in support of Japanese business representatives from across Canada. From left: Timothy Sargent, deputy minister for international trade at Global Affairs Canada, and Ishikane. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. More than 700 people attended the Spring Festival Gala 2018 at CentrepoinTE Theatre organized by the Huaxing Arts Group of Ottawa. Zang Qi, pictured here, took part at the performance. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. Qatari Ambassador Fahad Mohamed Y. Kafoud hosted a national day reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1. The Ottawa Diplomatic Association's annual Diplomatic Ball took place at the Westin Hotel. From left: Eula Anyiwo, South African High Commissioner Sibongiseni Yvonne Dlamini-Mntambo, Zimbabwean High Commissioner Florence Zano Chideya and Honduran Ambassador Sofia Cerrato on the dance floor. (Photo: Ülke Baum)

2. Naif Bandir A. Alsudairy, Saudi Ambassador and president of the Ottawa Diplomatic Association, attended the ball. He's joined here by Dwain Lingenfelter, businessman and former leader of the Saskatchewan NDP party. (Photo: Ülke Baum)

3. Bulgaria's national day celebration took place on Parliament Hill and also marked the Bulgarian presidency of the council of the EU. From left: Svetlana Stoycheva-Etropolski, chargé d'affaires of Bulgaria, and Senator Yonah Martin, co-chair of the Canada-Bulgaria Parliamentary Friendship Group. (Photo: Ülke Baum)

4. Peter Fahrenholtz, consul general for the German consulate in Toronto, participated in the first "Future of Mobility" Automotive Tech Symposium at Toronto's Westin Harbour Castle. From left: Fahrenholtz and Dunstan Peter, president and CEO of Trinity Tech. Inc. (Photo: Ülke Baum)

5. The Chinese Embassy and Global Affairs Canada entered their "Polar panda" team in Winterlude's second annual Ice Dragon Boat race. Chinese Ambassador Shaye Lu (centre right) took part in the competition. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1. The Swedish and Norwegian embassies co-organized an event that took place at the residence of Netherlands Ambassador Henk van der Zwan. The event featured three women's rights activists who shared their experiences. From left, Diana Jacovella, of Global Affairs Canada; Alia Soliman, of Egypt; Yah Parwon, of Liberia; van der Zwan; and Atong Amos Agook Juac, of South Sudan. (Photo: Embassy of Netherlands) 2. A meeting with a Tibetan cultural exchange delegation headed by Danzeng Langjie, vice chairman of the standing committee of the People's Congress of Tibet Autonomous Region, took place on Parliament Hill. From left (some Tibetans go by one name only) Bunima, Langjie, Cirendunzhu and Gesangzhuoga. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. To mark the 100th anniversary of Estonia, a flag-raising ceremony took place at Ottawa City Hall. (Photo: Bernie Franzgrote) 4. Finnish Ambassador Vesa Ilmari Lehtonen and his wife, Pirjetta Julia Manninen, hosted a reception at their residence to celebrate Finland's 100th Independence Day. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. Philippines Ambassador Petronila P. Garcia (right) hosted the opening of an art exhibit showing the work by Manuel D. Baldemor. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. To celebrate Thailand's national day, Thai Chargé d'Affaires Dao Vibulpanich hosted a reception. Tanadda Tongyod, a dancer with Thai Dance of Ottawa, took part. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1. To mark the national day of Cuba and to bid farewell, Ambassador Julio Garmendia and his wife, Miraly González, hosted a reception at the embassy. From left: González, Tamilya Akhmetzhanova, Garmendia and Russian Ambassador Alexander Darchiev. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. Four hundred people attended a dinner and dance put on by the Indo-Canada Ottawa Business Chamber (ICOBC) at the Infinity Convention Centre in support of mental health. From left: Biju George, CEO of Caneast Films; Jagdeep Perhar, president of ICOBC; MP Pierre Poilievre and former MP Tim Uppal. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. The Embassy of the Dominican Republic held a celebration over three days that included a trade workshop, a business and investment seminar, a food festival, a tourism show and a national day celebration. From left, Hugo Rivera Fernández, Dominican Republic's deputy minister of foreign relations, Dominican Ambassador Brianny Garabito Segura and Christopher Wilkie, director-general of trade sectors at Global Affairs Canada, at the opening of the Tourism, Business and Cultural Dominican Event held at the Sheraton Hotel. (Photo: Ülke Baum)

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Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1B9
TEL 613-563-4223 FAX 613-563-4962
contact@afghanemb-canada.net
www.afghanemb-canada.net

ALBANIA

His Ex. Ermal Muça
Embassy of the Republic of Albania
130 Albert Street, Suite 302
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL 613-236-4114 FAX 613-236-0804
embassy.ottawa@mfa.gov.al

ALGERIA

His Ex. Hocine Meghar
Embassy of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
500 Wilbrod Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N2
TEL 613-789-8505 FAX 613-789-1406
www.embassyalgeria.ca/eng.htm
info@embassyalgeria.ca

ANGOLA

His Ex. Edgar Gaspar Martins
Embassy of the Republic of Angola
189 Laurier Avenue East
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6P1
TEL 234-1152 FAX 234-1179
info@embangola-can.org
www.embangola-can.org

ARGENTINA

His Ex. Marcelo Gabriel Suárez Salvia
Embassy of the Argentine Republic
81 Metcalfe Street 7th Floor
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6K7
TEL 613-236-2351 FAX 613-235-2659
ecana@mrecic.gov.ar
www.ecana.mrecic.gov.ar

ARMENIA

His Ex. Levon Martirosyan
Embassy of the Republic of Armenia
7 Delaware Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0Z2
TEL 613-234-3710 FAX 613-234-3444
armcanadaembassy@mfa.am
www.armembassycanada.ca

AUSTRALIA

Her Ex. Natasha Smith
Australian High Commission
50 O'Connor, Suite 710
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6L2
TEL 613-236-0841 FAX 786-7621
www.canada.embassy.gov.au

AUSTRIA

His Ex. Stefan Pehringer
Embassy of the Republic of Austria
445 Wilbrod Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6M7
TEL 613-789-1444 FAX 613-789-3431
ottawa-ob@bmeia.gv.at

AZERBAIJAN

Mr. Ramil Huseynli
Chargé d'Affaires
Embassy of the Republic of Azerbaijan
275 Slater Street, Suite 1203
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H9
TEL 613-288-0497 FAX 613-230-8089
azerbaijan@azembassy.ca
www.azembassy.ca

BAHAMAS

His Ex. Alvin A. Smith
Bahamas High Commission
99 Bank Street, Suite 415
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6B9
TEL 613-232-1724 FAX 613-232-0097
ottawa-mission@bahighco.com
www.bahamas.com

BANGLADESH

His Ex. Mizanur Rahman
High Commission for the People's Republic of Bangladesh
350 Sparks Street, Suite 1100
Ottawa, Ontario, K1R 7S8
TEL 613-236-0138 FAX 613-567-3213
bangla@rogers.com
www.bdhc.org

BARBADOS

Her Ex. Yvonne V. Walkes
High Commission for Barbados
55 Metcalfe St., Suite 470
Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 6L5
TEL 613-236-9517 FAX 613-230-4362
ottawa@foreign.gov.bb

BELARUS

Embassy of the Republic of Belarus
130 Albert Street, Suite 600
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL 613-233-9994 FAX 613-233-8500
canada@mfa.gov.by

BELGIUM

His Ex. Raoul Delcorde
Embassy of Belgium
360 Albert Street, Suite 820
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 7X7
TEL 613-236-7267 FAX 613-236-7882
ottawa@diplomatie.fed.be
www.diplomatie.be/ottawa

BENIN

Embassy of the Republic of Benin
58 Glebe Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 2C3
TEL 613-233-4429 FAX 613-233-8952
ambaben@benin.ca

BOLIVIA

His Ex. Pablo Guzmán Laugier
Embassy of the Republic of Bolivia
130 Albert Street, Suite 416
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL 613-236-5730 FAX 613-236-8237
bolivianembassy@bellnet.ca
www.emboliviacanada.com

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

His Ex. Srdjan Lalic
Embassy of Bosnia and Herzegovina
17 Blackburn Avenue,
Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 8A2
TEL 613-236-0028 FAX 613-236-1139
Email: info@bhembassy.ca
www.ambasadabih.ca

BRAZIL

His Ex. Denis Fontes De Souza Pinto
Embassy of the Federative Republic of Brazil
450 Wilbrod Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6M8
TEL 613-237-1090 FAX 613-237-6144
mailbox@brasembottawa.org

BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

His Ex. Pg Kamal Bashah Pg Ahmad
High Commission for Brunei Darussalam
395 Laurier Avenue East
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6R4
TEL 613-234-5656 FAX 613-234-4397
bhco@bellnet.ca

BULGARIA

Embassy of the Republic of Bulgaria
325 Stewart Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6K5
TEL 613-789-3215 FAX 613-789-3524
embgottawa@hotmail.com

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His Ex. Athanase Boudo
Embassy of Burkina Faso
48 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J4
TEL 613-238-4796 FAX 613-238-3812
burkina.faso@sympatico.ca
www.ambaburkina-canada.org

BURUNDI

Mr. Emmanuel Niyonzima
Chargé d'affaires
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Ottawa, Ontario K1R 1A4
TEL 613-234-9000 FAX 613-234-4030
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CAMEROON

His Ex. Anu'a-Gheyle Solomon
Azoh-Mbi
High Commission for the Republic of Cameroon
170 Clemow Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 2B4
TEL 613-236-1522 FAX 613-236-3885
cameroon@rogers.com
www.hc-cameroon-ottawa.org

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Embassy of the Republic of Chad
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Ottawa, Ontario K1R 7S8
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FAX 613-695-6622
info@chadembassy.ca
www.chadembassy.ca

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His Ex. Alejandro Marisio Cugat
Embassy of the Republic of Chile
50 O'Connor Street, Suite 1413
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6L2
TEL 613-235-9940 FAX 613-235-1176
www.chile.ca

CHINA

His Ex. Lu Shaye
Embassy of the People's Republic of China
515 St. Patrick Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 5H3
TEL 613-789-3434 FAX 613-789-1911
chinaemb_ca@mfa.gov.cn
http://ca.china-embassy.org

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His Ex. Nicolas Lloreda-Ricaurte
Embassy of the Republic of Colombia
360 Albert Street, Suite 1002
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 7X7
TEL 613-230-3760 FAX 613-230-4416
embajada@embajadacolombia.ca
www.embajadacolombia.ca

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Mr. Jean-Claude Kalelwa Kalimasi
Chargé d'affaires
Embassy of the Democratic Republic of the Congo
18 Range Road
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150 Metcalfe Street, Suite 1002
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251 Cooper Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0G2
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Royal Danish Embassy
47 Clarence Street, Suite 450
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 9K1
TEL. 613-562-1811
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canada.um.dk

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209 Kent Street
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embajada@elsalvador-ca.org

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Embassy of the Republic of Estonia
260 Dalhousie Street, Suite 210
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Embassy of the Republic of Finland
55 Metcalfe Street, Suite 850
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6L5
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embassy@finland.ca

FRANCE

Her Ex. Kareen Rispal
Embassy of France
42 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1M 2C9
TEL 613-789-1795 FAX 613-562-3735
www.ambafrance-ca.org

GABON

His Ex. Sosthène Ngokila
Embassy of the Gabonese Republic
4 Range Road, P.O. Box 368
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J5
TEL. 613-232-5301 FAX 613-232-6916
ambgabon2000@yahoo.fr

GEORGIA

His Ex. Konstantine Kavtaradze
Embassy of Georgia
340 Albert Street, Suite 940
Ottawa, ON K1R 7Y6
TEL 613-421-0460 FAX 613-680-0394
ottawa.emb@mfa.gov.ge

GERMANY

Her Ex. Sabine Sparwasser
Embassy of the Federal Republic of
Germany
1 Waverley Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0T8
TEL 613-232-1101 FAX 613-594-9330
info@otta.diplo.de
http://www.ottawa.diplo.de

GHANA

His Ex. Joseph Ayikoi Otoo
High Commission for the Republic
of Ghana
1 Clemow Ave.
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 2A9
TEL 613-236-0871 FAX 613-236-0874
ghanacom@ghc-ca.com
www.ghc-ca.com

GREECE

His Ex. Dimitrios Azemopoulos
Embassy of the Hellenic Republic
80 MacLaren Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0K6
TEL 613-238-6271 FAX 613-238-5676
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www.mfa.gr/canada

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His Ex. Carlos Humberto Jiménez

LICIA

Embassy of the Republic of
Guatemala
130 Albert Street, Suite 1010
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
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embassy1@embaguate-canada.com
www.embaguate-canada.com

GUINEA

His Ex. Saramady Touré
Embassy of the Republic of Guinea
483 Wilbrod Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N1
TEL. 613-789-8444 FAX 613-789-7560
ambaguiottawa@mae.gov.gn

GUYANA

Her Ex. Clarissa Sabita Riehl
High Commission for the Republic
of Guyana
151 Slater Street, Suite 800
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H3
TEL. 613-235-7249 FAX 613-235-1447
guyanahcott@rogers.com

HAITI

His Ex. Frantz Liautaud
Embassy of the Republic of Haiti
85 Albert Street, Suite 1110,
Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 5G4
TEL 613-238-1628 FAX 613-238-2986
amb.canada@diplomatie.ht

HOLY SEE

His Ex. Most Reverend Luigi Bonazzi
Apostolic Nunciature
724 Manor Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1M 0E3
TEL 613-746-4914 FAX 613-746-4786

HONDURAS

Her Ex. Sofia Cerrato
Embassy of the Republic of
Honduras
130 Albert St., Suite 805
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 1B1
TEL 613-233-8900 FAX 613-232-0193

HUNGARY

His Ex. Bálint Ódor
Embassy of Hungary
299 Waverley Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0V9
TEL. 613-230-2717 FAX 613-230-7560
https://ottawa.mfa.gov.hu/eng
mission.ott@mfa.gov.hu

ICELAND

His Ex. Pétur Ásgeirsson
Embassy of Iceland
360 Albert Street, Suite 710
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 7X7
TEL. 613-482-1944 FAX 613-482-1945
icemb.ottawa@utn.stjris
www.iceland.org.ca

INDIA

His Ex. Vikas Swarup
High Commission for the Republic
of India
10 Springfield Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1M 1C9
TEL. 613-744-3751 FAX 613-744-0913
hicomind@hiciottawa.ca
www.hiciottawa.ca

INDONESIA

His Ex. Teuku Faizasyah
Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia
55 Parkdale Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1Y 1E5
TEL 613-724-1100 FAX 613-724-1105
info@indonesia-ottawa.org
www.indonesia-ottawa.org

IRAN

Embassy of the Islamic
Republic of Iran
245 Metcalfe Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 2K2

IRAQ

His Ex. Abdul Kareem Kaab
Embassy of the Republic of Iraq
215 McLeod Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0Z8
TEL. 613-236-9177 FAX 613-236-9641
www.iqemb.ca
media@iqemb.ca

IRELAND

His Ex. Jim Kelly
Embassy of Ireland
130 Albert Street, Suite 1105
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL. 613-233-6281 FAX 613-233-5835
Ottawaembassy@dfa.ie
www.embassyofireland.ca

ISRAEL

His Ex. Nimrod Barkan
Embassy of Israel
50 O'Connor Street, Suite 1005
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6L2
TEL 613-750-7500 FAX 613-750-7555
information@ottawa.mfa.gov.il
www.embassies.gov.il/ottawa

ITALY

His Ex. Claudio Taffuri
Embassy of the Italian Republic
275 Slater Street, 21st Floor
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H9
TEL 613-232-2401 FAX 613-233-1484
ambasciata.ottawa@esteri.it
www.ambottawa.esteri.it

JAMAICA

Her Ex. Janice Miller
Jamaican High Commission
151 Slater Street, Suite 1000
Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 5H3
TEL 613-233-9311 FAX 613-233-0611
executiveassistant@jhcottawa.ca

JAPAN

His Ex. Kimihiro Ishikane
Embassy of Japan
255 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 9E6
TEL 613-241-8541 FAX 613-241-2232
infocul@ot.mofa.go.jp
www.ca.emb-japan.go.jp

JORDAN

Her Ex. Rima Alaadeen
Embassy of the Hashemite Kingdom
of Jordan
100 Bronson Avenue, Suite 701
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 6G8
TEL. 613-238-8090 FAX 613-232-3341
www.embassyofjordan.ca
ottawa@fm.gov.jo (embassy)
ottawa-consular@fm.gov.jo (consular)

KAZAKHSTAN

His Ex. Konstantin Zhigalov
Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan
150 Metcalfe Street, Suite 1604
Ottawa, Ontario, K2P 1P1
TEL 613-695-8055 FAX 613-695-8755
Email: kazakhembassy@gmail.com
www.kazembassy.ca

KENYA

His Ex. John Lepi Lanyasunya
High Commission for the Republic
of Kenya
415 Laurier Avenue East
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6R4
TEL. 613-563-1773 FAX 613-233-6599
kenyahighcommission@rogers.com
www.kenyahighcommission.ca

KOREA, REPUBLIC

His Ex. Shin Maeng-ho
Embassy of the Republic of Korea
150 Boteler Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 5A6
TEL 613-244-5010 FAX 613-244-5034
canada@mofa.go.kr
http://can-ottawa.mofa.go.kr

KOSOVO

His Ex. Lulzim Hiseni
Embassy of the Republic of Kosovo
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Chargé d'affaires
Embassy of Libya
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Ottawa, Ontario, K 1P 6K7
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FAX 613-842-8627
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275 Slater Street, Suite 801
Ottawa, ON K1P 5H9
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Chargé d'affaires
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FAX. 232-6999
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Embassy of Nepal
408 Queen Street
Ottawa, ON K1R 5A7
TEL 613-680-5513 FAX 613-422-5149
secretary_nepalembassy@rogers.com

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Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands
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Ottawa, Ontario K1R 1A4
TEL 613-670-6038 FAX 613-237-6471
Ott-cdp@minbuza.nl

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150 Elgin Street, Suite 1401
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Royal Norwegian Embassy
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Ottawa, ON K2P 1P1
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www.emb-norway.ca

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TEL 613-238-7881 FAX 613-238-7296
parepottawa@rogers.com

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Mr. Nabil Maarouf
Chief representative
Palestinian General Delegation
18 The Driveway
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 9C6
TEL 613-736-0053 FAX 613-736-0535
palestinegd@gmail.com

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Embassy of the Republic of Panama
130 Albert Street, Suite 803
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
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emperuca@bellnet.ca

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Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6H3
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ottawa.info@msz.gov.pl
www.ottawa.mfa.gov.pl

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Embassy of the State of Qatar
150 Metcalfe Street, Suite 800
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1P1
TEL 613-241-4917 FAX 613-241-3304
amb.office@qatarembassy.ca

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Embassy of Romania
655 Rideau Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6A3
TEL 613-789-3709 FAX 613-789-4365
Romania@romanian-embassy.com
http://ottawa.mae.ro

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Ex. Alexander N. Darchiev
Embassy of the Russian Federation
285 Charlotte Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8L5
TEL 613-235-4341 FAX 613-236-6342
info@rusembassy.ca
www.rusembassy.ca

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High Commission for the Republic of Rwanda
294 Albert Street, Suite 404
Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 6E6
Phone: 569-5420/22/24
Fax : 569-5421/5423
ambaottawa@minaffet.gov.rw
canada.embassy.gov.rw

SAUDI ARABIA

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Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia
201 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, ON K1N 1K6
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caemb@mofa.gov.sa
www.saudiembassy.ca

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57 Marlborough Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8E8
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Info@ambsenecanada.org

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Embassy of the Republic of Serbia
21 Blackburn Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8A2
TEL 613-233-6289 FAX 613-233-7850
diplomat@serbianembassy.ca
www.ottawa.mfa.gov.rs

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Embassy of the Slovak Republic
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Ottawa, Ontario K1M 2A1
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emb.ottawa@mzv.sk
www.mzv.sk/ottawa

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150 Metcalfe Street, Suite 2200
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www.southafrica-canada.ca

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embespa@mail.mae.es
www.embaspain.ca

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His Ex. Ahmed Aflel Jawad
High Commission for the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka
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Ottawa, Ontario K1P 1C1
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www.sudanembassy.ca/

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Embassy of Sweden
377 Dalhousie Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 9N8
TEL 613-244-8200 FAX 613-241-2277
sweden.ottawa@gov.se
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Embassy of Switzerland
5 Marlborough Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8E6
TEL 613-235-1837 FAX 613-563-1394
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Embassy of the Syrian Arab Republic
46 Cartier Street
Ottawa, ON K2P 1J3
TEL 613-569-5556 FAX 613-569-3800
culture@syrianembassy.ca
www.syrianembassy.ca

TAIWAN

Frank Lin
Acting representative
45 O'Connor Street, Suite 1960
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 1A4
TEL 613-231-5080 FAX 613-231-7112
publicaffairs@on.aibn.com
http://web.roc-taiwan.org/ca_en/index.html

TANZANIA

His Ex. Jack Mugendi Zoka
High Commission for the United Republic of Tanzania
50 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J4
TEL 613-232-1509 FAX 613-232-5184
contact@tzrepottawa.ca
www.tanzaniahighcommission.ca

THAILAND

The Royal Thai Embassy
180 Island Park Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1Y 0A2
TEL 613-722-4444 FAX 613-722-6624
contact@thaiembassy.ca
www.thaiembassy.ca

TOGO

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Embassy of the Togolese Republic
12 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J3
TEL 613-238-5916 FAX 613-235-6425
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TEL 613-232-2418 FAX 613-232-4349
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His Ex. Mohamed Imed Torjemane
Embassy of the Republic of Tunisia
515 O'Connor Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 3P8
TEL 613-237-0330 FAX 613-237-7939
ambtun13@bellnet.ca

TURKEY

His Ex. Selçuk Ünal
Embassy of the Republic of Turkey
197 Wurtemberg Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8L9
TEL 613-244-2470 FAX 613-789-3442
embassy.ottawa@mfa.gov.tr
www.turkishembassy.com

UGANDA

Her Ex. Joy Ruth Acheng
High Commission for the Republic of Uganda
350 Sparks Street, Suite 1210,
Ottawa, Ontario, K1R 7S8
TEL 613-789-7797 FAX 613-789-8909
uhc@ugandahighcommission.ca
www.ugandahighcommission.ca

UKRAINE

His Ex. Andriy Shevchenko
Embassy of Ukraine
310 Somerset Street, West,
Ottawa, Ontario, K2P 0J9
TEL 613-230-2961 FAX 613-230-2400
emb_ca@ukremb.ca
www.ukremb.ca

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Consulate FAX 613-565-1444
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d'Allegre'sheque
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www.unhcr.ca

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www.usembassycanada.gov

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350 Sparks Street, Suite 901
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Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela
32 Range Road
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TEL. 235-5151 FAX 235-3205
embve.caotw@mppre.gob.ve
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www.yemenembassy.ca

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High Commission for the Republic of Zambia
151 Slater St., Suite 205
Ottawa, Ontario
K1B 5H3
TEL 613-232-4400 FAX 613-232-4410
zhc.ottawa@bellnet.ca

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Embassy of the Republic of Zimbabwe
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The sea, sun and culture abound in Croatia



Pula Arena in Istria is the only remaining Roman amphitheatre preserved in its entirety. It was built in the 1st Century AD.



By Marica Matkovic

When people ask me how much time they should spend in Croatia, usually my answer is two to three weeks. You might ask why so much time for such a small country — Croatia is about the same size as Nova Scotia, with a population similar to that of Alberta, at 4.2 million.

The reason is simple. If you really want to experience Croatia, you'll have to visit regions that are inland and those on the coast. Every region tells a different story when it comes to landscape, culture, his-

tory, way of life, food and even mentality.

Croatia is one of the best ecologically preserved parts of Europe. Our eight national parks cover 7.5 per cent of the country's landscape. There are also 11 nature parks and two arboretums. We have 10 sites on UNESCO's World Heritage List and 15 more sites on UNESCO's Tentative List.

Croatia's Adriatic Coast ranks as one of the longest in Europe, thanks to its craggy nature. Running to a total of 6,278 kilometres, and with 1,244 islands, islets and

craggs surrounded by crystal clear waters, it's easy to see why a British newspaper — after comprehensive analysis of Google data in 2016 — determined that Croatia was the most desirable destination in the world.

I'm happy to say that Croatia is a well-known destination among Canadians. In 2017, my country welcomed more than 142,000 tourists from Canada. Since the summer of 2016, visiting Croatia has never been easier. Air Transat's direct seasonal flights already connect Toronto with Zagreb and Air Canada will start offering the same service in June 2018. And what better excuse to visit than this year, when, on April 14, Canada and Croatia will mark 25 years of bilateral diplomatic relations.

Zagreb: A captivating capital

Zagreb, with a population of nearly one million, is very different from the rest of the country, but the Croatian capital is the perfect starting point to introduce you to the country.

The heart of Zagreb and its most popular meeting spot, Ban Jelacic Square, is a great place to start. A few steps away, you will discover Dolac, the country's biggest farmers' marketplace. Bring your camera because this open-air market is picturesque, thanks to traditional red parasols with a pattern you'll also find on souvenirs in the area. While in Dolac, take a selfie with the bronze statue "Kumica Barica," which is an homage to the peasant women selling their products here.

The city's main highlights can be discovered on foot, but try to do at least one tram ride. The squealing sound of Zagreb blue trams adds an extra note of old-world charm to the city's unhurried pace.

On your way to Upper Town, take the shortest cable car in the world — the Zagreb funicular. In just 64 seconds, you will find yourself at the base of Lotrščak Tower, one of the symbols of Zagreb. This 13th-Century tower houses the Gric cannon, which fires every day at exactly noon. Don't be scared, just set your watch to it.

In Upper Town, you will find Saint Mark's Church in neo-gothic style with a uniquely colourful tiled roof. If you are a museum lover, don't miss one of Zagreb's quirkiest museums: Museum of Broken Relationships, which is dedicated to failed intimate relationships. In 2016, a second one opened in Los Angeles.

If you find yourself in Zagreb in December, consider yourself lucky because, in 2017, "Advent in Zagreb" was named the best Christmas market in Europe



Christmas in Zagreb at Ban Jelacic Square is a reason to visit the capital in December.



Spicy Slavonian river fish stew is a Croatian culinary delicacy.



Zlatni Rat (Golden Cape) Beach on Brač Island in the Dalmatians offers a whole other dimension to Croatian tourism opportunities,

based on an online poll by the website European Best Destinations for the third year in a row. Fabulous street food and the smell of spiced mulled wine will get you ready to experience the largest outdoor ice rink in this part of Europe, various free events, concerts and street performances.

Medieval northern Croatia

From Zagreb, visit the Zagorje region, a romantic landscape filled with Medieval and Renaissance fortresses and Baroque castles. And if you really want to go back in time, visit Krapina Neanderthals site and museum. In 1899, the largest number of Neanderthal fossil bones in Europe were found in a rock shelter near Krapina. The remains date back about 130,000 years. Spend the night in a *hiža*, a traditional house in the Zagorje region that includes all the charms of the country's rural elements — it should be an idyllic setting on a hill. Homemade traditional delicacies, such as turkey with *mlinci* (a thin dough baked on a wood-stove) or *bucnica* (a phyllo pastry with pumpkin, cheese and sour cream), should be on offer.

Only 80 kilometres from Zagreb, you will find another hidden treasure — Varazdin, a true Baroque gem. Until a disastrous fire, Varazdin was the capital of

Croatia during the Medieval period.

Eastern Croatia's UNESCO draws

Eastern Croatia is the country's least-explored tourism region, as well as one of the most fascinating. Have an adventure at the UNESCO-lauded Geopark Papuk, with its 35-metre-high waterfall in the flatlands of Slavonia. Sail through Kopacki Rit Nature Park, a bird paradise often called the Amazon of Europe with more than 2,000 animals and insects.

You will be amazed by the Vucedol archeological site. This is a must-see for all archeology lovers. Vucedol gave its name to an entire Neolithic culture — the Vucedol culture — which lasted from 3000 to 2200 BC. The most famous ceramic find is the Vucedol Dove and you can buy a replica as a souvenir.

While in Slavonia, don't miss listening to some traditional singing (*becarac*), which is included on UNESCO's List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Try regional specialties such as river fish stew, *cobanac* (traditional Slavonian meat and vegetable shepherd's stew) and *kulen* (sausage). After that, you can't go wrong with Sljivovica, a plum brandy that is also available at the LCBO. If you are a wine lover, you should know that wine-making in this region dates to Roman times. A 1947 Tra-

minac from Ilok cellars was served at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953. Since then, Iločki Podrumi Traminac has been held in the Royal Family's wine cellars. If you would like to try Traminac, you don't even have to travel because you can buy it in Canada at the LCBO.

Istria's treasures

The next step of your Croatian adventure is Istria, a heart-shaped peninsula. Once there, head to the Arena in Pula, the only remaining Roman amphitheatre preserved in its entirety. Constructed in the 1st Century AD, it was used for gladiatorial fights. Today, it serves as a unique concert venue that has hosted musicians such as Leonard Cohen, Elton John and Sting.

Your next hidden treasure is certainly Groznanj. This hilltop town, full of artists, is my favourite while in Istria. I enjoy Groznanj's Jazz Festival, numerous art galleries and a full glass of Teran wine.

Visit Brijuni Islands to enjoy a safari featuring animals such as elephants and zebras — or simply play a round of golf. Take a tour of the olive oil routes and leave room for a truffle hunt in the oak woods.

Istrian wine is another unique symbol that truly defines the region's identity. This region grows various wine grapes that reflect the diversity of its climate and soil. They include Istrian Malvasia, Teran, Muscat, Merlot and Cabernet Sauvignon. You can combine your wine tour with some Istrian delicacies, such as truffle dishes, *boskarin* (ox) and wild asparagus and I recommend spending a night at a countryside luxury villa in Istria.

On your way to Dalmatia, visit the famous Plitvice Lakes and make a stop at Pag island. On its moon-like landscape, experience an alleged UFO landing site at the Pag Triangle; visit the Olive Gardens of Lun, which are protected as a botanical reserve; eat world-renowned, award-winning Gligora cheese and try Pag's famous lamb dishes. You can also visit the home of one of the greatest inventors of all time — Nikola Tesla. He was born in the Croatian village of Smiljan and his home has been turned into a museum. His inventions included alternating current (AC) electricity, the electric motor, fluorescent lightbulbs, the radio and the laser. He also contributed to the discovery of X-rays.

Dalmatia's unique attractions

Discover Zadar's one-of-a-kind installation — a "sea organ" that produces music powered only by the sea waves — as well as "The Greeting to the Sun," a colourful structure of 300 solar-powered panels.

Both have one thing in common — their use of nature. Without the sea or the sun, neither would work.

Here, you can sip Maraska liqueur, Zadar's signature drink, and head to St. Donat's Church, the largest Byzantine building in Croatia. Down the coast, stop at Sibenik. The Cathedral of St. James is also a UNESCO site. And 15 kilometres from Sibenik, you can swim at Krka National Park.

About 50 kilometres further, you will find yourself in Trogir, in front of another UNESCO gem — the Cathedral of St. Lawrence. Half an hour away, the magnificent Diocletian's Palace in Split will be waiting for you to discover its fascinating history. Then, take a ferry from Split and visit some of the Dalmatian Islands such as Solta, Brac, Hvar and Korcula, which offer lots of opportunities for sailing, biking and hiking. Dalmatian specialties, such as grilled fish, octopus under *peka*, the bell-shaped metal or clay lid covered in hot coals, black risotto and *pasticada*, slow-cooked beef, marinated in vinegar and herbs and cooked in wine and Prosecco, combined with world-class island wines await you at every corner. Finish your Croatian adventure in famous Dubrovnik. Explore its Old Town, stroll the Stradun, tour Dubrovnik City Walls and take in a *Game of Thrones* tour.

Cool Croatia

Did you know that Croatia gave the world the pen, the cravat, the parachute and the world's first electric speedometer? To this day, there is plenty of excellence and innovation to be celebrated, including pay-by-phone parking and Concept_One, a two-seat high-performance electric car. The latter is currently one of the world's fastest electric cars — not a surprise considering Croatia is Tesla's birthplace.

The renowned cello duo 2CELLOS is also from Croatia. The pair rose to fame in 2011 when their version of Michael Jackson's *Smooth Criminal* took the world by storm. They've sold out tours worldwide and perform in Ottawa on April 15.

And did you know that Croatia has become a filmmakers' location of choice? It was the location for *Game of Thrones*, *Star Wars*, *Robin Hood* and *Mamma Mia 2*. Who knows what's next?

You now have so many good reasons to visit Croatia. If you decide to do so, the Croatian embassy in Ottawa will be happy to answer all your questions.

Marica Matkovic is the ambassador of Croatia.



The Zagorje Hills region in northern Croatia is a romantic landscape filled with Medieval and Renaissance fortresses and Baroque castles.



Advent at Christmas in Zagreb was named the best Christmas market in Europe based on an online poll by the website "European Best Destinations" for the third year in a row.



Lois Siegel

PHOTOGRAPHY

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Lois has worked as a photographer
for the *Ottawa Citizen*
(Around Town and Diplomatic),
Ottawa Business Journal,
the *Glebe Report*, *Centretown Buzz*
and *Cinema Canada*.

(613) 830-2509

lois@siegelproductions.ca
siegelproductions.ca



Photo by Bill Blackstone

Celebration time

A listing of the national and independence days marked by countries

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

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MIKE BEEDELL WWW.MIKEBEEDELLPHOTO.CA

Photographer Mike Beedell: "I spent a few weeks with this thriving owl family on a huge Arctic island at the eastern entrance to the Northwest Passage. I spent the days sequestered away in a bird blind — being eaten alive by mosquitoes — and captured this moment of a parent nurturing its young. It was a high lemming year and at one point, lemming bodies were stacked up around the nest due to an over-zealous parent and the ease of catching them. I could catch them by hand as they rushed about. Snowy owls breed on the tundra of North America and Eurasia, above the treeline, but they will also come south in November to pursue small birds, rabbits and water fowl. They are the biggest owls in North America. Females weigh an average of 2.3 kilograms and males average 1.8 kilograms. Their wingspans stretch to 1.5 metres. Males are lighter in colour, sometimes almost purely white."



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